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EDITORIAL NOTE

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Our address:

Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

13 Chavchavadze ave.

0179 Tbilisi, Georgia

Tel.: (+995 32) 22 11 81

Fax: (+995 32) 22 11 81

E-mail: greekstudies@caucasus.net

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Medea Abulashvili (Tbilisi)

FOLK FANCY OR REMINISCENCES SHAPED AS A LEGEND?

The roots of some folk texts with no ritual function nowadays are closely connected with a remote rite. However, in the course of time, along with the loss of corresponding rituals, customs and beliefs, the songs were cut off their roots and were modified in accordance with the development of artistic vision. The plot, vocabulary and the conversational genre of the majority of such songs point directly at pagan cults and totems of birds and plants as their origin. After ancient beliefs and magic customs sank into oblivion, the songs that lost their functions passed through the stages of evolution and modifications, attached the remainders of the past they implied a different, modified format and stimulated the development of new genres.

The above-mentioned suggests that episodes from folk texts of different genres may convey ancient information. In this respect, Greek folk songs are particularly remarkable as they incorporate layers of many different epochs from the archaic period till our contemporary life, indicate the dynamic development of ethnical, cultural and religious concepts and are distinguished for long traditions for protecting ancient structures and beliefs. Especially noteworthy are the song patterns that have no parallel in other peoples' folk art.

My immediate interest is focused on construction texts. The most popular one among them is the ballad of *The Bridge of Arta* ("*Της Αρτας το γιοφύρι*").

The ballad survived in many diverse versions¹ which in fact are united by the same plot: hosts of builders, apprentices, craftsmen and masons are

¹ Γνεύτος Π., Τραγούδια δημοτικά της Ρόδου, Ρόδος 1980, 100-101; Παππάς Ν., Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια, Αθήνα 1953, 131-132; Ιωάννου Γ., Τα δημοτικά μας τραγούδια, Αθήνα 1994, 48-49; Πετρόπουλος Δ., Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια, αρ. 46, Αθήνα 1958, 71-73. Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια (εκλογή), Ακαδημία Αθηνών, τ. Α', Αθήνα 1962, 319-325; Πολίτης Ν., Δημοτικά Τραγούδια, Αθήνα 2001; Πολίτης Ν., Δημοτικά Τραγούδια, Αθήνα 2001, 213-216.

building the bridge all day long just to find it collapsed next morning. Finally, a strange bird says in a human voice that the only way out is human sacrifice. And the person to be sacrificed should be neither an orphan, nor a stranger and a passer-by, but the foreman's beautiful wife (... και μη στοιχειώσε' τε ορφανό, μη ξένο, μη διαβάτη, παρά του πρωτομάστορα την όμορφη γυναίκα).² The distressed husband sends the bird to his wife to delay her coming to the building site.

– αργά ντυθεί, αργά αλλαχτεί, αργά να πάει το γόμα,

– Let her take no haste in putting on her dress, be slow at changing clothes, and bring the meal without a hurry.

αργά να πα και να διαβή της Άρτας το γεφύρι.³

Let her go slowly and cross the Bridge of Arta – he asks the bird. However, the messenger tells his wife the opposite. The lady believes the strange creature speaking the human language and goes to the site rapidly. The builders say her husband has dropped a ring in the arch of the bridge and that is why he is worried. The devoted wife goes down into the arch of her own will to find the lost thing. At that very moment the builders pour down the lime, and the master himself throws down a huge stone. The lady starts lamenting over her ill fate; her two sisters were also built in the foundations of other structures. The words of damnation come up from the arch:

Ως τρέμει η καρδούλα μου να τρέμει ο γεφύρι,

May the bridge reel the way my heart is trembling now

ως πέφτουν τα μαλλάκια μου να πέφτουν οι διαβάτες.⁴

May the passers-by fall down the way my hair is coming out now.

Some songs include follow-up phrases that sound as a response to the lady's curse:

Κόρη, τον λόγον άλλαξε και άλλη κατάρα δώσε

Daughter, change your word and say some other spell-word;

κ' έεις αδερφό στην ξενιτιά, μη λάχει και περάσει.⁵

Your brother is in a strange land, and may he not cross the bridge.

None of the song versions mention the name of the person who says these words – it is unknown whether they belong to the foreman, a builder or a lyric character. Anyway, they always yield the removal of the anathema:

² Ελληνικά δημ. Τραγούδια, Ακαδημίας, 1962, 320, α'9-10.

³ Πολίτης Ν. Γ., 2001, 214.

⁴ Ελληνικά δημ. Τραγούδια, Ακαδημίας, 1962, 321, α'33-34.

⁵ Ibid; 321, α'35-36.

*Αάμον ντο στεκ' η καρδά μου, να στεκει το γεφύρι,
As soon as my heart stops, may the bridge stop?
κι άμον ντο στεκ' ν' τα γόνατά μου, να στέκ' νε κ' οι δαβάτι...⁶
And may the passers-by stand (on the bridge) upright the same way
my knees will straighten...*

The above samples of the ballad relate about sacrifice.

The sacrifice practice had a different shape in different epochs and religions and functioned as an offering aimed at either winning divine favor or mollifying divine wrath or giving thanks or atoning for one's sins. The offering could be a human being, an animal or a plant (ears, fruit, bee comb, flower...).

Animal or vegetable offerings were popular in Christian Greece as well; and although they are not directly reflected in texts, some of folk songs are performed when the bloodless offering is being prepared (Holliday bread is being baked or boughs are being collected for the Palm Sunday). The same songs however clearly reflect the tendency of replacing either bloody or bloodless sacrifice with charity as the latter appeals to God most of all (this is directly stated in winter and spring songs (kalandas)).

The *Arta Bridge* ballad is based on a foundation sacrifice. Some researchers argue the history of Hellenic civilization provides no evidence for the actual existence of such an offering and attribute the literary descriptions of the cases solely to folk fancy.⁷ This particular type of human sacrifice could have been out of practice in ancient Greece, but this does not mean that they were never performed throughout the history of humankind. It is hard to believe that the legends, sagas, verses and songs that survived in peoples' memories and have preserved almost identical plots belong solely to the imaginary world and are not supported with real, even if extremely remote, facts. Both ancient Greek literature and Modern Greek folklore 'persistently' picture human sacrifice episodes.⁸ In my opinion, such traditions have a realistic basis: they go back to the remote past when human sacrifice was performed,⁹ or to the epoch when people still remembered the real stories about human sacrifices related by their immediate ancestors. After human

⁶ Ibid; 123, γ'/31-32.

⁷ Hughes D. D., *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London, New York 1991, 26-57.

⁸ About human sacrifice in ancient Greek literature see Ratiiani N., *The Reflection of Ritual in Ancient Greek Literature*, Tb., 2001, 4-66 (in Georgian).

⁹ According to A. Taylor, human sacrifice was practiced till recent times among some of the savage tribes of Australia and Africa (Тэйлор Э., *Первобытная культура*, М., 1939, 57).

offering was replaced with animal sacrifice,¹⁰ the ritual that expressed old religious beliefs could well have adopted the shape of a legend.

I share the viewpoint, which explains the existence of parallel plots with different people not through close ties and mutual impacts but through identical social conditions. Similar social conditions could foster similar ideological, ‘superstructural’ models including plots.

Considering the above statement, it is not accidental that apart from Greek folklore, the plot with an in-built victim occurs in Georgian, Serbian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Roumanian, German, Lithuanian and Albanian traditions.¹¹ In almost all the above-mentioned cases, the plot is rendered through the lyrics with lost melody. There is one point to be accentuated here: a piece of verbal folk art goes through several stages before it is recited as a verse:

1. The recital of the verbal text is accompanied with dance and song;
2. The verse is accompanied with music;
3. The verse is performed with a melody but without an instrument.¹²

If we bears in mind that each of these stages normally took centuries, once again we may come to the conclusion that the roots of the texts with foundation sacrifice are linked to the archaic past. None of the traditions associates the ballad with a particular setting. Although in the majority of Greek versions the structure is the Arta Bridge, some of them mention different place-names (Sperchios, Pynios, Arachova, etc.).¹³ Likewise, similar tradition is related to buildings in nearly all parts of Georgia: apart from the Surami fortress ballads¹⁴, folk tradition offers a number of other legends: the builders of the Mindali fortress in Racha failed to erect walls until a young boy was built in; a woman and a cow were mured in the walls of the Kelasuri fortress in Apkhazeti; the construction of a fortress in the Signaghi district of Kakheti required the sacrifice of a lad who was the only-begotten son; likewise, according to the Imeretian tradition, Levan Bakhtadze, the only son, was allotted to be built in the church wall; sister and brother were walled up

¹⁰ The Biblical story of Abraham and Isaac is often cited as an illustration of the process. According to the story, God had mercy on Abraham and bade him to sacrifice a lamb instead of his son.

¹¹ Georgian Folklore, vol. III, ed. by M. Chikovani, Tb., 1964, 303-318 (in Georgian); Криничная Н. А., Эпические произведения о принесении строительной жертвы, в кн. Фольклор и этнография, Л., 1984, 154 -161; Байбурин А. К., Строительная жертва и связанные с нею ритуальные символы у восточных славян, в кн. Проблемы славянской этнографии, Л., 1979, 162.

¹² Georgian Folklore, 113-114. The same idea is developed by M. Chikovani (Georgian Folk Literature, 1956, 48-60 (in Georgian)), A. Veselovski (Историческая поэтика, М., 1940, 201) and A. Taylor (Первобытная культура, 1939, 163).

¹³ Πολίτης Ν. Γ., 2001, 213-214.

¹⁴ Umikashvili P., Folklore, vol. I, Tb., 1937, 177-178 (in Georgian).

in the Iluri St. George church.¹⁵ Strangely enough, such traditions are linked to Christian churches. Likewise unusual is one of the Cyprian versions of the tradition about a victim built in a bridge, which says that the human sacrifice was performed under the will of the Lord and Archangels:

*Ἦρθεν βουλή που τον Θεόν τζαί που τους αρχαντζέλους,
The will of the Lord and the Archangels came on,
μεν βάλη που το γένος του, γιοφύριν εν κρατίζει.¹⁶
If he (the foreman) does not mure up his family member,
The wall will not remain erect.*

Certainly, the above abstract is not an argument for associating the story with the Christian epoch (although the Arta Bridge was evidently built at the outset of the 17th century A.D., when Arta was the capital of Epirus Kingdom)¹⁷; likewise, Georgian legends mentioned above cannot be contemporary of the period when the mentioned Christian temples were built; in both cases, the stories reflect the deep imprints the reminiscences of the remote past left in human memories. And the mentioning of the Lord and the Archangels is nothing but an attempt to put a Christian veil on the text related to a pagan ritual. This assumption is reinforced by the following phrase from the Ivron Monastery manuscript:

*Τζαί μιάν Αγίαν Τζερκατζήν, χριστιανίν ημέραν,
On St. Tzerkatzin's day, the Christian day,
έρασσαν που το γένος της, έρασσαν τζ'επερνούσαν...¹⁸
Her (the walled-up victim's) descendants went onto it (the bridge)
And crossed it (successfully)...*

It is hard to say whether the name really belongs to a holy saint or is invented or represents an altered dialectical version. Anyway, it is certain that the names of the saint and the Archangels were added to the text later. In later versions of the ballad, the sacrifice is not God's will. Moreover, some researchers believe that in the Pontic patterns of the Arta Bridge the master is talking ('bargaining') with the invisible demonic spirit, the rival of God.¹⁹

¹⁵ Georgian Folklore, 1964, 306-307.

¹⁶ Ελληνικά δημ. Τραγούδια, Ακαδημίας, 1962, 323, δ'4-5.

¹⁷ Ευσταθιάδης Σ. Ι., Τα Τραγούδια του Ποντιακού Λαού, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, 43.

¹⁸ Buvier B., Δημοτικά τραγούδια από χειρόγραφο της Μόνης των Ιβήρων, Αθήνα 1960, 36.

¹⁹ Ευσταθιάδης Σ.Ι., 1992, 46.

Foundation sacrifice was normally performed in honor of the house-spirit²⁰, the so-called mother-spirit of the place or the angle of home.²¹ In the belief of different peoples, such a sacrifice worked as a tribute for the space²² and acted as a guarantee²³ for the ‘validity’ of the facility. This belief is vividly reflected in a song where a certain abstract power addresses the foreman several times to have him specify what exactly is offered:

*Τι δίνεις πρωτομάστορα, να στήσω το γιοφύρι; ...
 What will you give away if I erect the bridge?
 Τι τάξεις πρωτομάστορα, να σου το θεμελιώσω;...
 What do you promise if I lay the foundation?
 Και τι μου δίνεις, μάστορα, να σου το στερεώσω; ...
 What will you give me, master, if I make it (the bridge) solid?²⁴*

The foundation offering is the best and the most distinguished: according to the Georgian version, it is the only son, and in Russian and Balkan folklore, it is a beautiful woman, the foreman’s wife. The plot versions with different peoples have another remarkable point in common: the structure is destroyed on its own, without outside interference. The only way out is to make a sacrifice; however, in the majority of cases, the person to be offered is not aware of his/ her lot. He/she becomes a victim unexpectedly, deceitfully, regardless of his/ her own will.²⁵ However, some cases are different – sometimes, the victim is fully conscious of what is bound to happen and in fact performs self-sacrifice.²⁶ In this respect, close attention should be paid to the Pontic version²⁷ in which the lady is sorry she has to leave her baby in the cradle (...πονιά, κλαίω το βρέφος μου, που τ’άφησα στην κουνιά...). Anyway, she is absolutely determined and even sings a song as she descends into the abyss after her husband’s hammer (Πέντε οργιές στο βάραθρο βουτάει τραγουδώντας – she goes five feet down the abyss singing a song). The episode can be interpreted in terms of symbols: The woman-mother, the symbol of fertility, is sacrificed to the fulfillment of artistic and social tasks.

²⁰ Криничная Н. А., 1984, 160. According to Russian beliefs, the person who dies first in the family occupies the place of the house-spirit. In some Russian villages people still perform certain ritual customs to honor the spirit. *ibid*; 161.

²¹ Javakhishvili Iv., *The History of Georgian Nation*, vol. I, Tb., 1960, 65 (in Georgian).

²² Криничная Н. А., 1984, 155.

²³ Байбурин А. К., 1979, 162.

²⁴ Ευσταθιάδης Σ. Ι., 1992, 38.

²⁵ Παππάς Ν., 1953, 131-132; Πολίτης Ν., 2001, 214; Ελληνικά δημ. Τραγούδια, Ακαδημίας, 1962, 320-325, α’,β’, γ’, δ’,β’; Байбурин А. К., 1979, 157-158.

²⁶ This is vividly illustrated in the prose version of the Surami fortress legend; see Chonkadze D., *The Surami Fortress*, ed. by M. Zandukeli, Tb., 1932, 98.

²⁷ Ευσταθιάδης Σ. Ι., 1992, 38.

According to one of the versions, the lady prepares thoroughly before going to the building site: she puts on her clothes and jewels made of gold, decorates her head with golden syrmas (cf: Iphigenia's head is embellished with garlands at the sacrifice site) and takes a golden apple (*Πουπάνω χόρησεν χρυσά, πουκάτω χρυσταλλένα, τέλια τα πουπανότερα, χρυσά, μαλαματένια, χρυσόν μήλον εμ που 'πκιαεν*).²⁸ According to another version, on Saturday the foreman's wife goes to the bath, on Sunday – to a wedding party and on Monday – to the lake of the *monster* (*Σάββαν επήγεν σο λουτρόν, την Κερεκήν σον γάμον, και την Δευτέραν τον πουρνόν σο Δρακολύμν' ευρέθεν*),²⁹ where according to the version, the bridge is being erected. These patterns clearly imply the fusion of preparations for sacrifice and the wedding ritual, which points to the mystic union of the bride-victim. Similar convergence (of the bridal ritual and foundation offering) occurs also in Russian folklore where the woman to be offered is dressed as a bride in white clothes and best footwear, receives blessings and is specially visited on the day of sacrifice to be accompanied to the sacrifice site.³⁰

Some Georgian researchers believe the custom of carrying heavy iron chains around St. George church in Gori is the symbolic repercussion of an old offering ritual.³¹ Presumably, the same is true about laying a piece of adornment or a cross in the foundation of a building.

In the interim between muring up a human being and laying a cross in the facility foundation, the consciousness of humankind went through a series of important changes, and human lifestyle was remarkably altered, while folk texts, which abolish territorial and chronological boundaries between spaces owing to the properties pertinent to different epochs, nations and social strata, have preserved the human sacrifice ritual with all its impressiveness.

²⁸ Ελληνικά δημ. Τραγούδια, Ακαδημία, 1962, 324, δ'29, 31.

²⁹ Ευσταθιάδης Σ. Ι., 1992, 38.

³⁰ Криничная Н. А., 1984, 161.

³¹ Javakhishvili Iv., 1960, 54.

Joni Apakidze (Tbilisi)

WESTLICHE KONTAKTE DER KOLCHIS-KULTUR IM 2. UND ANFANG DES 1. JAHRTAUSENDS V. CHR.*

Merkwürdigerweise gibt es im Kaukasus selbst keine Vergleiche zu kolchischer Keramik der 1. Etappe (18. – 12. Jh. v. Chr.)¹. Dafür aber läßt

* Der Artikel ist eine aus dem Georgischen übersetzte und überarbeitete Version des folgenden Aufsatzes: Apakidze J., Kolxuri kulturis sagareo kavshirurtiertobani namosaxlarebis keramikuli masalis michedvit da mati mnišvneloba absoluturi kronologiis kvlevisatvis, *Dziebani*, 12, Tbilisi 2003, 49-62.

¹ Einigen ähnlichen Formen begegnet man nur in Inner Kartli (= Šida Kartli) und Meschetien, obwohl die Verbreitung oder der Einfluss der kolchischen Kultur auf diese Gebiete in der Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit unumstritten ist. Seit dem Ende des 2. Jt. v. Chr. bis zum 6. Jh. v. Chr. dürfte nach Meinung des Verf. in Meschetien die kolchische Kultur verbreitet gewesen sein (Apakidze J., Die Chronologie der Spätbronze und Früheisenzeitlichen Kolchis-Kultur, *Kurzfassung der Arbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades der Habilitation in den historischen Wissenschaften*, Tbilisi 2002, 106-107 /georg. und deutsch/). Vor dem Verf. äußerte Otar Japaridze diese Ansicht und versuchte, sie durch archäologische Befunde zu belegen (Japaridze O., dasavlet saqartvelo gvianbrindzaos xanaši/Westgeorgien in der Spätbronzezeit, *Macne*, 2, 1982, 47). Nach I. Gambašidze ist die Übergangszeit von der Mittel- zur Spätbronzezeit in Meschetien durch „krasse Veränderungen“ gekennzeichnet. Um diese Zeit beginne die Zuwanderung und intensive Besiedelung im Borjomi-Tal. Das bisher bestimmende Wirtschaftsprofil ändere sich und dies sei mit dem Auftreten einer neuen Ethnie, welche die kolchische Axt mitbrachte, zu erklären. In der Endphase der Mittelbronzezeit erscheine und verankere sich das kolchische Element, das sich in Keramik und kolchischer Axt äußere, in Meschetien (Gambašidze I., Samcxe jv. c. II atasleulshi (borjomis xeobis arqeologiuri dzelebis mixedvit), avtoreferati istoriis mecnierebata kandidatis samecniero xarixsis mosapoveblad) Samcche im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. (nach archäologischen Denkmälern in der Borjomi Schlucht), *Kurzfassung der Arbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades der Promotion in den historischen Wissenschaften*, Tbilisi 1999, 22 /georg. und russ./). In Šida Kartli beobachtete der Verf. eine andere Situation. Die Kultur im Nordwesten des Gebiets von Šida Kartli ist eindeutig kolchisch. In den restlichen Gebieten handele es sich um eine Mischkultur. Anscheinend koexistierten dort zur Spätbronze- Früheisenzeit die kolchische und die samtavroische Kultur (Apakidze, 2002, 103-105). Dabei spielte die ostgeorgische, samtavroische Kultur eine dominierende Rolle. Einen Versuch, diese These anhand der neuesten archäologischen Daten zu belegen, unternimmt A. Ramišvili (Ramišvili A., Šida qartlis brinjaos xanis finaluri stadiebis arqeologiuri problemebi, *avtoreferati istoriis mecnierebata doqtoris samecniero xarixsis*

diese sich sehr nahe mit der Keramik aus der Ägäis, dem Donaugebiet und der norditalienischen Terramare-Kultur vergleichen. Parallelen zu diesen Regionen lassen sich auch an Bronzen feststellen. Dies betrifft insbesondere die Bronzehalsringe, Nadeln, Glöckchen, Dolche, Lanzen- und Tüllenpfeilspitzen und in besonderem Maße auch die Bronzefibeln.

B. Kuftin suchte Vergleiche zu kolchischer Keramik aus der Tellsiedlung Naochvamu in den Donau- und Pogeieten². Über die Ähnlichkeit zwischen der Kolchis- und der Terramare-Keramik äußerte sich Mikeladze³. L. Jibladze⁴ und M. Baramidze⁵ wiederholen die Hypothese von der Ähnlichkeit der Kolchis- und Terramare-Keramik. Der erste Forscher, der auf die Ähnlichkeit der kaukasischen und südeuropäischen Tonwaren hinwies, war E. Chantre. Die Ware aus Koban verglich er mit den Tierrohrhenskelschüsseln aus Terramare und einer Buckelkeramikschüssel mit doppelfigurigem Henkel aus dem Museum in Ljubljana⁶. Ausgrabungen in Naochvamu und anderen kolchischen Siedlungen bewiesen die Legitimität derartiger Vergleiche. Dabei sind in westgeorgischen Siedlungen die Analogien viel deutlicher sichtbar, als bei der Keramik aus den zentralen und anderen Kobanvarianten. In Italien, im L. Pigorini Museum für Archäologie und Ethnologie, in den archäologischen Museen in Reggio Emilia und Parma und dem Museum für Alte Geschichte und Natur in Verona konnte ich das Material der Terramare-Kultur studieren.

Landschaftlich und klimatisch erinnert die Ebene des Po an die Kolchis. Ebenso wie die kolchische Niederung ist die Po-Ebene im Norden und Süden von hohen Bergen umschlossen, im Osten grenzt sie an die Adria, südlich,

mosapoveblad/Archäologische Probleme Šida Kartlis in der Endphase der Bronzezeit, Kurzfassung der Arbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades der Habilitation in den historischen Wissenschaften, Tbilisi 1998, 7, 26-28 /georg. und russ./; Ders., kolxuri da šida qartluri kulturebis ertiortobis sakitxebi nacargoris samarovnis mixedvit/Beziehungen der kolchischen und šida kartlischen Kulturen nach Befunden des Gräberfeldes Nacargora, *Dziebani, damatebani VI: kavkasia neolit-brinjaoš xanis arqeologiis sakitxebi. edzgvneba akad. o. japaridzis dabadebis 80 clistavis gamo/Dziebani, Supplement. VI: Caucasus Essays on the Archaeology of Neolithic-Bronze Age. Dedicated to the 80th Birthday of Prof. Otar Japaridze*, Tbilisi 2001, 156-170 /georg./). Damit wäre das Vorhandensein kolchischer oder kolchisch aussehender Keramik an den verschiedensten Fundorten in Šida Kartli zu erklären.

² Куфтин Б. А., Материалы к археологии Колхиды II, Тбилиси 1950, 223-227, 237, 240, Рис. 63.

³ Микеладзе Т. К., К археологии Колхиды, Тбилиси 1990, 21, Таб. VI.

⁴ Jibladze L., Kolchetis dablobis brindžaos chanis namosachlarta stratigrafia, qronologia da periodizacia, Tbilisi 1997, 115-116 (georg.).

⁵ Baramidze M., agmosavlet šavizvšpireti dz. c. II-I atascleulis pirvel naxevarši (dziritadi problemebi). *istoriis mecnierabata doqtoris samecniero xarixsis mosapoveblad carmodgenili disertacia/Das Ostschwarzmeergebiet im 2. und in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (Hauptprobleme)*, *Arbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades der Habilitation in den historischen Wissenschaften*, Tbilisi 1998a, 85 (georg.) [Unpubliziertes Manuskript].

⁶ Chantre E., *Récherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*. 2. Période protohistorique. Texte. Paris, Lyon 1886, 91, 94-97.

hinter dem Gebirge (Appenin), liegt das Ligurische Meer. Die Ebene des Po ist wie das Tiefland des Rioni ein landschaftlich geschlossener, aber keinesfalls isolierter Raum. Die Tellsiedlungen der Terramare-Kultur liegen im Tal des Po, in den Provinzen Modena, Reggio Emilia, Parma und Piacenza. Die östliche Verbreitungsgrenze ist die Provinz Bologna. Das archäologische Fundmaterial im Museum von Bologna hat nach meinen Beobachtungen wenig Ähnlichkeit mit der Terramare-Kultur. Man findet dort eine völlig andersartige Tonware. Lediglich an Schalen aus Bronze kann man noch einige Gemeinsamkeiten feststellen. Die Nordgrenze der Terramare-Kultur liegt bei Verona. Die Keramik im Museum von Verona hat überhaupt keine Ähnlichkeit mit der Ware aus Terramare. Die Bronzen können bisweilen gleichartig sein, die Keramik und die Architektur sind jedoch völlig andersartig. Im Unterschied zu anderen Regionen, in denen die Töpferei noch auf einem ziemlich primitiven Niveau war, lässt sich in der Kolchis und in Terramare ein hoch entwickeltes handwerkliches Können feststellen. Die Tonware der Palafitenkultur ist generell unpoliert und sehr grob. Da aber die Umgebung von Verona als Mischkulturzone angesprochen werden kann, findet man dort auch Schüsseln mit Tierohrhaken, die jedoch ebenfalls unpoliert sind. Man begegnet dort auch einzelnen Details, die sowohl im Dekor der kolchischen als auch dem der Terramare-Keramik anzutreffen sind. Demzufolge unterscheidet sich ein Teil der Keramik aus der Umgebung von Verona völlig von der Terramare-Ware, ein anderer Teil hingegen zeigt eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit.

Im Juni 1999 besuchte ich die Ausgrabung einer Terramare-Siedlung in der Po-Ebene, in der Provinz Modena bei dem Dorf Montale⁷. Ein Teil der Tellsiedlung wurde bereits im 19. Jahrhundert bei Landarbeiten zerstört. Erhalten geblieben ist nur ein Viertel der Siedlung mit einem Durchmesser von 90 x 110 Metern. Die Siedlung war von einem 40 m langen und 6 m breiten Graben umschlossen. Der höchste Punkt des Tells dürfte 3 m über dem Graben bzw. den Kanäle gelegen haben.

