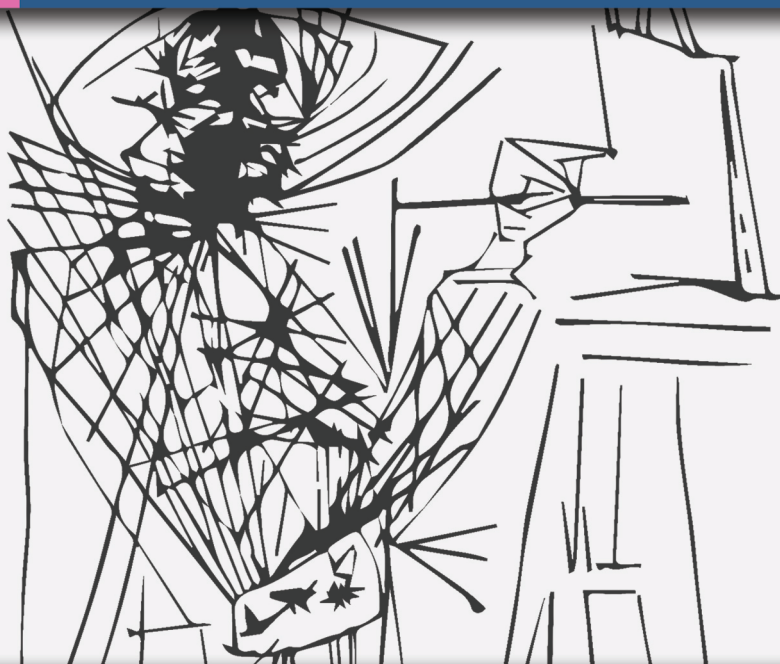


ANASTASIA ZAKARIADZE

IRAKLI BRACHULI



PHILOSOPHY IN GEORGIA:  
FROM NEOPLATONISM TO  
POSTMODERNISM



**PHILOSOPHY IN GEORGIA:  
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ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის  
თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი

ანასტასია ზაქარიაძე  
ირაკლი ბრატული

**ფილოსოფია საქართველოში:  
ნეოკლათონიზმიდან  
პოსტმოდერნიზმამდე**

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**PHILOSOPHY IN GEORGIA:  
FROM NEOPLATONISM  
TO POSTMODERNISM**



**სენიპერსიტიტის  
გამომცემლობა**

This research discusses the main tendencies of Georgian philosophy: its basic principles and perspectives, the importance of the Western, especially the European cultural heritage, and the Georgian contribution to the history of ideas in a global perspective. Metaphysical issues of cognition, truth, identity, virtue and value, wisdom and power; problems of ethical, social, political and aesthetic character, as well as phenomenological, philosophical-theological and linguistic research, are central to Georgian philosophy and exemplify its continuing relevance *vis-à-vis* the Western tradition in its broadest sense. Although philosophical ideas in Georgia rarely matured into a well-balanced and self-sufficient system, as original conceptions one may distinguish some ideas of *Christian Neo-Platonism* and *Alethological Realism*.

The volume is dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University.

Scientific Editors: **Cornelia B. Horn**  
**Basil Lourie**

On the cover there is a portrait sketch of **Niko Pirosmani (Nikala)** by Pablo **Picasso**. One of the most influential artists of modernity was never personally acquainted with the early XX century Georgian primitivist painter, but he knew his works. Pirosmani posthumously rose to prominence.

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# CONTENTS

<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	7
<b>Editorial Preface</b> .....	8
<b>In Lieu of an Introduction</b> .....	11
<b>1. Ioane Petritsi and Georgian Neoplatonism</b> .....	20
<b>2. Rustaveli, who was this man?!</b> .....	26
<b>3. Early Modern Philosophy – from the Midst of XVII to the Midst of XVIII Century</b> .....	30
<b>4. Alethological Realism and the Theory of Oriental Renaissance</b> .....	41
<b>5. Nietzsche in Georgia</b> .....	49
<b>6. An Appointment at Husserl’s House</b> .....	52
<b>7. Phenomenological-Existential Investigations</b> .....	55
<b>8. An Echo of the Linguistic Turn</b> .....	62
<b>9. Philosophical-Political Profiles</b> .....	67
<b>10. Philosophy of Religion and Mythos</b> .....	73
<b>11. In the Century of Deleuze</b> .....	77
<b>Epilogue - Do there still Exist Philosophers?!</b> .....	83
<b>Biographical Notes</b> .....	86
<b>References</b> .....	104



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## EDITORIAL PREFACE

**T**bilisi State University began as a philosophical project. In 1918, it was opened with a unique department that was the department of Philosophy, and the inaugurating lecture delivered by its founder, the renowned Georgian historian Ivane Javakishvili on January 30, 1918, was dedicated to a philosophical topic: “The Personality and its Role in the Old Georgian Historical and Philosophical Literature and Life”. The most famous Georgian philosopher of the epoch, Shalva Nutsubidze, was a member of the group of several scholars whose joint efforts resulted in the creation of the University.

This fact is revealing for appreciating the prestige of philosophical knowledge in Georgia not only in 1918, but also during a long period before this date. Already in the Middle Ages, the Georgians elaborated a taste for philosophy in an extent unusual for most national cultures and recognisable even against the Byzantine background.

Georgian intellectuals, including philosophers and authors of poetical or historical works impregnated with philosophical ideas, were normally working abroad: in Constantinople, in the Muslim-ruled Palestine, Mt. Athos, Bulgaria and Romania or, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in Russia and European countries, especially Germany. Some of them published their works in Greek or local languages, thus becoming part of non-Georgian cultures, without ceasing to be a part of the Ge-

orgian one as well. The case of such a scholar, Metropolitan of Bucharest in 1708-1716 Antim Ivireanul (Romanian for “Anthim the Iberian/Georgian”), alias Antimoz Iverieli, is dealt with in the present book. The fifth-century ascetic bishop of Georgian origin, Peter the Iberian, if he was indeed the author of the core of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* (as has been argued by Shalva Nutsubidze, Ernst Honigmann, Michel van Esbroeck, and the present author), returned to the Georgian culture only after having been translated from Greek into Georgian by Ephrem Mtsire in the eleventh century. About one century later, the *Corpus Areopagiticum* was referred to by Shota Rustaveli in his epic poem *The Knight in the Panther’s Skin*.

In rare cases, Georgian texts having philosophical importance were translated into other languages. Among these works, the most influential one was produced in the late tenth century by a Georgian bilingual (Georgian and Greek) monk Euthymius of Athos (Ekvtime Atoneli) when he was only about thirty years old. At this age, after having reworked the sources available to him in Georgian, he produced the Greek recension of the hagiographical romance *Barlaam and Joasaph*. His recension became most popular and was translated into Slavonic, Romanian, Latin, and vernacular languages of Western Europe. It was especially rich in philosophical parables, mostly of Indian origin, and became highly authoritative as an educational text for elaborating a Christian ascetic worldview.

Nevertheless, more often the world recognition of Georgian philosophical works was not so easy. The language barrier is the most striking but not the only cause why important

Georgian philosophical texts remain understudied. For instance, the study of the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi, a disciple of John Italos in Constantinople and, then, a resident of the Georgian Petritsoni Monastery in Bachkovo, Bulgaria, is so far partially hampered with the state of research of Petritsi's immediate and close contexts formed with the works of eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine philosophers. Historians of Byzantine philosophy only recently have started, in turn, to realise that they could not avoid studying Petritsi.

The *alethology* of Shalva Nutsbidze is another example of an important Georgian philosophical achievement that needs to be made more known to the world. An English translation of his philosophical works seems to be an urgent *desideratum*.

The present book is a short overview of the Georgian philosophical tradition. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it tries to convey an idea of an unusual fate and unusual face of Georgian philosophy, to welcome foreign scholars to make a contribution into the study of its history and to collaborate with today's Georgian philosophers.

Basil Lourié

Editor-in-Chief

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## IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION

Can philosophy be divided into local epistemes? Perhaps philosophy can only be German or Greek, as Wilhelm Windelband considered, and it can be explored only from these two centres; or perhaps Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's assumption is true according to which wherever philosophy appears, deterritorialisation takes place. Philosophy as exchange of thoughts needs wandering interludes in different "territories". To think about the "geography of philosophy" became relevant after the paradigm of unified centre was disallowed. Therefore, we have preferred "philosophy in Georgia" over "Georgian philosophy". This implies redefining classical Greek and German systems in Georgia.

Georgia's cultural distance or closeness to Western Europe is nowhere more evident than in the movement of philosophical thought in Georgia that has a millennial history. Even in this local space it becomes apparent how Neoplatonic conceptual world was replaced by the one of transcendental idealism of modern Europe, or how classical German philosophical systems were replaced by the world of postmodern textuality.

The academic world knows Georgia by two names that designate its region: Colchis and Iberia/Iveria. Colchis was the utmost stronghold in the East of the ancient world. A well-known ancient Greek story tells us about the expedition of the

Argonauts to Colchis.<sup>1</sup> The southern boundary of the ancient world, the forerunner of contemporary Europe<sup>2</sup> was in Colchis, which was running along much of the river Phasis (now Rioni). Colchis was the country of king Aetes and his daughter, Medea, who later on married the Greek hero Jason. “Colchis” is a name of pagan Georgia.<sup>3</sup> According to the information provided by

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<sup>1</sup> For further information refer to the following works: Bacon Janet Ruth, *The Voyage of the Argonauts*. (London: Methuen, 1925); Elizabeth J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: the Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Braund, David *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia, 550 BC-AD 562*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Gordeziani, Rismag. *The World of Greek Mythology*. Argonauts: Tbilisi, “Logos”1999, 109-123.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting debate on this problem can be found in a monograph: Dundua, T. Pipia N. *Georgia and the Rest of the World – Making of Europe and Historical Forms of European Integration* (Tbilisi: TSU Press, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Greek sources from Homer to the authors of Byzantine period identify Georgia with Colchis. 1 "Εγω τεινον και αυτος, ω χρηστε νεανια, εν πολυ τουδε αφανεστερη χωριψ τους ρητορικους λογους ανεδρεφαμην , ουδε εν ημερω και "Ελληνι, αλλ εν τη εσχατια ου Ποντου πλησιον Φασιδος δτου? και την Αργω σωθεισαν εα θεσσαλιας ποιηταιτε εθανμασαν και ουρανος ανηρειφατο εχει δε που και ο θερμωδων και τα Αμαζονων εργα και το θεμισαυριον....Ηνεινου συ παντωσ και αφρονησεις, οτι την θρουνημενη φιλοσοφιαν τηδε? που και αυτος συνελεξατο, εμου δε ισως και πολυ μαλλον, ατε οιασθεν και αφ εστιας τα οργια τελεσθεντος. See in detail in Urushadze, Akaki. *Ancient Colchis in the story of Argonauts*. (Tbilisi: Publishing House “Ganatleba” 1964); “The Argonautica” by Apollonius of Rhodes is one of the oldest Greek sources where we can find the name “Colchis “. Apollonius of Rhodes describes an ancient kingdom and region on the coast of the Black Sea, populated by Colchians, an early Georgian/Kartvelian tribes; he

Herodotus, the boundary between Asia and Europe was believed to be the Colchian river Phasis (IV; 45). The mythical characters associated with Colchis personify these links. According to some sources, Aeetes came to Colchis from Ephira, a historical part of Greece; one of his sisters, Pasiphae, is the wife of the legendary king of Crete, Minos, whereas his other sister, sorceress Circe, migrated to Italy and became the eponymous mother of a number of Italian tribes. Medea first went to Hellas and afterwards returned together with her son, Medos, which likewise reflects the ties (Gordeziani, 2010-2011: 252).

In 327 CE, Christianity was announced as an official state religion in Iveria. During late antiquity, Iveria was the name of the Eastern kingdom of Georgia.<sup>4</sup> According to the Christian tradition, the first Christian communities,<sup>5</sup> founded by the apostle Andrew and Simon the Zealot/Cananaeus, took up residence in Georgia. The first Christian King Mirian III of Iberia

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also noted Colchis capital Kutaisi, king Aeetes and princess Medea. In: Apollonius of Rhodes, "The Argonautica". Translated into Georgian and commented by Akaki Urushadze, Tbilisi: Publishing House "Ganatleba", 1972, 247-49 (in Georgian).

<sup>4</sup> For clarifying this statement see: Tyannius Rufinus. "References of Byzantine Writers about Georgia" in GEORGICA. Vol. I. Texts with Georgian translation and comments are done by A. Gamkrelidze and S. Kaukhchishvili (Tbilisi: Publishing House "Metsniereba", 1961, 201). Rufinus said that "at that time the Iberian tribes (*iberorum gens*) who lived on Ponto's side adopted God's commandments, laws and belief in eternal life".

<sup>5</sup> Adamia, Tamar. *The Apostles Andrew and Matthias' Activities in Georgia* (according to Georgian, Greek and Latin sources) in the journal "Religion", issue 3:2013, 12-20 (in Georgian).

replanted a Byzantine mode of Christian state into his country<sup>6</sup> and opposed to Persia and some other countries. Consequently, the Georgian Church entered the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox World Patriarchy.” The terms “Georgia” and “Iveria/Iberia” coexisted until the 19<sup>th</sup> century in various sources and documents. With Mirian’s decision to accept Christianity as the state religion of his country, pagan Georgia – Colchis, symbolically ceased to exist; even in historical sources we cannot find the term “Colchis”; from then on, Colchis, the so-called “The Old Israel”, becomes “The New Israel” – “Holy Iberia”<sup>7</sup> a stronghold of ancient and Byzantine civilisations, of the European-Christian world in the East.

As Shalva Nutsbidze rightly noted: “The difference between the economic life of Eastern Georgia (Iberia) and Western Georgia (Colchis) was necessarily reflected in the ideological-cultural life of both parts of Georgia and one cannot ignore this difference. Of course, there were similarities and differences between the content of philosophical thought in Colchis and Iberia (IV-V centuries), but this was defined both by the character of the antique philosophical heritage and by the environment in which this heritage was adopted.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Lomouri, Nodar. *Relations between Georgia and the Byzantine Empire*. Part I (4<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries) Tbilisi: TSU Press, 2011, 85-90).

<sup>7</sup> This term can be found in Georgian hagiographical literature. See, e.g. tenth century authors: Giorgi Merchule and Ioane-Zosime. They called Iveria – “Holy”, because it “has given birth to Saints”.

<sup>8</sup> Shalva Nutsbidze, *The Mystery of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*, translated by Levan Gigineishvili, TSU Press, 2013, p. 19.