Die Siedlung besteht aus mehreren Schichten. Die Aufschüttung besteht so wie in der Kolchis aus Erde. Man fand zahlreiche Pfostenlöcher für die Befestigung von Holzpfählen. Heute stehen an einem Abhang des Hügels eine Kirche und ein Wohnhaus, sodass dort keine Grabungen möglich sind. Topographie, Planung und Bautechnik der Siedlungen in Terramare und der Kolchis sind absolut identisch. Unterschiede bestehen lediglich in den Abmessungen: die Terramare-Siedlung ist wesentlich größer als die meisten kolchischen Tellsiedlungen.

⁷ Mein Begleiter beim Studium der Terramare-Kultur in Montale war Dr. Andrea Cardarelli, Direktor des Museums in Modena, dem ich an dieser Stelle sehr danken möchte.

Die Terramare-Kultur war in Norditalien vom 18. bis 12. Jh. v. Chr. verbreitet⁸. Sowohl hier als auch in der Kolchis ist das späte 12. Jh. v. Chr. das jüngste Datum für die rundlich-halbmondförmige Keramik mit Bogen-Kreisverzierung. Im Tal des Po entsteht um diese Zeit eine neue Kultur, die als Protovillanova bezeichnet wird. Die Veränderungen in der Töpferware lassen sich mit diesem Kulturwechsel erklären. In der Kolchis führte die Verwendung der Drehscheibe und die damit einhergehende Massenproduktion zum Verschwinden der älteren, komplizierteren und vielfältigeren Ornamentik. In Italien wird die Terramare-Kultur durch eine absolut neuartige Kultur ersetzt, wogegen im Ostschwarzmeergebiet die Kolchis-Kultur weiterlebt. Um diese Zeit setzt die Blüte dieser Hochkultur ein. Dies äußert sich in einem entwickelten Bronzehandwerk, der Verwendung des Eisens, dem graphischen Dekor, der sog. "Bevölkerungsexplosion" und der Entstehung einer Vielfalt von Siedlungstypen.

Die Ähnlichkeit zwischen der Terramare- und der Kolchis-Keramik am Ende der mittleren und dem Beginn der Spätbronzezeit (18.–12. Jh. v. Chr.) ist bemerkenswert. Insbesondere gilt dies für Schüsseln, Krüge und Töpfe (Abb. 1, 1-2.6; Abb. 2, 1-4), die mit Tierohr- bzw. zoomorphen Henkeln versehen sind (Abb. 1, 1.6; Abb. 2, 3). Die tierohrförmigen und allgemein zoomorphen Gefäßhenkel zeichnen sich sowohl in der Kolchis als auch in Terramare durch die Vielfalt ihrer Formen aus (Abb. 3, 1-16). Gefäßhenkel aus Castello di Bertacci, das mit dem 14. – 13. Jh. v. Chr. datiert ist (Abb. 3, 12), sind den kolchischen Gefäßhenkeln sehr ähnlich. Auch die Ornamentik ist in den beiden Kulturregionen oft identisch. Gemeint sind damit Kreisrillen (Abb. 1, 2.4.6-7.9; Abb. 2, 1-2.5-7,12), Kammstempelmuster (Abb. 2, 12) und das ältere "Parkett-Ornament" (Abb. 1, 2). Die meisten Objekte der Terramare-Keramik sind sowohl auf der Oberfläche als auch an der Innenseite schwarz-grau, einige Stücke haben dagegen eine hellgraue und beige Innenfläche. Die hellgrauen und beigen Exemplare stellen die zweitgrößte Farbgruppe dar. Die Keramik ist sowohl an der Oberfläche als auch auf der Innenseite (ein)poliert. Der Ton ist rein oder selten mit Quarz gemagert. Die meisten Gefäße sind, wie auch in der Kolchis, handgeformt.

Außer in der Terramare-Kultur findet die kolchische Ware auch einzelne Vergleiche in einigen Gebieten östlich der Alpen und im Donaubecken. Dabei

⁸ Carancini G. L., La produzione metallurgica delle terramare nel quadro dell'Italia protostorica. In: a cura di M. Bernabo Brea, A. Cardarelli, M. Grevaschi, *Le Terramare. La più antica civiltà padana*, Milano 1997; Bernabo Brea M., Il limite sud-occidentale dell'area terramaricola e le facies culturali dell'Appennino emiliano occidentale nell'età del bronzo media e recente. In: a cura di M. Bernabo Brea, A. Cardarelli, M. Grevaschi, *Le Terramare. La più antica civiltà padana*, Milano 1997; Säflund G., *Le terramare delle provincie di Modena, Reggio Emilia, Parma, Piacenza*, Lund, Leipzig 1939.

handelt es sich aber um eher selten auftretende vergleichbare Formen. Im Donaugebiet finden wir eine mit der kolchischen vergleichbare Tonware in Bosnien-Herzegowina und in Rumänien. Einen Teil des Fundmaterials der Palafiten-Kultur aus Donia Dolina publizierte Hornes (Hrsg.). Diese Keramikformen lassen sich mit bauchigen runden Tierrohrhenkelgefäßen aus der Kolchis und der Po-Ebene vergleichen⁹. In Südostrumänien fand man 1994 während der Ausgrabungen in der Siedlung Bâzdâna Tierrohrhenkel, in einer Siedlung am Bukarester See entdeckte man in einer nicht stratifizierten Schicht eine Schüssel mit Tierrohrhenkeln¹⁰. Demzufolge kann man in einem Gebiet vom Tal des Po bis zum Donaugebiet die gleichen bauchigen Gefäße und Tierrohrhenkel- schüsseln sowie die für die Kolchis und Terramare üblichen Ornamente verfolgen. Insofern erscheinen uns Kontakte zwischen der Kolchis und Südosteuropa in der Bronzezeit sehr gut möglich zu sein, denn diese Entwicklung geschah in einer Zeit des hoch entwickelten Bronzehandwerks und der Herausbildung neuer Völker und Sprachgruppen im Alten Orient und im Mittelmeerraum, der dem Prozeß der großen Völkerwanderung um die Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jt. v. Chr. voranging¹¹.

Seit dem 12. Jh. v. Chr. lassen sich Parallelen zwischen Bulgarien und Troia beobachten. Die mittel- und spätbronzezeitliche Keramik aus Troia läßt sich weder mit derjenigen aus Terramare noch mit der aus der Kolchis oder dem Balkan vergleichen. Einzig die Tierrohrhenkel finden sich vereinzelt in den Schichten von Troia VI. Nach der Niederlage von Troia VIIa (ca. 1180 v. Chr.) mit der die troianische Hochkultur ihr Ende fand, erscheint dort eine einfachere Kultur, die aus Bulgarien (Thrakien) stammte und noch keine Drehscheibe kannte¹². In Troia tauchen die handgefertigte, als "barbarian" bezeichnete Ware und die Buckelkeramik auf. Diese Buckelkeramik ist im unteren Donaubecken seit 1200 v. Chr. HA I (Hallstatt I) verbreitet. Sie zeichnet sich durch mittelgroße und kleine Schüsseln, Becher und Töpfe aus, die mit in die Rillen-Kreise eingesetzten kleinen Buckeln verziert sind, aus. Diese Art der Ornamentierung erinnert sehr an Kolchis und Terramare. Die Formen der Buckelkeramik aus Troia jedoch unterscheiden sich von den kolchischen. Die dreiteiligen Töpfe aus Troia lassen sich nur mit der

⁹ *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*. Herausgegeben vom Bosnisch-Herzegowinischen Landesmuseum in Sarajevo. Redigiert von Dr. Moritz Hornes, Bd. 9, Wien 1904, Taf. XXV-XXVI.

¹⁰ Diese Angaben und unpublizierten Aufzeichnungen übergab mir N. Boroffka (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin), wofür ich ihm an dieser Stelle herzlich danken möchte.

¹¹ Куфтин Б. А., 1950, 237.

¹² Korfmann M., Mannsperger D., *Führer durch Troia, verfaßt von der Grabungsleitung*, Istanbul 1997, 41; M. Korfmann, *Der Prähistorische Siedlungshügel Hisarlik. Die "zehn Städte Troias" – von unten nach oben. Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart 2001, 352.

Terramare-Keramik vergleichen. Übliche Verzierungen der Buckelkeramik sind vertikale Kanneluren, Ritz- und Stempellinien, sowie Dreiecke und konzentrische Kreise, die oft miteinander verbunden sind. Ähnliche Spiralkreise sind in der Kolchis erst in den der oberen Schicht von Naochvamu entsprechenden Phasen anzutreffen¹³. In Rumänien findet man vergleichbare Ware in Babadagh und Koslodjen, in Pšenitševo sowie in Zerkowna in Bulgarien, in Troia VII b₂¹⁴ u.a.

Nach B. Hänsel beginnt die Balkanisierung in Troia kurz nach der Niederlage von Troia VIIa¹⁵. Das Auftauchen der groben handgefertigten Buckelkeramik sei ein Resultat dieses Ereignisses. J. Bouzek datiert die Balkanisierung Troias in die selbe Periode, wobei er zwei Phasen unterscheidet: die erste, schwache und die zweite starke Welle des Balkanisierungsprozesses¹⁶. Man möchte Hänsel zustimmen, dass die Balkanisierung in Troia nicht nur der Einwanderung der Bevölkerungsgruppen aus Babadagh (an der Donaumündung) und Dubrudsha, sondern auch dem Kontakt mit anderen Gruppen aus dem unteren Donaugebiet, wo große lokale Unterschiede nachzuweisen sind, folgte. Dementsprechend sind die Unterschiede zwischen den Keramikgruppen aus Troia und dem Donaugebiet in lokalen Differenzierungen zu suchen¹⁷.

Für die Datierung der Buckelkeramik ist die gut datierte Kulturschicht Troia VIIb eine wichtige Stütze. Troia VII b enthält sowohl landesübliche als auch späthelladische IIIC, submykenische und protogeometrische Keramik. Die späthelladische IIIC – Ware gehört ca. in das 1200 – 1050 Jh. v. Chr., die submykenische wird mit 1050 – 1000 v. Chr. datiert und die protogeometrische mit 1000 – 950 v. Chr.¹⁸. Traditionell wird die späthelladische Periode mit 1185/ 1180 – 1100/1090 v. Chr. datiert, die submykenische mit 1070/1065 – 1015, und die protogeometrische ab 1015 v. Chr.¹⁹. Datie-

¹³ Куфтин Б. А., 1950, Рис. 48₄₀–81, Табл. 57₃.

¹⁴ Blegen C. W., Boulter C. G., Caskey J. L., Rawson M., *Troy IV. Settlements VII_a, VII_b and VIII*, Princeton 1958, Taf. 280-283; Hänsel B., *Beiträge zur regionalen chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit der unteren Donau*, Teil II (Tafeln, Karten und Beilage mit Erläuterungen), Bonn 1976, Taf. 12-29; Hänsel B., Gaben an die Gotter – Schätze der Bronzezeit Europas – eine Einführung. In: A. und Hänsel B., (Hrsg.), *Gaben an die Gotter. Schätze der Bronzezeit Europas*. Ausstellungskatalog, Berlin 1997, Abb. 14-17.

¹⁵ Hänsel B., *Beiträge zur regionalen chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit der unteren Donau*, Teil I (Text), Bonn 1976, 236.

¹⁶ Bouzek J., *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millennium B. C. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Prag 1985, 195.

¹⁷ Hänsel B., *Beiträge zur regionalen chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit der unteren Donau*, Teil I (Text), Bonn 1976, 236.

¹⁸ *Götter und Helden der Bronzezeit*. Das Zeitalter des Odysseus. 25. Ausstellung des Europarats. Bonn, Paris, Athen 1999/2000, Zeittafel.

¹⁹ Mountjoy P., *Regional Mycenaen Decorated Pottery*, vol. 1, Rathen/Westf. 1999, Taf. 1.

rungsversuche von Troia VII unternahmen C. Blegen²⁰, N. Sandars²¹, E. Bloedow²², K. Podzuweit²³, B. Hänsel²⁴, D. Koppenhöfer, R. Becks²⁵ und andere. Die Datierungen von Hänsel und Koppenhöfer stimmen ungefähr überein. Da die Datierung von Koppenhöfer auf den neuesten archäologischen Befunden basiert, nehmen wir diese als Grundlage für unsere Untersuchung. Koppenhöfer datiert Troia VIIa mit 1250 – 1180 v. Chr., Troia VIIb mit 1180 – 1120 v. Chr. und Troia VIIb₂ mit 1120 – 950 v. Chr.²⁶. Buckelkeramik erscheint in Troia ab der Periode Troia VIIb₂. Für die Chronologieforschung ist die Tatsache der erstmaligen Verwendung der Kannelurenverzierung an dieser Ware von großer Bedeutung. Keramik dieses Typs findet man in großer Anzahl nicht nur in Troia, sondern auch im Westschwarzmeergebiet und damit wäre als unterstes Datum der Kannelurenkeramik in dieser Region das 12. Jh. v. Chr. anzunehmen. Diesbezüglich ist die von E. Gogadze vorgenommene Datierung der Schicht IV von Nosiri in der Kolchis in das 11. – 10. Jh. v. Chr.²⁷ sowie meine Datierung der oberen Schicht in Naochvamu III in das 11.-10. Jh. v. Chr.²⁸ ein interessantes Beispiel. Kannelurendekor läßt sich auch an Keramikfunden aus anderen kolchischen Siedlungen am Ende des 2. Jt. v. Chr. finden. So enthält z.B. Schicht II der zentralen Dicha Gudžuba in Pišori, Schicht IV und III in Namžeduri, und Schicht III in Dzeti kannelurenverzierte Ware. In einer neuesten Publikation verbindet M. Baramidze die Kannelurenkeramik in der Kolchis mit der Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit²⁹. Dies entspricht ungefähr

²⁰ Blegen C. W., *Troy and the Trojans. Ancient Peoples and Places*, London 1963, 156.

²¹ Sandars N. K., From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a sequel to sequel. In: J. Boardman et al (ed.), *The European Community in Later Prehistory*. Studies in Honour of C. F. C. Hawkes, London 1971, 17-18.

²² Bloedow E. F., The Trojan War and Late Helladic III C, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 63, 1988, 30, 35.

²³ Podzuweit C., Die Mykenische Welt und Troia. In: Hänsel, Bernhard (Hrsg.), *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600-1000 v. Chr.* Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 1, 1982, 81-82.

²⁴ Hänsel B., *Beiträge zur regionalen chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit der unteren Donau*, Teil I (Text), Bonn 229-236; B. Hänsel, *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600-1000 v. Chr.* In: Hänsel, Bernhard (Hrsg.), *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600-1000 v. Chr.* Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 1, 16.

²⁵ Koppenhöfer D., Becks R., Troia VII – Versuch einer Zusammenschau einschliesslich der Ergebnisse des Jahres 1995. *Studia Troica* 7, 1997, 346-347.

²⁶ Koppenhöfer D., Becks R., 1997, 346.

²⁷ Gogadze E., kolchetis brindžaosa da adrerkinis xanis namosaxlarta kultura/*Die Kultur der Kolchis-Siedlungen in der Bronze- und Eisenzeit*, Tbilisi 1982, 94 (georg.); Гогодзе Е. М., К вопросу о хронологии и периодизации памятников колхидской культуры, *Вестник Государственного музея Грузии XXXVII-В*, Тбилиси 1984, Рис. II.

²⁸ Apakidze, 2002, 72-74;

²⁹ Baramidze agmosavlet šavizgvipireti dz. c. II-I atascleulis pirvel naxevarši (dziritadi problemebi), *Avtoferati istoriis mecniebatata doqtoris mecniero xarixis mosapoveblad/Das Ostschwarzmeergebiet im 2. und in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Hauptproble-

meinen Datierungsversuchen. Diese Fakten zeugen von der Gleichzeitigkeit der Kannelurenkeramik im West- und Ostschwarzmeerraum. Die Kolchis dürfte hinter dem Westschwarzmeerraum, dem Donaubegebiet und der Ägäis nicht "zurückstehen".

Es läßt sich ein Synchronismus der Keramikformen und der Ornamentik in diesen Regionen feststellen. Der osteuropäische Einfluß auf die kolchische Ware setzt sich auch im 1. Jt. v. Chr. fort³⁰. T. Mikeladze bemerkt eine Ähnlichkeit in Qualität und Ornamentierung zwischen der frühthrakischen Keramik aus Bulgarien und der kolchischen Ware. An einigen Beispielen geht diese Ähnlichkeit in eine Gleichartigkeit über. Gemeint sind Gefäßformen mit Kanneluren, Wellen- und Spirallinien³¹. Diesbezüglich sind die Behauptungen V. Kozenkovas über die mittel- und osteuropäischen Elemente an einer Keramikgruppe der Zentralkobanvariante der Kolchis-Kultur zu beachten. Es handelt sich dabei vorwiegend um große Vorratsgefäße, die an Großgefäße der Protovillanova-Kultur erinnern (breiter Körper, schmaler Hals, breite Randöffnung, schmaler Boden). Die Stücke sind häufig mit Buckeln und geometrischem Ritzornament dekoriert. Kozenkova vergleicht diese Gefäße auch mit der Hallstattkeramik und den Graburnen aus Thrakien, die mit konzentrischen Kreisen und Buckeln verziert sind³². Pyxiden erklärt die Autorin als einen ägäischen Einfluß, die zoomorphen Schüsselhenkel jedoch als westgeorgischen und samtavroischen Einfluß³³. Die Vergleiche der Frühhallstattkeramik und der Keramik von der unteren Donau durch B. Hänsel bezeugen die Ähnlichkeit der dortigen Vorratsgefäße und Tierrohrhenkelschüsseln bzw. Schüsseln mit zoomorphen Henkeln mit der Zentral- und Westkobankeramik³⁴, obwohl auch andere Keramiktypen aus Westgeorgien und Koban der Wendezeit vom 2. zum 1. Jt. v. Chr. viele Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen. Ein Beispiel dafür sind die eiförmigen bauchigen Gefäße. Genaue Analogien zu diesem Topftyp aus Westkoban³⁵ findet

me), *Kurzfassung der Arbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades der Habilitation in den historischen Wissenschaften*, Tbilisi 1998b, 26 (georg).

³⁰ Varamidze, 1998a, 85; Микеладзе Т. К., 1990, 21.

³¹ Микеладзе Т. К., 1990, 21.

³² Козенкова В. И., *Культурно-исторические процессы на Северном Кавказе в эпоху поздней бронзы и в раннем железном веке (Узловые проблемы происхождения и развития кобанской культуры)*, Москва 1996, 45, 92.

³³ Козенкова В. И., 1996, 45-46.

³⁴ Козенкова В. И., *Материальная основа быта кобанских племен. Западный вариант. Свод археологических источников России 2-5*, Москва 1998, Taf. XXXII, XXXIV; Bernabo Brea 1997, 45-46; Hänsel 1976, Teil II (Tafeln, Karten und Beilage mit Erläuterungen), Taf. 7, 10; Taf. 9-12; Taf. 16; Taf. 18; Taf. 21 u.a.

³⁵ Козенкова В. И., 1998, Taf. XXII₁₋₅, 9-11.

man in den Siedlungen Tamiš³⁶ und Kistriki³⁷. Zwei Töpfe aus der Tāmāoani-Gruppe des unteren Donaugebietes, die von B. Hänsel publiziert wurden, entsprechen vollkommen den kolchischen Gefäßen³⁸. Großgefäße und Gefäßdeckel (vielleicht auch Pyxidendeckel) findet man in Kistriki³⁹, Tamiš⁴⁰ und einigen anderen Siedlungen in Westgeorgien. Die mitteleuropäischen Einflüsse aus der Hallstattzeit könnten in die Kolchis sowohl über den Nordschwarzmeerraum und den Nordkaukasus als auch über den Ostschwarzmeerraum gelangt sein⁴¹.

Die Vergleiche, die wir in diesem Aufsatz angeführt haben, reichen nicht aus, um in Norditalien in der Po-Ebene die Anwesenheit einer kolchischen Ethnie zu postulieren. Zwar könnte nach der Theorie L. Pigorinis das Volk von Terramare kaukasischer Abstammung gewesen sein, dennoch müsste man heutzutage diese Theorie ablehnen. Falls eine Bevölkerungsgruppe, welche die Terramare-Kultur hervorbrachte, aus dem Kaukasus nach Norditalien gezogen wäre, so könnte dies nur später als im 1. Viertel der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr., zur Zeit der großen Völkerwanderung, geschehen sein, denn die ersten Siedlungen der Terramare-Kultur erscheinen im Gebiet des Po im 18. Jh. v. Chr. Daher wäre es zu erklären, warum das wesentliche Kennzeichen der kolchischen Kultur – die Bronzeaxt – in der Terramare-Kultur nicht anzutreffen ist. Die Prototypen kolchischer Bronzewaffen erscheinen am Ende der mittleren Bronzezeit und sind zu Beginn des 14. Jh. v. Chr. vollkommen entwickelt. Die typisch kolchischen Keramikformen sind aber bereits im 18. – 17. Jh. v. Chr. an Fundorten wie Nosiri Schicht I, Dicha Gudzuba bei Anaklia I, Schicht II nachzuweisen. Es handelt sich dabei um mit Kreisrillen und Tierohrhenkeln versehene, bauchige Gefäße. Auf diese Art könnte man das Erscheinen dieser Keramik in Norditalien verstehen, obwohl diese Tatsache allein mit der Migration von Bevölkerungsgruppen nicht zu erklären wäre. Deshalb stimmen wir B. Kuftin zu und können der Idee vom japhetischen Substrat der iberisch-ligurischen oder pelagisch-etruskischen ethnischen Einheit nicht zustimmen⁴².

Tierohrhenkelgefäße bzw. Gefäße mit zoomorphen Henkel in den Niederungen der Kolchis und des Po und im Donaubecken am Ende der mittleren und dem Anfang der späten Bronzezeit zeugen jedoch von

³⁶ Габелия А. Н., Поселения колхидской культуры (На материалах Абхазии), Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук, Москва 1984, Табл. XXVI-XXVII.

³⁷ Габелия А. Н., Табл. XV-XVIII.

³⁸ Hänsel, 1976, Teil II (Tafeln, Karten und Beilage mit Erläuterungen), Taf. 55₂₁₋₂₂.

³⁹ Габелия А. Н., 1984, Табл. XX.

⁴⁰ Габелия А. Н., 1984, Табл. XXX, XXXII.

⁴¹ Козенкова В. И., 1996, 45.

⁴² Куфтин Б. А., 1950, 225.

Handelskontakten dieser Regionen untereinander, obwohl auch Prozesse der Völkerwanderung nicht gänzlich auszuschließen sind.

Die Kolchis der Spätbronzezeit könnte mit der Außenwelt über das Schwarze Meer in Kontakt getreten sein. Auf andere Weise wären die Bogenfibeln aus Italien und Griechenland, denen man an kolchischen Fundorten begegnet, nicht zu erklären, denn in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft der Kolchis, auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Türkei, sind derartige Objekte nicht nachzuweisen.

Westkontakte der Kolchis äußern sich auch in zahlreichen Bronzefundorten, die in Europa (einschließlich Norditalien) und der Kolchis⁴³ in großer Zahl anzutreffen sind. Aus der Türkei hingegen sind außerhalb des kolchischen Kulturgebietes keine Bronzefundorte bekannt.

Der Umfang dieses Aufsatzes erlaubt nicht, das Thema ausführlicher darzustellen. Zusammenfassend wäre zu behaupten, dass die Beobachtungen von Chantre, Kuftin und Mikeladze richtig sind, und auch unsere Forschungen bestätigen enge Kontakte der Kolchis zur Ägäis und den Gebieten des Po und der unteren Donau. Verbindungswege sehen wir nicht nur in den Schwarzmeerrouten, sondern auch in Verkehrswegen im Binnenland der Nord- und Südschwarzmeergebiete.

Die Erforschung dieser Kontakte erleichtert die chronologische Deutung kolchischer Fundorte, da die Vergleiche in Südosteuropa und Anatolien heutzutage wesentlich besser datiert sind. Ein wichtiges Faktum ist das Vorhandensein einer Keramik gleicher Form, Ornamentik und Qualität im Gebiet des Po und in der Kolchis des 18. – 12. Jh. v. Chr. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass die gleichartige Ware, kugelförmige Gefäße mit Kreisrillenverzierung in Norditalien und der Kolchis auch zur gleichen Zeit im 12. Jh. v. Chr. verschwindet. Hinsichtlich der Chronologie ist das gleichzeitige Erscheinen der Kanneluren und eines Spiralornaments an der Keramik der Kolchis, am Oberlauf der Donau und in Troia ein wichtiges Ereignis. Das unterste Datum für die Kannelurkeramik ist die Mitte des 12. Jh. v. Chr. Ende des 12. Jh. v. Chr. werden Kanneluren dann zum üblichen Ornament. Kulturelle Einflüsse aus Osteuropa lassen sich an der kolchischen Keramik der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jt. v. Chr. weiter beobachten. Die Ähnlichkeit der Formen und Ornamente fällt insbesondere im Vergleich mit der Ware aus Thrakien auf.

Die Ähnlichkeit der Bronzen aus der Kolchis und den genannten Regionen ist viel evident. Die bronzenen Bogenfibeln spielen nebst anderen Bronzeobjekten eine große Rolle für die absolute Datierung der kolchischen Kultur der Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit.

⁴³ Hänsel, 1997, Karte.

Das Vorhandensein zahlreicher Bronzehorte in der Kolchis und im Europa der Bronzezeit dürfte auf diese Wechselbeziehungen hinweisen⁴⁴. Diesbezüglich ist die von B. Hänsel publizierte Verbreitungskarte der Bronzehorte eine sehr wichtige Arbeit⁴⁵. Die Kolchis gehört zu den Regionen, in denen zahlreiche Horte aus der Bronzezeit nachgewiesen sind.

Beschreibung der Abbildungen:

Abb. 1. 1 Tonschüssel aus der Terramare Montale. Ausstellung des archäologischen und ethnologischen Museums Modena; 2. Tonschüssel mit "Parkettornament" aus Besansone-Colombare di Bersano. Regione: Emilia Romagna. Archäologische Abteilung des Prähistorischen und Ethnologischen Luigi Pigorini Museums Rom (Inv. Nr. 48972); 3-5 Fragmente von Tongefäßen aus der Ausstellung des Museum Modena; 6-10 Fragmente von Tongefäßen aus der Ausstellung des Civici Museums Reggio Emilia.

Abb. 2. 1 Tonkrug aus Terramare di Gorzano. Ausstellung des Museums Modena; 2 Tongefäß aus Terramare Diverse. Ausstellung des Museums Reggio Emilia; 3-4 Tonschüsseln aus Terramare Montale. 15.-14. Jh. v. Chr. Ausstellung des Museums Modena; 5 Fragment eines Tongefäßes aus Terramare di Case Cocconi. Ausstellung des Museums Reggio Emilia; 6 Fragment eines Tongefäßes aus Terramare di Gorzano. Ausstellung des Museums Modena; 7-11 Fragmente von Tongefäßen aus Terramare Montale. Ausstellung des Museums Modena; 12 Fragment eines Tongefäßes aus der Nekropole di Casinablo. 14.-12. Jh. v. Chr. Ausstellung des Museums Modena.

Abb. 3. 1-11 Zoomorphe Henkel (meist von Schüsseln) aus der archäologischen Abteilung des Luigi Pigorini Museums in Rom; 12 Henkel aus Castello di Bertacchi. 14.-13. Jh. v. Chr. Ausstellung des Museums Reggio Emilia; 13-16 Henkel von Tongefäßen aus Terramare di Magreta. Ausstellung des Museums Modena.

⁴⁴ Die neuen Verbreitungskarten kolchischer Deponierungen siehe in den folgenden Arbeiten: Apakidze J., Ein umfangreicher Bronzehort aus der Werkstattssiedlung der Kolchis-Kultur in Očhomuri in Westgeorgien. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 75/2, 2000, Abb. 2; Lordkipanidze O., "gandzebi" kolxur brinjaos kulturashi (punkciis definiisa da kulturul-sociologiuri interpretacii cda/"Hoard" in Colchian Bronze Culture (an Attempt at Functional Definition and Sociological and Ethnocultural Interpretation, *Dziebani, damatebani. VI: kavkasia neolit-brinjaos xanis arqologiis sakitxebi. edzgvneba akad. o. japaridzis dabadebis 80 clistavis gamo/Dziebani, Supplement. VI: Caucasus Essays on the Archaeology of Neolithic-Bronze Age. Dedicated to the 80th Birthday of Prof. Otar Japaridze, Tbilisi 2001, Abb. 2 (georg.); Reinhold S., Vom Ende Europas? Zu den Depotfunden im Kaukasus. In: B. Horejs, R. Jung, E. Kaiser, B. Teržan (Hrsg.), *Interpretationsraum Bronzezeit*. Bernhard Hänsel von seinen Schülern gewidmet. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie. Aus dem Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin, Bonn 2005, 345-373, Abb. 1.*

⁴⁵ Hänsel, 1997, Karte.

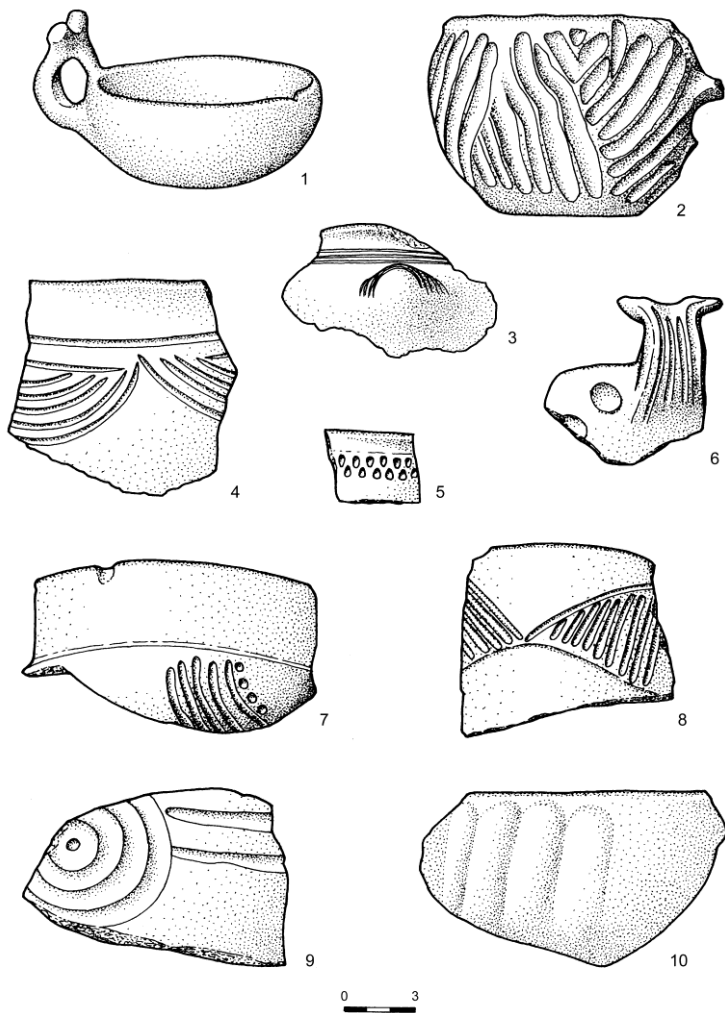


Abb. 1

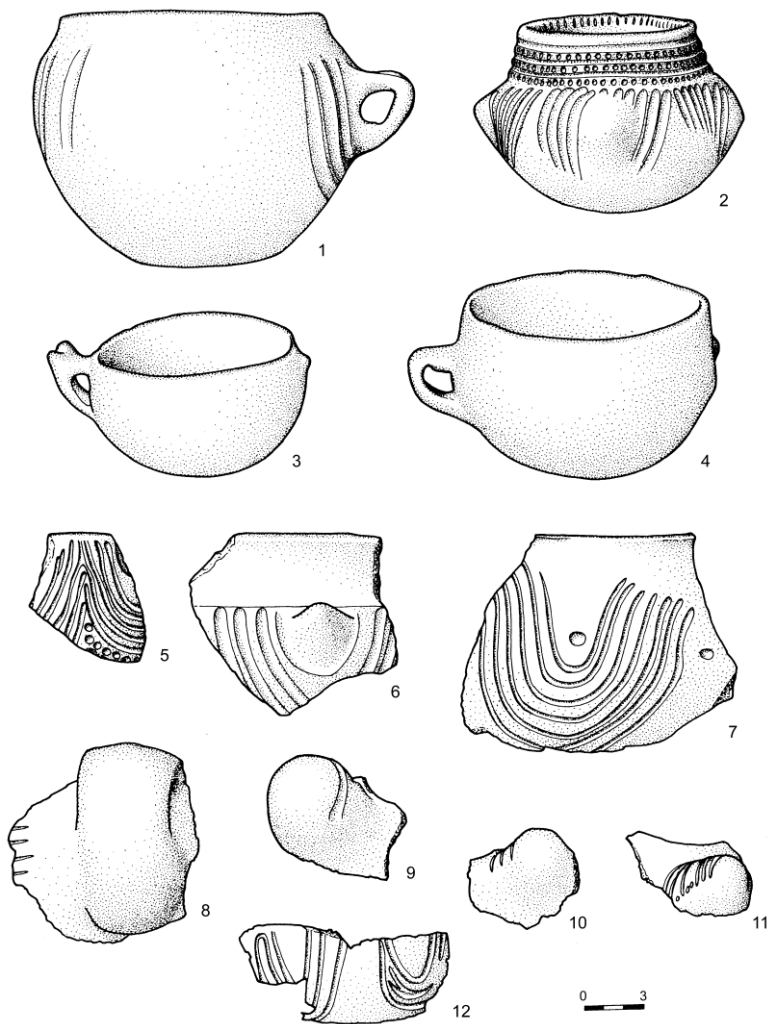


Abb. 2

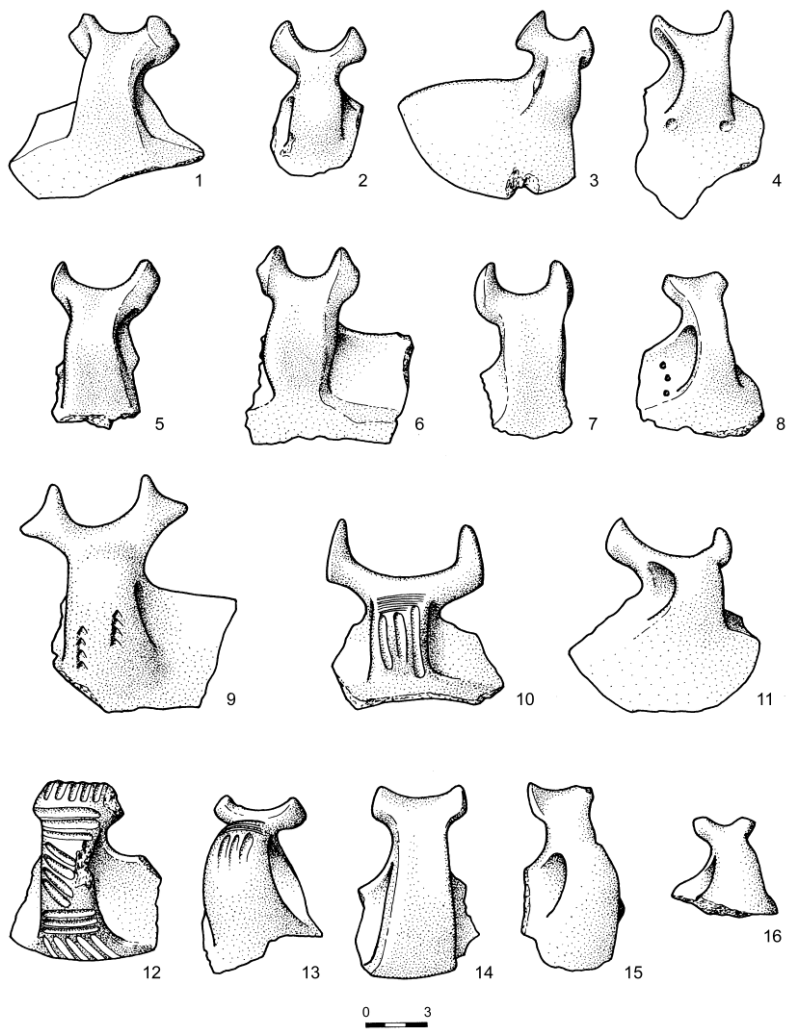


Abb. 3

Svetlana Berikashvili (Tbilisi)

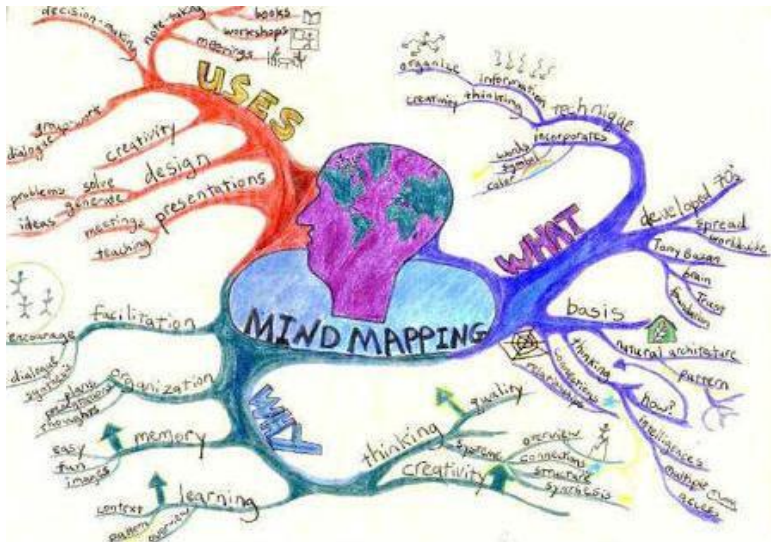
THE USE OF THE MIND MAPPING METHOD IN TEACHING GREEK GRAMMAR

"A picture is worth a thousand words"

Oriental saying

Mind Mapping is a popular brainstorming tool and learning technique of visually arranging ideas and their interconnections. It can be used to graphically arrange the linkage of some central concept or issue with other concepts or issues into memorable treelike diagrams. It allows you to create, capture, organize and communicate readily understood and highly interactive visual representations of complex ideas, information and data. Although used for centuries, Mind Maps were popularized by authors like Tony Buzan around 30 years ago, and are now widely used in business and education. Despite the huge size of the scientific literature dedicated to the study of Mind Mapping Method, nobody has tried to use it while teaching any of foreign languages, and Modern Greek in particular. The method is not yet thoroughly developed in this direction; and consequently, neither Greek nor foreign theoretical literature can offer a monograph that investigates the issue.

Essentially, a Mind Map is a diagram that helps to think. It displays ideas in a visual form, usually around a central word, phrase and image. It always starts from some problem or issue, which is positioned in the center. Typically it contains words, short phrases and pictures, which are connected to the central issue by lines. The major benefit of using a Mind Map rather than a list or an outline is that using both graphics and images involves both sides of your brain.



The picture is taken from the site
http://www.12manage.com/methods_mind_mapping.html

According to psychological researches, most people are visually oriented. Using structures, words, color, images, and hyperlinks to bring concepts of life, Mind Mapping links a central concept or issue with related concepts or issues. Unlike linear thinking modes (that each of us probably learned at school) it stimulates imagination and creativity, by connecting left and right brain thinking. Thus it is believed to harness the full range of your analytical and creative skills.¹

Mind Maps can be used for a large range of activities, including such activities as brainstorming, improving creativity, capturing ideas, and making presentations, planning, analyzing and solving different problems. When you use a Mind Map, not only do you find it easier to remember information, but also it is easier to make connections between disparate ideas and develop fresh concepts. A Mind Map can be applied to every aspect of life where improved learning and clearer thinking will enhance human performance.

¹ Cees Van Hallen, What is Mind Mapping, Description,
http://www.12manage.com/methods_mind_mapping.html.

And of course, it can be and should be used in teaching. Thus, in to my opinion, the method is very helpful and even essential in teaching.

Here is a brief review of the background of the Mind Mapping Method: admittedly, radial drawings have already been used for centuries to analyze all kinds of problems. An early example is the graphical representation of the *Categories* of Aristotle by Neo-Platonist thinker Porphyry of Tyros in the 3rd century. From his Commentaries and introductions to Aristotle only the influential *Isagoge* and the shorter commentary on the *Categories* survived. There are also fragments of a larger commentary on the *Categories*.² It means that people have been using image-centered radial graphic organization techniques referred variably as mental or generic mind maps for centuries in areas such as engineering, psychology and education, although the claim to the origin of the mind map has been made by a British popular psychology author, Tony Buzan. He was seeking a visual and faster way of outlining ideas on paper to support learning and memorizing. He made the modern Mind Map popular in the 60s.

Tony Buzan is not only the originator of Mind Mapping, but also the creator of the concepts of Radiant Thinking and Mental Literacy. His mission is to unlock the power of our brains, and show how to tap and use our creative genius with ease.³ He tries to raise public awareness about the potential of the human brain – writing, lecturing and teaching individuals how to improve their memory, creativity and problem solving ability. He has created his own cottage industry, demonstrating what is possible if you only *Use Your Head* – the title of one of his best-selling books.

However, some researchers suggest that his works are just marketing hype based on misconceptions about the brain and the cerebral hemispheres. Hemispheric specialization theory has been identified as pseudoscientific, when applied to mind mapping. Somehow or other the mind mapping method has a significant impact on recall in learners, and especially in students.

Most of Tony Buzan's teaching generally divides up into: general awareness of the extensive capabilities and capacities of the brain and its functions, memory skills, reading skills, mind map note-taking, creativity, and how brain function can be improved over time into old age.

Buzan developed Mind Mapping whilst at University, out of the frustration that traditional notes took up so much time to create and review. Research indicated that the brain responds best to key words, images, colours, and direct association. Buzan refined these ideas into a simple set of rules that

² The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Third edition, revised. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003, 1226.

³ <http://www.buzanworld.com/biography.html>

can be followed to create Mind Maps, which are an efficient way to take notes from lectures or books.

Tony Buzan suggests only the following foundation structures for Mind Mapping:

1. Start in the centre with an image of the topic using at least three colors.
2. Use images, symbols, codes and dimensions throughout your Mind Map.
3. Select key words and print using upper or lower case letters.
4. Each word/image must be alone and sitting on its own line.
5. The lines must be connected, starting from the central image.
6. Make the lines the same length as the word/image.
7. Use colors throughout the Mind Map.
8. Develop your own personal style of Mind Mapping.
9. Use emphasis and show associations in your Mind Map.
10. Keep the Mind Map clear by using radial hierarchy, numerical order or outlines to embrace your branches.⁴

Students certainly are able to recall better what they are taught by using of Mind Mapping Method, and thus lectures become more creative. Admittedly, in the learning period there are four main points to recall, and these are that the human brain recalls most:

- at the beginning of a learning period;
- at the end of a learning period;
- those things which are in some way outstanding;
- those things which are in some way associated/linked.⁵

The primary way we remember is by imagination and association because the way we think is the same – in those images and their associations. All the great ancient memory systems were based on this imagistic view. The Greek system of mnemonics, for one, had this concept at its core.⁶

If you want to remember a page of notes, for example, words will help to some extent, of course, but more important for fixing them in your memory will be images, pictures, symbols, codes, colors, associations and connections. And the best way to connect images on a page is by using arrows, spacing, size, dimension or whatever symbols work for you. So, for your notes to

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mind_mapping

⁵ Бьюзен Т., Бьюзен Б., Супермышление, перевод с Английского Е. А. Самсонова, Поппури, Минск 2003, 34.

⁶ Бьюзен Т., Как безошибочно запомнить до 10 тысяч наименований, Усовершенствуйте свою память, 19, <http://www.yugzone.ru/lib.htm>.

be memorable, they need to be an image-rich network, and that's the essence of a Mind Map.

Most people are trained to think in a linear way, thinking of one thing, then the next thing, and then the next, in a series of singular associations in one direction. The way our minds really work is in multiple thoughts and multiple directions at the same time. The way the brain fundamentally thinks is radiant, meaning that it thinks primarily from image centers, and then radiates out.

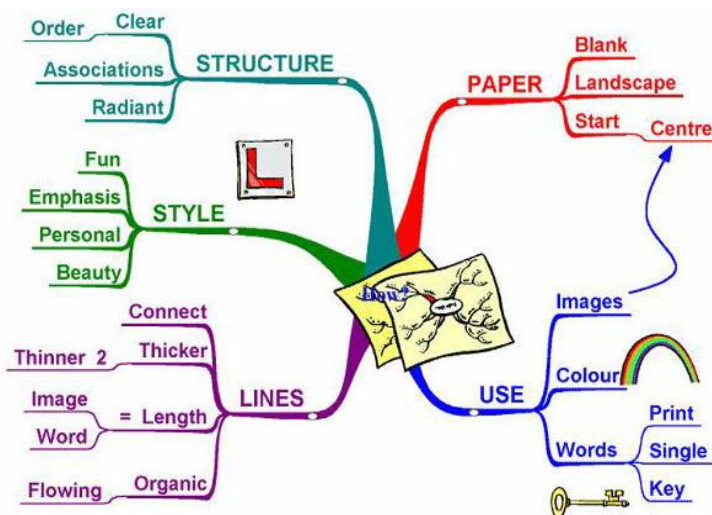
We have been trained in two primary intelligences – verbal and numerical, which are wonderful. However, we have not been trained as much in the creative and innovative. To maximize function, the verbal, numerical, creative, and innovative skills must go together. If they don't, each one suffers. The Mind Map allows you to use your verbal and numerical, plus adding the explosive power of your creative intelligence. People need to realize that, regardless of how they have been taught to think, inside their brains they have been training since birth to create Mind Maps!

By encouraging our Radiant Thinking and expressing it through Mind Maps, we can make maximum use of our creative abilities in a way that is both easy and natural, and which has great benefits for business and any other endeavor. Radiant Thinking and Mind Mapping actually give the greatest support possible to education, because the educational system is trying to produce innovative and creative leaders.

If you have millions of young brains in your charge, and you want them to be creative, the way to do it is to have them use thinking tools which match the way their brains work. If you don't, it is like putting heavy boots on a young child and allowing it to walk only in one direction.

Obviously, the educational system must teach the vitally important subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, science, religion, and physical education. Radiant Thinking and Mind Mapping are tools that can help children think well in general, learn faster and remember more appropriately, which is "good housekeeping" for the brain.

To mirror the way the brain thinks internally, you place an image in the center of a page (because that gives you freedom to expand your ideas in any direction) and draw connectors extending out in all directions from that image. You use both sides of your brain, tapping the right side of the brain for images, dimension, size, and color, and the left side for words, numbers, analysis, and logic. Put all those on the page in an associated network, and you have got a Mind Map.



The picture is taken from the site
http://www.12manage.com/methods_mind_mapping.html

At first glance, a Mind Map does not look logical to the untrained eye. However, it is pure logic, because logic is not sequence and order, logic is correct connection.

When you have all the images and you make the links between them, what you are creating is like a reflection of your own internal web site. And, the web site inside your brain makes the World Wide Web look like a pea compared to a planet.⁷

Mind Maps have become popular because they help us to organize the data that overwhelm us each day and turn that data into actionable knowledge. Keen Mind Mappers are everywhere: you will find students Mind Mapping their notes, business people mind mapping projects and meetings and Web developers mind mapping development projects and web-sites.

There are nowadays dozen computer programs that help us to mind map on computer. When you mind map on a computer you can change your Mind Map at will, can print out dozens of copies, and can also use them for the

⁷ Buzan T., What has the Brain Got to Do with Business?,
<http://www.managementconsultingnews.com>

purposes like creating presentations, developing web-sites and demonstrating your ideas.⁸

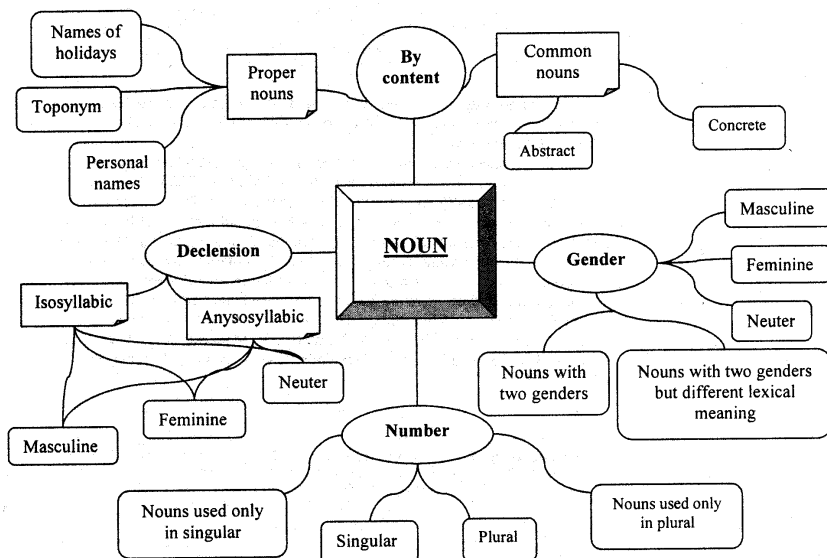
Particularly, Mind Map is like a picture of your thoughts. A lot of lecturers use visual methods during teaching, because it is more effective, it would be better to teach by using Mind Maps, for our brain works this way. Of course creating Mind Maps is an individual process. All students are using their own personalized approach, but the technique that everyone uses is the same. It is always an image that is linked to something else.

As for teaching Foreign Language Grammar, here as nowhere else is important to memorize and recall a lot of rules. Previously there was used widespread method of creating situational grammars with images. As we know visual methods of teaching a foreign language produce better results than those, which depend exclusively upon language. The images can be used while introducing new material to elucidate a piece of grammar which is being explained, so abstract grammar rules are impressed in the learner's mind in concrete, visible, and emotional form. Thus a grammar rule is better learned by students and more firmly retained in their minds.⁹ Nowadays this process can be improved by using the worldwide method of Mind Mapping.

Although the Mind Mapping method is very popular, it is not yet used in teaching foreign languages, and regrettably, nobody has so far taken interest in using the method in teaching Modern Greek Linguistics. In this paper I'd like to illustrate its use in teaching Modern Greek grammar theories. The graphic below presents the map of noun as a part of speech and its categories.

⁸ Urban P., *Mind Mapping Made Easy, Essential Mind Mapping*, 2006, 6.

⁹ Dubrovin M., *Situational Grammar, Part I*, Moscow, Prosveshienie 1973, 6-8.



This Mind Map is designed on the basis of grammar rules suggested by well-known Greek Linguist Manolis Triandafilidis in his book *Modern Greek (Dimotiki's) Grammar*.¹⁰

In this connection, I have to mention one of the most interesting issues – the classification of the declension system of Modern Greek noun, which nowadays is especially relevant. Since there are a lot of classifications of the declension system, it is essential that a teacher should mention at least some of them. The widespread system of Manolis Triandafilidis based on the mnemotechnical principle is regarded by many scholars as outdated. In their opinion, it does not correspond to the structure of Modern Greek. In contemporary studies, there are a lot of alternative classifications, but none of them is widely accepted today. Out of them, the classifications to be mentioned are by: M. Filintas, A. Mirambel, P. Mackridge, G. Zoukis, A. Tsopanakis, Kh. Kleris and G. Babiniotis, R.Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi.

¹⁰ Τριανταφυλλίδης Μ., Νεοελληνική Γραμματική της Δημοτικής, Ανατύπωση της έκδοσης του ΟΕΣΒ (1941) με διορθώσεις, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Θεσσαλονίκη 2002.

The main principles of these classifications are different: M. Filintas' and A. Tsopanakis' (1995) classifications are based on the opposition of equal and unequal number of syllables; A. Mirambel, A. Tsopanakis (1956), Kh. Kleris and G. Babiniotis proposed classifications that focus on the number of case endings; while R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi¹¹ believe that the classification of Modern Greek declension requires the use of the linguistic principle. G. Zoukis' classification is not quite acceptable as it has no common principle and is based on the outdated patterns of noun declension.

Another noteworthy classification is the one proposed by Peter Mackridge. It is presented in the grammar book "Modern Greek" ("Νεοελληνική γλώσσα").¹² In my opinion, apart from linguistic principles, it is important to pay attention to the practical purpose of the declension types. So, the classification that will facilitate understanding and learning of Modern Greek declension system should be considered the best one. Among such classifications is the system suggested by Peter Mackridge. It is acceptable because of its practical value and use. The division of the second type of the declension system into three subcategories – nouns with ending -ος, -ο and -ι – is in fact one of its positive properties. However, the classification has a weak point as well: it is based on three different principles (the number of cases, the ending of the Genitive and the gender category) instead of a single one, which is rather inconvenient.

The classification proposed by Kh. Kleris and G. Babiniotis¹³ can be regarded as a logical system which takes into account all factors for identifying declension types – namely, the number of case endings, isosyllabism and anisosyllabism of nouns, the category of grammatical gender. From the linguistic point of view this classification is absolutely accurate and it would be rather difficult to present a better one. But, although this system is very accurate and logical, it sometimes fails in practice as students and foreigners find it confusing and difficult to understand.