The idea of existence of a “Georgian Philosophical School” emerged in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and right away became a subject for debate. In Judeo-Christian Scriptures, “philosophy” is referred to as “Hellenic wisdom.” Heidegger thought that philosophy is the “Greek order of thinking”, the renewal of which occurred in more modern-day Europe, namely, in classical German Idealism. In the nineteenth century, philosophy once more experienced a period of modernisation. This process continued through the establishment of a number of well-known philosophical schools in the course of the twentieth century.

As for Georgia, on the basis of ancient sources<sup>9</sup> we could argue that as early as in the fourth century CE, there existed a philosophical school in Colchis, at the Black Sea. This was the so-called Pazisi Academy, a philosophical school that had a wide reach, with participants coming from very distant parts of the Hellenic world. This information may support the idea that “Georgian philosophy” has a history of at least sixteen hundred years. The Pazisi Academy may have been a Greek school founded in the Greek colony, Colchis.

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<sup>9</sup> See, e.g. *Themistius* (317-388) in one of his orations (XXVII) answers a young provincial that “near the river Phasis, where the Argonauts came to Colchis, is the perfect school of rhetoric and also “the school of Muses”. References of Byzantine writers about Georgia can be consulted in GEORGICA. Vol. I. Texts with Georgian translation and comments are compiled by A. Gamkrelidze and S. Kaukhchishvili Tbilisi: Publishing House “Ganatleba”, 1961: 50-51.



While we speak about “Georgian philosophy”, we think of the movements and articulations of philosophical thought in the form of cultural and linguistic expressions in Georgian. We cannot understand the Georgian philosophical expression as being a mere spectator of the European main center, as being the one keeping to “European standards”. Instead, it appears as an independent player, a figure on a chess desk of the world of philosophy.

According to this criterion, it is thought that Georgia twice had an opportunity to become a player in the game of world philosophy. For the first time, the opportunity arose at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the Georgian philosopher Joane Petritsi, upon the invitation of the Byzantines, arrived in Georgia to deliver lectures at Gelati Academy.<sup>10</sup> Here he developed an original version of Christian Neoplatonism. His conception was a reasoned response to the challenges of that epoch.

One of the central figures of Romanian and Georgian cultures, “a great person of the epoch of [the] Enlightenment and a great

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<sup>10</sup> Gelati Academy was founded in a medieval monastic complex in one of the West Georgian regions in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Historically, Gelati was one of the main cultural and intellectual centers in Georgia. The Academy employed some of the most celebrated Georgian scientists, theologians and philosophers, many of whom had previously been active at various Orthodox monasteries abroad. Among the scientists, scholars were also celebrated. Due to the extensive work carried out by the Gelati Academy, people of the time called it “a new Hellas” and “a second Athos”.

humanist”<sup>11</sup> is Saint Anthim the Iberian, (1660-1716). Beginning from 1699, his books published in the printing house founded by him in All Saints Monastery in Bucharest are signed as Anthim Iverianul. Following his ecclesiastical name, *Anthim*, he placed the name of his home country, Iberia.<sup>12</sup> In effect, he used a name-symbol.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while still being a doctoral student in Germany, the philosopher Shalva Nutsbidze established an original line of philosophical thinking, which was called *Alethological Realism* (Begiashvili, 1980: 219-220).

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<sup>11</sup> Recently, on this specific concern, a group of Georgian philosophers developed a well precise and rigorous analysis. In: Zakaria-dze, A. Brachuli, I. and others (2016). *Anthim Iverianul and European Enlightenment*. Tbilisi: “Dobera” Press (in Georgian).

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the name Iberian appeared in V century. Peter - a Georgian theologian and philosopher of early Christianity, was named Iberian. Peter the Iberian is known as one of the founders of the Christian Neoplatonism. Some scientists have claimed that he is the author of the works written under the pen name Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. See: Nutsbidze, Shalva. *The Mystery of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite* (monograph), Tbilisi, 1942; Shalva Nutsbidze. *Peter the Iberian and problems of Areopagitics*. - Proceedings of Tbilisi State University, vol. 65, Tbilisi, 1957 (Russian), E. Honigmann, *Pierre l’Iberian et les ecrits du Pseudo-Denys l’Areopagita*. Bruxelles, 1952. For further reading on the theme are suggested: Horn, Cornelia B and Phenix, Robert R, (2008), *The Lives of Peter the Iberian. Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*. Society of Biblical Lit.; David Marshall Lang, “*Peter the Iberian and His Biographers*”. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2 (1951), pp 156-168, A. Kofsky. “Peter the Iberian and the Question of the Holy Places,” *Cathedra* 91: 1999, pp. 79-96 (Hebrew).

The main secret of “Postmodern condition” is that progress here conceals within itself antiprogress. According to the Enlightenment philosophy, all development tendencies claim to be progressive, while actually extremely anti-progressive tendencies hide behind this “external appearance”. Precisely these literary and philosophical texts expressing such ambiguity can be called “postmodern”.

The term “postmodern” implies novations in the human condition of the world and corresponding novation strategies in cognition. Infinite possibilities of playing freely with polyphonic configurations within organized semantic space (discourse) can be regarded as a characteristic of this “condition”.

Works created according to the postmodernist strategy appeared in Georgian literature at the end of the twentieth century. Among them are the novels of Guram Dochanashvili, Jemal Karchkhadze and Aka Morchiladze, Besik Kharanauli’s poetry, etc.<sup>13</sup> They depicted the forceful process of semiotisation of modern man, which also penetrated into Georgian linguistic and existential dimensions. Similar developments occurred in Georgian cinematography,

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<sup>13</sup> However, the Georgian creative world started discussing Postmodernism only at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is an apparent trend that ongoing literature processes are not discussed as a whole in literary studies. They are discussed as an outstanding event of the literary world, though obscurely and superficially. Some interesting studies are being conducted in this direction. See, e.g. a thesis “Postmodernist Trends in the Modern Georgian Novel” recently defended by a young researcher Sophio Dzneladze.

pictorial art, music and theatre. Universally renowned plays staged by the theatre director Robert Sturua are especially noteworthy: the performances of Bertolt Brecht's "The Caucasian Chalk Circle" and Shakespeare's "Richard III". A new integral paradigm of poetic language created by Galaktion Tabidze in the first half of the twentieth century that echoed the aesthetics of French Symbolism (in particular, the poetry of Charles Baudelaire and Paul Verlaine) may be regarded as a prerequisite to this process ("I often recall Verlaine, like my perished father" – such lines appear in one of Galaktion's best poems). Galaktion called this new type of lyric "Poetic Integrals". Shota Rustaveli, Vazha-Pshavela and Galaktion Tabidze are behind the "scenes" of Georgian philosophy. Exactly this backstage plays the role of x-rays when examining the phenomenological codes of Franz Kafka, James Joyce, Thomas Mann, William Faulkner, Marcel Proust and Jorge Luis Borges. With specific regard to philosophical "backstage", here we have three great "prompters": Nietzsche, Husserl and Heidegger. In poststructuralist theories of the latest wave, "textuality" becomes a global philosophical category. The concept "Ontotext" introduced by Givi Margvelashvili, as well as the intertexts of his "Leben im Ontotext", is a response to that. Reference should also be made to the intensive use of psychoanalytic technique in Merab Mamardashvili's "Cartesian Reflections" and, finally, the particular style of Gilles Deleuze's texts and metatexts created by François Zourabichvili, which is one of the dominant themes in contemporary philosophical investigations.

Mamardashvili gave precedence to the spread of thought in the stereo space of speech over writing. Most of his books were written by transcribing audio recordings of his lectures, while the intonations of his philosophical speech are barely reflected in the texts. He had never been a systematic narrator of a certain “great text”. He conducted master classes in the initiation at the “intensity points” of thought. He created figures of constant returns with Kant, Descartes, Proust and Kafka. Mamardashvili demonstrated a module of the life of the mind. François Zourabichvili also pointed out that the mind is not reliant on its origin. A philosophy of mind is determined by pure event (l'événement), beyond its possible totalisation. Both Merab Mamardashvili's and François Zourabichvili's works bear clear signs of the “non-classical rationality”, the “palimpsestic” manner of philosophical speech and rule.

## 1. IOANE PETRITSI AND GEORGIAN NEOPLATONISM

**A**ncient philosophy continued its existence in the deepest layers of Byzantine theology. Joane Petritsi aimed to build up a Georgian conceptual system which would be equal to the Greek philosophical terminology, translated into Georgian, so to say. He developed the basic philosophical concepts of *Logos*, *cosmos*, *noema*, *nous*, *psyche*, *anima*, *ethos*, *theos*, *Aletheia*, *dianoia*, *gnosis*, etc., in Georgian. Joane Petritsi translated Proclus Diadoc-

hus’ “The Elements of Theology”, supplying it with comments. These comments articulate an original conception of philosophy.<sup>14</sup> Levan Gigineishvili, while discussing the features of Petritsi’s translation of Proclus’ “Elements of Theology” (Gigineishvili: 2013. 172-180), notes that Petrizi usually tries to follow the Greek text with maximum, even mirror exactitude. “However, there are cases of divergences and rather serious at times. Those are occasionally conditioned evidently by a flawed Greek manuscript: there are cases when Petritsi apparently does not follow the meaning implied by Proclus’ and introduces his own. The last instance can be conditioned by different reasons; a) Petritsi fails to understand Proclus; b) Petritsi understands Proclus, but changes the Greek philosopher’s meaning due to his own philosophical-theological agenda.” (Gigineishvili, 2013: 179). Gigineishvili discusses different concrete instances and tries to establish certain regularities.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For further reading: L. Alexidze, *Ioane Petritsi und die antike Philosophie* (Tbilisi: TSU Press, 2008); Alexidze Lela & Lutz Bergemann, *Ioane Petritsi. Kommentar zur Elementatio theologica des Proklos* (Amsterdam, 2009); B. Grüner, G. Levan, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi* (Gorgias Press, 2007); Gigineishvili Levan, *The harmonization of Neo-Platonism and Christianity in the Gelati Monastic School, Annual of Medieval Studies at the Central European University for 1994-1995* (Budapest: Annual of Medieval Studies at the Central European University for 1994-1996, p. 124-139; Iremadze Tengiz, *Ioane Petrizi*. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2006, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/joane-petrizi/> edited in 2011).

<sup>15</sup> On commentative method of Ioane Petritsi also see Tengiz Iremadze, *Konzeptionen des Denken im Neuplatonismus, Zur Rezeption*

During Petritsi's time, comments were the most widespread genre of philosophizing (Ioane Petritsi; 1937, 9-165). Petritsi's version of Neoplatonism deeply influenced Georgian culture. A vivid example of this influence is Shota Rustaveli's philosophical poem "The Knight in the Panther's Skin," a masterpiece created during the early Renaissance period (Nutsubidze Sh., v. VII: 19, 85).

Researches undertaken by Georgian theologians and writers of the eighteenth century (Catholicos Anton, Zakaria Gabashvili, David Aleksidze-Meskhishvili "the Rector" and others) and outstanding linguists and philosophers of the twentieth century (between the twenties and sixties) (Nicholas Marr, Korneli Kekelidze, Shalva Nutsubidze) established a scientific and religious tradition according to which the person who translated Nemesius of Emesa's "De Natura Hominis" and Proclus Diadochos's "Elementatio Theologica" into Georgian, lived in the second half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century (during the reign of King David IV the Builder). It was Ioane Petritsi – the founder and the Rector of Gelati Academy and the Institutor of the so-called Great Theological School. In his famous afterword to his comments, Ioane Petritsi mentions a certain David, without whose help and support he would have been unable to revive philosophy in Georgia. This person is traditionally accepted as David IV. According to the alternative assumption, it can also imply the biblical King David, to whom

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*der Proklischen philosophie im deitchen und georgischen Mittelalter.* Bohumen Studien zur philosophie. Amsterdam. 2004, p. 53-58.

the authorship of the Palms is ascribed. The Reverend Ephraim the Minor, who translated the *Corpus Aeropagiticum* into Georgian, thus writes in his will: “Offer up your prayers to God, Christ’s Lovers, for Ioane, the divine philosopher and grammarian by profession, because I confess, unless he had been my mentor and helper, I wouldn’t even dare to look at the sun-like brilliance of this book (i.e. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite’s treatise). “The Divine Philosopher Ioane” mentioned herein was accepted as Petritsi. According to the later established tradition, Ioane Petritsi was a tutor of Ephraim the Minor and the principal consultant of the project of translating the *Corpus Aeropagiticum* into Georgian.

A new generation of researchers tries to restart researches concerning the deeds of Ioane Petritsi on the basis of linguistic and culturological investigations of ancient Georgian theological-philosophical texts.

Researchers influenced by Shalva Nutsubidze consider that the “Divine Philosopher” is the academic title of Ioane Petritsi that was given to him at Mangana Academy in Constantinople, presumably by Johannes Italus and the Byzantine philosophers of his circle. The other part does not share this view and thinks that the “Divine Philosopher” is just an epithet that had been frequently applied by Christian theologians since the fourth century. For this reason, this term does not refer to an academic degree or scientific qualification. Edisher Chelidze concludes on the basis of terminological and stylistic analysis that “the



Georgian translation of the Areopagite's works does not bear even the slightest resemblance to the Petritsian terminology. Quite the contrary, there is an insurmountable opposition of fixed terminological structures between Petritsi's works and the above-mentioned translation (Chelidze: 1994, 113-127). The same researcher bases himself on the fact provided by *Ephraim the Minor* himself that he was particularly consulted by the philosophers of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Patriarch John VIII himself. Hence John VIII, a Patriarch of Jerusalem (not Ioane Petritsi who was a further step in the development of "Gelati Theological School") should be considered the tutor of Ephraim the Minor.

Ioane Petritsi was influenced by both Aristotle and Plato. With regard to the questions of metaphysics (theology), he always gave precedence to "Divine Plato and his "Apostle" Proclus", but when it came to logic and physics, he was basing himself on Aristotle's and Peripatetics' works. In his famous "Epilogue", Ioane Petritsi noted: "Unless the envy and hostility had stood in my way, I would have followed in Aristotle's footsteps [i.e. developed Georgian philosophical terminology and systems in conformity with Aristotelian precision and accuracy]". While theology (metaphysics) he imagined beyond the laws of physics ("untouched by matter"). It is possible that Petritsi regarded Plato's dialogues as well as Orphic hymns and city oracles as sacred scriptures, while Aristotle's works he considered profane (secular) texts.

In order to make the trinitarian interpretation of the nature of God, Petritsi refers to Plato (“the Myrrh of Theology”) and Proclus who is the most important philosopher for him after Plato. The researchers of the “Petritsian style” point out that the great Georgian philosopher “knew by heart nearly all Plato’s dialogues, particularly “Parmenides” and “Timaeus”, so he could recite them from memory and Proclus’ commentaries on Plato’s dialogues as well. He included colloquial and artistic elements in his philosophical texts. He invented new terms and syntactic constructions under the influence of the Greek original. The whole complex of these descriptive means created a particular style of Petritsi’s philosophical works (Melikishvili, 1999: LXXV).

What are the prospects for Petritsology (the branch of philosophy studying Ioane Petritsi’s works)? A researcher of ancient philosophical sources of the Petritsian texts notes that it is “absolutely impossible to exhaust the subject”. There are several issues that should be thoroughly considered in the future: 1. The correlation of Petritsi’s works to Byzantine philosophy should be determined. 2. The reception of Petritsi’s Neoplatonism in the context of medieval Western and Arab philosophers should be determined. 3. Petritsi’s philosophy should be considered in the context of the Western Renaissance and Byzantine Humanism (the question should be discussed on the basis of the reception of antiquity). 4. Petritsi’s philosophy should be considered in the overall context of the history of ideas. 5. The accuracy of Petrit-

si's translation should be assessed in terms of the restoration of the authentic original. The one hundred and twenty-ninth chapter of the Georgian translation of Proclus' "Elementatio Theologica" is lacking in all presently known manuscripts of the treatise (Lela Alexidze, "Ioane Petritsi and Ancient Greek Philosophy", 2008). The main task ahead is to engage in hermeneutic dialogue with Petritsi's philosophy.

## 2. RUSTAVELI, WHO WAS THIS MAN?!

**N**icholas (Niko) Marr, one of the eminent linguists of the twentieth century, in his work "Ioane Petritsi, the Georgian Neo-Platonist of the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries" suggested that in Rustaveli's poem "The Knight in the Panther's Skin" Neoplatonic ideas are used. Subsequently, a vast amount of literature was produced on this subject, among others, by the authors who knew Rustaveli's poem only through translations. This was due to the fact that in studying medieval and Renaissance philosophy and theology, Western traditions predominantly prevailed. Philosophical thought preserved in the Eastern Christendom had been neglected. This was also supported by the alienation between the Greek and Latin Churches and, accordingly, by the peculiarities of Greek and Latin texts and contexts that subsequently appeared.

Shalva Nutsbidze in his work "Rustaveli and the Eastern Renaissance" (1946) proposed a concept, according to which Rus-

taveli's poem – a founding text of the early Renaissance and humanism – was inspired directly by Georgian Neoplatonism.

One hundred years after the publication of Marr's above-mentioned work, Umberto Eco published an article entitled "Rustaveli, chi era costui?" (<http://espresso.repubblica.it/opinioni/labustina-di-minerva/2010/11/26/news/rustaveli-chi-era-costui-1.26172>). According to the author, nowadays the question of inclusion in the treasure house of world literature became even more complicated: "How will we reach the level of education relevant to globalization when ninety-nine percent of the educated Europeans don't even know who the greatest Georgian poet throughout history is".

Umberto Eco considers Rustaveli's poem within the global context of world literature, though, according to him: "We, Europeans, can't even agree (check on the internet) whether the main character of the poem written in an unintelligible script wears a panther's skin or tiger's or leopard's? And we keep asking ourselves: "Rustaveli, who was he?"

So what caught the attention of Umberto Eco – a great theorist and practitioner of Postmodernism – about Shota Rustaveli, who is considered to be an adherent of Plato's philosophy? When it comes to the "Platonic views" of Ioane Petritsi and Shota Rustaveli, the term "Platonism" should be understood in a broad sense. Plato's texts offer an opportunity to replace one of his paradigms with another. Plato's dialogues themselves hint at the ways to overturn a Platonic figure, his "Theatrum

philosophicum”. For both Ioane Petritsi and Shota Rustaveli, Platonism is not the ontology of forms (eidos) based on the rejection of differences. Ioane Petritsi was influenced by both Plato and Aristotle. When it came to metaphysics (theology), he gave precedence to Plato (and his successor Proclus Diadochus); while with regard to logic and physics, he was basing himself on Aristotle’s works. In the famous epilogue to his “Commentaries” Ioane Petritsi says: “unless jealousy and hostility had hindered me, I could have been “like Aristotle” – i.e. to organize the philosophical terms (categories) of the Georgian language with an Aristotelian precision, and to present theology (metaphysics) beyond the physical laws.

Ioane Petritsi’s concept is close to that of the Areopagite on the unity of God, the world and mankind. As soon as the main philosophical question is raised, the interrelations between unity and similarity, difference and dissimilarity come out. The ontological basis of unity and similarity in the *Corpus Areopagiticum* is expressed in words “all in all” (1 Corinthians 15:28), while the starting point of dissimilarities and differences is the moment of negation to the prime cause. Apophatic (negative) dialectics and mystical theology derive from that. In Rustaveli’s poem God’s name is mentioned seven hundred times, although there is no mention of God of a certain positive religion. It can be said that the concept of God is used in a philosophical sense that gives rise to a number of questions. It was suggested that Rustaveli teeters between monotheism and panthe-

ism (Ivane Javakhishvili, a prominent Georgian historian). According to another view, Rustaveli's philosophy can be called a "dynamic emanative pantheism" (Shalva Khidasheli, a researcher of Georgian philosophy). A pantheistic interpretation of Areopagite's teaching is rejected by the Eastern Christian tradition from Maximus the Confessor to Andrew Louth, John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon, John Meyendorff, Ioannis Foundoulis, Nikolay Lossky and others.

It is not entirely clear what pantheism means when it applies to Georgian Neoplatonism and Rustaveli. This makes the pantheistic theory completely doubtful in this context and discussions thereon – irrelevant. The term "coincidentia oppositorum" introduced into Western philosophy by Nicholas of Cusa, which can express the paradox of the indefinable nature of God, makes Rustaveli's concepts clearer.

The basic idea of Rustaveli's poem – virtue monism – is expressed in the line: "Good hath overcome ill; the essence of good is lasting". This concept is expressed through the main plot of the poem. Tariel's (the wearer of the panther's skin) beloved, Princess Nestan-Darejan is kidnapped by the demonic creatures ("Kadjis"). After many adventures, with the assistance of his friends, Tariel destroys the evil monsters' city, sets his beloved free and harmony is restored in the world. The eschatology of "The Knight in the Panther's Skin" differs from that of fairy tales, myths, utopia or trivial theological eschatology. In Rustaveli's case virtue monism encompasses the fundamen-

tal polyphony of being. The main constructs of the text include the possibility of their self-deconstruction. For instance, the closed construct of the monsters (“Kadjis”) opens. Its metamorphosis reveals that the monsters “are also humans”, exclusive of practicing sorcery. Princess Nestan-Darejan’s aunt and teacher, Davar is also a Kadji. Nestan-Darejan herself was “exalted” by love that prevented her from becoming a monster. The monsters’ city was destroyed, but this would appear to be a non-closed narrative. As it turns out, during the storming the monsters themselves were out of the city. Consequently, only the city’s military garrison was destroyed. Where are the monsters themselves? Perhaps they are among and even within us?! Such powers came to the surface that they can never be brought back to the Platonic world of Ideas (or Forms).<sup>16</sup>

### 3. EARLY MODERN PHILOSOPHY – FROM THE MIDST OF XVII TO THE MIDST OF XVIII CENTURY

The short description offered here presents a summary of the symbolic content of the term “Iverianul” as it shaped and manifested itself in the formation process of Anthim’s identity from his childhood (Zakariadze & others 2016, 14-56). The researchers of Anthim’s heritage cannot fix the exact dates of young Anthim’s

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<sup>16</sup> Venor Qvachakhia “The Mystery of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’ or Rustaveli’s Testament”, 2004.

capture in Georgia, which coincides with his unfortunate selling as a slave on Constantinople's slave bazaar, as well as with his encounter with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos Notara, who liberated him and encouraged him to become a monk. In Jerusalem, where he worked as an *ekonomos* of the Savior's Temple, started his Christian service. What we documentarily know is the date of his arrival in Wallachia – 1689. An official note declared that in that year he became an archpriest of a monastery in Wallachia.<sup>17</sup>

When he began his activities in Romania, he saw this country as a stronghold of Europe, as a part of the Christian *Universe* in the Balkans, as a country that is proud of its Romanian roots (Eliade, 2014: 62-63).

Christianity was a product of ancient civilisations. One of these civilizations was Greek, which, to a noticeably large extent, was characterized by its concern for and commitment to philosophy. Christianity contributed to renewing and reshaping this

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<sup>17</sup> For further reading are recommended the following books: Emile Picot, *Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, metropolitaine de Valachie*, în: *Nouveaux Melanges Orientaux*. (Paris, 1986: 513-560); Constantin Noica, *Modelul cultural European* (București: Humanitas, 1983); Gabriel Ștrempel, "Un cronograf ilustrat, atribuit mitropolitului Antim Ivireanul", în: *Romano slavica*, anul XIII, 1966: 309-353; Gabriel Ștrempel, *Antim Ivireanul* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 1997), Mihail Stanciu, "Consideratii despre originea Sfântului Antim Ivireanul", *Ortodoxia*, 2012/Issue 3, Mihail Stanciu, "Descoperiri recente referitoare la venirea Sfântului Antim Ivireanul in Tarile Romănesti", *Ortodoxia*, 2014: Issue1).



civilization, moving it forward towards a new level of spirituality and morality. The harmonious unity of faith and knowledge, Jerusalem and Athens, might be regarded as the ideal model of the world. Two strongholds of this unity are Georgia in the East and Romania in the Balkans. St. Anthim's name, Iverianul, expresses this conceptual position.

The example of Anthim the Iberian, of a man of thinking and writing, who was committed to his country of origin, serves well as a characterization of the essence and tendencies of learning and the investigation of philosophical thought in Georgia.

Anthim the Iberian was entirely involved in Europe's cultural, religious and political context. He realises the tendencies of European development thoroughly. Being Georgian by origin, he does not feel alien in Europe neither in terms of religion not intellectually. Noteworthy and extremely significant is Anthim's work for Romanian and Georgian cultural areas. Anthim's philosophical-theological, educational, secular and religious works, as well as his creative work, are extremely important philosophically and theologically and also, culturally and historically as they throw a new light onto the development of Georgian theological and philosophical thought. Owing to him, Georgian theological thinking starts to involve in the historical, cultural and speculative spheres of Europe. Anthim the Iberian represents an example of a successful dialogue between cultures. Scholars used to call him an "unrivalled teacher of repentance and philanthropy". The wise hierarch and good celebrant, the scholar gifted

in the fine arts and the art of printing, Anthim the Iberian is one of the most glorious Orthodox Christian theologians.<sup>18</sup>

The researchers<sup>19</sup> who have closely studied the qualities of the Romanian language used by Anthim consider him, together with some other Romanian scholars, as a founder of the Romanian liturgical and literary language. Printing activity in Greek, Georgian, Slavonic, Bulgarian, Serbian and Arabic languages – the Orthodox peoples’ languages conquered by the Turks, became the principal work of strengthening the persecuted Church in Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor. In that area, gangs of local robbers often organized raids to capture people for selling

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<sup>18</sup> In his research Archimandrite Mihail Stanciu (Stanchiu (2017:37) calls Saint Anthim a “pillar of orthodoxy”, similar to the Church teachers of the golden century (IV) of Christian theology.

<sup>19</sup> Nanu, Ion “A monument of religious art: Founded by Metropolitan Anthim the Iberian”, in: journal *BOR* # 3-4 / 1961, Păcurariu, Mircea (1994). “*A new saint of our Church, Metropolitan Anthim the Iberian*”. In: Romanian Hagiographic Anthology, publisher Metropolitan of Oltenia, Craiova. pp. 211-214; Picioruș, Gianina (2010), *Anthim the Iberian, Literary Avant-garde to Paradise*, Publisher Teologie pentru azi, Bucharest, Serbanescu, Nicolae “*Anthim the Iberian, typographer*” in *BOR* (Romanian Orthodox Church) magazine, # 8-9/1956, pp.701-749.; Popescu, Mihail-Gabriel (1969), *Metropolitan Antim the Iberian of Wallachia, ruler of church and preacher of the gospel*. Doctoral thesis, Bucharest; Stempel, Gabriel (2010), Introduction to the volume *Anthim the Iberian, Homilies*, ed. Basilica, Bucharest; Zakariadze A., Brachuli, I. and others (2016), *Anthim Iverianul - Georgian-European Dialogue*. Tbilisi: Dobera Ltd, Georgia and the European World – Philosophical-Cultural Dialogue. (2009), vol. I, Tbilisi: TSU Press. Georgia and the European World – Philosophical-Cultural Dialogue (2017). Vol. II, Tbilisi: TSU Press.

them to Turks for various Ottoman dignitaries. Anton Maria Del Chiaro<sup>20</sup> states that Anthim was “a slave in his youth” (Chiaro, 1929:67) and his disciple Michael Ishtvanovich mentions the same fact<sup>21</sup>. Patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem released him from captivity, took him as a disciple, tonsured him into monk with the name Anthim (Gr. Άνθιμος means blooming) and gave the vows to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem<sup>22</sup> and was ordained hieromonk by Patriarch Dositheus Notara, who sent him to Wallachia for fulfilling his plan to defend Orthodoxy, by printing religious and Christian cultural books issued in different languages: Greek, Romanian, Old Slavonic; also bilingual: Slavo-Romanian, Greco-Arabic, Greco-Romanian, and in three languages Greek-Old Slavonic-Romanian.<sup>23</sup> Bucharest had then become the “centre of Orthodoxy, from where

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<sup>20</sup> Anton-Maria Del Chiaro is the author of a book on the history of Wallachia of his time, called *Istoria delle modern rivoluzioni della Valachia* (“History of Modern Revolutions of Walachia”), dedicated to Pope Clement XI, written in Italian and printed in Venice in 1718.

<sup>21</sup> *Evhologhion or Molitvenic*, vol. I și II, Râmnic, 1706, Romanian Academy Library, Romanian Ancient Book Fund, quote 150A, f. 2v - 3.

<sup>22</sup> Hieromonk Michael Stanchiu noted that it is a credible hypothesis, because at the end of life, Anthim was sentenced by the Metropolitan Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to exile for life at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which legally belonged to the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre (Stanchiu, 2017: 37).

<sup>23</sup> Michael Ishtvanovich stated in the foreword of the *Evhologhion* book in 1706: “Here in our country, unlike the Egyptian Pharaoh but gentle as King David, I say, the enlightened and His Highness our Master and Lord, Ioann Constandin BB Voevod, getting to know you and seeing your love for God and your sharp mind, he found you devoted and skilful ...” (Saint Anthim the Iberian, *Letters*, 54-55).

books could be sent both to Greece and to the south or east Slavic area or to East Orthodox Greek, Arabian and Georgian land” (Picioruș, 2010: 739).