Teaching Greek Declension System to foreign students using different classification systems revealed that among the most acceptable classifications is the one suggested by R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi because it is based on the linguistic principle, i. e. on the stem ending – some forms of Modern Greek language are explained with the help of Ancient Greek, which

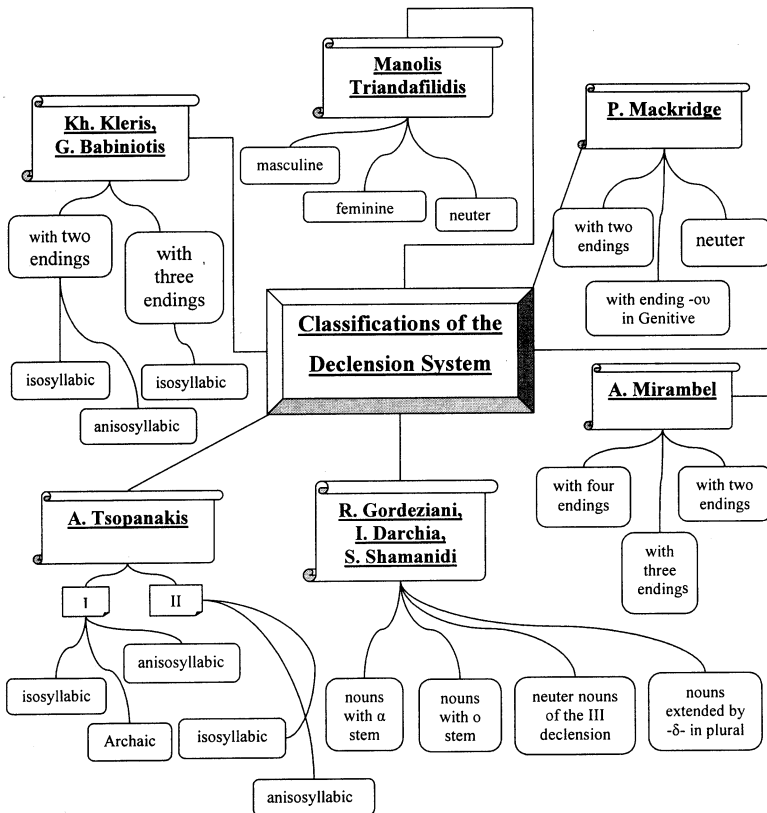
¹¹ Gordeziani R., Darchia I., Shamanidi S., *Ancient and Modern Greek, Comparative Grammar*, Logos, Tbilisi 2002 (in Georgian).

¹² Mackridge P., *Η Νεοελληνική γλώσσα, Περιγραφική ανάλυση της νεοελληνικής κοινής, μετάφραση: Πετρόπουλος Κ. Ν.*, Εκδόσεις Πατάκη, Αθήνα 1990, 215-219.

¹³ Κλαίρης Χ., Μπαμπινιώτης Γεώργιος, *Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής δομολειτουργική – επικοινωνιακή*, Ι, Το Όνομα, αναφορά στον κόσμο της πραγματικότητας, Ελληνικά Γράμματα, Αθήνα 1998.

makes it easier to understand and learn. It distinguishes the so-called mixed declension that includes nouns extending with $-\delta-$ suffix.

As students normally find it rather difficult to remember all the above-mentioned classifications, I decided to offer them through the Mind Map Method.



So, I believe it is more effective to teach grammar rules and diverse opinions on grammatical phenomena with the help of the Mind Mapping Method. According to researches, about 250 million people around the world are now using Mind Maps for different purposes including teaching. Therefore, the universal use and popularity of the method is just a matter of time as any concept is much easier to understand through illustration rather than explanation.

Ketevan Bezarashvili (Tbilisi)

**THE RECEPTION OF ARISTOTLE'S RHETORIC IN THE
RHETORICAL THEORIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES
(BASILIUS MINIMUS, EPHREM MTSIRE)**

The writers of the Middle Ages were well-acquainted with the classical and Byzantine rhetorical theories on the concepts of mimesis, style, beauty etc.¹ The paper considers some more examples that attest to Basilius Minimus' (the 10th century) and Ephrem Mtsire's (the 11th century) good knowledge of rhetorical theories, namely, of Aristotle's theory of compositional organization. In this regard, it is important to consider the following three problems discussed in Aristotle's theory and draw parallels with the same problems accepted in the Middle Ages:

1) Aristotle speaks about the beauty of compositional construction of speech (τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστίν. Arist. Poet. 7, 1450 b 9). It implies the introduction and peroration (Rhet. III, 13-14, 1414 b – 1416 a). The classical theory of constructing the rhetorical speech and the beauty of this construction is thoroughly studied in scholarly literature.²

2) Aristotle also explains that the musical prelude (προαύλιον) resembles the exordium (προοίμιον) of epideictic speeches (Arist. Rhet. III, 14, 1414 b 5).

3) According to Aristotle, the epilogue is not always necessary for every speech, for instance when it is short, or the matter is easy to keep in mind (ὁ

¹ Bezarashvili K., Theory and Practice of Rhetoric and Translation. A Study of Georgian Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Writings, Tbilisi 2004, 147-155; 158-259; 530-587 (in Georgian).

² For προοίμιον and ἐπίλογος as for the parts of compositional construction of rhetorical speech in classical theories of rhetoric see Martin J., Antike Rhetorik. Technik und Methode, München 1974, 55, 147. For the traditional definition of an epilogue as a summary statement of proofs see Arist. Rhet. III, 19, 1419b. See also Mannlein-Robert I., Peroratio, in Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik, herausgegeben von Gert Ueding, Bd. 6, Tübingen 2003, col. 778-788.

ἐπίλογος [sc. τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν] ... ἔτι οὐδὲ δικαιοκῶ παντός, οἶον ἐὰν μικρὸς ὁ λόγος, ἢ τὸ πρᾶγμα εὐμνημόνευτον. Arist. Rhet. III, 13, 1414 b 1).

Now let us draw parallels with the theoretical perception of the same problems in the 10th-11th centuries.

1) In his commentaries on Gregory the Theologian's homilies, Basilius Minimus (as well as the translator of these commentaries – Ephrem Mtsire) discusses the problem of supplying a speech with introduction and peroration (i.e. exordium and epilogue), and appreciates them as rhetorical art and beauty. These concepts are accepted in the writings of the Greek authors since Aristotle and are widespread in the Hellenistic period, late Antiquity and the Middle ages. E.g., Basilius Minimus defines simplicity ("ltonoba" = ltonoba, cfr. λιτός) as writing without rhetorical art (τέχνη), namely, writing without preface. He talks about embellishing homilies with rhetorical art, namely with introductions and rhythmic colons.³ According to him,

³ See the Greek text and its Georgian translation by Ephrem Mtsire: Οὗτος ὁ λόγος πάσαις ταῖς τεχνικαῖς ἀπαρλείπτως ἐγκεκαλλώπισται μεθόδοις· ἀθρεῖ γὰρ ἐν προομίοις εὐθέως, ὅσαις ἀρεταῖς πλήθει, τῇ ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς περιβολῇ, τῇ ἐξ αἰτίας κατασκευῇ, τῇ τε μακροκωλίᾳ ... "ყოველთავე ჳკლოვნებითა დონისძებოთა უნაკლულად შემკობდელ არს აწინდელი ესე სიტყუაჲ ... რამეთუ განიცადე მჳის დასაბამსავე სიტყესასა რადენითა შუენიერებითა შემკობდელ არს შესავალონად შემოსილობოთა, მიხეზონად შენაწევრებითა გრძელშენადგამობასავე თანა" (Or. 43, com. prooemium. Cantarella R., Basilio Minimo, II, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 26, 1926, 128-31; cod. Iber. Jer. 15, s. XII, f. 22r); κάλλος, κατασκευή, καλλωπίζεσθαι belong to the corporeal, i.e. outward, ornamental merit of the word (ἀρετῇ λέξεως). See Martin J., *Antike Rhetorik*, 339, 340, 342; 252. Jo.Ch.Th. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, Leipzig 1795/ Darmstadt 1962, s.v. καλλωπίζεσθαι.

The Greek text of Basilius Minimus' commentaries is quoted according to the published texts: Cantarella R., Basilio Minimo, II, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 26, 1926, 1-34; Basilius Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii, ed. a Th. Schmidt, in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 46. *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 13, Turnhout-Leuven 2001; also, according to unpublished manuscripts (cod. Vat. Gr. 437, s. X; cod. Paris. Coisl. Gr. 240, s. XI; cod. Paris. Coisl. Gr. 52, s. XI). Ephrem Mtsire's translation of Basilius Minimus' commentaries is quoted everywhere from the text prepared for publication by T. Otkhmezuri. T. Otkhmezuri does the numbering of commentaries of Basilius Minimus according to the Georgian translations of these commentaries by Ephrem Mtsire. The microfilms of the Greek texts of Basilius Minimus' commentaries (the most part of which has not yet been published) are collected by Prof. J. Mossay and kept in the study of Gregory the Theologian at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve. I thank T. Otkhmezuri, also J. Mossay and B. Coulie for giving me an opportunity to use the texts prepared for publication and the microfilms and photos containing the above-mentioned commentaries for studying them in comparison with Georgian translations.

furnishing a homily with an introduction and making its form perfect means avoiding simplicity, artlessness (ἀπλῶς – "litonad").⁴

The same is true about writing without an epilogue. Basilius Minimus talks about closing homilies with prayers, i.e. the traditionally accepted masterly form of an epilogue (ἐπίλογος – "boloÁ") in Christian literature that belongs to rhetorical art (τέχναι, ὄροι ῥητορικοί – "Āelovnebani metyuelTani").⁵

2) Basilius Minimus also speaks about the practice of writing without a preface, which was turned into a new rhetorical canon by Gregory the Theologian: his homily on Maccabees starts strictly with the statement of case;⁶ the Christmas Homily also begins directly with chanting praise to God.⁷ The explanation presented by Basilius Minimus is mainly based on

⁴ See Basilius Minimus's text and its Georgian translation by Ephrem Mtsire: Τελείσας τὸ τῆς ὄλης ὑποθέσεως προοίμιον, οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος προοιμιακῆς ἐννοίας εἰσβάλλει. "სრულ-ყო ყოველივე წინადაწვება შესავლისა მიხუზთა და ამიერთგან არა ლიტონად, არამედ წინაშესავალთვანადვე იწყებს ნათესავთაჲს დიდისა ზსიღისთა სიტყუად" (Or. 43, com. 15. Cantarella R., Basilio Minimo, II, 231. cod. Iber. Jer. 15, f. 23v).

⁵ See Basilius Minimus's commentary: a) τὸ ἔσχατον μέρος τοῦ ὅλου λόγου οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κεκλημένος ἐπίλογος, εὐχῆς τύπον ἐπέχων, ὡς αἱ τέχναι θεσιπέζουσιν. β) ἐνταῦθα τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν κεφαλαίων ὁ ἐπίλογος τύπον ἔχων εὐχῆς, ὡς θεσμοὶ καὶ ὄροι παραδολοῦσι ῥητορικοί. "ესე არს ზოლოთ საკითხავისა ამის, რომელსა ლოცვის სახე ზედა-აც, ვითარცა კვლოვნებანი მეტყუელთანი განახიებენ" (Or. 43, com. 216. Cantarella R., Basilio Minimo, II, p. 32₁₅₋₁₉; cod. Iber. Tbilis. A 109, s. XII-XIII, f. 69v).

⁶ According to Basilius Minimus and his translator Ephrem Mtsire, it is erroneous to consider that this noble man's (= Gregory's) starting the encomium "On Maccabees" without an introduction is simple and accidental. Such a method is presented as the property of the new, Christian rhetorical art: ὁ γὰρ ὡς ἔτυχεν οἷον τε τοσοῦτον ἀξίωμα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ... καὶ οὐ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ ζητητικοῦ καὶ ἡνίχαστο μορίου προτιθεῖς αὐτὸ τῆς λύσεως τῶν ζητουμένων δεικνὺς διὰ τῆς ἀνασκευῆς τῶν ἐναντιολογουμένων ἀξίους ἐγκωμίων. "რამე მკაბდენი?" რამეთუ არა საეჭუ არს] add. ლიტონად და ვითარ დამთხუევით რასიმე თქუმათ ესოდენისა დირსებისა კაცისა მიერ ... მვის საძიებლოთ მარცვლოთ იწყო და აღჴსნასა წინამთაქცია საძიებლო და ახუენა იგი დირს შესხმისა..." (Or. 15, com. 1. cod. Paris.Coisl. Gr. 240, s. XI, f. 187r; cod. Iber. Tbilis. A109, f. 220r).

⁷ In the commentary on this homily ("On the Theophany") Basilius Minimus considers that starting a homily with chanting (instead of introduction) is a new pattern of rhetorical preface, for it expresses the joy and sweetness brought by the great Christian feast. And here, vice versa, this type of beginning is presented as the merit of new, Christian rhetoric: εὐκότως καὶ προοιμίων τάξιν εἰληφε ταῦτα, προχορεύοντος καὶ προσκιρπῶντος καὶ οἷον προανακρουομένου τοῦ Πατρὸς τῆ τῆς ἡδονῆς τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης ὑπερβολῆ. "სამართლად ნაცვალად წინაშესავლისა მოიძოვა აქა დიდმან ამან მოძღუართა შორის წინამძიებლობა და წინააღმდეგელობა, ვითარმცა გარდამატებულისა სიტკობებისა და სიხარულისა წინამცემელ იყო ეზნისა" (Or. 38, com. prooemium).

Aristotle's explanation that the musical prelude (*προσῆλιον*) resembles the exordium (*προοίμιον*) of epideictic speeches (Arist. Rhet. III, 14, 1414 b 5). In this case we touch upon the problem of rhetorical theory, which was a special property of a new type of speech, but even in this case it takes its origin from a treatise of classical theorist, though it is interpreted in a new spiritual context.

3) Ephrem Mtsire's colophon appended to the second denunciation of Julian the Apostate (Or. 5) displays his knowledge of classical and Byzantine theories about the compositional units of rhetorical speech as well as his awareness of the category of beauty. The colophon deals with the question of the epilogue of the literary work and at the same time touches the problem of closing a speech without an epilogue, which is also regarded as a rhetorical skill: "For let nobody thinks that it (= Or. 5) is incomplete because of being left without an epilogue, for it is delivered in this way by the Holy [Father] in Greek, not *simply*, and not like other writers, but because the studies of Greeks consist of twelve arts, and each writer writes according to how he has studied from this twelve ones [NB: here Ephrem names 12 subjects of general education] ... But the saint and the great Theologian, as he was educated in all these [subjects], adorns his writings with all this. That is why appending an epilogue is one kind of art, and omitting it is another. And I did not have the silken cloth to sew the cloak; that is why I could not make it out of rough cloth. And according to closeness to Greek [literally: according to comparison with Greek], I translated the [homily] without an epilogue as it was without an epilogue [in Greek] and [I translated the homily] appended with an epilogue as it was appended with an epilogue [in Greek] ..." (A292, 215v).⁸

Or. 5 has no epilogue in Greek, and consequently, there is no epilogue in the Georgian translation of Ephrem Mtsire. On the other hand Ephrem rendered homilies with endings with endings because he was true to the

Cantarella R., Basilio Minimo, II, 522-25; Th. Schmidt, Basilius Minimi com. in or. 38, 10-11; cod. Iber. Jer. 15, f. 10v).

⁸ "ხოლო უბოლოოდ დატევებისათჳს ნუვის უსრულიცა ჰგონიეს, რამეთუ ბერძულად ესრეთ არს თქუძული წმიდისა, არა ლიტონად, არცა სხუათა აღმწერელთაებრ, არამედ, ვითარ-იგი ათორმეტ არიან კვლოვნებანი ბერძენთა სწავლულებისანი და თითოეული აღმწერელი მით სახითა აღმწერელობს, რადცა კვლოვნება ესწავოს ათორმეტთა მათგან ... არამედ წმიდა ესე და დიდი ღმრთისმეტყუელი, ვითარცა ამით ყოვლითა სრულიად სწავლული, ყოვლითავე ამით შეამკობს თქუძულთა თჳსთა. ამისთვის სხჳსა კვლოვნებისა არს დაბოლოება და სხჳსა – არა დაბოლოება. ვინაცაჲ მე, ვინაძეთან ოქსინოდ არა მაქუნდა საოლაგად სკამარანგისა, ფლასითა ვერ დავოლკედი. არამედ შედარებულად ბერძულდისა, უბოლოო უბოლოოდ და დაბოლოებული დაბოლოებულად მითარგმნია..." cod. Iber. Tbilis. A 292, a. 1800, f. 215v. Bregadze T., Description of the Georgian Manuscripts Containing the Works of Gregory Nazianzen, Tbilisi 1988, 171-172 (in Georgian).

Greek original. Ephrem explains that such form of "being without epilogue" ("uboloo") is not conditioned by the simplicity of speech ("litonad Tquma") or by the manner of other writers as it is in some other cases, but it is created by scholarship and rhetorical art that was very well known to Gregory the Theologian. This was the knowledge that ornamented his works.⁹ Lack of an epilogue is a natural, and not occasional, phenomenon. According to Ephrem, appending an epilogue is one kind of rhetorical art, while omitting it is another kind. The reason is that an epilogue, being a constituent part of compositional construction, may be used as embellishment of a speech.

Here Ephrem may imply the classical theory of constructing the rhetorical speech and the beauty of such construction (see above: Arist. Rhet. Poet.). As it was told above, according to Aristotle, the epilogue is not always necessary for every speech, for instance when it is short, or the matter is easy to keep in mind (Arist. Rhet. III, 13, 1414 b 1). Really, the point of Gregory's denunciative homily¹⁰ was easy to keep in mind, for the denunciation runs throughout the whole speech; and the short ending did not need any other addition.

The problem concerning the contents of Or. 5 is discussed below. Gregory the Theologian ends the denunciative speech (λόγος στηλιτευτικός) with ironical words to Julian instead of closing it with an epilogue. He says that the speech is the eternal monument for Julian in the pejorative meaning of this phrase (Or. 5, c.42. PG35, 720A). Such an ending does not need any epilogue to summarize the statement of proofs.

Ephrem is aware of the peculiarity of Byzantine theories concerning the composition. However, he adds, as was told above, that writing without an epilogue does not mean simplicity and is a skill. The question of the art of writing without an epilogue in Ephrem's theoretical source must be related to

⁹ Gregory the Theologian's art and technique are evaluated in the same way by Michael Psellos (the 11th century): his works display the knowledge of all sciences (επιστήμη) and art (τέχνη). See Τοῦ ὑπερτίμου Ψελλοῦ λόγος σχεδιασθεὶς πρὸς Πόθον βεσπάρχη ἀξιώσαντα αὐτὸν γράψαι τοῦ θεολογικοῦ χαρακτήρος, in Mayer A., Psellos' Rede über den rhetorischen Character des Gregorios von Nazianz, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 20, 1911, 48-60, c. 14²⁵⁴⁻²⁷³. See also Bezarashvili K., The Treatise of Michael Psellos (XI c.) Concerning a Theological Style of Gregory Nazianzen's Writings (Research, translation of the text, commentaries), in *Reader in Byzantine Literature*, III, Tbilisi 1996, 146 (in Georgian).

¹⁰ For the classical origin of denunciative, i.e. invective, speech (ψόγος, ψεκτικός), as the kind of epideictic genre (γένος ἐπιδεικτικός – genus demonstrativum), the so-called negative encomium (ἐγκώμιον), which turned into Christian λόγος στηλιευτικός, see Menander Rhetor, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, I, 331¹⁻⁹. Edited, translated and commented by D.A. Russel, N.G. Wilson, Oxford 1981. Hunger H., Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, Bd. I, München 1978, 120-122; Payr Th., Enkomion, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Bd. V, Stuttgart 1962, 332-343 Cf.; Guignet M., *St. Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique*, Paris 1911, 76-77.

the classical Aristotelian theory (see above Arist. Rhet. III, 13, 1414 b 1), as well as to the Christian theory of rhetoric and aesthetics. If compared with the classical theory, the exordium is considered to be the beauty of the ornament of a rhetorical speech (κόσμου χάρις), while its absence makes the speech extempore.¹¹

Ephrem justifies himself and writes in the colophon that the art of rhetoric is valuable and luxurious. That is why he cannot attain it and cannot add an epilogue on his own account ("I did not have the silken cloth to sew the cloak, and that is why I could not make it out of rough cloth"). In rhetorical theories that embellished deep contents, cloak or frame as an outward ornament of the form was considered to belong to rhetorical skills.¹² Although, the concept of beauty is not directly mentioned here, as was shown above, Ephrem Mtsire refers to the beauty of the art of composition as explored in Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics and in Basilius Minimus's commentaries, and names the valuable ornaments of rhetoric, among which the art of compositional arrangement is mentioned.

It has already been considered in research works that Ephrem presents the aspects of the concept of beauty in this colophon as well.¹³ It becomes obvious that Ephrem also presents here the concept of compositional construction of a rhetorical speech, namely, either appending an epilogue to a speech or sometimes ending it without a conclusion according to the theories of rhetoric.

It is clear that Ephrem Mtsire was well acquainted with classical and Byzantine theories of rhetoric; having their methodology in mind, he translated Gregory the Theologian's writings into Georgian and composed his own colophons concerning the literary-theoretical problems. The example analyzed above also confirms the opinion that Ephrem was interested in the theories of rhetoric from the earliest period of his work (when Or. 5 was translated by him)¹⁴. It means that Ephrem from the very beginning of his activities accepted Hellenophile cultural orientation to the literary processes taking place in Byzantium, while his translation method became hellenophile only gradually.

¹¹ Gorgias of Leontini's encomium on the Eleans is named as example of the speech extempore (Arist. Rhet. III, 14, 1415b12-1416 a 1).

¹² Adornment of the deep philosophical ideas of St. Gregory the Theologian with rhetorical ornaments is compared by Michael Psellos to setting the valuable pearl of the Gospel (Matth. 13, 45-46) into a frame of gold and precious stones (Psellos, *Ad Pothum*, A. Mayer ed., c. 5₈₅₋₉₀).

¹³ Bezarashvili K., *Theory and Practice of Rhetoric and Translation*, 573-576.

¹⁴ About the chronology of translating Gregory the Theologian's works into Georgian see Bezarashvili K., *Theory and Practice of Rhetoric and Translation*, 413.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

SOME LEXICAL PECULIARITIES OF CRETE'S ANCIENT POPULATION DIALECT

After the Aegean archeology discovered the Minoan, one of the most ancient Mediterranean civilizations, numerous scientific works have been published on the origin and peculiarities of Aegean languages. Obviously, to Crete and its language environment, as well as to the processes of language transformation, assimilation or absorption in early times are given a special interest. Apparently, nowadays while discussing the language of ancient population of Crete two sources are referred upon: they are Linear A, Linear B documents and linguistic data in Greek of historic period. Linear A, as well as Crete hieroglyphical-pictographic and Phaestus disc inscriptions are not deciphered yet. As for Mycenaean documents made in Linear B, the language of which is beyond doubt, supposedly, Mycenaean syllabic signs and Mycenaean formatives themselves kept certain information on the language of the ancient Crete population. The mentioned materials are supplemented by so called Cretisms found by Greek authors in ancient Greek, which first of all are found in Crete Greeks' speech and their dialect.

In 80s of the twentieth century, R. A. Brown dedicated a profound monograph to the language of the Pre-Greek population of Crete wherein he was referring to data found in Greek sources.¹ Following this it became obvious that in the early times in Hesykhios and other sources the part of the Greek vocabulary was pointed out with the term "Cretan" and it was considered that these words were typical to the population of Crete. Obviously, by that period nobody was interested in such issues as when these "Cretan" words appeared in Greek, what etymology they had and to which language family they were connected.

¹ Brown R. A., Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources, Adolf M. Hakkert Publisher, Amsterdam 1985.

The above-mentioned monograph of R. A. Brown revealed that out of 5 000 Pre-Greek words that were found by the famous Dutch specialist E. J. Furnée approximately 300 represent so called Cretisms. From 224 lemmata examined by R. A. Brown, two are found to be fictions; a further 26 lemmata corrupt; a little less than three quarter, that is 145 of the total lemmata are Greek. We found also 14 cognate pre-Indo-European words, 24 cognate pre-Greek ones and 9 place-names. From 250 place names examined by R. A. Brown, 59 have been found to be of Greek origin.²

Consequently, it can be concluded, that in the language of the ancient Greek population of Crete there was some kind of layer, which was taking its roots from Minoan, or some other Pre-Greek source. This indicates on multi-layeredness of the Cretan dialect vocabulary and the Greek language at large, as well as on reflection of long process of formation of Mediterranean languages in it.

As it is known from the times of P. Kretschmer up to the present day the interpretation of Pre-Greek lingual material underwent many changes.³ First it was supposed that the entire Pre-Greek lingual material had to be considered as Pre-Indo-European and not Indo-European or Semitic. Later after revealing Anatolian Indo-European languages this point of view was changed and the Pre-Greek language was considered to be of Indo-European origin and not of Greek origin. The decoding of Linear B resulted in numerous changes. It was revealed that Linear A and Linear B represented two different languages and that the first was neither Greek nor Indo-European. After the works of F. Schachermeyr⁴ and J. Mellaart⁵ the interpretation of pre-Greek material underwent a sudden change. Today almost no one argues that the greater part of the pre-Greek lingual material is explained on the basis of neither Indo-European nor Semitic languages. Furthermore, recently the almost forgotten Caucasian theory, that as far as I know the Greek scientific circles are not quite familiar with, again became popular. According to this theory a trace of Caucasian linguistic space has great significance in the pre-Greek language, and respectively in the language of the ancient Greek population of Crete.

I would like particularly to note the works of the representatives of the Georgian school of classical philology, at the head of which is Mr. Rismag

² Brown R. A., *op. cit.*, 92-96.

³ Kretschmer P., *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1896.

⁴ Schachermeyr F., *Prahistorische Kulturen Griechenlands*, RE 22: 2, 1954, 1350-1548; *Das ägäische Neolithikum*, Lund 1964; *Die Minoische Kultur des alten Kreta*, Stuttgart 1964.

⁵ Mellaart J., *End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean*, AJA, 62, 1958, 9-33; *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East*, London 1965; *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East and Anatolia*, Beirut 1966; *Catal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, London 1967.

Gordeziani. His work "Pre-Greek and Kartvelian"⁶ together with the researches of Dutch scientist E. J. Furnée⁷ is considered to be one of the basic monographs of Caucasian-Kartvelian theory.

The studies of R. Gordeziani and E. J. Furnée differ from the works of other supporters of this theory as their approach to the material is differential and they consider that in Pre-Greek and Minoan, which is the ancient language of the Crete population, several linguistic layers can be distinguished. Among them are South-East Anatolian, which is related to the Chatal Huiuk culture diffusion in the Neolith Age and early Bronze Age and Caucasian that is Kartvelian, which is related to the migration of Kartvelian tribes to the west on the boundary of III-II millenniums B. C.

Nowadays several hundred formatives are revealed in the Pre-Greek linguistic material. Their Kartvelian origin does not raise any doubt in the certain scientific circles. R. Gordeziani's new monograph "Pre-Greek – Etruscan – Kartvelian. Interrelationship and its grounds" is to be published in the nearest future in which the whole available material will be gathered, analyzed and generalized taking into consideration the different modern linguistic and non-linguistic theories.

I will play the role of a mediator and give myself a right to consider several lexical formatives as the example of Cretan-Caucasian linguistic parallels.

It should be noted that during the last years the research of genetic classification of languages underwent significant transformation. As a result of a coordinated work of specialists of molecular genetics, archaeologists and linguists it was found out that mankind started to speak so called articulated language much more later in comparison with its age. This is connected with the appearance of Homo Sapiens Sapiens that is anatomically contemporary human being 100-150 000 years ago. Namely, this kind of human being disseminated the languages that we now speak from Africa to Eurasia and other continents. It is quite natural that against the background of the latest discoveries the question of common, so called Proto-language existence was raised in the contemporary science. Also there are attempts of its reconstruction. Though the major part of linguists are quite skeptic about the possibility of such a reconstruction. No one argues the fact that today's

⁶ Gordeziani R., Pre-Greek and Kartvelian, Tbilisi University Press, Tbilisi 1985; Gordesiani R., Zur Frage der ägäisch-kartwelischen Sprachparallelen, Wiss. Ztschr. der Fr.-Schiller-Univ., Jena 18, 1969 Hft. 5.

⁷ Furnée E. J., Lexikalische Beziehungen zwischen Baskisch, Burušaski, Kartwelisch und Vorgriechisch, Georgica, 5, 1982; Furnée E. J., Vorgriechisch-Kartvelisches. Studien zum ostmediterranen Substrat nebst einem Versuch zu einer neuen pelasgischen Theorie, Leuven-Louvain 1979.

linguistic families rose from super-families that existed before and that those numerous characteristics and qualities that unite the languages of different families may not be the result of interference but the trace of linguistic processes that proceeds from super-families.

One of the famous representatives of molecular genetics Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza considers that all the languages proceed from one common language and that these languages have been gradually developed.⁸ M. Ruhlen,⁹ Greenberg, Antila as well as other researchers revealed certain regularity of this development, i. e. They have relatively conceived the way of the development of the simple structure languages (first consonants, then consonant-vocals, etc.) before they had generated into the families that we know.

The appearance of lingual families and groups existed through the entire history of humanity. Therefore it is rather difficult to determine where and when this or that language begins and ends its existence.

It's natural that against the background of the newest interdisciplinary studies we must consider the pre-Greek, in this case Cretan linguistic material, in a new way.

Today the concept of "lingual family" bears rather conditional sense. For distinguishing the linguistic families that are familiar to us it becomes necessary to determine more exact criteria since these languages themselves are considered to be common, certain stages of the proto-language development. Hence the family is considered as the system of the specific lingual facts that naturally relates to other families as well; however, a similar unity of its components is peculiar only for this family.

There must be only one criterion for the estimation during the research of Pre-Greek language: we should consider Pre-Greek linguistic material as a system that shows relation to another linguistic group as a system. At the same time we must determine whether the trace of hierarchy exists in these interrelations; which form is the primary and which is secondary.

It is interesting that recently Giulio M. Fachetti promoted the idea that in the specific period, in the XV century B. C. in particular, in Aegeida there existed a common language that he named Minoan. From the Minoan language derived Proto-Tyrrhenian in the XII century B. C., Philistinian in the XI century B. C. and Eteocretan in the VII century B. C. Proto-Tyrrhenian in the course of time put the basis for old Etruscan (VIII c.), new Etruscan (V c.), Rhaetan (VII c.) and Lemnian (VIII c.).

⁸ Cavalli-Sforza L. L., *Genes, Peoples and Languages*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2000.

⁹ Ruhlen M., *The Origin of Language, Tracing the Evolution of the Mother Tongue*, 1994.

Giulio M. Facchetti says nothing about what preceded Minoan; whether it was an isolated language or a member of a bigger family. One part of the scientists consider that Minoan reflected those common Eurasian linguistic characteristics which on the one hand chronologically lead us sufficiently far and on the other hand Minoan was related to Caucasian, the emergence of which in Aegeida is not supposed earlier than on the boundary of III-II millenniums B. C.¹⁰

Modern researchers have more or less agreed that in the Caucasus there exist three large groups of families of Caucasian languages which should have been formed in the third millennium B. C. Probably the south-east Anatolian migrations as well as the migration from Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium B. C. resulted in disintegration of possible unity of Caucasian languages and occurrence of three different linguistic families. In the south of Caucasus the group of Kartvelian languages was originated that some scientists consider to be allied to Hattic i. e. Proto-Hittite languages. The South Caucasian linguistic elements had presumably to be entered into the Pre-Greek from Caucasia as a result of the migration of Kartvelian tribes to Aegeida in the boundary of the third and the second millenniums.

It is natural that the question is raised why we declare that so called Kartvelisms of Pre-Greek entered Aegeida from Kartvelian world and not vice versa? As it is known, Georgian, Svan, Zan languages derived from common Kartvelian language and from Zan itself derived Megrelian and Chan. The research showed that Kartvelian elements of Pre-Greek show the linguistic state that appears at Zan level after the differentiation of Kartvelian languages. To this fact there is only one explanation: Georgian elements entered Aegeida from Caucasus and not vice versa.

In the frame of an article there is no possibility for detailed discussion concerning the Georgian elements of pre-Greek language. Now I will dwell on several so called Cretan words and their Georgian parallels.

I will particularly dwell on the name of a settlement on Crete **Κύταλιον** (Ptolemaios, "Geogr.", 3, 15. 6), which was known from Linear B (Ku-ta-i-jo (KN As 1517. 7), Ku-ta-si-jo (KN Dw 1237), Ku-ta-to, Ku-ta-ito (Knx 90)). It is situated on the north coast of Crete between Panormos and Pantomatrimon (which is contemporary Stavromenos) near the contemporary village Paleokastro.

In pre-Greek there were some terms with the stem *κυτ(α)-*. E. g. *κύταρον· ζωμήρσις* – "spoon" (Hesychios k 4746), *κύτταρος* – "honeycomb cell" (Ar., Arist.), "pod of the water-bean" *Nelumbium speciosum* (Thphr., Hesychios),

¹⁰ Facchetti G. M., Qualche osservazione sulla lingua minoica, in: Kadmos, Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik, Band XL, Heft 1, 2001, 34.

"acorn-cup" (Thphr., Hesykhios), metaphorically "vault of heaven" (Ar., Peace, 199), κύπιος – "calyx of the pomegranate flower" (Thphr.), κυττοί· τὸ δεκτικὸν χώρημα, καθὼς ποτήριον. ἢ εἶδος ἄνθους Διονυσιακοῦ (Hesykhios k 4749). Also the noun κύτος – "hollow of shield, hold of ship, vessel, jar, hollow container" is probably a conflation of this pre-Greek stem and an inherited stem *κυτεσ- derived from κύω / κυέω. Therefore the researchers come to the conclusion that Pre-Greek root "κυτ(α)-" had the meaning of something that has put entrails out, cavity, covering, receptacle, peel.

A. Fick and later R. A. Brown noticed that the Cretan toponym Κύταιον might have a connection with Medea's fatherland, Colchian Κυταία. The researchers also draw parallels with Κύτωρος and Κυτίσωρος of Paflagonia, Μασσίκυτος of Lycia and Κότα of Halikarnassos.¹¹

Rismag Gordeziani puts forward additional arguments to prove the connection between Cretan and Colchian toponyms.¹²

Greek sources concerning Colchis often refer Kutaisi as Κύταια. We have to compare the Pre-Greek "κυτ-" to the Kartvelian "kut-". Root "kut-" is organically connected to the Kartvelian languages which is proved by the following two facts: First, in every Kartvelian language it has a regular corresponding form: Kutaisi in Georgian, Kute in Megrelian, Kutäsh in Svan language etc. Secondly the above-mentioned root "kut-" is encountered in various Georgian toponyms: Kutauri, Kutureti, etc.

The connection of Pre-Greek "κυτ(α)-" and Kartvelian root "kut-" becomes evident if we compare their meanings. In Georgian we have a word "kututo" (< *kutkut-) that means eyelid. Root "kut-" is confirmed in the dialect forms as well "kutna, gamokutna" that means taking out the core from pumpkin. What is more important according to some interpretations, Kutaisi has a meaning of "free space amongst the mountains". Hence Pre-Greek "κυτ(α)-" and Kartvelian root "kut-" has a meaning of something having hollow, container, peel.

I will dwell on one more toponym: Larisa. According to Strabo: καὶ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ πόλις ἣ νῦν εἰς Ἱεράπυτταν συνοικισθεῖσα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πεδῖον νῦν Λαρισαῖον καλεῖται (10, 440).

Λάρισα is one of the former names of Γόρτυν. This name is very much associated with the Pelasgians and is found in several parts of Thessaly, Attica, Argolis, Elis, the Troad, Aiolis and Lydia as well as Crete. It may well be connected with the Etruscan word Lar-, Lars-, Larθ- ("Lord"). Indeed, the

¹¹ Brown R. A., op. cit., 132-133, 206, 274.

¹² Gordeziani R., op. cit., 117-118.

ending corresponds to an archaic Etruscan genitive-adjectival formation, thus *Lar-is-a is "the Lord of city".¹³

Some researchers while determining the etymology of this term connect it with the meaning of stone. But it needs to undergo certain phonetic manipulations. R. Gordeziani considers that the term "λαρίεθος" which had a meaning of "reed dwelling" (small building) enables the determination of etymology of "Larisa": φλόϊνον στεγάστριον (H). Here "-εθ" is obviously a suffix. As for the root "λαρι-" is it probably means reed, rush. Pre-Greek "λαρ-" may be connected to similar Georgian root. Georgian "lel-", "ler-", "leli". It goes back to the time of Georgian-Zan unity. Georgian-Zan "*lel-tsem" is derived from this root (Georgian. lertsam-, lertsam-; Megrelian. larcham-, larchem-. The Georgian "Lari" is probably originated from this root which means a long stick from which probably is originated dialectical "Lari" which has a meaning of "wattled dwelling". It should be noted that this root is quite often referred to in Georgian toponymics. E. g.: "lelovani", "leliani", "lelobi", "lara", etc. The question arises: maybe we have to do with similar Pre-Greek root variation in the Greek toponyms "Λέρος", "Λέλος" (in Rhodes), "Λέρνα" (in Argos), etc.¹⁴

In the language of the ancient Greek population of Crete we come across the term **καμάν** (καμάν· τὸν ἀγρόν· Κρήτες – H), etymology of which is not determined and which is found in the Mycenaean documents with "ka-ma" form. It means "agricultural holding" and is considered as borrowed from Minoan language.

The researches suppose that this word shows a nasalized form of a pre-Greek word from which Greek κῆπος (Doric κᾶπος) is derived. This word was adopted as *kapa in the Germanic group where, after going through the proto-Germanic sound-shift, it gave rise to huoba (OHG), Hufe, Hube (N. German), hof (O. English). The same form gave rise to Albanian kopshti (with suffix -shti); further a form with a prenasalized plosive appears in Latin campus.¹⁵

It will also be noticed that when borrowed by Indo-European languages the stem ending varies between -a (Cretan, Germanic) and -o (Greek, Latin). This is another indication of its pre-Greek origin. Thus we have here pre-Indo-European root *kap-a/o – *kamp-a/o – *kam-a/o adopted by certain Indo-European groups from the speech of an early Neolithic farming population, possibly inhabiting central and southeastern Europe.

¹³ Brown R. A., op. cit., 158-159, 192, 275.

¹⁴ Gordeziani R., op. cit., 118.

¹⁵ Brown R. A., op. cit., 66, 271.

R. Gordeziani assumes that Pre-Greek "καμάιν" should be connected to Georgian "kana" (< *field) that goes back to the time of Georgian-Zan unity. And here a question is put forward about the possibility of connection of this term to Georgian term "kamiri" which means uncultivated field.

While talking about the so-called Cretisms of Minoan vocabulary and Greek language we cannot avoid the word **λαβύρινθος**. This word is found in the Linear B: da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja (KN Gg 702, Oa 745 + 7374) and is understood as the "Queen of Labyrinth". Mycenaean "da-" which is encountered in Linear B in the place of the traditional "la-" creates the specific complexity here.

In order to solve this problem the linguists draw the parallel between Minoan and Hattic-Hettite. Particularly they compare Hattic "tabarna" ("king, ruler") with Hettite "labarna" ("king, ruler"). Here "ta-" (dental) and "la-" (labial) substitute each other (see also Nesite "tapar" – "to rule"). E. J. Furnée associates this Hattic word with Lydian term "labrys-λάβρυς" ("the dual poleaxe") since it represents the symbol of royal power and the labyrinth is the dwelling place of royal dynasty (cf. Armenian "tapar", Persian "tabar", Russian "topor"). The formation of this term is associated with Carian Labraunda, as well as with the cult of Zeus of Labraunda.¹⁶

In order to determine the meaning of Minoan word "λαβύρινθος" we have to remember the Greek tradition according to which "Λαβύρινθος" was a word borrowed from Pre-Greek language and which meant something impassable, building having complicated structure, plan. For this very reason in Mediterranean, particularly in Egypt, Italy and Greece the Greeks referred to such architectural buildings as labyrinths. Therefore the initial semantics of this word was not associated with poleaxe and royal power but to a tangled and mysterious building. The essence of the Cretan mythical labyrinth was the same.

According to Georgian researcher R. Gordeziani, the Pre-Greek "λαβύρινθος" may be connected to common Kartvelian root "bur-" which has the following meanings: "to wrap, to darken, to tangle" (Georgian / Zan / Svan "bur-"). The words originated from this root often indicate a dark, tangled or locked place.

The researchers suppose that in substrate Anatolian, as well as in Aegean languages, there was a lateral in the pronunciation of which we could notice both dental and labial component (e. g. "tl"). It is known that such consonants are familiar to the Caucasian languages and it has been reconstructed in the common Kartvelian as well. In the Kartvelian languages, before the stem

¹⁶ Brown R. A., op. cit., 208, 274.

"bur-" could be found this lateral "tl" sound, which in one language gave us "la-" and in the other "sa-" or "da". Consequently, in the west Kartvelian, in Svan language we had a form "labura" and in the east Kartvelian, in Georgian – "sabur-", "daburul-" and "daburvil-".

According to Hesykhios, the ancient Greek population of Crete used the term "ἀμυρτόν" (ἀμυρτόν· ἱμάτιον· Κρήτες). E. J. Furnée associated this word with the term "βύρσα" ("skin", "fur"). Neither of the terms has the determined etymology. According to R. A. Brown the fact that the term "βύρσα"-s Attic form "βύρρα" is not found in the Attic dialect clearly indicates its non-Greek origin.¹⁷ R. Gordeziani supposes that "βυρσα" can also be associated with the above-discussed common Kartvelian root "bur-" – the Georgian "burtkl-" which goes back to the time of Georgian-Zan unity (Megrelian "burtku-" – "soft").¹⁸

It won't be exaggeration to say that a question of ethnic origin of Pre-Greek population, and respectively the issue of so-called Cretisms of the Greek language and of the ancient Cretans dialect is rather tangled and unsolved.

With the present article I tried to reveal the different pre-Greek lexical units of Cretan dialect in connection to Caucasian, and particularly Kartvelian, that is, Georgian world. I will specially note that this is a rather complicated and vexed question that needs to undergo serious research in the future. It also should be noted that the existence of such parallels between Greek and Kartvelian languages once again indicates to the millenniums of historical and cultural relationships that existed between Aegeida and Caucasus, Greece and Georgia in particular.

¹⁷ Brown R. A., op. cit., 29.

¹⁸ Gordeziani R., *Kaukasische Elemente des Minoischen*, in: *Λεκτά, Ausgewählte Schriften*, Logos, Tbilisi 2000, 120.

Nino Dianosashvili (Tbilisi)

THE PHENOMENON OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDER IN THE HOMERIC EPICS

Spiritual disorder as a phenomenon attracted interest in every civilization, and continues to do so. Although the cases of spiritual diseases are described already in ancient Oriental texts, it was in ancient Greece that the problem enjoyed the most diverse and thorough treatment, which later was reflected in ancient literature. However, the attitude towards the phenomenon was not the same at different stages of ancient Greek civilization, and there were important reasons that accounted for this.

In the course of the present research, the Homeric epics attracted my attention. Homer offers poetic modeling of the world through diverse references and sometimes presents the most unusual aspects of these interrelations in a surprisingly systemic way, so that the unparalleled emotional impact they used to exercise is remarkable in the modern world as well. The points of my interest were whether the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* picture the cases of psychological disorder and, if so, how diverse they are. The importance of such an approach to the epics is partly determined by lack of relevant researches in the Homeric studies. In the present paper I will provide several examples to illustrate how the cases of spiritual morbidities are described in the *Iliad*:

Let us recall the story of Lycurgus, son of Dryas and king of the Edonians, as related in the *Iliad*:

ὄς ποτε μαινομένοι Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας
σεῦε κατ' ἠγάθειον Νυσήϊον· αἱ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατεχευαν, ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνιο Λυκούργου

θεινόμειναι βουπλήγι· Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεὶς
δύσεθ' ἄλως κατὰ κῦμα.¹

Gods were furious at this. Zeus blinded the king, and Lycurgus, disdained by everybody, died in terrible pains shortly afterwards.

There is another episode apparently connected with Dionysian ecstasy². It pictures the story of designing a dancing ground for Ariadne. As the mythological tradition has it, Theseus and Ariadne, on their way from Crete, stopped on the island of Dia, later called Naxos. According to a popular version, Dionysus appeared in the hero's dream and bade him to give up his (i.e. Dionysus') Ariadne. Dionysus carried her back to Crete. In the *Iliad*, there is an allusion to Ariadne's subsequent stay on Crete. According to Homer, one of the scenes on Achilles' shield, fashioned by Hephaestus, represented a chorus, a dancing ground:

τῶ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῶ εὐρέϊη
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.³

Bearing in mind the immediate context of these lines that says that the mentioned scene pictured also an amazing, dizzy dance of young men and maidens, it is not difficult to find out the function of the dancing ground designed for Ariadne. Most obviously, Ariadne, Dionysus' favorite, danced in Dionysian ecstasy.⁴

Homer provides scanty material about the ecstatic state of a person. However, the information suggests that the ancient Greek *aoidos* was well aware of the phenomenon. According to Homer, the behavior of women engaged in wild dance in the state of ecstatic madness is one of the essential elements of the Dionysian cult. Besides, the account of Lycurgus' story implies what the confrontation with such madness may yield. Homer does not provide any motivation for Lycurgus' behavior. Presumably, the king was filled with fear in the face of the irrational which he deemed disastrous for his orderly kingdom and capable of bringing in an irrational element into the

¹ II.VI 132 ff; '...that time/ he chased the maenads, on the sacred ridge of manic Dionysos, on Mount Nysa. / Belabored by the ox-goad of Lykourgos, / killer that he was, they all flung down/ their ivy-staves, while terrified Dionysos/ plunged under a sea-surge' (transl. by R. Fitzgerald, The Millennium Library 60, Homer, *Iliad*, 1992, 145).

² Cf. DNP, 3, 950 ff.

³ II, XVIII, 591-2; '...like the one which in wide Cnosus Daedalus fashioned of old for fair-tressed Ariadne' (transl. by A.T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library, 171, Homer, *Iliad* II, Books 13-24, 331).

⁴ Gordeziani R., 2002, 283 ff. (in Georgian); Latacz J., *Einführung in die griechische Tragödie*, Göttingen, 1993, 30 ff. About the function and implication of dance in dramas and its importance in the Aegean epoch, see Stoessel F., *Die Vorgeschichte des griechischen Theaters*, Darmstadt 1987, 3 ff.

country based on a rational principle.⁵ Confrontation with madness drove Lycurgus mad and the collision resulted in universal destruction: Maenads were beaten up and terribly wounded, Dionysus hid away in the sea waves, and Lycurgus was blinded.

However, Dionysian trance is only one of the multiples states of distorted consciousness described by Homer. The ancient Greek poet tells how the divine spell affected human minds. The episodes that contain such descriptions include Odysseus' encounter with the Sirens and the adventure of the Greek sailors in the land of Lotus-eaters.

Odysseus was thoroughly well prepared to resist the Sirens. As the island appeared, the hero blocked his men's ears with bee wax and made them tie him to the foot of the mast. The Sirens felt the approach of the prey and started singing. They urged Odysseus to stay with them for a while to tell them the stories about Trojans and Argolics. The sweet tunes appealed to Odysseus and he begged his men to release him. However, the men had previously been ordered to tighten his bonds in such a case. They did so and rowed off rapidly.⁶

The land of the Lotus-eaters presented new dangers for Odysseus' crew. Under the effect of the lotus flower, the sailors forgot their fatherland and friends, and decided to stay with Lotus-eaters forever. When Odysseus learnt about this, he dragged them back to Argo, then tied them with a rope to the handles of oars and bade the other sailors to shove off at once thus preventing them from tasting the sweet lotus plant.⁷

According to the episodes with the Sirens and Lotus-eaters, the enchanting power that strongly appealed to men led them to destruction. In both cases, Odysseus and his men were driven by impulses. Their behavior was unreasonable and was inspired by their immediate and irregular desires that grasped them only in particular circumstances. What they did was not consistent with their will.⁸ Odysseus was driven by the Sirens' voice, and his men – by the taste of the lotus plant.⁹ They were deprived of their personalities, which would dictate them decisions and behavior coordinated with their reasoning.

⁵ Latacz J., 1993, 31.

⁶ Od., XII, 167-196

⁷ Od., IX, 83-104.

⁸ About the psychological motivation for any behavior see Uznadze D., *General Psychology*, Part Five, Tb., 1940; Natadze R., *the Psychological Nature of Will in General Psychology*, Tb., 1986, 537-573.

⁹ About the magic impact of singing, see Erkomaishvili M., 2002, 25 ff. Owing to its formal, rhythmical and ritual impact, singing can affect listener's soul and body; Otto W. F., *Die Musen und der göttliche Ursprung des Singes und Sagens*, Darmstadt 1971, 71-72. In the archaic epoch, the source of such an impact was an *aoidos'* singing and speech; see Segal Ch., *Eros and Oral Poetry*, Arethusa, 7, 1974, 143 ff. A sweet voice and talk could enchant a person the same way as Eros.

The Sirens exercised spell on men through their sweet voices, and the enchanted men were compelled to stay and listen to them forever – till flesh decayed on their bones. Consequently, the ground around the Sirens was white with the bleached bones of sailors.¹⁰ Their song destroyed not only personalities, but also the bodies of victims, and in return let them revel in listening to their song. The latter had such a strong power on a human spirit that even Odysseus, distinguished for his shrewdness, was rendered helpless.

The lotus plant had the same spell as the Sirens' sweet song; however, it was not fatal for a man. If a guest to the land of Lotus-eaters tasted it even once, his only aim and ambition in life would be to eat the plant. It deprived a person of his/her memory and made him forget his own history and past.

If we compare the two mentioned episodes, one very important parallel will certainly come up: both the Sirens and Lotus-eaters dominated over time.¹¹ They had power on the past as well as the future.

Homer suggests several ways to escape their spell:

To keep away from the spell, to avoid eyes (When they approached the island of the Sirens, Odysseus blocked his men's ears with wax. Odysseus had the boat rapidly rowed off into the open sea to prevent his sailors from tasting the plant).

If one is affected by the spell, there no way out unless somebody else helps through the use of force. (Odysseus dragged the sailors who were treated with the lotus plant back to the ship);

If one intends deliberately to enjoy the pleasure delivered by the enchanting power, one should get prepared in advanced in order to be able to resist the temptation and not be misled by the power. (Odysseus had himself tied to the mast so that he was unable to release himself).

Nowadays, the sweet song of the Sirens and the lotus flower can be equalled to psychoactive substances (drugs and alcohol overdose), or even to gambling which are the sources of great pleasure for a short period but in fact mislead a person, foster his illusions and eventually lead him to destruction.

The Homeric epic offers some more material related to spiritual disorder. Let us recall the story about Bellerophon and Odysseus' adventure with the nymph Calypso.

Bellerophon ἦ τοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλάτο, ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.¹²

¹⁰ Od. XII, 39-54.

¹¹ Cf. Erkomaishvili M., 2002, 27, 77.

¹² Il. VI 201-2; '... and alone he moped/ on Aëôn plain, eating his heart out, shunning the beaten track of men' (transl. by Fitzgerald R., 148).

And Odysseus shed tears when he stayed on the island of Ogygia. He spent days sitting by the sea in solitude, pining away with tears and mourning.¹³

ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἐπ' ἀλτῆς κλαῖε καθήμενος, ἔνθα πάρος περ,
δάκρυσι καὶ στοναχῆσι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων,
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον δερκέσκετο δάκρυα λείβων.¹⁴

He hated the nymph and forced himself to make love to her.

As shown above, both Bellerophon and Odysseus are gripped with the desire to stay in seclusion. They have lost interest in the outer world; both are sad and lugubrious. In fact, both cases describe the instances of depression, intensified sullenness and despondency. Such a state was called melancholia (anc. Gr: μελανχολία – black spleen) before the term ‘depression’ (Lat. depressio – press, depress) was introduced in the 19th century.¹⁵

Remarkably, the cases of melancholia with Bellerophon and Odysseus, despite their likeness, are different in quality. According to Homer, Bellerophon’s wandering in solitude in the Aleian plain was unexpected and even inappropriate. By that time he had already beaten the monstrous Chimaera, the Solymi, the Amazons and the Lycian soldiers, was married to the daughter of the Lycian king and had three children – he had everything to live a happy life. However, at that very point Bellerophon left the kingdom and gripped with sorrow, even tried to avoid people.

According to Homer, the only reason for Bellerophon’s melancholy was the divine hostility against him. His spiritual crisis was in fact unmotivated. It did not have any pre-condition – the melancholy was fostered within him on its own and all of a sudden. It is also remarkable that through several events and circumstances Bellerophon’s life resembles the story of Heracles.¹⁶

Closely considering the phenomenon of melancholia in his *Topics*, Aristotle puts the following question: why does it happen so that melancholia normally possesses those individuals who are distinguished for particular gift for philosophy, politics, the art of poetry and the like? According to Aristotle,

¹³ Cf Od., V, 151 ff

¹⁴ Od., V 82-5; ‘...for he sat weeping on the shore in his accustomed place, racking his heart with tears and groans and griefs. There he would look out over the unresting sea, shedding tears (transl. by A. T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library, 104, Homer, *Odyssey* I, Books 1-12, 189).

¹⁵ For detailed information about depression see Beck A. T., *Depression*, New York, Harper & Row 1967; Bibring E., *The Mechanism of Depression*, in: Gaylin W., (Ed.), *The Meaning of Despair*, New York, Science House 1968, 155-181; Freud S., *Mourning and Melancholia*, in: Gaylin W., (Ed.), *The Meaning of Despair*, New York, Science House 1968, 50-59.