Anthim’s writings<sup>24</sup> are an example of synthesis of theological and secular culture. All these texts are of great importance. They show us a rare philosophical-religious paradigm of modern times. His philosophical-religious reflections overlap essential forms of human’s religious existence. In Anthim’s heritage can be observed a trace of Georgian philosophical-theological traditions. It is noteworthy that the Georgian theological mind chose to translate Saint Basil’s “Ethics”. Ekvtim from Athon/Euthymius the Athonite translated this work wholly and did it so masterly that the ethical issues have since entered and organically established in Georgian thinking. The problems of “*Didahii*” and the attitude to these issues make us believe that for Anthim the version of Georgian philosophical view is basic. The main postulate with him sounds as follows: God created only the good. The good is unable to create the evil (in the Georgian tradition Anthim pursues the Petritsi, Areopagitic and Neo platonian line). With Rustaveli this postulate sounds as follows: “How can evil come of goodness?”

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<sup>24</sup> *Didahii, Ecclesiastical Teachings, Canon Chapters, Brief teaching on the mystery of repentance, Characters of the Old and New Testaments, Main commandments to all Church.* He composed a lyric book of Christian-political teachings for Prince. Other texts inherited from St. Anthim are *letters, forewords, afterwords and dedications* (often in verse) in the books he printed.

Admission of the substantial nature of Evil makes the perspectives of man's moral activity impossible. Anthim shares the conception of the origin of evil from freedom. Annihilation of evil depends on man. Anthim identifies Christ with goodness. He admits the conception of immanent value of behaviour and in this way indicates to its self-sufficiency. Man should seek for the cause of his evil in his own self. The cause of sins is in us, while the circumstances are impelling. The question of solving the matter of the free will of God's image is fundamental in Anthim's approach. Preliminary determination of the will, i.e. deprivation of the free will means taking away the will itself, and reduces man to the animal level. This deprives man of dignity and independence and he will not become a Christian. His argument sounds as such: if man had not owned his own will, he would not have become the image of God. It is His image which implies that man possesses the ability to comprehend and choose either good or evil, but the difference is in the fact that God, by His absolute wisdom, chooses only the good. Man chooses goodness, only in the case when he subjects all his abilities to the mind. The conceptual starting point of Anthim the Iberian is the principle of monism to goodness, which is also conditioned by the Georgian tradition rooted in theological, philosophical and secular literature of XI-XIII centuries. Representation of Anthim's heritage in contemporary educational area will help to renew the above mentioned traditions. The matter of special research is Anthim's practical work. As is known, monasteries have always represented im-

portant cultural centres. Anthim the Iberian's Monastery, within whose walls a school, a printing house and a public library used to function, is a merited continuer of this tradition. In his Monastery this tendency particularly actualized the monastic tradition of XVI-XVIII cc. Orthodox Church to be actively involved in people's social life.

Anthim the Iberian, as a cultural-political phenomenon, is an example of hermeneutic communication (interpretation, understanding and dialogue). This approach implies an attempt to involve one's own culture in the prevailing tendencies of the epoch, preserving the self-identity. Anthim the Iberian's activity represents an intellectual model of liberation from the dictate of one centre and one language.

It is noteworthy that Anthim the Iberian applied not only philosophical allegories, but also theological hermeneutics. It is clear that the allegoric interpretation of his Christian thinking is not a coercive apologetic tool; he possesses his own philosophical essentials. Anthim the Iberian seems to know that the views on Logos, or the Godly Essence as of the source of knowledge, which dominated in the philosophy of Antiquity and Neo-Platonism, required cardinal conversion. Referring to this primary source implied qualitative reformation of the worldview: the universe now is considered by means of the text that was not created on the basis of God's empirical or metaphysical cognition. Anthim's teaching about peculiar signs and structure of human's existence is based on Biblical anthropology. St.

Anthim in his “Didahii” gives us interpretation of fundamental principles and original comments on Biblical anthropology. There he gives original theologumena, which is an explication and demonstration of the information given implicitly in the “Bible”. By Anthim’s interpretation the principle of creation does not mean a nihilistic position towards man. Man has his peculiar place between God and the Universe. This place is “metaphysical”, which founded the value of man on ontological and axiological levels and which ascertains the necessity of “religion”. This is a conception of man and God’s Co-creation. Man essentially takes part in the formation of *ordo amoris*.

The ideas of Man, God and Universe are correlative. It is impossible to imagine “metaphysical” and “religious” forms of reflection without this correlation. Metaphysical and religious origins of man are structural elements of a person and his ethical life. A priori emotional acts – free will, love, goodness, responsibility, etc. – “love’s logic” makes a realisation of a potential person. A person according to St. Anthim is the sacral centre of Universe, “an icon of God”, in other words, the theomorphic centre, it is the centre of religiosity and sacrality. According to St. Anthim, “Persona” is neither an empty/hollow place, as it was thought by empirics, nor *animal rationale*, as it was thought by representatives of rationalism. A very important material about the relation of religion and metaphysics can be found in a sermon by Anthim about the elements.

“The skills of the logician and rigorist were, at that time, something new [in the Romanian cultural space, we add]. The profile of the Romanian author did not have such elements. Unfortunately, at Anthim, they asphyxiate somehow the visionary tendencies, the creative ability itself” (Negrici, 1971: 13). The same author also remarks “the correctness of the reasoning”, “the order of the deductions” and “the accuracy of the evidences” (Negrici, 1971: 14). In his research Constantin Stoenescu analyses the main argumentative structures used by Anthim Iverianul: the reasoning based on the derivation of a universal statement starting from a representative fact. A divine fact is described and a moral judgment is derived in the form of a parable; the comparison between the fact and the moral judgment which was accepted initially. This argumentative scheme is used so when the aim is to condemn the fact and classify it as a sign and also when the aim is to praise or to make a eulogy for a fact or attitude; the critical debate of different or opposed facts. In this case two different facts are described and the debate has to help us to choose one of them as good and to condemn the other. The criteria for those choices are derived from the Christian teachings, for example, from the Decalogue; the reasoning based on causal relations. In this case we have to connect different facts with the Christian faith. The aim is to argue that the believer will have the power to make good choices, while the sinner will not be able to find the right way. But if the sinner has the capacity to convert into a Christian, the sins will be forgiven; the argument of authority. Although this



argument has a sophistic nature, it is widely used. Some ideas or facts which are extracted from the Bible are used in a normative sense, as a dogma which is beyond any doubt.

Anton I of Georgia was a generous supporter of the Georgian Enlightenment, philosophical-theological thought and European orientation. He was the Catholicos-Patriarch of the Georgian Orthodox Church twice: in 1744-1755 and again in 1764-1788.

He supervised the establishment of a number of schools, which included the seminaries of Tbilisi and in the western region of Georgia – Kakheti. He personally directed the drafting of the curricula in these schools, wrote the textbooks and translated European treatises on physics, which he taught in seminaries. He was instrumental in reorganising the new ecclesiastical calendar, wrote original hymns and canons, and translated numerous Slavic Orthodox works into Georgian.

In 1769, Anton completed one of his greatest works named *Martirika* and began his long poetical study of the cultural history of Georgia. Under his guidance a new generation of Georgian artists, scientists and writers were produced. His scholarly activities left a deep imprint on the 18<sup>th</sup> century sciences in Georgia, especially on philosophy and literature.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> For further reading is recommended Mikaberidze, Alexander (2015). *Historical Dictionary of Georgia* (2 ed.). Rowman & Littlefield.

#### 4. ALETHOLOGICAL REALISM AND THE THEORY OF ORIENTAL RENAISSANCE

In 1918, upon the initiative of Shalva Nutsubidze, the first philosophical society named after Petritsi, the “Joane Petritsi Philosophical Society,” was founded in Tbilisi. The aim of the society was to restore the philosophical tradition that was lost in the preceding centuries. During Petritsi’s period, the language of philosophy was Greek; with the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, German philosophy took the leading position in the world. Neo-Kantian philosophical schools became predominant. In Europe, phenomenology and existentialism took their first steps. At that time, was needed a new system of articulating Georgian philosophical concepts, which would address topics that were also relevant in the wider realm of philosophy and could be equivalent to German philosophical concepts, such as *Geist*, *Sein*, *Dasein*, *Sosein*, *Werden*, *Wesen*, *Ursprung* and others.

Shalva Nutsubidze began to work in this direction. In his monographs “*Truth and the Structure of Cognition*” (Nutsubidze, 1926) and “*Philosophy and Wisdom*” (Nutsubidze, 1931) published in Berlin and Leipzig, Nutsubidze worked out the main principles of alethology. Its author called the original philosophical conception *Alethological Realism*. Alethology was placed somewhere midway between philosophy and what might be called wisdom.

Nutsubidze distinguished between “the truth for me” (*episteme*), “my truth” (*doxa*) and “the truth in itself”; this last one is an ontological reality. According to Nutsubidze, truth is not a state of empirical reality – but the Alethological one. Truth is not an attribute of thought; it is not a fixing of correspondence between knowledge and thing, but a state of reality as “the truth in itself”. Scientific knowledge is correspondence of “the truth in itself” as a reality and “the truth for me”. Thus, Nutsubidze argues that “the truth in itself” as a system of interrelation of reality became a system for me, i.e. “the truth for me.”

“Truth by itself” has three levels: “being” (*sein*), “thus-being” (*so-sein*) and “more-than-being” (*mehralsssein*). This last level is a sphere of non-relation. It is pre-logical and it is present in each creature. Nutsubidze insisted that such a higher being also *does* exist in itself and it is present within each empirical entity.<sup>26</sup> “Alethological reduction” is more than a form of logical conclusion. Alethological reduction leads us beyond the sphere of “relation” and content (*Inhaltlichkeit*) into “pre-logical”. In it reveals its peculiarity and difference from “eidetic reduction” of Husserl.

In discussing Georgian Neoplatonism and the poem “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin,” Nutsubidze established the comprehensi-

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<sup>26</sup> See in Iremadze, Tengiz (2008). *Der Aletheologische Realismus. Shalva Nutsubidze und seine neuen Denkansatre*. Tbilisi: Publishing House “Nekeri”; and in: Lourie, Basil (2013). *Possible Areopagitic Roots of Nutsubidze’s Philosophical Inspiration. Introduction*, in: “Philosophical-Theological Review” #3 /2013. pp. 56-61 Tbilisi: TSU Press.

ve conception of “Oriental Renaissance”. He presented the original theory in several studies: “Rustaveli and the Oriental Renaissance” (1947) and two volumes of his “History of Georgian Philosophy” (1956-58). Similar studies introduced Nutsbidze to the fifth-century mystical author known as Dionysius the Areopagite. Nutsbidze argued that this name was a pseudonym of Peter the Iberian. Peter the Iberian worked in Palestine and carried out highly important studies and performed scientific work in Greek. Scientists believed that all his works had already been lost. It is essential to conduct a special exploration to identify the connection between Alethological Realism and Peter’s Negative Philosophy. What is “Alethological Reduction”?

Nutsbidze says: “Not every being is being as a whole. In order to achieve being as such, it first must achieve existence. Here arises a complicated and multifaceted problem that can somehow clarify the inner state of being as a whole, existence and being as such and shed some light on the prospects. *Being as a whole* approaches *being as such* through struggles. It is a struggle for existence, *id est* a moment of transition of being as a whole into existence.”

There is a possibility of existence beyond this process that never achieves its being as such (das Sein), where it would stay forever. Being as a whole achieves existence, in order to be immediately thrown into another state. This moment Hegel referred to as Becoming (das Werden). Alethology significantly amends this concept.

There is no becoming of being as such. There is only becoming of being as a whole. Being as such cannot become, because everything becomes within it. It commits itself to the existence and as being as a whole reveals itself as determined being as such, actually becomes. Becoming cleaves its way from nonbeing towards determined being as such. Being as such cannot confront nonbeing (Nichtsein), since it is above meaningless confrontations. Nonbeing is a characterization of a state (Zustand), while being as such is the opening of “standing reserve” (Bestand).

Both in Hegel’s and Martin Heidegger’s works the question of Being is discussed through profound comparison. The thesis of Being is expressed through a special term of Alethology. Becoming has no beginning in Nonbeing, but without any beginning in an ongoing commitment to the existence. In alethological language, it is called a transition of definitum to perfectum through alethological circle. As soon as a thought sets foot in “the Truth Itself”, it is already close to the realm of wisdom (i.e. non-philosophical realm). At this height, philosophy disappears, to be revived in perceiving, everlasting truth (Nutsbidze, 242). “Das spezifisch menschliche” – this is overcoming, deliverance from human burden (overstepping, transcending). This does not mean its eradication, but gradual alienation and approach to “the Truth Itself”. The main difficulty of this approach and being a philosopher is to see beyond without going beyond the human condition. Alethology is a long way off. Philosophy has no direct (intuitional) way. As a philosopher, a human is a being from a faraway place (wesen der ferne).

Nutsubidze assumed that the field of alethological investigation can also be approached from the aesthetic point of view. Beauty, as well as truth, belongs to the realm of “more-than-being”. Nutsubidze devoted a special book to the alethological investigation of aesthetics. As it is explained by Shalva Nutsubidze, it is backwards to its initial. The “initial” is illogical and irrational. There we can make a direct analogy to the doctrine of Peter the Iberian, especially to his methodologies – apophatic and cataphatic. These two methods are the principal methods of the Renaissance period philosophy of the Humanity.

Thus, we can conclude that the studies of Shalva Nutsubidze have enormous importance not only in the field of epistemology, but also for understanding the features of Renaissance Humanism. There we should also pay special attention to one major point: in the research of Shalva Nutsubidze we can see the difference between the characters of early and late Humanism. Early Humanism is free of the lack of secularism and rationalism.

Alethology derives from the ancient Greek concept “aletheia”, the most common meaning of which is *disclosure*. The revival of this concept in the context of the critique of modern and contemporary German philosophy took place partly due to the task set in Georgia to revive the reception of Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, it held dim prospects in the twenties of the past century. Shalva Nutsubidze wrote in the preface of “The Introduction to Philosophy”: “The future generation will forgive us the murk that usually precedes the dawn”.

Nutsubidze translated “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” into Russian, in the corresponding lines of which “the Neoplatonic stratum” is formulated more vividly than in those of the original. Nutsubidze cut through the murk. He found out that in the Georgian reception of Ioane Petritsi and the Corpus Areopagiticum all necessary prerequisites are given to understand the new ontological theory of truth.