¹⁶ Let us recall Heracles’ Twelve Labours and the madness that possessed him all of a sudden and made him slay his own wife and children.

some of those individuals, for instance Heracles among heroes, suffered from the effusion of black spleen. He was deemed to be melancholic by nature. Ancient people named the holy disease after him. Likewise, other heroes and later Empedocles, Socrates, Plato and other celebrities suffered from the same illness.¹⁷ The question put forward by Aristotle has no straightforward answer even nowadays. Anyway, one can refer to an existing idea that melancholia was the punishment for a genius that serves to ensure the balance in the world. Excessive energy output or overdevelopment of abilities is always followed by spiritual decline. This is exactly what happened to Bellerophon.¹⁸

Odysseus' melancholy is essentially different as concerns its background. The extreme sadness has objective grounds – he is far away from his fatherland and is aware that there is scarcely any chance for him to return to Ithaca. Sadness and spleen are natural in the like circumstances. Departure or loss of a precious friend is normally accompanied with grief and sullenness;¹⁹ however, Odysseus' feelings were excessive.

The sorrow gripped all of himself (Odysseus sheds tears non-stop); it filled his time and space. Neither did the intercourse with the charming nymph console the hero. On the contrary, Odysseus felt despise for Calypso.²⁰ The sorrow distorted the reality in his perception. He failed to notice the beautiful environment and was indifferent to the outer world.²¹

The above-considered cases of melancholy may remind of Meleager. The son of Oeneus was also gripped with the desire to stay aloof. However, his spiritual state cannot be called melancholic.

Here is a brief account of Meleager's story: As he was defending his native city from the Curetes, he was possessed by fury all of a sudden and locked himself and his wife up in the tower. All the riches of the land of Calydon were offered to him as an incentive to rejoin the war. His elderly father, his mother and sisters, his closest friends – all as one implored him but their efforts were vain; he either declined their appeals or gave no answer.²²

Meleager's state is in fact a typical case of autism development. Autism (anc. Gr, αὐτός self) is one of the forms of spiritual disorder. Introversion,

¹⁷ Arist. Prob. XXX, I.

¹⁸ Ломброзо Ч., Гениальность и помешательство (Гениальность и помешательство, Женщины на преступница или проститутка. Любовь у помешанных), Минск 1998, 10-29.

¹⁹ Peretz D., Reaction and Loss, in: Schoenberg B., Carr A. C., Peretz D., Kutcher A. H., (Eds.), Loss and grief: Psychological Management in Medical Practice, New York, Columbia University Press 1970, 3-19.

²⁰ Od., V, 153.

²¹ About spleen and its relations with other emotions, cognitive processes and behavior see Керрол Э. Изард, Психология эмоций, Санкт-Петербург 1999, 207-10.

²² II. IX, 550-586.

loss of interest in the outer world and breaking up with the objective reality is the basic symptoms of the state. It is often accompanied with aggressiveness directed at either one's own self or the outer world.²³

Meleager's case starts with fury. The emotion grips the hero all of a sudden and he quits the battlefield. Later on, when locked up in the tower together with his wife, he is again possessed by fury²⁴ unlike the Bellerophon and Odysseus cases where the leading emotion is sorrow.

Through his behavior Meleager breaks up with the real world and is secluded in himself regardless of implorations, promises and admonitions. He apparently tries to build his private world inaccessible from the outside. Remarkably, it is Meleager's wife who helps him recover reason. She is the only member of his micro-world detached from the outer reality.

Despite the abundance of relevant researches, the etymology of autism is still ambiguous.²⁵ Naturally, the phenomenon could have been difficult to understand in ancient times. The behaviors and spiritual states that lacked palpable motivation were attributed to supernatural powers and divine punishment. Therefore, according to Homer, Meleager's senses were possessed by daemons.²⁶

²³ Asperger H., Die "autistischen Psychopathien" Kindesalter, Archives für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten 117, 1944, 76-136.

²⁴ Il. IX, 119.

²⁵ A lot of ideas have been suggested about this particular case of spiritual disorder. Some believe it is predetermined genetically; see Folstein S., Rutter M., Infantile Autism: A Genetic Study of 21 Twin Pairs, Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 18, 1971, 297-321. Others relate autism to an organic cerebral injury. There also exists a hypothesis that links autism to schizophrenia. However, recent researches present autism and schizophrenia as two independent spiritual morbidities. Cf. Гельдер М., Гэт Д., Мейо Р., Оксфордское руководство по психиатрии, общее расстройство развития т. 2, Сфера 1999, 289-90.

²⁶ Ἄλλα συ μη μοι ταυτα νόει φρεσί μηδέ σε δαίμων ἔταυθα τρέψειε, φίλος...~ (Il. IX. 600-601) – 'Oh, do not let your mind go so astray! / Let no malignant spirit turn you that way, dear son!' (transl. by R. Fitzgerald, 222).

For the Homeric understanding of soul see Зелинский Т., Гомеровская психология, Петербург 1922. According to T. Zelinski's research, Homer regards soul as a tripartite unity: 1) ψυχή – 'the source of life' – i.e. a certain energy that rests in the whole body and leaves a human being at the time of his/her death. It is also identified with 'a shadow' (Il. IX, 322, 401, 408; XVI, 453, 856; XXII, 362); 2) θυμός – 'strong feeling', 'passion', 'heart', which chiefly abides in the chest; 3) νοῦς – mind, which is normally found in diaphragm. Hence, T. Zelinski distinguishes between corporeal and non-corporeal souls. My immediate interest lies with the functions of φρήν and νοῦς. φρήν or φρένες – in the Homeric understanding, a diaphragm is a part of body with 'functions of the soul' – i.e. it is the corporeal soul. φρήν experiences happiness (Il. I, 474; VI, 481; IX, 186; XIII, 609; XIX, 19; Od. IV, 102; V, 74; VIII, 131; XVII, 174), love (Il. III, 442; XIV, 294), sorrow (Il. I, 362; VI, 355; XVIII, 73, 88; XXIV, 105; Od., VII, 218, 219; XI, 195; XVIII, 324; XXIV, 233, 423), anger (Il. I, 103; II, 241; XVI, 61; XIX, 127; Od., IV, 661; VI, 147), fright (Il. I, 555; IX, 244; X, 538; Od., XIV, 88; XXIV, 353). φρήν is chiefly concerned with thinking (Il. I, 133, 446; II, 213, 301; V, 406; VIII, 366; IX, 423, 600; XIII, 558; XIV, 92; XX, 116, 310; XXI, 19; XXII, 235, 296; XXIV, 197, 563; Od. I, 444; II, 363; III, 26, 132; IV, 676, 739; VIII, 240,

Evidently, even the state of fury was believed to be induced by supernatural powers as it involved loss of sound reason and the dominance of emotion over sensibility. Let us recall the episode when Agamemnon regards his own decision over Achilles as ‘yielding to black anger’²⁷; he blames gods:

ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτιός εἰμι,
ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς,
οἱ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἔμβalon ἄγριον ἄτην.²⁸

In this respect, we should also consider the Cyclops’ answer to Polyphemus’ words. Blinded Polyphemus addressed the other Cyclops:

Οὗτίς με κτείνει δόλω οὐδὲ βίηφιν.²⁹

The Cyclops answered:

εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τίς σε βιάζεται οἶον ἔοντα,
νοῦσον γ' οὐ πῶς ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι,
ἀλλα σύ γ' εὔχεο πατρὶ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.³⁰

The episode clearly suggests how the community responds to the discrepancies between the objective reality and the related experiences (Polyphemus feels as if he is being killed but he can not see the murderer). The community

273, 556; IX, 11; XI, 474; XIII, 337; XIV, 82; XV, 326; XIX, 353; XVII, 66; XIX, 353; XX, 288; XXIII, 176). This is also evident through the words derived from φρην: ‘φρονέως’ ~ ‘be wise’, ‘have understanding’; ‘φράζω’ ~ ‘explain’, ‘declare’, ‘think’, ‘muse upon’, ‘consider’, ‘ponder’; ‘φρόνιμος’ ~ ‘showing presence of mind’, ‘sensible’; ‘ἄφρων’ ~ ‘insensible’, ‘mad’. According to Homer, what causes the dimness of reason affects φρήν or the diaphragm: 1) When one forgets something, the imprints on the diaphragm are lost (Il. I, 297; II, 33, 70; IV, 39; V, 259; IX, 611; XVI, 444, 851; XXI, 94; Od. XI, 454; XV, 445; XVI, 281, 299; XVII, 548; XIX, 236, 495, 570); 2) sleep comes down on the diaphragm (Il. XIV, 165); 3) Wine takes over the diaphragm (Od. IX, 362, 454; XVIII, 331, 391; XXI, 297). νοῦς an *νόος* is the corporeal soul and conveys psychical messages. As mentioned above, it is normally found in the diaphragm. Homer uses νοῦς in the meaning of ‘consciousness’ (Il. XI, 813; XII, 255; XIV, 252; XVIII, 419; XXIV, 358, 367; Od. X, 240, 494), as well as ‘wisdom’ (Il. X, 391; XIV, 62, 217; XV, 129, 643; XX, 133; XXIII, 604; Od. I, 66; VI, 320; XII, 211; XVI, 197; XIX, 326; XX, 366). Often νοῦς is identified with νόημα (Il. IX, 104; XV, 80, 509, 699; XXII, 215, 382; XXIII, 149; Od. IV, 493; V, 33; XIV, 490; XXIV, 479). A couple φρήν – νοῦς is made up, φρήν – the corporeal soul that contains νοῦς – non-corporeal soul. The latter is also associated with ‘breath’, ‘air’, πεπνύσθαι, πνέω, πνεῦμα (Od. X, 493; XVIII, 230), which penetrates a human body through lungs and accounts for its living. Therefore, the ‘alteration’, ‘reversing’ of φρήν and νοῦς is the same as ‘dimming of mind’ and ‘possession of the soul’, which certainly indicate spiritual disorder.

²⁷ Il. IX, 119; ‘I lost my head; I yielded to black anger’, ... (transl. by R. Fitzgerald, 207).

²⁸ Il. XIX, 86-88; ‘...but it is not I who am at fault, but Zeus and Fate and Erinys, that walks in darkness ... they cast on my mind fierce blindness ...’ (transl. by Murray, 341).

²⁹ Od. IX, 408; ‘... it is Nobody that is slaying me by guile and not by force’ (transl. by Murray, 345).

³⁰ Od. IX, 410-12 (If, then, nobody does violence to you all alone as you are, sickness which comes from Zeus there is no way you can escape, you must pray to out father the lord Poseidon’ (transl. by Murray, 347).

(the Cyclops) regards this as the impact from supernatural powers, as the divine disease (Zeus' disease in that particular episode: ὁ νοῦστος Διός), which can be curbed by the likewise divine interference.

The above-considered cases suggest that Homer was aware of several totally different types of spiritual disorder. The spiritual states described in the epics are classical patterns of certain types of disorder. The material provided in the epics acquires even more importance against the fact that epics as a genre and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as its model samples do not focus on the mentioned theme in particular; they offer the poetic reflection of the world and the multiple and diverse interrelations pertinent to it. The Homeric perception of the world is of *Geschtalt* type – i.e. complete. Spiritual disorder holds a tiny place in the *Geschtalt*,³¹ and at the same time represents a *Geschtalt* itself as it has its particular structure detached from its context and having its own internal segments.³²

The structural completeness as one of the important properties of perception is nowadays universally acknowledged. However, this completeness is determined by the similar property of the object to be perceived and the appropriate disposition of the person who perceives as a perception is a personal process and is modified by the inner state of a person as a unity.³³

The Homeric *weltanschauung* (as well as the *weltanschauung* of Homeric characters) can be described as an aesthetic and contemplating type³⁴ which offers the poetic perception of things and events (including the phenomenon of our immediate concern) with regard to their appearance (outer face). This

³¹ The information on spiritual disorder is devoted some 22 lines in the *Iliad* (II, VI, 132-36, 201-202; IX, 553, 565, 575-87), and 40 lines in the *Odyssey* (V, 82-84, 151-58; IX, 94-97; XII, 39-46, 182-196); In the *Hymn to Demeter*, the melancholy of the goddess is rendered through 40 lines (*The Hymn to Demeter*, 40-43, 49-50, 77, 82-83, 90-92, 98, 101, 181-83, 197-201, 206-207, 303-11, 329-33, 360-61). It is impossible to find out the precise place the description of spiritual disorder holds in the *Margites*; the theme should have been developed in more details as *Margites*' behaviour and speech are the principal sources of fun. The number of the lines that describe spiritual disorder gradually increases in every subsequent text; and if one considers the supposed dates they go back to, one may think that authors' interest in the problem increased since the Homeric period.

³² Cf. Natadze R., 1986, 149 ff. (in Georgian); also Перлз Ф., Практика гештальт-терапии, Гештальтпсихология, М., 2000, 264 ff. 'Geschtalt' is the German word for form and structure. Nowadays, it is widely used in psychology as a term denoting a unity. *Geschtalt*psychology (the Berlin school) attached a particular sense to the notion of *Geschtalt* and considered it the basic, universal principle of psyche. Later it was recognized as the basic principle of the physical world as well.

³³ About the personal property of perception see Natadze R., 1986, 169 ff.

³⁴ Драч Г. В., Проблемы человека в раннегреческой философии, изд. Ростовского университета, 1987, 10.

is determined by specific properties of the epoch, the literary genre and the artistic vision of the author. As to the attempt to describe the inner i.e. spiritual processes of an individual, indiscernible for exterior perception, it is the privilege of a different epoch, different literary genres and writers.

Riccardo Di Donato (Pisa)

TO HELLENIKON

Premesse antropologiche alle identità greche*.

Il tratto che accomuna l'oggetto di una parte dei nostri studi è il riferimento all'esperienza greca in termini di civiltà: mi pare abbia senso cercare di approfondire il senso che assume, alla luce degli studi a noi contemporanei, il problema della *identità* greca.

Non riprenderò in modo specifico, in questa esposizione, la tematica storica, connessa al progressivo formarsi della *ellenicità*, per proporre subito un calco del termine *Hellenicity* che, assai di recente Johnathan Hall ha posto al centro di un suo complesso volume, il secondo da lui scritto sul tema che ci occupa¹. Né affronterò in termini di parzialità la questione, isolando, come nel caso degli Achei, studiato in un colloquio posidoniate² o come nel primo libro di Hall³, uno tra gli *ethne*, le unità etniche, i popoli dei Greci, comunque definite. Quello che mi propongo è, insieme, più semplice -perché forse meno lungo da realizzare- ma anche più complicato -perché ricondotto sul terreno della mera analisi culturale o della teoria antropologica. Ho inteso farlo nel solo modo che a me pare praticabile e quindi secondo una modalità non assertiva e apodittica ma critica e problematica, attenta a sottolineare, innanzi tutto, le necessarie pluralità che si devono prendere in considerazione.

* Questo testo è stato letto, presso l'Istituto di Filologia classica e studi bizantini e neo-greci dell'Università di stato Ivane Javakhishvili di Tbilisi, il 12 dicembre 2006, nel quadro di una visita di scambio realizzata grazie alla collaborazione dell'Università georgiana con l'Università di Pisa. Desidero ringraziare il prof. Rismag Gordeziani, direttore dell'Istituto, e tutti i suoi colleghi e collaboratori per l'ospitalità affettuosa e gli intervenuti alla discussione per l'interesse dimostrato verso la tematica antropologica proposta e per il contributo critico recato alla definizione finale del testo.

¹ Hall 2002.

² Greco 2002.

³ Hall 2000.

Nulla sarebbe infatti più semplice dell'assumere la nozione che indica il neutro singolare del titolo, *to hellenikon*, ciò che è proprio dei Greci, come un punto di partenza definito e aproblematico. Al contrario, cercheremo di interpretare solo in conclusione dell'intero ragionamento l'espressione che leggiamo in Erodoto⁴, come pronunciata in un contesto di confronto doppiamente interetnico dagli Ateniesi, i quali rispondono, nella esposizione dei fatti che ci è proposta dallo storico di Alicarnasso, agli Spartani a proposito dei loro rapporti con i Persiani, per indicare quanto è comune tra i primi due, *to hellenikon* appunto, contro il terzo.

La stessa evocata proposizione di pluralità, che appare in ogni modo necessaria, non è affatto sufficiente ad una impostazione corretta e completa. La pluralità anzi sollecita di essere ordinata per essere intesa. Prendiamo un punto di partenza che sia, per chiarezza di esposizione e diffusione editoriale sufficientemente noto da poter essere citato senza necessità di lunghe premesse. Abbiamo letto, in anni recenti, un utile contributo di uno studioso purtroppo nel frattempo scomparso, David Asheri, che ha trattato, in termini riassuntivi, il rapporto tra identità al plurale e identità al singolare, proprio nel caso della Grecia antica⁵.

L'individuo -scriveva a questo riguardo, pochi anni fa, David Asheri- *possiede in realtà identità multiple, conscio di appartenere a più gruppi di estensione crescente, che si inseriscono l'uno dentro l'altro come scatole cinesi. Nel mondo greco classico, l'individuo sa di appartenere a una famiglia, un clan, un demo, una fratria, una tribù, a una polis, a un ethnos, talvolta anche a una lega regionale, alla 'grecità', e, infine, perché no? -al genere umano. Man mano che la 'scatola' si fa più grande, l'identità diventa più astratta e meno impegnativa. Nella grecità classica, il sentimento di appartenenza alla polis sta all'epicentro, e da esso dipendono tutte le altre identità, minori o maggiori.*

Non sono sicuro che tutto sia corretto in questa serie di proposizioni, sia quelle meramente assertive che quelle in qualche misura interpretative e speculative: cercherò di argomentarlo subito, in modo ordinato, seguendo l'ordine stesso delle nozioni evocate.

Parlare di *individuo*, in Grecia antica come in ogni altra situazione di civiltà, non significa evocare una nozione chiara e distinta, di quelle che tutti intendono alla stessa maniera e senza che possa nascere alcun dubbio in assenza di preliminare definizione.

Come termine antropologico anzi, l'individuo costituisce una delle nozioni più complesse e di difficile definizione. L'antropologia storica francese -che è

⁴ Hdt 8. 144. 2.

⁵ Asheri 1997.

il risultato di una ibridazione reale di diverse correnti culturali- ha affrontato il problema anche in termini di teoria fino ad arrivare a risultati definiti che molto contribuiscono allo studio dell'identità⁶.

Se è allora possibile arrivare a scrivere, come fa Asheri, che l'individuo *possiede* in Grecia identità multiple, è assai meno corretto affermare che queste si dispongono poi -pur con la limitazione temporale al periodo che si dice classico V-IV sec.- in modo armonioso ed astratto, come nel gioco delle scatole cinesi. Ciascuna di queste sarebbe contenuta dalla precedente e apparirebbe tale da contenere le successive. Proprio perché l'identità comporta un problema soggettivo di coscienza e quindi di autocoscienza, l'ipotesi della armonia ha la stessa probabilità del ruotare -perfino musicalmente risuonante- delle sfere celesti. Si tratta di una astrazione, affermata in ipotesi, non dimostrata e anzi non dimostrabile in quanto perfino contraddetta da fenomeni reali e storici.

Il primo livello di socialità, che compare nella sequenza catalogica della espressione che stiamo analizzando, appartiene, ad esempio, alla dimensione relazionale che diciamo familiare. Nell'elenco non troviamo tuttavia parole greche ma leggiamo di famiglia e di clan.

Come tradurremo questa famiglia in greco, per capire? Nel periodo indicato, parleremo forse di *oikos*, come è possibile fare partendo da testi di diversi autori? Se lo facciamo, vedremo che la nozione evocata dal termine greco ricopre solo una parte degli aspetti relazionali della formazione parentale che noi diciamo oggi famiglia e che, al tempo stesso, ne contiene altri, di prevalente valenza che noi avvertiamo come economica e che sono estranei alla contemporanea nozione di famiglia. In termini più vasti ed espliciti, le dinamiche umane che si manifestano nell'*oikos* ellenico variano sensibilmente nel tempo e nello spazio e sono comunque assai lontane da quelle che noi siamo in grado di apprezzare nei diversi modelli di relazionalità familiare a noi contemporanea. Basterà pensare alla condizione segregata e limitata della donna, ancorché libera e anche quando di nobile origine, ed alla condizione degli schiavi, comunque fosse determinata tale condizione -se per nascita o per eventi, che era di alterità assoluta rispetto a quella degli uomini liberi. Parlare di coscienza di appartenenza familiare non appare in questo caso possibile: due figli dello stesso uomo, legittimo e riconosciuto l'uno, figlio di una schiava e schiavo l'altro avranno avuto -nella comune appartenenza all'*oikos* del padre- una diversa coscienza e una diversa identità. E soprattutto, per restare alla critica della proposizione esaminata, in nessun modo appare immaginabile una sequenza ordinata di sentimenti di

⁶ Rinvio alla bibliografia citata in Di Donato 2003, 51.

appartenenza, che permettano al singolo di apprezzare il proprio ruolo per entro tutte o parte delle formazioni sociali che appaiono elencate. In ogni modo appare necessario esaminare il processo determinativo di ciascuno dei gruppi o formazioni di cui si tratta. Le fonti letterarie e poetiche che si esprimono in modi indiretti, quelle storiche o retoriche, che espongono casi giudiziari fondati sul conflitto determinato dalla applicazione di referenti diversi, e quelle che mostrano fenomeni di ordinamento religioso manifestamente pluralistici, nella applicazione di esiti progressivi di vicende storiche - come, per fare un solo esempio, i misteri eleusini- mostrano chiaramente come la plurireferenzialità comporti fenomeni di identificazione distinti ed anche contrastivi.

Lasciamo pure da parte la testimonianza dell'epica arcaica per la questione metodologica della determinazione di un contesto di civiltà che pone, ma se leggiamo in questo senso la testimonianza poetica della elegia simposiale arcaica troviamo una interessante dinamica tra formazioni parziali come l'eteria maschile e unità civica globale, rappresentata dalla polis e dalle sue istituzioni. Assai difficile appare poi la possibilità di distinguere l'esatto ruolo che formazioni finalizzate all'azione politica e militare riescono ad esprimere rispetto a società parentali che appaiono testimoniate tramite denominativi collettivi che rinviano, secondo un tipico procedimento greco, ad un singolo fondatore che appare -quasi costantemente- collocato nella dimensione mitologica.

È assolutamente vero che il fattore determinante dell'identità individuale, in età storica, appare essere quello costituito dalla polis, anche se è difficile immaginarne un effetto di ricaduta a cascata sulle identità parziali. Vorrei tuttavia contribuire ad evitare il sostanziale effetto tautologico che la prima affermazione porta con sé. L'uomo libero di età storica è, per natura e per convenzione, cittadino. Questo fatto esprime il dato elementare della sua appartenenza attiva ad una società che è, dal nostro angolo di osservazione, storicamente e culturalmente determinata. Il fenomeno fa sì che il problema, semplicemente, si sposti di un livello e che dalla dimensione individuale si debba passare a considerare quella collettiva.

Si tratta allora di capire come si realizzi, nella Grecia di età storica, il processo di identificazione delle città. La questione non è identica a quella che è posta dai tentativi di comprendere e motivare l'origine della polis, per la quale si sono proposte infinite soluzioni ed è attualmente in corso una gigantesca ricerca tipologica, coordinata a livello internazionale con il forte rischio di una situazione aporetica per eccesso di documentazione⁷. Il quesito

⁷ Mi riferisco esplicitamente alle numerose ricerche svolte nel quadro organizzativo del Copenhagen Polis Center. Cfr. Marrucci 2006.

antropologico non si riferisce al processo reale, storico, di formazione delle *poleis* ma deve affrontare quello, soggettivo, di acquisizione evoluzione e trasformazione della coscienza collettiva dei cittadini. Parlare di *invenzione* di Atene o di qualunque altra città può aiutare a capire. Così è stato in effetti, grazie agli studi di Nicole Loraux, una studiosa scomparsa da poco ed anzi tempo, che molto rimpiangiamo⁸. L'invenzione di cui parlava la studiosa francese è quella che è possibile verificare attraverso la testimonianza fornita da una forma retorica, rigida se pure non fissa, rappresentata dalla orazione funebre che permette di svolgere, con periodicità funzionale, una sorta di ufficio permanente di rammemorazione ideologica, tramite la evocazione di un limitato patrimonio di convinzioni comuni a una limitata collettività, presentata come distinta da ogni altra. Il caso non è unico e anzi -grazie a più recenti ricerche, di elevata raffinatezza formale, la questione è stata estesa alla sostanza stessa del discorso mitologico, ad esempio nel caso dei racconti relativi a Teseo, per i quali, Claude Calame ha potuto dimostrare una sorta di continuo processo di plasmazione determinato dalle esigenze ideologiche delle diverse comunità greche, che con il mito di Teseo avevano a che fare e quindi, soprattutto, dalle esigenze di Atene⁹.

Quando parliamo di mitologia, introduciamo una nozione peculiarmente greca, che riconduce a quella che è la sfera basilare della socialità ellenica, la dimensione del sacro nelle forme del religioso, del tentativo che gli uomini mettono in atto, di stabilire un contatto finalizzato con il divino. Il mito è parte integrante della sfera religiosa anche quando è mito poliadico con fine politico. All'interno del nesso inscindibile che stabilisce con il rito, con l'insieme delle pratiche umane di frequentazione del divino, secondo le diverse forme che questo assume, grazie all'immaginazione dei Greci, si realizza un continuo processo di determinazione di identità. Tutte le manifestazioni religiose, le feste, i cortei, i sacrifici, gli agoni, le gare di varia tipologia sono accompagnate da un corredo mitologico, eziologico ed esplicativo, che contribuisce a formare quella che noi diciamo ideologia della città. Questo vale davvero per tutte le diverse forme che il fenomeno della polis assume nell'universo ellenico anche se a noi è dato apprezzarlo in una misura non confrontabile soprattutto nel caso di Atene.

Ma se entriamo davvero *dentro* una polis, fosse anche quella meglio documentata che è appunto Atene, e cerchiamo di vederne il funzionamento articolato, rispetto a quelle che ci appaiono come sostanziali partizioni del corpo civico, determinate secondo distinte funzioni, il quadro che si disegna non è affatto omogeneo e convincente. Se, ad esempio, la partizione in *demi*

⁸ Loraux 1981.