The study of Alethology is also important from the view of phenomenological perspective. Shalva Nutsubidze tried to create a version of Ontological Phenomenology. This version of phenomenology may be understood as the post-secular theory of Humanism. The concept of Shalva Nutsubidze is quite viable in the space of the Georgian Culture. It became a model of the philosophic interpretation of the culture. We could use it very actively in the study of the problems of modern philosophy and in the analysis of spiritual situations.

Nutsubidze’s heritage is still alive. Generations of Georgian philosophers have been brought up on his works and ideas. His works on Alethology and on the matters pertinent to questions of Renaissance is an active element in philosophical debates in Georgia and abroad.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Two volumes of researches have recently been dedicated to the theme: Philosophical-Theological Review, 2013: Issue 3 TSU, and *Georgian Christian Thought and its Cultural Context: Memorial Volume for the 125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Shalva Nutsubidze (1888-1969)*.

Studies in Areopagitics carried out in Tbilisi State University have shown the great importance of the work done by Georgian scholars in this field. As a famous Neoplatonist and researcher of Classical studies A. Losev remarks: “It is indeed a signal of development not only for Georgia, where antique Neoplatonic philosophy and its reconstruction in the Middle Ages in the form of Areopagitics found profound investigators and their followers in the course of fifteen centuries; while in the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries Areopagitics gave rise to a period of Renaissance some centuries earlier than the Renaissance in the West” (Areopagitica Research, 1986:21). In this context, we would like to cite Basil Lurie’s research on possible Areopagitic roots of Nutsbidze’s philosophical inspiration. In the post-scriptum of his study he compares Nutsbidze and Losev “the two most influential and somewhat antagonistic philosophers”. To his mind, both of them “have had their own understanding of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* and, although occasionally and indirectly, were even cooperating in the struggle against the Soviet censorship. Their indirect collaboration resulted in – though posthumously – the publication in Tbilisi of the Russian translation of Proclus, *Elementa theologiae* (Proclus: 1972). At that time, a publication of a Russian translation of a Neoplatonic philosopher, especially with the word “theology” in the title, would be unimaginable. Both Losev’s admiration and criticism toward Nutsbidze’s work is explained by him in his “Aesthetics of Renaissance” (Losev, 1998: 18-33). However, their vectors of understanding Dion-

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(Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity): (2014), BRILL; editors: Nutsbidze, Tamar, Horn. Cornelia B., Lourie, Basil.



ysius seem quite the opposite. Nutsubidze preserved the paraconsistency of Areopagitic thinking, but separated it from theology. Losev's reading of Dionysius was rather a return to the Proclean framework: without dialethism but, instead, with pre-existent ideas. If our understanding is right, one can call the Nutsubidzean approach a secularisation of Dionysius, whereas Losev's one – his “re-paganisation” (Lourie, 2013: 59).

We would also like to remark that inasmuch as antique Neoplatonism was reconstructed according to local requirements of Christianity, Judaism and Islam a number of times in the history of Western Europe, it is evident that the profound ideas forming the basis of Areopagitics bear an uncommonly generalising character capable of satisfying the highest and most exacting requirements

The works of Shalva Nutsubidze are also very important for identifying the points which connected antiquity and Christian culture. “It is more than two centuries since “The Knight in the Panther's Skin” appeared in the field of vision of intellectuals interested in the Middle Ages, (first) in Europe and (later) worldwide. For Georgians, despite medieval, colonial, modernist, postmodernist and post-post modernist literature, “The Knight in the Panther's Skin” still remains a basic text whose intertextual annotation, allusion, deconstruction and reconstruction are ongoing. In the modern world it is hard to find such a situation where the backbone of active literature is still a text written nine centuries later.” (Tevzadze, 2013: 100-101).

## 5. NIETZSCHE IN GEORGIA

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it became possible to re-establish professional philosophical activity in Georgia. The country had come back to the European cultural field. It gained independence and was able to found the first Georgian university. In order to understand this development, it is necessary to analyse the spiritual situation at the time. Many of the leading thinkers in Europe and in Georgia considered Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche as their Master. Up to now, Nietzsche still remains a source of inspiration for Georgian philosophers.

The history of the interpretation of Nietzsche's philosophy in Georgia began in 1900 and continues up to now<sup>28</sup>. Scientists even discuss the periodisation of a "*Georgian Nietzscheology*" (Elizbarashvili, 2005, 7-12). Indeed, it is possible to identify several periods.

The first period, from 1900 to 1930, may be referred to as a romantic stage. Nietzsche was conceived of as a prophet of free thinking. He was seen as the one who liberated mankind from the fallacy of rationalism. Grigol Robakidze's (1880-1962) aesthetic-mythological visions were full of such ideas. Robakidze's thought stood within the Georgian-German linguistic continuum. He emigrated to Germany and there issued his Niet-

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<sup>28</sup> See *Nietzsche in Georgia* (2007), Ed. Iremadze, Tengiz. Tbilisi: Publishing House "Nekeri" (in Georgian).

zsche-styled mystical novels in German. Robakidze joined the principles of the philosophy of life with the Georgian Mythos and ancient Eastern Mysteries. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's novel "The Smile of Dionysus" reproduced Nietzsche's Dionysian aestheticism. Several published studies such as those published by Sergi Danelia and Konstantine Kapaneli, have argued that Nietzsche was connected with Vazha-Pshavela's epic poetry and thus with the aesthetic character of the Georgian spirit.

Based on the analysis of Vazha-Pshavela's poems and verses, a Georgian philosopher of XX century Sergi Danelia makes several important conclusions in his research "Vazha-Pshavela and the Georgian Nation" (1927): 1) Vazha's ideology is close to pre-Socratic Greek philosophy, the style of thinking of Thales, Anaximenes, Empedocles and Heraclitus 2) "The fact that Vazha-Pshavela remained within the limits of primitive realism, thinking of so-called "bookish philosophers" that had not yet been influenced by either Platonism or Aristotelianism was the basis of his genius." 3) "Vazha's works are extremely interesting from the point of view of the study of the development of mankind's thinking, since they present such a vivid picture of primitive thinking that can be found nowhere else in the entire world's literature. In this respect, the writings (some fragments) of the first philosophers of ancient Greece come closest to Vazha's poetry". 4) "Vazha's poetry and Vazha's language itself offer a wealth of material to linguists and historians of culture and ideas, who are interested in the origin of culture and thinkingp In this regard, Vazha's works are a worldwide literary phenomenon." (Danelia, 2008).

Vazha Pshavela's poetry is presented as a model of the mythopoetic Dionysian view of the world, biblical and mythical intertext, in which initiation of a human living in harmony with nature is accomplished.

During the second period, from 1930 to 1950, the Soviet ideological cliché was dominant: Nietzsche was seen as the ideologist of Fascism. From the Academy, the issue was shifted to the realm of political agitation and propaganda.

The third period, from 1960 to 1990, is characterised by the attempt to rehabilitate Nietzsche. We can find certain positive moments that were emphasized in this process. Nietzsche was brought closer to Kierkegaard. Nietzsche was discussed as an ally in the struggle against scientism and technicism. The philosophers, Tamaz Buachidze and Zurab Kakabadze, who considered this problem relevant for their studies, saw Nietzsche in that light. In the late 80s, Heidegger's interpretation of Nietzsche was dominant. Nietzsche was seen as a thinker who noted challenges and dangers of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The fourth period, from 1990 until nowadays, is marked by the distance that the philosophical writings took from Heidegger's heroic <sup>29</sup> hermeneutics. It was replaced with more precise scientific approach (Tengiz Iremadze, Avtandil Popiashvili) that

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<sup>29</sup> The term belongs to John D. Caputo; see his monograph John D. Caputo (1993) "*Demythologizing Heidegger*". Indiana University Press. Indianapolis.

applied Nietzsche's thought in searching for new ways in the areas of ontology and metaphysics,<sup>30</sup> reinforcing his philosophy through postmodern paradigms.<sup>31</sup> In recent years, Nietzsche's philosophy is discussed under the influence of French post-structuralism. Scholars are also interested in how Nietzsche was presented by Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, and Jean Baudrillard (Elizbarashvili, 2005: 146-167).

## 6. AN APPOINTMENT AT HUSSERL'S HOUSE

**A**t the beginning of the twenties, a young philosopher Kote Bakradze was sent from Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University on a business trip to the University of Freiburg to research the problems of philosophy and to get acquainted with the latest movements. There he was cooperating directly with the founders of twentieth-century philosophy, studying the questions of epistemology at Heinrich Rickert's lectures and seminars, learning phenomenology under the guidance of Edmund Husserl, while he was getting acquainted with the new ways of Ontology at Martin Heidegger's seminars. Kote Bakradze's re-

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<sup>30</sup> For further reading we recommend Valerian Ramishvili, *Human and Destiny (Metaphysics of Time)*, Tbilisi: Publishing House "Meridiani", 2006 (in Georgian).

<sup>31</sup> In this context see Brachuli Irakli, *World Outlook of Overman (Energetic Paradigms of Hermeneutics)*, Tbilisi: Publishing House "Ganatileba", 1996 (in Georgian).

searches dealing with Husserl's phenomenology played a substantial role in the development of the twentieth-century Georgian philosophical thought, in learning and spreading of phenomenological research in Georgia.

Kote Bakradze describes minutely the meeting with Husserl in the letter sent from Freiburg: "We paid a visit to Husserl. I had to wait a while for him, as the latter had been visited by two Japanese professors. He came out of his room, came over to me, and apologized to me: "Have some more patience. You're welcome to use my library. Enjoy reading something." Suddenly, the door flew wide open and Frau Husserl came out. She started talking: "My husband is working on something huge, he further refined his system. His previous work was written one-sidedly. For example, when someone climbs over Mount Kazbek and describes only one side of this mountain, only the side seen from Tbilisi. It's a true, but one-sided description. Now my husband saw the other side as well and he's writing on it. The Japanese professors eventually came out of his room, and it was my turn to enter. He started a conversation with me: "I must insist that you read my books for a year. Don't cast a stealthy glance at other ones. Have you ever read any of my books?" Eventually he asked me holding the pen. "I've read your *Logische Untersuchungen*", I replied. "Come now, it's just unrealistic. What could you understand for two months? Dilthey told me he had been reading it for a year and at last barely managed to wrap his head around it. What sense did you make of it for two months? Even philosophers are struggling to understand it."

He was constantly talking about himself. He told me how he had gone home and changed the concepts. “Certainly, previous ones weren’t wrong – they were just one-sided. For instance, when a certain man climbs over one of the mountains of the Caucasus range.” After that, you can add Frau Husserl’s words – everything will be the same: they coincided word for word with those of Frau Husserl. Then he started talking about his phenomenology: “Columbus is said to have discovered America”, said he, “but actually he discovered just a small island, a little piece of land, and then the whole America was investigated and described by others. Thus, everyone who came after Columbus made the same discovery. Columbus prepared the ground for others. The same goes for phenomenology. There is a huge field. I have just discovered a new method and used it for the first time. All of you can also now make your own discoveries in this enormous field. So, read my books, if someone tells you or perhaps if you read somewhere not to read them because of their fallibility, don’t trust the one, not because of the fact that I said it – no, I made lots of mistakes. For instance, while explaining reductions I rather narrowly understood phenomenology”. Then he enumerated other mistakes too. “My disciples often see things that have never observed yet, and they tell me “It is not in that way, but in another (Bakradze, 2014: 71-72).

Investigations on Husserl’s phenomenology became the core of Bakradze’s scientific work in Georgia. His disciples and the disciples of his disciples continue their research in the same di-

rection. Zurab Kakabadze dedicated his work on Husserl “*The Problem of Existential Crisis and the Transcendental Phenomenology of Edmund Husserl*” to his tutor Kote Bakradze.

## 7. PHENOMENOLOGICAL-EXISTENTIAL INVESTIGATIONS

**I**n Georgia, phenomenological studies were founded in the 1920s directly by Edmund Husserl’s Georgian disciples and students, mainly by those who attended Husserl’s, Nicolai Hartman’s and Martin Heidegger’s classes in Germany.

For a long time, phenomenology was a subject of thorough investigation in the Georgian school of philosophy. The works of several Georgian philosophers, including Kote Bakradze, Angia Bochorishvili, Zurab Kakabadze, Guram Tevzadze, Merab Mamardashvili and Givi Margvelashvili are devoted to this area of study. This tradition continues today. One of the contemporary researchers, for instance, notes in his monograph that his objective is “to review phenomenological studies in contemporary Georgian philosophy,” in particular, “the problems of Hartmann’s epistemology and existential ontology” (Dolidze, 2013: 13-14).

Kote Bakradze noted that it is very difficult to reproduce Husserl’s system, given that each one of Husserl’s works is an in-



dependent meditation, which opens a new horizon. The founder of phenomenology himself changed his point of observation in each one of his works. In his “Logical Investigations,” Husserl argued that logic is independent from psychology. Its subject is ideal. Phenomenological or eidetic reduction, unlike logical reduction, is a reflection towards cognition. Phenomenology is the description and reflection of “*Eidoses*”. Kote Bakradze saw it as a weakness of phenomenology that it could not coordinate transcendental subjectivity with the a priori of idealism (Bakradze: 1970, 359-456).

Angia Bochorishvili was one of the prominent Georgian phenomenologists. His holistic research is dedicated to the importance of Husserl’s method for psychology, anthropology, aesthetics, and epistemology (Bochorishvili, 1959: 7-24). He aimed to develop Max Sheller’s anthropology. For that purpose he tried to fill Scheler’s personalism with Dimitri Uznadze’s Theory of Set.<sup>32</sup> Jean Piaget called this theory “the Uznadze effect”. Bochorishvili agrees with Sheller’s idea that *Persona* is neither a thing, nor a function or a structure. Person is “the readiness for an act”, a set, which is neither subjective, nor objective. It is the premise for pure relevance (Bochorishvili, 1971: 59-78).

Zurab Kakabadze belongs to the new generation of Georgian phenomenologists. Immediately after the release of his mono-

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<sup>32</sup> For further reading is recommended Dimitri Uznadze, “The Psychology of Set” (a monograph), (New York, NY: Guilford Press. 1966).

graph about Husserl, published in Georgian and Russian, he became a “Soviet classic” for those who know Russian. The book was dedicated to the author’s teacher Kote Bakradze, as in the case of Heidegger, who dedicated his “*Sein und Zeit*” to his tutor – Husserl (Kakabadze, 2002: 10-11).

Zurab Kakabadze focuses on phenomenology as a way out of the “crisis of the European sciences”. He asks whether Husserl’s conception can play the role of “a new milestone” in the history of mankind. For him, Husserl was right when he noted that the essentialism of traditional idealism could not be an “indicator” of existence. The intentional life of my consciousness and the phenomenological reflection of self-analysis of “*Lebenswelt*” lead to the self-manifestation of this world. Due to this, the insight, which is based on self-analysis and the opening of the “inter-subjective” (Kakabadze, 2002: 107) as a “constituting factor” of the world’s existence, belongs fundamentally to the ontological method. By accepting the intentional life of my consciousness, the meaning-producing, freely self-determining action as a primary basis of the existence of the world, phenomenology accepts existence in being. Husserl hoped that the “crisis of life” can be overcome by the infinite horizon of actual experiences.

Kakabadze considered that Husserl could not get rid of the tradition of rationalism, as he could not finish the search for a specification of the “life of consciousness.” Former disciples of Husserl criticized him for his insufficient radicalism. This ap-

plies, in particular, to Heidegger. Kakabadze argued that Husserl could not find any other way except consciousness. Finally, the *telos* – a constituting factor for Husserl – is consciousness.

Givi Margvelashvili, a Georgian philosopher and novelist, while dealing with the problems of existential ontology, could not do without the consideration of phenomenological philosophy. According to Margvelashvili, apart from methodological resemblance, there is a deep conceptual similarity between the works of Heidegger and Husserl (Margvelashvili: 1998, 121-145).

Givi Margvelashvili is a bilingual (German-Georgian) writer and philosopher. He was born in a family of emigrants in Berlin. From 1946 till 1992 he lived in Tbilisi. For almost 30 years now, however, he chose Berlin as a place for living. His original conception is called “the theory of onto-textuality”. Here Margvelashvili explicated the implicit foundation of Heidegger’s study. The author entered into the discussion of the difference between existential time and story time. He argued that the study of the temporality of speech and language describes only story time. Existential time, on the other hand, is unreachable (Margvelashvili, 1976: 102-137). Margvelashvili tries to discuss this unreachable stratum on the basis of a reflection on his artistic activity (novels, plays). He writes about “onto-textual ties” between poetry and philosophy (Margvelashvili, 1992: 221-224).

Another contemporary thinker, whose work reveals the phenomenological roots of aesthetic thinking, was the famous Georgian philosopher Merab Mamardashvili (1930-1990). Mamardashvili was able to change the “German orientation” of Georgian philosophy to some extent. He embarked upon a French “style of thinking”, which was characterized by “artifacts of Georgian culture”.<sup>33</sup> In the course of lectures, entitled “Cartesian Meditations,” which Mamardashvili delivered at Lomonosov Moscow State University in 1981 (Mamardashvili: 1993), he made an attempt to restore a course of lectures under the same title which Husserl delivered at the Sorbonne.<sup>34</sup> The starting point of thinking is Descartes’ *evidentialism*, a radical self-reflection on a stream of experience and inner creativity of the internal life of consciousness that constitute the essence of thinking. It is expressed by the word “life”. In his study “Psychological Topology of the Path,” Mamardashvili examines how the life of thought takes place in the text. For this purpose he discusses Marcel Proust’s novel *The Remembrance of Things Past*. It turned out to be an aesthetic experiment using the phenomenological way of thinking in literature. The past is an unreachable phenomenon; we have to refer to the present state of

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<sup>33</sup> in this context for further reading are recommended: Mamardashvili, Merab (1993 I ed., 2001 II ed.). *Cartesian Meditations*. Moscow: Publishing House “Progress” (in Russian); Mamardashvili Merab (1997). *Psychological Topology of Path (Lectures on Proust)*, St. Petersburg.

<sup>34</sup> This course of lectures was secretly typed by his students at the auditorium and the first edition represents the recovery types of those lectures.

mind, which acquires the meaning of the past. Through reflection, the restoration of things past, primal intentions have a methodical meaning; it turns out to be an explication of the history of mankind. Husserl examined phenomenology in this perspective. Here Mamardashvili observes a certain methodological analogy between Descartes, Husserl and Proust. Yet, Nietzsche also spoke about the methodological restoration of authentic intentions.

According to Mamardashvili, thinking is ecstatic: it is re-birthing in an alien, hidden home country and returns to the self. This is the common moment that unites Descartes, Husserl and Mamardashvili's "Cartesian Meditations". Such kind of meditations are particularly needed in the chaotic conditions of the present world; under the conditions of systematic order there is less need in them.

Georgian philosopher and writer Mamuka Dolidze, starting from the philosophical problems of quantum physics, gradually entered the realm of Edmund Husserl's phenomenological philosophy. He applies the phenomenological method to describe various spheres of philosophy and science, viz., theology, history of political thought, physics metaphysics, cosmology, psychology, literature (modern fiction), aesthetics. His paper "Phenomenological Thinking in the Georgian Philosophy of XX Century", dedicated to the phenomenological thinking of Georgia, was included in the American Encyclopedia of Learning: *Phenomenology World-Wide (LXXX volume of the*

yearbook *"Analecta Husserliana"*. The lucky point of the researcher's scientific biography was the meeting with Professor Tymieniecka Anna-Teresa. Phenomenology of Life responded his strivings for "No Man's Land" between quantum-physical reality and human consciousness. The cognitive oddity of quantum measurement with the integrity of subject and object, the principle of uncertainty, probability of quantum effects and wave-particle dualism – all these phenomena of micro-world breaking the frames of classical physics he considered to be the mental-physical events, running through the field which was neither real nor ideal. It presented the transient area of premises of consciousness and of becoming the being, where the sense of life arises.

Dolidze dedicated most of his scientific investigations to the ontopoiesis of life by Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka and compared this conception to the tradition of Georgian phenomenology, namely, to the works of Zurab Kakabadze and other works in quantum phenomenology.

On the basis of creative phenomenology he drew an analogy between quantum physics and stream-of-consciousness literature. His article "Phenomenology in Science and Literature" reflected these ideas and was published in the book *"The Dialogue of Cultural Traditions: A Global Perspective"* edited by Father George McLean, and in the Encyclopedia – *Phenomenology World-Wide*, edited by Tymieniecka Anna-Teresa.

Contemporary philosophical research in the field of Western existential philosophy, especially Martin Heidegger's philosophy, has been fruitfully provided by Valerian Ramishvili. His research interest focuses on the parallels of Heidegger's thought and Georgian philosophical thinking. For that purpose Heidegger's heritage is studied in the perspective of his relation to German and French phenomenology, existentialism and philosophy of life (Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Husserl, Wittgenstein, Camus, Sartre, Deleuze, Derrida, Foucault, Levinas, Gadamer, etc.) and to ancient Greek metaphysics. Heidegger's philosophy is viewed as a crossroads of European philosophy and a summarising point of European metaphysics, and also how relevant Heidegger's way to *Being* is in the epoch of domination of technology. Ramishvili has worked out in detail the phenomenon of destiny as an existential in Heidegger's existential analytic, also human dignity and mode of European rationality and thinking in the monograph "Human and Destiny (Metaphysics of Time)" (2002). In the monograph "Freedom and Prosperity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century", published in the USA in 2011, was analyzed the phenomenon of political rationality, the role of intellectuals in society and politics, the relation of knowledge and power.

## 8. AN ECHO OF THE LINGUISTIC TURN

**I**n the 50s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a discussion of the matters pertinent to logic became the main trend of Soviet philosophising.

This was the case particularly with regard to interrelations between formal logic and dialectical logic. The focus of the discussion was on a dispute between two Georgian philosophers: Kote Bakradze and Savle Tsereteli, both of whom were the authors of major works in logic (Bakradze: 1995 and Tsereteli: 1971).

The author of the first textbook in logic was Solomon Dodashvili. He published his book in 1827. The work of a young Georgian philosopher served as the only coursebook in the Russian Empire for many years. On the one hand, Savle Tsereteli argued that formal logic is a moment of dialectical logic. He created his theory on the basis of Hegel's conception. On the other hand, Kote Bakradze did not agree that formal logic is a lower, more elementary science; rather, he argued that dialectical logic is a higher stage, because it can get integral forms of existence. Whereas dialectics is a specific method of knowledge, logic can only be formal. As he defended the traditions of the Aristotelian logic, Tsereteli tried to develop the dialectical logic of Hegel.

It is worth noting the Georgian linguists' (such as Arnold Chikobava, George Akhvlediani and others) works in the field of general linguistics and philosophy of language (for instance, George Akhvlediani's "Linguistic Propaedeutics and General Phonetics" Issued in, 1932). These works came close to structuralism and, in some cases, they were made simultaneously with it. Georgian linguists were creating their works between the thirties and sixties in a totalitarian state – Soviet Union –



with very little chances of international relations, which retarded the exchange of new ideas and theoretical novelties in the field of liberal arts.

Roman Jakobson, one of the founders of modern linguistic structuralism, in a big part of his “Extrapulmonic Consonants: Ejectives, Implosives, Clicks” comments George Akhvediani’s contribution to the investigation of the ejectives in *Caucasian* and *Kartvelian* languages. Later, Jakobson inserted that same letter in the second edition of the first volume of his “Selected Writings” (Bolkvadze: 2017).

Influenced by logical positivism, from the 60s onwards, the process of separating logic from philosophy has gained strength and popularity in Georgian philosophy. A new generation of Georgian philosophers tried to “clean” logic from metaphysical and speculative elements and get closer to mathematics. Logical Positivism and Positivism are generally the core problems for the philosophy of Vakhtang Erkomaishvili. In his book *Logical Positivism*, he tries to show the unilateralism of this theoretical view, but, at the same time, he criticizes various invalid opinions used against this philosophy. Discussing philosophical problems and issues in terms of confrontation of Materialism and Idealism was typical for Soviet philosophy. Therefore, some Soviet philosophers tried, first of all, to answer the question: Is this or that philosophy materialistic or idealistic? Vakhtang Erkomaishvili shows in his work that the followers of Logical Positivism do not discuss this issue as a philosophical problem. For them this was a

metaphysical issue, empty of sense. They tried to overcome metaphysics, which meant the entire scope of the problem of the traditional philosophy, and create the problem of philosophy issue in a new way.

From the 90s, the motives of non-classical logic and linguistic philosophy paved the way. There were Georgian translations and studies of the works by L. Wittgenstein, K. Popper and G. Frege, J. Dewey and Ch. Pierce and some others with regard to language and culture; on W. James's pragmatism and on the semantic theories of E. Cassirer and S. Langer.<sup>35</sup> Debates were reopened between classical and non-classical logic. Classical logic entered a phase of pluralism. Some asserted there the point of view that, with regard to logical systems, the existing systems do not exclude each other but are complimentary to one another.<sup>36</sup>

With regard to articulating points of orientation on the thought of the late Wittgenstein, one notes that the analytical theory of linguistic acts and the growing interest towards semiotics is an echo of the linguistic turn in Georgia.<sup>37</sup> Wittgenstein's theory

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<sup>35</sup> For further reading is recommended Zakariadze, A. (2007) *Specificity of Art Symbol*. Tbilisi: TSU Press (in Georgian).

<sup>36</sup> These considerations show up in the volume: *Aspects of Necessity: Apriority, Identity, Contradiction* (2009). Tbilisi: Iliani Press, pp.19-25, 40-51, 89-96.

<sup>37</sup> Many interesting materials are printed in a newly issued volume dedicated to the memory of the philosopher Mamuka Bichashvili,

of “Linguistic games” opens a wide pathway for both: for returning logic back to philosophy and for other branches of philosophy. The phenomenon of game has a unique feature: by using different rules, one can build multiple different games from one and the same material. Thus, the existence of the human being can be looked at as an infinite game of his/her possibilities.

The “Emergence” of Anglo-American philosophy in Georgia is an important phenomenon.<sup>38</sup> During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Georgian philosophers looked down upon Empiricism, Positivism and Pragmatism. These branches of philosophy were not considered to be true philosophy. Only European/Continental philosophy was acknowledged as being a part of the “local classics”. In the mind of some, for example, the English language was not sufficiently suited for articulating philosophy. The new orientation, however, provides an opportunity to find a new approach to the analysis of such an important phenomenon as religious language, or the language of science, the language of art, political language and other discourse practices.

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*Language, Culture, Philosophy* (2016). Tbilisi: Publishing House “Meridiani” (in Georgian).

<sup>38</sup> Researches in this direction are carried out by Bichashvili, M., Katsitadze, K., Zakariadze, A. See: e.g. Zakariadze, A. (2008) *Surveys in American Philosophy*. Tbilisi: Publishing House “Meridiani”.

## 9. PHILOSOPHICAL-POLITICAL PROFILES

The role of Georgian philosophers in preparing “perestroika” has not been studied properly yet.<sup>39</sup> The radical critique of Scientism, which represented a major motif in the Georgian philosophy of the second half of the twentieth century, was actually the critique of Totalitarianism. Reading and interpretation of philosophical texts was conducted in the dissident context.

In the 1990s, the socio-economic system of Georgia resembled “savage capitalism”, some calling it “military capitalism” or “adventurist capitalism”. No one knew what type of capitalism was being established. Such transitional phases are usually attended by the restoration of prehistoric strata. Progress affected in the revolutionary form is always of reactionary nature. A breakthrough of history is a “reaction” or return to primitive forms. The pre-civilization horizon opens up in man; the beginning unites with the end, the past and the future finding themselves in a closed eschatological circle.

A civic society contains elements of a mythic-barbarian life. Hence, it is not exempt from such an element becoming total and from sudden mythical explosions. The mechanics of the

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<sup>39</sup> In recent years in Georgia publicism played an important role in the dynamics of political thought. Politological and sociological analytics have to be added in the future.

mutual invasion of reason and mythos is seen in Homer's epic. Such a view became established as a tradition in the late Romantic interrelation of the Classical period and, via Nietzsche and Heidegger, found a place in present-day social science.

Odysseus' adventure on the Cyclopean island is considered to be one of the variants or stages of the return of modern man to mythos. That was a barbarian age, the age of shepherds and hunters, of those who were not engaged in systematic husbandry; the age in which the organization of work and of society had not yet been reached, private property was not yet firmly established, nor did law and justice function objectively; in short, there was no "legal state". This indeed makes for a savage situation.

Georgia roughly resembled this Cyclopean island. An advanced post of ancient culture and civilization all of a sudden found itself in the anteroom of history. Prehistory is a great reality, says Jaspers, we try to reach down to its depths, to understand where we come from, but this is impossible; the only thing we can review is mythos.

The nervous system of modern man is highly sensitive, readily amenable to mythical suggestion and autosuggestion. Hence, the possibility exists for the artificial creation of prehistoric reality. Modern political science is familiar with the technology of myth-making. Political myths may be produced in the same way as atomic bombs and spaceships are made.

It was precisely how a nationalistic-type political mythos was produced. The main function of Mythos is a “ritual” or “action”. If an involved story is played out as a ritual, a sacred phenomenon arises, politics turns into a magic ceremonial in which holy and non-holy forces play. Re-production by imitation or re-actualisation of cosmic structures becomes the sole content of a political action. It has also been said that a bloody sacrifice is the highest variety of a ritual. This is the final manipulation, which results in spiritualised (animated) cosmos and a mythos person involved in it through play, thus opening an archetypal space.