⁹ Calame 1996².

appare immediatamente finalizzata alla collocazione spaziale delle comunità umane parziali e finisce quindi per assumere -quale sia stata la storia politica e prepolitica remota dei demi attici- una funzione determinativa della identità non molto lontana da quella che è la nozione, a noi contemporanea, di *residenza anagrafica* (che è importante fattore connotativo), non si può dire lo stesso di formazioni come le fratrie o i *gene* sulle quali non siamo abbastanza informati per concludere in termini di mera articolazione del corpo civico. L'ancoraggio di queste formazioni a pratiche culturali collettive e specifiche, dalle quali sono esclusi i non appartenenti al singolo gruppo, fa problema e introduce contraddizione. Se per le fratrie, i meccanismi di introduzione dei nuovi nati riconosciuti dai frateri come legittimi, inducono ad immaginare una riplasmazione del gruppo, funzionale alla crescente importanza della nozione di appartenenza come cittadinanza (perché a questa è connesso l'insieme dei diritti e doveri civici) il *genos* sfugge ad ogni riduzione semplificatrice. Anche il tentativo di vederlo come sostanziale sopravvivenza -in età democratica- di aspetti di società connotate da formazioni sociali aristocratiche che esprimono, non solo una ideologia, ma una capacità di pratiche sociali extrapolitiche, appare astratto. Il solo ambito in cui i *gene* mantengono evidenti privilegi tradizionali è quello religiosorituale, in cui il fenomeno appare fatto conservativo della continuità culturale.

Diversa è la questione su di un piano sociale più generale. Lo studio storico, ad esempio, delle pratiche matrimoniali, tra il VII e il V secolo prima della nostra era, permette di verificare l'applicazione di una logica di alleanze, sancite da matrimoni, che garantiscono l'incrocio tra case e casate e si realizzano fino dentro l'istituto, del tutto particolare, della tirannia, una sovranità, talvolta ereditaria ma sempre connessa all'appoggio popolare anti-aristocratico e anti-oligarchico. Se la fonte principale per queste considerazioni è costituita dai *logoi* erodotei, uno studio sistematico della poesia epinettica ed epinicia permette di verificare continuità del *medium*, l'elaborazione mitologica, nella varietà dei contenuti che sono determinati dalle diverse forme sociali di riferimento. Quello che soprattutto appare significativo e importante è il fenomeno che mostra una società ellenica, caratterizzata al proprio interno da soluzioni istituzionali diverse, e tuttavia capace di interagire in occasioni panelleniche, come erano appunto gli agoni, fino ad esprimere una ideologia comune.

Si introduce così un argomento che può costituire il fondamento della argomentazione relativa agli *ethne* greci e alla loro formazione.

Il grandioso fenomeno che porta il nome di colonizzazione ellenica e che si realizza, innanzi tutto nella età arcaica, mostra un fenomeno di costituzione di nuove entità cittadine, che si determinano, nella generalità dei casi, per diretta geminazione da una precedente entità. Il rapporto tra le metropoli e le

apoikiai non si ferma al primo livello, ma ne ammette di ulteriori, secondo una sequenza genetica che mantiene elementi di identità che vengono trasmessi in ogni passaggio. A colpire l'osservatore moderno sono vari e diversi aspetti del fenomeno antico che dissemina sulle coste del Mediterraneo un grande numero di presenze politiche greche, ciascuna delle quali riproduce al proprio interno un minimo vitale funzionante, in condizioni di assoluta autonomia.

Noi conosciamo, o forse crediamo di conoscere alcune delle ragioni storiche, che sono alla base di tale fenomeno. Ma soprattutto siamo in grado di apprezzare l'effetto che questo storicamente determina, ad esempio, nella età che diciamo classica, e in particolare nel V secolo.

Ha senso infatti leggere le forme che assume la risposta delle città greche al gigantesco conflitto per la egemonia che si scatena tra Atene e Sparta, come determinate dalle ragioni fondative delle due alleanze che si vengono a costituire. Ha senso ma non può essere affermato come un fattore unico e onnivale. Se leggiamo con la giusta attenzione quella che è la fonte principale per la ricostruzione storica di quel conflitto, l'opera dell'ateniese Tucidide, abbiamo molte indicazioni di segno diverso riguardo al problema della etnicità intraellenica.

Certo, Tucidide fornisce, per bocca di Pericle nell'*epitafio* una sorta di paradigma di analisi contrastiva di modelli culturali, su apparente base etnica. La distinzione tra un *noi* condiviso ed elevato a valore, ed un *altro-altri*, i Peloponnesiaci e le forme della loro vita e della loro cultura, presentate come opposte e antagoniste, viene affermata con grandissima forza. Ma altrove, lo stesso storico fa vedere bene la vanità delle argomentazioni fondate su di una *syngeneia* vera o presunta, un vincolo genetico, di sangue come una parentela, affermato come tale per giustificare la collocazione da una delle due parti nel conflitto: un ipotetico nesso tra dati culturali e realtà naturale si afferma con difficoltà perché è poco consistente. Il siracusano Ermocrate appare protagonista di uno sforzo che non è di mera confutazione politica del modello antagonistico tra Dori e Ioni ma è capace di identificare culturalmente, nella ragione geografica comune ai Greci di Sicilia, un correttivo di immediata efficacia ad una ragomentazione legata all'interesse immediato: coloni eubei e quindi ioni, e coloni di poleis doriche sono tutti sicelioti ed hanno interessi comuni da difendere contro chi, nell'ottica del siracusano, sta aggredendo l'isola. una ragione, un modo di ragionare si oppone ad un altro che usa argomentazioni di assoluta elementarietà.

Con ciò non intendo ridurre in termini troppo limitati e ristretti quella che è la grande questione -per certo almeno nella cultura dei moderni- della distinzione tra questi due *ethne* ellenici, i Dori e gli Ioni. Su questo, nel XIX e

nel XX secolo si sono scritte opere importanti proprio perché figlie dei tempi loro, figlie di tempi moderni, alla ricerca di modelli nei tempi antichi¹⁰.

Credo tuttavia che vada seguita la strada del ritorno al passato, riaperta felicemente per la generazione cui appartengo, nel 1978 da Alfonso Mele¹¹. Per generazioni precedenti la stessa funzione era stata svolta in Gran Bretagna da Gilbert Murray¹². Si tratta della via di uno studio che vede in Omero, nell'alternanza in esso di pluralità denominativa e di unità culturale sostanziale e completa, la chiave di soluzione del problema, visto al suo punto di partenza culturale. Dato che stiamo parlando di identità e quindi di presa di coscienza soggettiva non possiamo in nessun modo sottovalutare il valore formativo, culturale espresso dalla fruizione sociale dell'epica arcaica in tutte le società greche -non solo nelle aristocrazie arcaiche- a partire dalla uscita dai *Dark Ages* fino a tutta l'età classica, chiusa, drammaticamente, dalla conquista macedone, che spezza la continuità culturale dei Greci. C'è nei poemi epici un dato generale, che si coglie immediatamente, nella affermazione di una identità ellenica -quella di coloro che seguono Agamennone nella grande spedizione- ma c'è anche un dato particolare che è di sostanziale legittimazione di una varietà e pluralità che sono dichiaratamente prepolitiche (in senso greco) e che rinviano in molti casi a denominazioni di tipo microetnico. Quelli che combattono sotto le mura di Troia sono *laoi*, sono popoli di uomini in armi i cui principi di organizzazione appaiono, in guerra di difficile definizione, stante sullo sfondo la certezza di una provenienza geografica da comunità locali che sono elencate, *et pour cause*, nel lungo *catalogo delle navi*. Se dovessi argomentare conclusivamente su questo aspetto della questione, direi, per essere breve, che la soluzione epica del problema della identità etnica è conforme ad uno dei tratti fondamentali della forma della espressione epica ed è quindi catalogica e descrittiva piuttosto che sintetica e riassuntiva.

Elleni, Greci sono tutti quanti i Greci con le loro interne differenze che la narrazione tende a enfatizzare e valorizzare. Tutti sono colpiti, alla lettura di Omero, dalla assenza sostanziale di una logica etnocentrica che privilegi i parlanti-greco rispetto ai loro avversari. In questo senso, il poema fondativo dell'identità greca esprime una realtà mediterranea di straordinaria varietà, ricchezza ed interesse. La costruzione della alterità orientale vede rappresentati tutti i suoi potenziali elementi costitutivi che non vengono tuttavia messi in atto: non ne appare la ragione culturale.

¹⁰ Will 1956 che discute, tra l'altro, il fondamentale Müller 1824.

¹¹ Mele 1978.

¹² Murray 1934.

Appare di assai maggior interesse la capacità che l'epica dimostra di fornire -sempre in termini narrativi e descrittivi- tutta la articolazione della società ellenica che è vista nel suo muoversi, anche confuso, alla ricerca di una stabilizzazione e di un equilibrio nel mare Mediterraneo. Chi legge Omero non può limitarsi al paradigma del conflitto -che sorregge il primo dei due poemi- ma deve considerare la vastità dell'orizzonte che circonda i viaggi di Odisseo, il cui ritorno nelle isole dell'occidente ellenico è preceduto da un periplo che sfiora i limiti della *oikoumene*.

Lo studio della varietà interetnica interna alla civiltà dei Greci non annulla la necessità del passaggio conclusivo alla considerazione dell'identità greca al singolare. Questa va vista come realizzata da quelli che ne furono protagonisti e quindi innanzi tutto dai Greci delle età arcaica e classica.

Uno studioso israeliano, che dirige all'Università di Tel Aviv un centro di studi mediterranei, e che si è segnalato per importanti ricerche sui rapporti tra religione, colonizzazione ed etnicità, Irad Malkin, ha pubblicato una cospicua rassegna di studi, in precedenza proposti ad un colloquio dal titolo immediatamente corrispondente a questa nostra finale tematica: *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*¹³. Autori dei singoli contributi sono alcuni degli studiosi che, incrociando distinte competenze, archeologiche, storiografiche, storico-culturali e antropologiche, hanno definito una griglia interpretativa che lascia ancora qualche zona d'ombra ma per certo focalizza il centro del problema.

Comunque affrontato, il tema della ellenicità, della costruzione di una identità etnica per i Greci appare un grande fenomeno culturale: come tale può e deve essere studiato senza integralismi disciplinari. Una parte di questo fenomeno esprime, nella propria specificità, quello che diversamente apprezziamo in ambiti diversi e già esplorati della conoscenza. La questione della lingua -essenziale alla definizione dei Greci, pur nelle differenze dialettali- appare oggi totalmente diversa da come appariva nei primi decenni del XX secolo, al momento della stesura della straordinaria sintesi della linguistica storica, comparativa e sociologica di Antoine Meillet¹⁴. La decifrazione della lineare B e la identificazione in essa di un sillabario capace di trascrivere una fonetica di un greco del II millennio azzera l'ipotesi di un greco comune originario, posto da Meillet alla base della differenziazione dialettale secondo una ipotesi genealogica, figlia diretta dell'indoeuropeismo di stretta e rigorosa osservanza

La continuità culturale tra la lineare A e la lineare B appare congruente con la continuità documentaria tra le distinte civiltà dell'elladico che diciamo

¹³ Malkin (ed.) 2001.

¹⁴ Meillet 1913.

comunemente minoica e micenea. Se questo conferma la straordinaria intuizione di Martin Persson Nilsson, sulle origini minoico-micenee delle forme della mitologia e anche della ritualità dei Greci e se il primo dei due elementi è da ricondurre ad una civiltà di parlanti luvio -lingua anatolica non greca- ecco che all'origine della civiltà greca c'è un felice fenomeno di meticcio linguistico e culturale¹⁵.

Lo studio della etnicità rientra così -nel caso dei Greci- dentro la generalità degli studi culturali. Diventa uno studio di antropologia storica che apprezza una variazione che ancora continua mentre vede noi stessi come ostinati protagonisti. Ellenicità, etnicità dei Greci sono fatti sociali e di coscienza sociale e la realtà che li riguarda è quella che era ritenuta tale dai parlanti-greco delle diverse epoche e nelle diverse città dei Greci.

La testimonianza erodotea da cui siamo partiti si può allora leggere per esteso per meglio intenderla, interpretandola quasi alla lettera. *Molti e grandi sono i motivi che impediscono agli Ateniesi [di passare dalla parte dei Medi ed asservire la Grecia -medisantes katadoulosai ten Hellada] il primo e il più grande [protomen kai megista] sono le statue e i templi degli dei incendiati e rasi al suolo che noi abbiamo il dovere di vendicare nel modo più completo, invece di venire a patti con il responsabile. In primo luogo, cioè, c'è il rispetto di una memoria storica e materiale tanto recente da essere immediata e da richiedere una reazione corrispondente all'azione subita.*

*Autis de to Hellenikon -in secondo luogo quello che è greco e che subito viene specificato- comunità di sangue e comunità di lingua [eon homaimon te kai homoglossan] i comuni santuari degli dei, i comuni culti e i costumi e le istituzioni comuni [kai theon idrymata te koina kai thysiai ethea te homotropa]*¹⁶.

Come giustamente si è scritto di recente, non è qui questione di una astratta religione ma sono ricordati dei luoghi concreti e delle pratiche sociali condivise e iterate fino a determinare consuetudine e quindi norma sociale e quindi religiosa che costituiscono, accanto alla fragile comunità di sangue e di lingua, l'identità collettiva che permette di sentire altri i Medi, contro ogni valutazione di possibile interesse.

L'ellenicità di Erodoto è poca cosa rispetto alla complessa costruzione culturale dei valori che i moderni hanno selezionato e raccolto come eredità del passato.

L'antropologia funziona quando dice la verità, se questa è limitata poco importa.

¹⁵ Nilsson 1928, 1932, 1934.

¹⁶ Hdt VIII. 144.2.

Abbiamo verificato un modo molto greco di pensare, dai molti plurali siamo arrivati ad un singolare piccolo e concreto: *to Hellenikon*, quello che è greco.

Questo è funzione della storia e quindi è prodotto di uomini e delle variazioni del loro pensiero.

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Tedo Dundua (Tbilisi)

INFLUX OF THE ROMAN COINS IN GEORGIA

Georgia is a tiny country but with a big history. Being a suburb of Europe, she has always been glad to accept thoroughly general European fashions, as well as numismatic one.

As far back as in the 6th c. B.C. Themistagoras from Miletus made Phasis in Colchis (East Black Sea Coast) home for himself and his Greek colonists. Thus West Georgia has been involved in the European matter. Actually, the West of Georgia was Colchis, and the East and South – Iberia. Georgia is a synthesis of the West and the East.

Greek commercial superiority was substituted by the Roman hegemony over the small coastal strip of Colchis, already called Lazica in the 1st c. A.D. And that hegemony was based upon well-manned castellum-system from Pitius up to Apsaros. Lazi client-kings, dwelling in the hinterland, largely enjoyed Roman *pax* and prosperity, gaining a handsome profit by trading with the gallant Pontic cities, like Sinope, Amisus and Trapezus. The whole Black Sea area might be looked upon as a multicultural region of which the general principles were still based on Hellenism, but that was facilitated mostly by the Roman money and defended by the Roman soldiers. Further towards the East, Iberian kings, sometimes even possessing Roman citizenship, welcomed Graeco-Roman transit from Central Asia and India. Spices, precious wood and stones were brought to Europe via Transcaucasian trade-route (Strabo, XI, 7, 3; Plin., Nat. Hist., VI, 52).¹ Still there did exist some other routes.²

Soldiers and merchants brought money, rich deposits of which show the picture as follows (fig. 1):³

¹ Dundua T., Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus According to the Numismatic Material, Tbilisi 1993, 29-37 (in Georgian with Russian and English summaries).

² Dundua T., Georgia within the European Integration, Tbilisi 1999, 30-32.

³ For the numismatic data v. G. F. Dundua, Money Issues and Monetary Circulation in Georgia in Antiquity (the 6th c. B.C.-4th c. A.D.). Doctoral Thesis (in Russian), Tbilisi 1982; Dundua G. F.,

For Colchis/Lazica

The 2nd -1st cc. B.C.

a) Coastal strip (Dioscurias and environment) – 7 republican denarii altogether, dated from 171/151 B.C. up to the times of M. Antonius.

b) Hinterland (Vani and some other places) – 26 republican denarii, and one quinarius, dated from 119/110 (90/80) onwards. 23 denarii form a hoard together with denarii of Augustus (2) and drachm of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

Mints are mostly Occidental.

The best thing to demonstrate money circulation of Lazica in the Roman times is to manipulate with the numismatic data from the celebrated coastal castellum Pitius and the city in the neighbourhood, and with some hoards from Lazi hinterland.

a) Pitius

the 1st c. – dupondius of Augustus.

the 2nd c. – municipal copper of Trapezus – 25 pieces; silver coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia – 9; both, silver and copper, Rome – 7; Asian mint – 1; Pautalia – 1.

The 3rd c. – 340 pieces in all. First half of the 3rd c. – 247 pieces: municipal copper of Trapezus – 191; silver coins of Caesarea – 31; copper of Neocaesarea – 3; of Sinope – 1; of Amisus – 1; of Nicomedia – 1, etc. 149 pieces form a hoard. Structure of the hoard is as follows: municipal copper of Trapezus, dated by the 2nd-3rd cc. (L. Verus-Philip Junior) – 139; Caesareian silver issues – didrachm of Hadrian – 4; didrachm of Commodus – 1; drachm of Septimius Severus – 2; drachm of Julia Domna – 1; drachm of Geta – 1; drachm of Caracalla – 1. Date of the hoard-deposit is 245 as *terminus post quem*. This hoard could emerge due to threat of Gothic invasion from the Crimea in 252. Pitius was the place severely attacked by them. Both, Pitius and Dioscurias/Sebastopolis show some 238 samples of Trapezuntine municipal issues. Second half of the 3rd c. – some 100 pieces, mostly copper: struck in Rome – 70 pieces, including also Antoniniani; Antioch – 11; Cyzicus – 6; other mints are represented by unique samples.

the 4th c. – more than 500 copper pieces in all, 310 – form a hoard. Structure of the hoard is as follows: Constantine I – 11; Helena – 4; Constantine I (struck after his death) – 52; Constantine II – 6; Constantius II – 102; Constans – 75; Constantius II or Constans – 60. Constantius' issue is the last one. Mints: Constantinople – 20; Antioch – 87; Nicomedia – 51; Cyzicus

Numismatics of Georgia in Antiquity, Tbilisi 1987 (in Russian); Dundua T., Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453), Tbilisi 1997 (in Georgian with English summary).

– 31; Alexandria – 10; Siscia – 9; Thessalonica – 1; unidentified – 101. Single finds provide us with the names of Licinius, Constantine I, Helena, Constantine I (struck after his death), Crispus, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans, Valentinian II. Mints – Antioch – 30; Constantinople – 20; Nicomedia – 11; Cyzicus – 5; Thessalonica – 6; Siscia – 7; Trier – 1; Sirmium – 1; Alexandria – 1; unidentified – 127.

b) Hoards from the hinterland

– Gerzeuli hoard – some 469 pieces. Structure: denarius of Augustus – 1; local imitation to the stater of Lysimachus – 1; Caesareian silver issues – Nero (1); Vespasian (30); Domitian (9); Nerva (22); Trajan (165); Hadrian (90); Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius (122); L. Verus (28). Nominals: hemidrachm, drachm, didrachm.

– Eki hoard – 907 pieces. Structure: Orodes I of Parthia – 1; Caesareian didrachm of Nerva – 1; Caesareian didrachm of Trajan – 2; Caesareian didrachm of Hadrian – 712; Caesareian didrachm of Antoninus Pius – 55; Caesareian didrachm of L. Verus – 1; denarius of Commodus, struck at Rome – 1; denarius of Pertinax, struck at Rome – 5; denarius of Niger, struck at Rome – 1; denarius of Septimius Severus – 101 (mints: Rome (12), Orient (84), Alexandria (5)); Julia Domna – 14 denarii, struck at Rome (5) and Oriental mint (9), and Caesareian drachm – 1; Caracalla – denarii, struck at Rome – 2, and Caesareian drachm – 1; Geta – denarius (1), struck either at Rome or Antioch, and Caesareian drachm – 1; Elagabalus – Caesareian drachm (1); Severus Alexander – 6 denarii, struck at Rome (1) and Oriental mint (5). Caesareian output numbers 775 as many; denarii – 131, mostly struck at Oriental mints.

– Sepieti Hoard – approximately 377 pieces. Structure: Roman denarii – 365 (mints: Emesa (158), Rome (118), Oriental mint (62)), and a few number of Caesareian coins. Money of Septimius Severus dominates the hoard (227 pieces), mostly struck at Emesa in 194. Severus Alexanders' issue of, probably, 222 provides a certain date for the hoard.

List of the coins from the extreme Eastern provinces of Lazica: denarius of Augustus – 56; denarius of Tiberius – 1; denarius of Caligula – 1; Caesareian hemidrachm of Nero – 1; Caesareian drachm of Nerva – 3; denarius of Trajan – 1; Hadrian – Caesareian didrachm (2), Caesareian hemidrachm (2); Caesareian didrachm of Antoninus Pius – 2; denarius of Faustina Junior – 1; denarius of Julia Domna – 1 (Laodiceia); solid of Constantine I – 1 (Siscia); solid of Constantius II – 2 (Antioch); semiss of Constantine I – 1 (Constantinople); semiss of Constantius II – 1 (Antioch); triens of Constantius – 1 (Antioch).

Now about interpretation, first empiric level. Sea coast has mostly provincial silver of Caesareian issue, municipal copper of Trapezus and

Imperial copper money, struck predominantly at the mints of Antioch and Asia Minor, in the complexes, hoards and as single finds. Hinterland absorbs only Caesareian silver, accompanied by Roman denarii, struck in greater quantity at the Oriental (ex. Syrian) mints. Further Eastwards Late Roman gold pieces and denarii of Augustus, mixed with Caesareian silver issues, make really amazing picture for Lazica. Academic level of interpretation commences with Caesareian prominent accumulation – merchants could bring them for sure and those merchants had to be from Sinope or Amisus, the import of which dominates Lazica. But good commercial balance sees those money to facilitate the foreign trade, and not the domestic exchange. Some more money was necessary. If it could happen as follows: since Lazi never had their own coinage, they could barter the sufficient amount of the Roman money for their economics, and the closest *aerarium* branches were that of Cappadocia and Syria. As to copper absence in the hinterland, there does exist only one explanation – there was no need of small trade in Lazica generally. Thus copper coins could come here for military purposes only, as a part of soldiers' *stipendium*. This statement can be argued:

Why the soldiers had to be paid in copper?! Indeed, silver money and especially gold, due to total weight lightness, was easier for a transfer to a camp.⁴ Then, why do the former camps everywhere (ex. on the Rhine) show bronze predominantly?!⁵ When you are paid some few hundreds per year, and – usually in three installments, everybody expect this to be done in basic units. That is absolutely logical. But when you are in military camp, having all supplies, and also – future opportunity to get a small farm with carefully saved money just invested in, what would you prefer – whole money with you at the border, or the most kept safely in bank. The last thing would work perfectly with the Roman I cycle of Capitalism and normal banking-system in

⁴ Wolters R., Bronze, Silver or Gold? Coin Finds and the Pay of the Roman Army. *Zephyrus. Revista de Prehistoria y Arqueología*. LIII-LIV, Salamanca 2000-2001, 579-588.

⁵ Wigg D. G., Coin Supply and the Roman Army, *Roman Frontier Studies* (1995), In: Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Oxbow Monograph 91 (1997) 281-288; Wigg D. G., The Development of the Monetary Economy in Northern Gaul in the Late La Tène and Early Roman Periods. *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction. Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary series 32, Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1999, 111, 121; Wigg D. G., Die Rolle des Militärs bei der Münzversorgung und Münzwirtschaft am Rhein in der frühen Kaiserzeit. Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese. In: *Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 1* (Osnabrück 1999) 327-346; Berger F., Untersuchungen zu römerzeitlichen Münzfunden in Nordwestdeutschland. *Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike* 9, Berlin 1992.

service.⁶ Then soldiers received only copper as a pocket-money. Narrative speak about some silver donatives to the legions. But narrative speak also how dangerous could it happen big money to be in a camp – Vitellius made his way to the throne thanks to his soldiers' financial assistance (not necessarily with money) (Tac. Hist., I. 57). Thus officials could avoid dangerous accumulation of money in the camps, on one hand, and on another hand, they always possessed some extra money for large state commercial operations.

Georgian case can provide more arguments for the copper being paid to the soldiers.

With a handsome agriculture, which could find market everywhere – in the hinterland towns inhabited by the Colchians, in the prosperous Greek cities at the coastal strip with already mixed population and at last, abroad, first in Miletus, then Athens and Sinope – this land provided well-shaped middle-class, having monies⁷, but it failed to create small service-system until the 10th c.⁸ The hands were needed elsewhere. And the Hellenic economics also failed here due to the country's super-humidity; the Greeks had no idea about how to drain those marches.⁹ That is, perhaps, why the copper money had been never respected here. The only attempt of Phasis to issue small money was again connected with the beloved silver – 3 hemitetartemorii show this attempt to be an abortive one.¹⁰ Indeed, just a few copper of the 6th - 2nd cc. B.C. is found at the coastal strip.¹¹

And then amazing thing happens – copper "revolution" marks the 1st c. B.C. Copper is everywhere – Dioscurias and suburbs not only offer some twenty copper Pontic municipal pieces of Eupator's time¹², but also produce local autonomous Dioscuriadi (Pl. I N1)¹³, mostly to be spread in Crimean Bosphorus; Vani/Surion in deep hinterland demonstrates about 200 synchronous copper coins, struck either in Pontic cities, or at the spot by king of Colchis in 84 B.C. Mithridates Philopator Philadelphos, son of Mithridates

⁶ Dundua T., *The Cyclic Dialectics*, Tbilisi 1996; Andreau J., *La vie Financière dans le Monde Romain. Les Métiers de Manieurs d'Argent (IV^e siècle av. J.-C.– III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, École Française de Rome, Palais Farnèse 1987.

⁷ Dundua T., *Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage*, Tbilisi 1999, 4.

⁸ Dundua T., *Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material*, 113-114.

⁹ Dundua T., *Making of Europe*, Tbilisi 2000, 3.

¹⁰ Dundua T., *Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage*, 8.

¹¹ Dundua T., *Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus According to the Numismatic Material*, 46.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Dundua T., Dundua G., Javakhishvili N., Eristavi A., *Money in Georgia*, Tbilisi 2003, 13, N19-20.

Eupator (Pl. I N2).¹⁴ Indeed, being a Pontic satrapy, Colchis enjoyed its own king only for a definitely small period (App. Mithr., 64). Full-scale economic transformation – that could be an immediate answer. Alas, it took whole century and a half, even more, for next influx of copper coins. Narrative tells us about the Romans stationed at the East Black Sea coast by that time; and archaeology reveals a plenty of synchronous copper coins. Until the 6th c. copper money comes and goes, and there is in fact one more gap for the 7th-9th cc.¹⁵ Byzantines had gone!

So, copper comes and disappears together with the soldiers. That means that partly the Imperial armies used to be paid in copper, or bronze, does not matter (fig. 2).

Now about copper coin's curriculum to the soldiers pocket. Municipal coins used for a payment first went to a local fiscus as taxes from individuals, only then – to a camp ascribed to a province. As to the Imperial copper – as far as the hoard from Pitius is represented by the pieces with different mint and chronological characteristics, the direct liaison of the mints and Lazi camps can be totally rejected. Trade never has existed without state credits¹⁶, which have to be returned back. From high commercial class, wholesale traders, money moves towards enterprises and estates, then – to the shops of smaller merchants. Upper and middle classes, already having monies, pay their taxes. State institutional system depends on them. The Roman soldiers could be paid this way, from the *fisci*¹⁷ of Asia Minor and Syria (fig. 3).