Syncretic perception of reality is one of the features of mythos, i.e. it is nonhistorical consciousness; there are no periods but only reincarnable images of totems and leaders. “Extrasensory perception and the relevant collective unconscious are put to work”.

Lack of a social system is based on the lack of a system of thought. Therefore, the creation of Mythos in politics is always extremely dangerous. In the 1990s, independent Georgia became the epicentre of political games. Unfortunately, its newly elected government and its first President Zviad Gamsakhurdia became the main actors of political Mythos.

During this period Georgian philosophers carried out a critical analysis of political mythos. For example, the lectures delivered by philosopher Merab Mamardashvili in Lomonosov Moscow State University played the same role in the deconstructi-

on of communist ideology as Alexander Solzhenitsyn's literary works. They inspired the whole generation with the idea that communism is a "black hole of thinking" and the Empire of Evil; which, like the Tower of Babel, has to be destroyed before it is constructed.<sup>40</sup>

Another Georgian philosopher of that time, Zurab Kakabadze wrote that Caligula's adventure is reminiscent of the actions and adventures of Hitler, Mussolini and other tyrants of the same talk. Yet, it would be humiliating for Caligula to be compared with them. The tyranny of Caligula was of far nobler origin; namely, it stemmed from a desire for the participation of the absolute in this world, and from the unsung frustration, whereas the tyranny of our time originates from an ambition grown in the conditions of initial blindness to the absolute, frustrated basically along its path, and developed into an inferiority complex.

The absence of the prospect of immortality – the animal fear of death – forces him to artificially stretch the minute span of life. In philosophy this is called "quantity instead of quality" (ethics of quantity).

The restoration of the magic stage in man's structure causes the disintegration of the ethic and intellectual essence of a personality, reducing it to the level of a biological-generic being. The prevalence of *animalitas* breaks down the boundary separating

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<sup>40</sup> Merab Mamardashvili's name is still sacralized in Russian cultural space. In anthologies he is placed as the last representative of classics.

the mind from the animal, and the being, trapped in the hopelessly closed cycle of nature, is no longer a human.

The human dimension of politics disappears in consequence of the numerous dangerous attempts at an artificial political modeling and institutionalisation or practical organisation of the world: a depersonalisation of planetary thought takes place. As the entry of human history into the planetary phase of development causes the totalitarisation of politics as a specific variety of human activity, imparting a planetary scale to it, each of its elements should be considered with account of this world scale.

Givi Margvelashvili's philosophical meditations are focused on the postmodern analysis of man. He is trying to figure out the common structural (onto-dialectical) scheme of *Homo politicus* or existential information at the political level. It should be revealed how this scheme is modified in the political arena. A political message has the greatest power that can provoke total mobilization of the entire existential world and readiness for death – the courage to face it. The main thing here is to understand the threats to your own semantic world. Heidegger's famous saying "language is the house of being" ("die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins") reveals its meaning only at the political level. This "house" is a radius of being. In a particular historical situation a political text is sent to "people", stating that the only possible world suitable for their existence is under threat of total disappearance (assimilation) or enslavement by another



world. This provokes an immediate response (echo). Dasein cannot be truly free anywhere else except in an essential structure (homeland) itself. It is noteworthy that freedom as the supreme value becomes a predominant theme in Georgian Romantic poetry at the beginning of the nineteenth century (for instance, Nikoloz Baratashvili's poem "The Fate of Kartli"). At the political level existential information spreads instantly like a storm. It is a final factor of the most common (over-individual) level. The sole objective of the receiver of such a message is to defend his country against military aggression. This form excludes doubt that the message can be fake or aimed at inciting hatred between the Dasein. It shows itself as compulsory for the entire population. Accordingly, the essence of the political message is a nonthematisable mystery for critical thinking. Otherwise, the message will be unable to cause the storm (echo) and call a whole political body to immediate action. According to Givi Margvelashvili, deviations happen rarely. A political message, because of its categorical and totalitarian nature, distorts true existential communications that can be different, nonstereotypical or philosophical. Political communication stereotypes do not apply to them. Spectral coexistence of different forms of existential messages at a certain epoch is possible.

Studies in political philosophy are popular in contemporary Georgia and are intensively carried out.<sup>41</sup>

## 10. PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND MYTHOS

In Europe, as well as in Georgia, philosophy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the main epistemological problem. The censorship of Marxist ideology suspended the development of philosophical thought in Georgia. The leading philosophers had to move to the sphere of the history of philosophy. From the 70s onwards, the accent shifted to the sphere of philosophical anthropology. The spheres of religion and ethics remained in the vacuum throughout. The communist censorship forbade any spreading of literature on these themes. There was also a thorough lack of theological education.

Now, during the time that is marked by being in the so-called “post-secular” condition, one part of Georgia’s intellectuals is addicted to Heidegger’s “heroic hermeneutics”, while another part adheres to the deconstructivistic type of nihilism. The first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is marked with philosophical-theological studies, that is, with investigations that aim to fill the vacuum.

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<sup>41</sup> See: Bichashvili, M. “Essays in Political Theory”, 2 volumes; Jalahonia, D. “Political Philosophy”; Shatirishvili, Z. “Fictional Narrative and Allegorical Discourse”, etc.

Philosophical studies of religion and mythos in Georgia are mostly based on Mircea Eliade's theory of *hierophanies* (manifestations of the sacred in the world). This is the main characteristic that differentiates it from ethnological studies, the main theoretical source of which is Emil Durkheim and his "*Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*". Studies on the conceptualization of native religious and mythological experience are summarized by Zurab Kiknadze in his two-volume research "Georgian Mythology" (Kiknadze: 2016) and in Kakha Katsitadze's monograph "*Homo Militaries*" (Katsitadze: 2001). For the general theory of religion and mythos, which tries to hold the very essence of religion and mythos, the articulation of the Georgian material is particularly important. Many hypotheses about spontaneous formation of mythos and rituals are to be proved by presently acting "living myths".

The Philosophy of Enlightenment declared that mythological premises of understanding are superstitious beliefs. The starting point of cognition became methodological doubt which had to clean up the valley of thinking from any idols of tradition. First of all, this applies to the authorities of Scripture and the Holy doctrine of the Church.

Hermeneutics was opposed to the rejection of the importance of historical narration. According to Heidegger, understanding of the essence of Being is based on opening of pre-structures of understanding. Present hermeneutics tried to rehabilitate the tradition of understanding. Essential movement of understand-

ding and definition/designation has to be performed in the tradition. To Gadamer's mind everything points to "restoring a moment of tradition in hermeneutics in the principal form. In this aspect, hermeneutics is understanding of a living myth in "actual present, that continues until today" (Kiknadze, 2016: 7).<sup>42</sup>

An example for this is a hierophantic (theophanic) world order of the "Cross and its worshippers". This is a belief of forefathers which orders the whole existential world. "Sakmo" (congregation) is based in original time. It lives in oral tradition, unlike "living in text" in which a man of industrial time lives. "Sakmo" (congregation) is a local term and denotes community, which is connected with continuous tradition; its centre is a holy icon and cross (a place for praying). It is a folk religion which has special celebrations.

Peoples' religion coexists with Orthodox-Greek religion. Researchers paid attention that in "Cross and its worshippers" there is neither icon nor image. Hierophanies are undepicted. The present acting rule is that epiphany is a condition for the initiation of the icon's serf. Kiknadze thinks that a living myth is not a relict of prehistoric pagan religion; but it is a result of "secondary paganism" of the Christian religion. A "pagan myth (legend) is built in the ruins of church" (Kiknadze: 2016:68).

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<sup>42</sup> Kiknadze analysed "rigorously united system of mythological images of East Georgian Mtianeti" with the help of this method. (Kiknadze, 2019: 8).

Romanian theologian Dura together with Georgian authors in their “Philosophy of Religion” (Dura & others: 2015) explicate the tendency of approaching of Mircea Eliade and Gill Deleuze’s concepts. This is expressed in re-actualization of archaic ontology of eternal returning. Eliade found a key of religion and mythos in “the central mystery”; by repetition of origin time, myths obtain ritual invasion of sacral in the world. In Deleuze’s view, repetition comes from the world of difference, which is to be distinguished from the world of sameness and simulacra “Repetition” changes and renewed what is repeated and by gains the content of numinous event.

Together with the active cooperation of Romanian theologians, a Minor Program in Theology has been prepared at TSU, a scientific research center for philosophy and theology which is named after Anthim the Iberian. Also, at TSU has been established a scientific journal the “Philosophical-Theological Reviewer.” Nutsubidze’s rich heritage, his ontology, as well as his paraconsistent epistemology can play the role of being a bridge between theology and philosophy, as his alethological realism is inspired by both Areopagitica and Petritsi’s theory. Moreover, his studies in the ancient and medieval history of philosophical-theological ideas, the theology of politics, and his research on different issues of moral philosophy and applied ethics from theological perspectives will also support the development of the philosophical-theological studies in Georgia.

## 11. IN THE CENTURY OF DELEUZE

After the Russian occupation of 1921, Georgian philosophical thought continued its existence mostly in Europe. One of its best representatives among emigrant-philosophers is François Zourabichvili, (1965-2006): a grandson of a minister of the first Georgian democratic republic (1918-1921) and the son of a famous composer Nicolas Zourabichvili.<sup>43</sup> A year after Zourabichvili's death (he committed suicide) in 2006, the *Collège international de philosophie* and the *École normale supérieure* organized a colloquium upon *Les physiques de la pensée selon François Zourabichvili* ("The physics of thinking according to François Zourabichvili"). During his university years, he regularly attended Deleuze's seminars at the University of Paris – Vincennes at St. Denis. He received his doctorate degree in 1999 with a thesis on Spinoza. In 2002, Zourabichvili published two substantial works on Spinoza: "*Spinoza: A Physics of Thought*" and "*Spinoza's Paradoxical Conservatism: Childhood and Royalty*". Zourabichvili's work on Spinoza was extensive and distinguished. The result of a "revolutionary" reading of Spinozism leads the philosopher to a new concept of conservatism. Zourabichvili's work on Spinoza thus opens up

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<sup>43</sup> Nicolas Zourabichvili as a political exile had to leave Georgia with his father and family and stayed in France. He is the author of many masterpieces, among them is the symphony "Mtskheta", dedicated to the ancient capital of Georgia. He was a rector of the Conservatoire in Paris.

as many new paths for research as does his work on Deleuze. To intellectual society he is better known for his work on Deleuze, as nearly all his intellectual life was connected with the investigation of Deleuze's philosophy. His works made a strong path in world philosophy. According to famous words of Michel Foucault, XX century may be called the Century of Gilles Deleuze. (Foucault, 1998: 343). François Zourabichvili is the philosopher who precisely understands, discovers the very essence of "Deleuze's century". Nobody can write a serious work on Deleuze without Zourabichvili's works. It is worth noting that Deleuze himself was interested in Zourabichvili's investigations. A creative dialogue took place among the two philosophers on the issue of "a new ontology".

Two books by François Zourabichvili "*Deleuze: A Philosophy of the Event*" and "*The Vocabulary of Deleuze*" were the book ends, of his short career, and they are both landmarks in the interpretation of Deleuze's philosophy. "*A Philosophy of the Event*" was published in 1994, a year before Deleuze's death, and while it was not the first book to be published on Deleuze. As Daniel W. Smith and Gregg Lambert, the editors of the English version of Zourabichvili's publication, note "it was the first to provide a systematic analysis of Deleuze's work as a whole, and it has remained a touchstone of all subsequent readings of Deleuze" (Zourabichvili, 2012: 19-32). "We assume that philosophy will not emerge from the Deleuzian adventure unscathed," Zourabichvili wrote, "but we know that it is up to

us to demonstrate this and to pursue it. I have sought above all to extract the logical movements of an oeuvre that seems to me to be one of the most important and most powerful of the twentieth century.” The *Vocabulary of Deleuze* appeared nine years later, in 2003, as a volume in the “Vocabulaire de . . .” series directed by Jean-Pierre Zarader – a well known collection of books that includes similar volumes on Bergson by Frederic Worms and on Foucault by Judith Revel. Whereas the first book was oriented around the Deleuzian concept of the event, the second book provided a concise analysis of many of the new concepts Deleuze had created, which are presented in the “dictionary” form that Deleuze himself had utilized in his short books on Nietzsche and Spinoza. “No one has indicated what a ‘Vocabulary’ should be better than Deleuze,” Zourabichvili noted, “not a collection of opinions on general themes, but a series of logical sketches that describe so many complex acts of thought, titled and signed.”<sup>44</sup>

Zourabichvili calls the method, the “style” he chooses to employ in his works, an “exposition of concepts”. This helps him to get into a direct dialogue with Deleuze’s thought and make an explication of his hidden potential.

Zourabichvili insists, that the opposition between ontological and transcendental problems in Deleuze’s thought is not static, but is rather the consequence of a kind of self-immolation imma-

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<sup>44</sup> See: on the back cover of the French edition of the *Vocabulary*.



nently affecting ontology itself, a logical undertow that draws us *through* ontology toward a thought of experience that outstrips it.

Zourabichvili defines the notion that was invented by Deleuze – “*plan d'immanence*” (“The Plane of Immanence”). This notion is very difficult to translate and define. In his final essay entitled *Immanence: A Life*, Deleuze writes: “It is only when immanence is no longer immanence to anything other than itself that we can speak of a plane of immanence.” (Deleuze, 2001: 27).

Zourabichvili writes: “I will conclude with a few points of reference. The concept of the plane of immanence replaces that of the “transcendental field” drawn from the philosophies of Kant and Husserl (on these two authors, cf. LS 14th-17th Series and WP 46-7).” (Zourabichvili, 2012: 196). For Zourabichvili “plane” and no longer “field”: because it is not for a subject assumed to be outside of the field, or at the limit of a field that opens itself beginning from him according to the model of a field of perception (cf. the transcendental Ego of phenomenology – on the contrary, the subject is constituted in the given, or more precisely on the plane); and also because what comes to fill the plane accumulates or is connected only laterally, on its edges, since we find here only slippages, displacements, *clinamen* (LS 6-7, 270-1), even a “clinic,” not only in the sense invoked above a “slippage from one organisation to another,” but in the sense of a “formation of a progressive and creative disorganisation” (which reflects the Deleuzian definition of *perversion* – see “Line of Flight”). The movements on the pla-

ne are opposed to the verticality of a foundation or to the rectilinearity of a progress (it is in *The Logic of Sense* that the transcendental field begins to be thought as a plane, even if the word is not pronounced [LS 109]; and the triad depth-surface-height – which is to say mixtures of bodies interacting and composing, events, forms – will be replayed or repeated differently as chaos-plane-transcendence or opinion in *What is Philosophy?*). “Immanence” and no longer “transcendental”: because the plane *does not precede* what comes to populate it or fill it, but is constructed and reorganised within experience, so that there is no longer any sense in speaking of *a priori* forms of experience, of an experience in general, applicable to every place and time (just as we can no longer be content with the concept of a universal and invariable space-time).

In other words, such conditions are “no broader than the conditioned,” which is why a critical philosophy radicalised in this way can claim to state the principles of a veritable *genesis* and no longer of a simple external conditioning indifferent to the nature of what it conditions.

In contemporary hermeneutical situation the “identity culture” has transformed into “eternal return culture”. Qualitative ontology, which emerged from old scholastics, has changed into “quantitative” dynamic world, against the background of which the world of eternal models does not stand any longer. It is the world of singular acts which has neither beginning nor end. The mentioned change is distinctly expressed in the theories of

Mircea Eliade and G. Deleuze. Their texts are similar not only by the intuitive manner, but also even the terminological nomenclature. Let us compare Eliade's "*Le Mythe de L'Eternel Retour. Archétypes et répétition* (1969) and Deleuze's "*Difference and Repetition*" (1968). The path of their ontologies leads us to F. Nietzsche, which regains actuality to the myth of eternal return; created concept of superman (Übermensch). The superman remains the major figure of modern hermeneutic situation and most adequate conceptual scheme. In accordance with the term of Deleuze this is the major conceptual character, which moves in the "plane of immanence" (Le Plan D'immanence); exactly here the ontological repetition (*répétition*) takes place, which does not return identities. The eternal return happens from the universe of differentiations. Thinking escapes from the slavery of homogenous ideas and enters into hierophania of inhomogeneous, each repetition changes and renews the repeated one. It already operates with exceptional events. Eliade found a key to religion and myth in "central mystery", "universal mythos" and in the ritual of periodical revenue of the world. This is the repetition and restoration of the original time. In this way was conducted a ritual invasion of the sacral into the modernity, i.e. Hierophania. The above mentioned concepts give us an opportunity to put Eliade's "models of initiation" and Deleuze's "repetition" closer to each other. In the course of research of new ways of ontology the contours of future emerged. The renewal of human situation will be possible by the reintegration of historical time into original time.

## EPILOGUE

DO THERE STILL EXIST PHILOSOPHERS?!

**F**rom the day of his Enthronization, since 1978, His all-Holiness and Beatitude, the Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia, the Archbishop of Mtskheta-Tbilisi and the Metropolitan of Bichvinta and Tskhum-Abkhazia Ilia II has been regularly organising meetings with Georgian and foreign philosophers, setting up workshops and colloquiums dedicated to the analysis of the contemporary spiritual situation.

In 2016, Ilia II invited a group of Georgian philosophers to his residence. The discussion held at the meeting revolved around the issue of the role of philosophy in the modern world and the prospects of cohabitation of religion and science. The main question that aroused special interest was: Is that right that philosophers do not exist nowadays and only critics are left? The opinions expressed at the meeting regarding this issue can be summarized as follows: in post-Hegelian philosophy there is a growing distrust towards universal systems, but that does not mean that the humanity has ceased thinking philosophically. “Travelling at the speed of thought” is the only ontological advantage of all other possible creatures, universes and dimensions. This “advantage” gets realized through the creation of philosophical concepts and conceptual characters. The event of thinking is the force that can withstand the threats of chaos and

entropy. This mini symposium came to the following conditional statement: philosophers still create their own concepts and conceptual characters. No one deserves the title of “Philosopher” who has never created even a single concept or at least revived an old one in a new context. It is logical that based on all this several questions may arise: Does Georgian philosophy exist? Have Georgian philosophers ever created their own concepts and conceptual character like, for instance, Plato’s Socrates (the main character of Plato’s Dialogues), Friedrich Nietzsche’s Zarathustra or René Descartes’ Cogito? The discussion around this question can be summarized as follows: if a philosophical book is written in a verbal language within a certain geographical area, then can we speak about the existence of philosophy here? Philosophy was created by Greeks and its mother tongue is Greek. To be a philosopher in a certain language means to establish general conceptual apparatus and terms in translations. But a translation always involves interpretation. That is why we have Classical German Philosophy and Anglo-American Pragmatism. In each of these languages a pre-philosophical code of cultural experience is invested.

This doctrine was unfamiliar to the Georgian way of thinking. Georgian scripts, original hagiographical literature (since the fifth century) prepared pre-philosophical grounds for the thought, poetry and ancient variety of folk religion that still exists in the Mountainous regions of Georgia as a “living mythos”. The formation of pre-philosophical code was encouraged by the creation of the Georgian alphabet and Georgian script (Ge-

orgian alphabet is one of the 14 alphabets existing in the world). Was philosophy actually imported to Georgia? In some way it was. For example, Ioane Petritsi brought it from Greece, Shalva Nutsubidze, Dimitri Uznadze and Kote Bakradze – from Germany, Merab Mamardashvili – from France, etc. However, let us recall Plato’s dialogue “The Sophist”. One of its main characters Socrates is a native-born Athenian, while the Sophist is a wandering stranger. A philosopher stays a stranger everywhere. Even in his home country he may be persecuted. The greatest philosopher of all time Socrates was sentenced to death in his own city, Ioane Petritsi complained that Georgians never let him “be Aristotle”, i. e. create a philosophical system equal to Aristotle’s. Shalva Nutsubidze was jailed, banished from his own University and permanently persecuted.

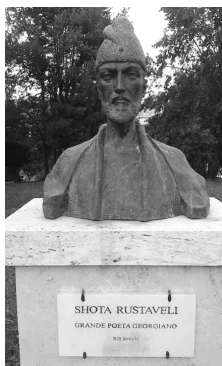
Philosophy was born simultaneously with the Greek polis. Publicity and democracy come from the agora of a Greek polis. *Agora* is a society, not *Gemainschaft*, fraternity, relatives or friends, but *Gesellschaft*. We are members of *Gemainschaft* and we are merged with it. Givi Margvelashvili, while being interviewed in Berlin, noted: “It’s hard for philosophy to exist in *Gemainschaft*. It is retarded and perhaps subsequently will fall silent. It can be regarded as an answer to this question: Why don’t we have philosophy? We found ourselves beneath the scaffold of *Gemainschaft*. Perhaps it saved us, but in some way defeated us as well... To my mind, this new time is perfectly suited to Georgia. When the judicial element is established in Georgia, the corresponding philosophy will also appear”.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

### GEORGIAN PHILOSOPHERS



**Joane Petritsi** (at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries) got an education under the mentorship of Michael Psellus at Mangan Academy in Constantinople. He eventually returned to Georgia at the invitation of David IV the Builder, founded Gelati Academy and created the system of Georgian equivalents to the Greek philosophical terminology. He translated into Georgian Proclus Diadochus's "Elements of Theology". This translation is much older than the surviving original manuscript. Therefore, it has exceptional importance for the restoration of the authentic text, while the comments attached to the translation represent an original Neoplatonical concept.



Shota Rustaveli's monument standing in Villa Borghese (Rome) among the world's greatest writers.



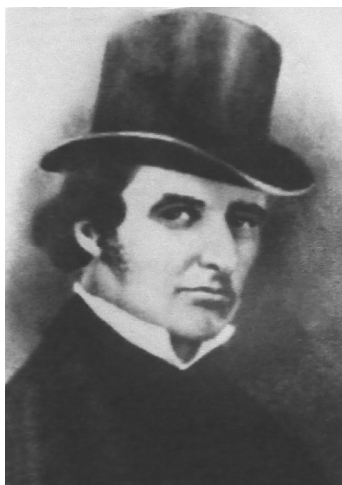
Rustaveli's fresco in the Georgians' Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem.

**Shota Rustaveli** – a great Georgian poet and thinker of the Early Renaissance (12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> cc.), the author of the epic poem “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin”, which has been translated into many languages.





**Saint Anthim the Iberian** (1650-1716) was an “Enlightener and Humanist” of Georgia and Wallachia, organizer of polygraph industry in the whole Eastern Christendom (Greece, Romania, Syria, Palestine, Georgia), the Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia, theologian and translator.



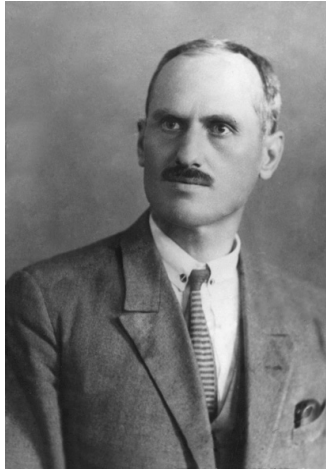
**Solomon Dodashvili (1808-1836)**, the author of the first course-book of logic in the history of the Russian Empire (1827), was influenced by Kantian Transcendentalism and German Romanticism. He was an ideological leader of the 1832 Plot against the Russian “Anschluss” in Georgia, which plot aimed at restoring the Georgian statehood. The conspiracy was unveiled and, together with the other leaders, the young dissident philosopher was exiled to the distant Russian city of Stavropol, where he died in 1836.



**Shalva Ntsubidze (1888-1969)** created works in the field of metaphysics and published them in Germany in the German language (1926-1932). He is one of the founders of the first Georgian university (1918). He advanced the hypothesis that Peter the Iberian and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite was actually one and the same person (1943). Some years later, the Belgian Byzantinist *Ernst Honigmann* came to the same conclusion (1953). This opinion is known as the “Ntsubidze-Honigmann Theory”. He is also the author of the theory of Eastern Renaissance and Alethological Realism. Shalva Ntsubidze translated Shota Rustaveli’s “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” into Russian.



**Dimitri Uznadze** (1886-1950) a famous psychologist, philosopher and public benefactor, founder of the Georgian scientific school of psychology, co-founder of Tbilisi State University (TSU), co-founder of the Georgian Academy of Sciences (GAS), Meritorious Science Worker of Georgia, Dr. Sci., Professor; studied in Switzerland and Germany at the philosophy faculty of Leipzig University. In 1910 he received a PhD degree at the University of Wittenberg (Halle). Dimitri Uznadze is the author of the Theory of Attitude and Set.



**Sergi Danelia (1888-1963)** studied the problems of ancient and modern philosophy. He created fundamental works on pre-Socratic philosophy. In his research on Xenophanes of Colophon's outlook, Sergi Danelia claimed that this great thinker was the creator of the first philosophical theism.



**Kote Bakradze (1898-1970)** studied philosophy in Tbilisi State University under the guidance of Shalva Ntsubidze. He continued his education in Heidelberg University in Germany, under the mentorship of Edmund Husserl. Bakradze researched classical German philosophy and philosophical movements of the twentieth century using the method of immanent critique.



**M**ose Gogiberidze (1897-1951) studied in Germany, at Berlin and Marburg Universities. He was a disciple of Nicolai Hartmann and in 1922 defended his PhD thesis. The main fields of his research were the Theory of Knowledge and the History of Philosophy; main works: “Axiomatic Foundation of Cognition”, “Science and Religion”, “Moses Maimonides’ philosophy”. He was the first translator of Kant’s works “Critique of Pure Reason” and “Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics” into Georgian.



**Savle Tsereteli** (1907-1961) was the founder of the Institute of Philosophy of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He is the author of the Theory of Infinite Conclusion. Savle Tsereteli attempted to create Dialectical Logic, within which Aristotelian Classical Logic would represent only one moment. His colleagues used to call him “Doctor fundatissimus” (Most Fundamental Doctor).





**Angia Bochorishvili** (1905-1981) is the founder of philosophical anthropology in Georgia. He conceptualised the three main concepts of contemporary anthropology: Martin Heidegger's "existence", Max Scheler's "persona" and his teacher's Dimitri Uznadze's "set". While studying the essence of man, he used phenomenological methodology.



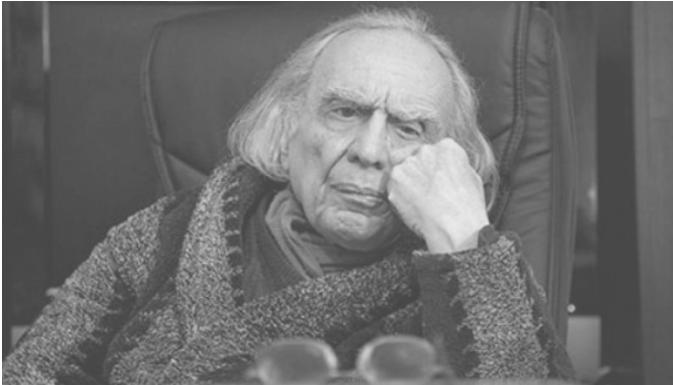
**Zurab Kakabadze** (1926-1981) studied the reasons for the alienation and “existential crisis” of man in modern industrial society. He was trying to find the prospects of overcoming the above-mentioned crisis in Edmund Husserl’s transcendental phenomenology. Owing to the original style and content, his books immediately became bestsellers.



**Tamaz Buachidze** (1930-2001) researched Hegel's philosophy and the origins of modern philosophy. In his monographs Buachidze thematised the replacement of the rational optimism of Hegel's philosophy by Schopenhauer's irrational pessimism and, later, by the voluntarism of the philosophy of life (Friedrich Nietzsche, Wilhelm Dilthey). All these changes radically transformed the cultural atmosphere of Western Europe and initiated new visions and new movements. Due to the refined and laconic style, his books still enjoy popularity with a wide range of readers.



**Merab Mamardashvili** (1928-1991) created the theory of classical and non-classical ideals of rationality and the original concept of Cartesian Meditations. He played the role of charismatic leader in the final phase of the “Cold War”.



**Givi Margvelashvili** (1927) a German-Georgian philosopher and writer. was born in Berlin, in the family of a Georgian political exile. In 1945 he and his father were arrested by the Soviet Intelligence in Berlin. His father was accused of collaborating with the Nazis and was executed while Givi was sent to a concentration camp. Later he was released and he arrived in Tbilisi. Givi Margvelashvili lived in Tbilisi. He carried out his scientific-research work in the Institute of Foreign Languages and the Institute of Philosophy. In 1992 moved to Berlin. Currently he lives in Tbilisi. He is the author of the “Theory of Ontotextuality”.



**Francois Zourabichvili** (1965-2006) was born in France, in the family of a Georgian political exile. He is the author of works concerning Gilles Deleuze and Baruch Spinoza that elicited enormous response around the world. As a consequence of the original interpretation of Deleuze's philosophy, he made the concept of the Philosophy of the Event (*une philosophie de l'évènement*).

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