As to the Eastern West Georgian provinces in the Late Antiquity, they seem to form economic and political condominium of Lazica and Iberia. Former provides ex. the Caesareian issues for them, latter – denarii of Augustus and Late Roman gold.

Now about Iberia.

Some 25 republican denarii are found in East Georgia, dated from 118 B.C. up to early years of Octavianus' principate. Mints are mostly Occidental.

¹⁴ Dundua T., Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus..., 46-50.

¹⁵ Dundua G., Dundua T., Georgian Numismatics, Tbilisi 2006, 183-186 (in Georgian with English Summary).

¹⁶ For the Roman times v. Wolters R., Die Kreditkrise des Jahres 33 N. Chr. *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonensis* 3, Wien 1987, 23-58; Lo Cascio E., How Did the Romans View Their Coinage and Its Function? In: *Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike* 10. Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World. The 13th Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 25-27. 03, Berlin 1993, 280 n. 27; for the Greeks v. Howgego Ch., *Ancient History from Coins*, London and New York 1995, 20, 26.

¹⁷ For the *fisci* v. Wolters R., The Emperor and the Financial Deficits of the Aerarium in the Early Roman Empire. In: *Credito e Moneta nel Mondo Romano. Atti degli Incontri Capresi di Storia dell'Economia Antica*, Capri 12-14 Ottobre 2000, 147-160.

As to the Roman times, there are three basic concentrations of the Imperial money: a) ancient capital Mtskheta and suburb towns, Agaiani and Nastakisi; and foot-hill places – b) Zguderi; c) Ertso and Jinvali.

a) Mtskheta and suburbs: Augustus – denarii struck at Lugdunum in 2 B.C.-4 A.D. – 145; Tiberius – Lugduni aureus – 1, and denarii, produced by Lugdunum and some other Gaulic mint – 3; Caligula – Caesareian drachm of 37-38 – 1; Nero – aurei struck at Rome in 64-68 – 4; Galba – aureus struck at Rome – 1; Vitellius – aureus struck at Rome – 1; Vespasian – aurei struck at Rome in 77-78 and Lugdunum – 2; Titus – aurei struck at Rome in 73, 76 and 80 – 4; Domitian – aureus struck at Rome in 76 – 1, and denarii of 77/78 – 3; Trajan – aurei (Rome), one of them struck in 106 – 2, and denarii of 103-111, 98-117 and 112-117 – 3, Caesareian hemidrachm – 1; Hadrian – aurei struck at Rome in 119-122, 125-128, 119-138 and 134-138 – 7, and denarii (Rome) of 125-128, 134-138 – 3; Antoninus Pius – aurei struck at Rome in 149/150, 155/156 – 2, and denarii, struck in 140-144, 155/156 – 2; Faustina Senior – aurei (Rome) of 141 – 2, and denarius struck after 141 – 1; Faustina Junior – under Pius: aureus struck at Rome – 1, denarii – 2, and denarius struck in 161-177; M. Aurelius – under Pius: aurei struck at Rome in 151/152, 156/157 – 2; Commodus – aureus (Rome?) – 1; Septimius Severus – aurei (Rome) of 201 – 2, Caesareian drachm – 1, and Æ. – 2; Gordian III – aurei – 2; Philip Senior – aureus – 1; Philip Junior – aureus – 1; Decius Trajan – aureus – 1; Valerianus – aureus – 1; Carinus – Æ. – 1; Constantine I – solid struck at Nicomedia – 1; Constantius II – solid struck at Antioch – 1; Valens – siliqua issued in Antioch – 1.

b) Zguderi: Augustus – denarii struck in 2 B.C.-4 A.D. – 32; Domitian – under Vespasian: aureus (Rome) of 77/78 – 1; Antoninus Pius – aureus (Rome) of 150/151 – 1; Faustina Senior – under Pius: aureus (Rome), struck after 141 – 1, and denarius (Rome), also struck after 141 – 1; M. Aurelius and Commodus – aureus (Rome) of 175/176 – 1; Commodus – aureus struck at Rome in 190 – 1; Caracalla and Geta – aureus struck at Rome in 198/199 – 1; Caracalla – under Severus: aureus struck at Rome in 204 – 1; Elagabalus – aurei struck at Rome in 218/219 – 1, 220-222 – 2, and in 218/219 at Oriental mint – 3; Severus Alexander – aurei struck at Rome in 226 and 228 – 2; Gordian III – aureus (Rome) of 240 – 1.

c) Ertso and Jinvali: Augustus – denarii struck in 2 B.C.- 4 A.D. – 14; Julia Domna – aureus struck at Rome in 198-209 – 1; Severus Alexander – aureus struck at Rome in 225 – 1; Gordian III – aurei – 2; Valerianus – aureus – 1; Carus – aureus struck at Antioch – 1; Diocletian – aureus – 1.

Roman gold numbers total about 70 pieces, those of the second half of the 3rd c. are locally imitated, as well as celebrated denarius of Augustus with Gaius and Lucius Caesars on reverse (Pl. II).

Aurei and Augustan denarii form a bulk of money circulation of Iberia, other debasing denarii were, in fact, ignored – picture quite similar for the Roman Orient for some times.¹⁸ To confront this data to the Syrian import discovered in Georgia¹⁹, one can suggest the Syrian provincial treasury (Lazi enjoyed it a bit later) to be the source of supply for Iberia.

Severe Imperial crisis of the 3rd c. limits that supplies. Even if not that, Iberia would barter the Roman money no more. Socio-economic transformation of East Georgia towards Feudalism needed supply other than money. The country's stocks of the precious metal could be emptied down to support the general reformation – strengthening in number of the upper classes meant a gradual conversion of some yeomanry from the farmers to high-level administrators. Food-shortage could happen, and large-scale state food-supply was, perhaps, necessary one. Industry suffered also as some of the artisans had to earn living doing agricultural jobs. Amount of industrial goods *per capita* was fastly diminishing thus demanding small-scale local debased issues with a king as only potential power to strike these coins.²⁰

Thus the Roman copper money hurried back home with the Imperial garrisons withdrawn from Lazica; and silver or gold was back as a means of exchange for food; both of them having no opportunity of being re-struck as the Georgian money.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Colchis/Lazica and Iberia. Numismatic map
 Fig. 2. Copper money from Pitius
 Fig. 3. Copper coins' way to the camp

Plate I

N 1. Municipal copper issues of Dioscurias. 105-90 B.C. Chalkos (ex. 1, 3-3,1 gr.), dichalkon (ex. 3, 7-5 gr.) and tetrachalkon (ex. 6, 1 gr.)

N 2. Lotus-type issue of Mithridates Philopator Philadelphos, king of Colchis in 84 B.C.

Chalkos (1, 2- 2, 1 gr.) and hemichalkon (0, 8- 1, 1 gr.) (there do exist some silver pieces too)

¹⁸ Dundua G., Money Issues and Monetary Circulation in Georgia in Antiquity, 240.

¹⁹ Dundua T., Silagadze N., History of Georgia: Chronological or Themathical Concept?, Tbilisi 2000, 20, 52, 55 (in Georgian).

²⁰ Dundua T., Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to Numismatic Material, 106.

Plate II

Iberian imitations to the Roman money:

imitation to denarius of Augustus. Silver. The 3rd c. 3, 55 gr. d = 18/19 mm.

imitation to aureus of Philip Senior. Gold. The 3rd c. 3, 87 gr. d = 20/21 mm.

imitation to aureus of Valerianus. Gold. The 3rd c. 3, 51 gr. d = 18 mm.

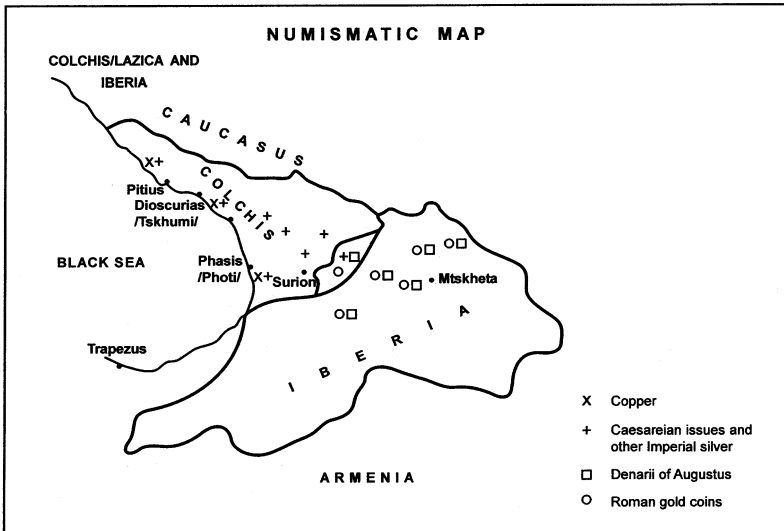


Fig. 1

COPPER MONEY FROM PITIUS

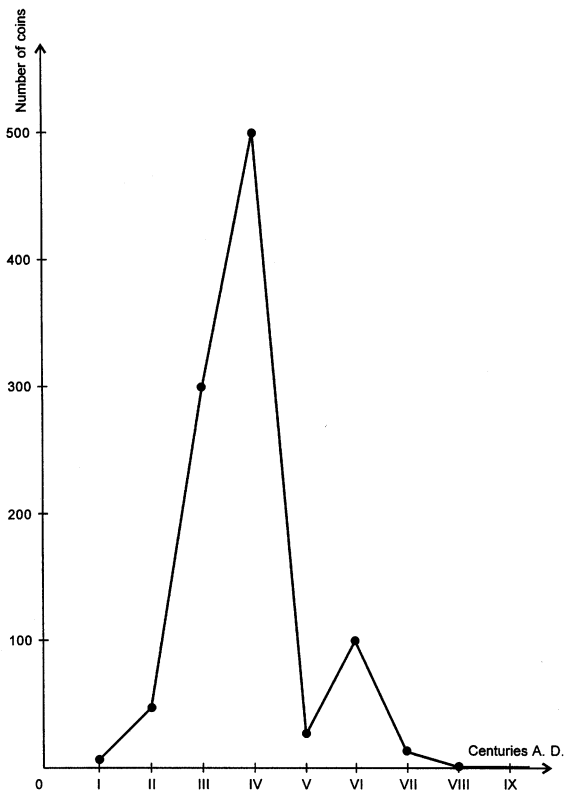


Fig. 2

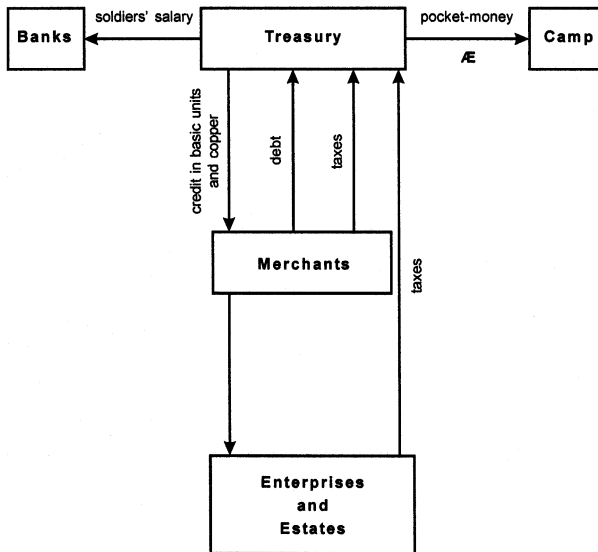
COPPER COINS' WAY TO THE CAMP

Fig. 3

Plate I

COLCHIS. LOCAL ISSUES OF THE 1ST c. B. C.



Plate II

IBERIAN IMITATIONS TO THE ROMAN MONEY



Marika Erkomaischwili (Tbilisi)

DER KIRKEMYTHOS IM KONTEXT DER KARTVELISCHEN TERMINOLOGIE

Die Existenz bestimmter Eigennamen ist eines der Hauptmerkmale des Mythos, das ihn von dem Märchen unterscheidet. Der mythische Eigenname muss nicht unbedingt eine Bedeutung haben, aber er stellt einen Hinweis dar. Eine Märchenperson aber hat entweder gar keinen Namen, oder sie wird mit einem verallgemeinernden Namen erwähnt, wie Johann, Jack u.a.m. Die Entstehung der mythischen Namen ist nicht durch den Zufall bedingt. Das ist ein gewisser Code und deswegen ist er ausdrucksvoll. Der Mythos hat keine "falschen Varianten", jede seiner Varianten ist gleichberechtigt und ihre richtige Interpretation ermöglicht die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Information. Betrachten wir den Namen als einen Text, als eine gewisse Nachricht, als eine der "Versionen" des Mythos, in der der ursprüngliche mythische Inhalt akkumuliert ist.

Der Name ist ein gewisses Porträt der Person, der ihre wichtigsten Merkmale widerspiegelt; sehr oft könnte man aus Namen mehr herauslesen, als aus einer langen Erzählung.¹

Das betrifft die Onomastik im allgemeinen, Anthroponyme, sowie Toponyme. Das gleiche kann man umso mehr über mythische Namen sagen. Im Fall der mythischen Helden hat man in der Regel mit sogenannten "ausdrucksvollen Namen" zu tun und die Erforschung der mythischen Gestalt muss in erster Linie mit der Entzifferung seines Namens angefangen werden.

Die Forschung der weiblichen heidnischen Gottheiten verschiedener Völker der Welt hat die Frage der Forschung ihrer Archetypen aufgeworfen. Bei der Analyse der Namen der Göttinnen und weiblicher handelnden Perso-

¹ Флоренский П., Имена: Опыты, Литературно-философский ежегодник, Москва 1990, 364-365; Dornseiff F., Redende Namen: Antike und alter Orient..., Leipzig 1956, 101-123.

nen der antiken Mythologie kam eine höchst interessante Gesetzmässigkeit zum Vorschein: ursprünglich musste jeder der Namen ein Epitheton sein, der verschiedene Funktionen der gleichen Gottheit darstellte.² Das könnte bedeuten, dass es ursprünglich eine universelle, kosmische, polyfunktionelle weibliche Götttheit gab, die anonym gewesen ist und demgemäss unterschiedlich erwähnt wurde nach dem Ort, oder auch mit verschiedenen kultischen Epitheta. Als Epitheta gebrauchte man in diesem Fall Adjektive und Substantive, oder kurze, erstarrte Formeln, die die Gottheit mit einer bestimmten Eigenschaft beschreiben. Allmählich musste diese einheitliche Gestalt in den lokalen Kulturen zerfallen gewesen sein, in denen eine der Funktionen die führende Rolle übernahm. Das entsprechende Epitheton wurde zum Eigennamen und existierte weiter als eine unabhängige mythische Einheit.

Das Epitheton, die Epiklese und den Namen könnte man zu den onomastischen Attributen der Gottheit zählen. Als Attribut nimmt man gewöhnlich einen Gegenstand wahr, der mit der Gottheit zusammen dargestellt wird, wie z.B. der Dreizack des Poseidon, der Stab des Hermes, oder der Bogen der Artemis. Der Name als Attribut unterscheidet sich von solchem Gegenstand nur durch die sprachliche Ausdrucksform. Seinerseits ist der Gegenstand als Attribut eine gewisse Metapher.

Die Attributik der Götter besteht aus folgenden Hauptkomponenten: Onomastik (d.h. Namen, Epiklesen, Epitheta), sakrale Gegenstände,³ Tiere und Pflanzen. Jedes dieser Attribute stellt die von dieser Gottheit durchgangene Phase dar. Demgemäss ist es angemessen, die Erforschung des Kirkemythos mit der Analyse ihres Namens anzufangen.

Antike Autoren haben *Kirke*, die als Vollmond identifiziert wurde, etymologisch mit *kivrko* und *kuvklo* verbunden. Z.B., hält Pseudo-Plutarchos die Gefährten des Odysseus zu den in die zyklische Bewegung der Welt hineingezogenen Geistern, Kirke aber ist für ihn die Verkörperung der zyklischen Bewegung.⁴ Die Abstammung der Kirke von Helios muss seines Erachtens auch Widerspiegelung des oben erwähnten sein, denn die Sonne-Helios verleiht der Welt das ewige Leben.

Porphyrios verbindet Kirke, als Tochter der Sonne, mit der Palyngenesia.⁵ Natürlich kennen beide Autoren die Verbindung der Kirke mit der Kreisbewegung.

Proklos weist im Kommentar zu "Kratylos" auf eine Episode hin, wo der Zauberer singend vor dem Webstuhl auf und ab geht (k 220-223). So wird

² Roscher S. W., Mondgöttin, in: *ALgrM II*, Leipzig/Berlin 1890-94, 1119-1199.

³ Топоров В., Миф, ритуал, символ, образ, Москва 1995, 11-15.

⁴ Plut. *De vita et poesi Homeris*, 126, 3-9. S. auch 137, Bem. 2.

⁵ Stob. *Ecl. I*, 446, 11-16. S. auch 140, Bem. 4.

auch Kirke zum ersten Mal vor den Gefährten des Odysseus dargestellt. Man könnte vermuten, dass der Autor auch die andere Möglichkeit der Interpretation des Namens *Kirke* kannte: Etymologicum Gudianum, die die Interpretation des Grammatikers Seleukos wiedergibt, wie auch Etymologicum Magnum und das Sudawörterbuch verbinden den Namen mit *kerviv* (Weberschiffchen).⁶

Kivrkh. hJ kirw'sa ta; favmaka. h] para; th;n kerki;da. ta;" de; paiplw'sa" gunai'ka" Kivrka" fame;n – steht es bei Suda.

Für die Antike waren die oben angeführten Interpretationen des Namens völlig geläufig, aber sie nahmen noch eine Möglichkeit der Interpretation des Namens *Kirke*, nämlich ihre Verbindung mit dem Falken, nicht in Acht. Den Vogel *kivrho* erwähnt in diesem Kontext zum ersten Mal Eustathios aus Thessalonike in den Kommentaren zur "Odyssee": *ἜΟτι δε; kai; οἰρνιγοῦ οἰνομα hJ kivrkh dhlou'son oiJ palaioiv. Wn kai; oJ Aijlianov". #Allo de; ti hJ toiauvth para to;n kivrkon"*.⁷

Eustathios verbindet *Kirke* mit dem Jahr, ihre vier Dienerinnen aber identifiziert er mit den vier Jahreszeiten. Den Grund dafür geben, scheinbar, die früheren Etymologien, nämlich diejenigen, die sie mit der zyklischen Bewegung, mit dem Kreislauf in Verbindung setzen.

Im 20. Jh. kam die Tendenz zum Vorschein, den Namen *Kirke* isoliert von der griechischen Tradition zu erklären.

R. Gordesiani sondert im Namen *Kirke* den Stamm **gor/gr* (sich drehen, drehen) aus, betont, dass der Name absteits der griechischen Tradition steht und sucht kartvelische Parallelen aus: *rgoli, girgoli, grk'ali, k'irk'ali, grk'o (k'rk'o)*. Er hält es für möglich, den Namen mit dem kartvelischen Areal zu verbinden.⁸

Es gab Versuche, *Kivrkh* als ein Wort semitischer Herkunft zu interpretieren. O. Gruppe hielt das Wort für syrisch, *Kalypso* aber für seine griechische Übersetzung. Seines Erachtens hat er nichts zu tun mit *circus* und *krevkw*, der Name ist syrisch und bedeutet "die Umhüllerin".⁹ H. Güntert hielt derartige Interpretation für völlig unplausibel und nannte es "phantasieren". Seiner Meinung nach wäre es richtiger, den Namen mit *kivrho*, *kirkou'n*, *circus* zu verbinden und über den heiligen Kreis zu denken, der eine gewisse Rolle bei den magischen Handlungen spielt.¹⁰

⁶ Tochtermann S., Der allegorisch gedeutete Kirke-Mythos, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/NY/Paris/Wien 1992, 85-86.

⁷ Georgica, VIII, 1970, 1.

⁸ Гордзениани Р., Проблемы Гомеровского эпоса, Тбилиси 1984, 208.

⁹ Gruppe O., Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, München 1906, 708, Anm. 1402.

¹⁰ Güntert H., Kalypso, Halle 1919, 15.

Die Göttin, die selber auf einer von Wasser umgebenen und mit einem Eichenhain bewachsenen Insel lebt, umzingelt mit dem magischen Kreis auch Odysseus und seine Gefährten. Dieser Inhalt, der im Namen der Kirke chiffriert ist, wiedergibt sehr gut das georgische Wort ">rulva", "verfluchen". Es stammt aus dem Partizip "k'r-ul-i" und bedeutet einen in den magischen Kreis hineingezogenen, gefesselten, d.h. bezauberten (vgl. georg. *bed>ruli*, *bedše>ruli*).

Für P. Chantraine und H. Frisk ist der Name indogermanischer Herkunft und ist durch die Lautnachahmung gebildet. Chantraine schliesst aber nicht aus, dass der Name mit dem Falken oder dem Ring, Kreis in Verbindung stehen könnte.¹¹ Frisk behandelt diesen Eigennamen nicht speziell, verbindet ihn aber mit der Vogelfamilie der Habichte und Falken.¹²

Nach der Meinung von O. Keller ist *kivrko* "onomatopoetischer Herkunft und bedeutet den Vogel, der "kri-kri" oder "kirk-kirk" schreit.¹³

In dieser Hinsicht sagen W. Pape und H. Ebeling nichts prinzipiell neues.¹⁴

Für die griechische Tradition ist es geläufig, Tiernamen in weibliche Eigennamen umzugestalten.¹⁵ Dort, wo es möglich ist, die mythologischen Überlieferungen zu verfolgen, ist es ausserdem ersichtlich, dass es den anthropomorphischen Gottheiten auf der früheren Entwicklungsstufe auch ein zoomorphisches Korrelat entspricht. Demgemäss müsste die Verbindung des Theonyms *Kivrkh* mit dem Vogelnamen *kivrko* "föllig plausibel.

Die älteste Quelle, in der *kivrko* als Vogelname erwähnt ist, ist die "Odyssee":

...oujdev ken i[r]ex

kivrko oJrmathvsein, ejlafrovato" petehnw'n: (n 86-87).

Aber Homer unterscheidet *kivrko* und *i[r]hx* nicht voneinander und schreibt: *i[r]hx kivrko*". Diese Stelle wurde unterschiedlich gelesen, denn es war unklar, welche konkrete Vogelart der Autor gemeint hatte. *i[r]hx* galt als Nachname, *kivrko* aber als die konkrete Vogelart.

Kivrko kann man verstehen als a) Ring, Kreis, b) als eine Art Falke oder Habicht, der beim Flug kreist, in *i[r]hx kivrko* aber als ein Adjektiv – der beim Flug kreisende Falke.¹⁶

¹¹ Chantraine P., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Paris 1970.

¹² Frisk H., Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1960.

¹³ Keller O., Die antike Tierwelt, Leipzig 1909, 18-19.

¹⁴ Ebeling H., Lexicon Homericum, Lipsiae, Londini-Parisiis 1894.

¹⁵ *Mevlitta* (Biene), *Calidovnion* (Schwalbe), *Phnelovph*.

¹⁶ Vgl. Passow F., Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache 1841-1857; dieser Ansicht ist auch Frisk.

Die Tatsache, dass der Name der Kirke die Möglichkeit zu derartigen Interpretationen gibt, muss darauf hinweisen, dass der Name sehr alt ist.

Für die mythopoetische Weltauffassung war es nicht eigen, die Tatsachen zu abstrahieren. Der antike Mensch hat den Kontakt mit der Welt mit dem Prinzip "ich" – "du" und nicht wie der heutige Mensch "ich" – "er" aufgenommen. Das Weltall galt als Lebewesen und demgemäss als aktiv, weiblichen oder männlichen Geschlechtes.¹⁷ In dieser Epoche sollte das Hauptmerkmal der Sprache Prädikativität sein. Das Substantiv aber, das nur das Lebewesen ausdrückte, musste ursprünglich kein Neutrum haben.¹⁸ All das müsste durch die Eigentümlichkeit des Denkens bedingt gewesen sein und diente zur Personifizierung der Welt. Das aber bedingte seinerseits die Bildlichkeit der Sprache.

Die Römer nannten den Vogel *kivrko* "accipiter, in der nachklassischen Epoche – astur, das befleckt, "mit Sternen bemahlt" bedeutet und von einem der Adlernamen (*asterias*) stammt. Den Namen *astur* gibt es im Spanischen, im Portugiesischen, im Italienischen und im Provensalischen. Er wird auch mit *falco* wiedergeben, was "Krallen" bedeutet und von *favix* stammen muss.¹⁹

Bei der Beschreibung dieses Vogels bemerkt Plinius, dass er hoch im Himmel einen wunderschönen Kreis macht.²⁰ Die Legende, dass der Mensch vom Falken gelernt hat, das Steuer zu halten, könnte daher stammen. Festus spricht von einem Vogel, der *circanea* heisst, da er beim Flug einen Kreis macht.²¹

Der Falke ist in der Antike ein heiliger Vogel, der mit dem Himmel, mit astralen und unetrirdischen Göttheiten verbunden ist. Er ist Herold des Apollon und spielt eine wichtige Rolle in den Auguralien.²² Nach Hyginus verwandelt Apoll den Daidalos zum Falken. Er wird mit Mars in Verbindung gesetzt.²³ Der Falke ist auf einem der Reliefs der Kybele abgebildet. Alte Ungarer hielten ihn zum heiligen Vogel der Gottheit der Nacht und des Mondes *Almus* und erzählten, dass er von diesem Vogel gezeugt war. In Ägypten stellte man den Horus als Falken dar. Auf einer ägyptischen Mumie ist als Falke eine Seele abgebildet, die um die Leiche kreist. Über die Verehrung der Falken bezeugt die Existenz der Stadt Hierakopolis am Nilufer.

¹⁷ Siehe Gordesiani R., Die griechische Zivilisation, Tbilisi 1983, 11.

¹⁸ Vgl. Тайлор Э., 1989, 139-140.

¹⁹ Keller O., 1909, 18.

²⁰ Plin. nat. X, 28.

²¹ Keller O., 1909, 17.

²² Porph. De abstin. III, 5.

²³ Ov. ars. II, 147.

Mumifizierte Arten dieser Vögel, die in Ägypten gefunden sind, wurden lange von Wissenschaftlern untersucht. Von den 500 Mumien, die Lortetti und Gaillard studierten, gehörten die meisten (51) zu *Falco tinnunculus*.

Alte Ornithologen sonderten 16 Unterarten des accipiter/ *iJevrax* (*Habicht, Falke*) und 3 Hauptarten – *Kivrko* ♂, *Triovrch* ♂ (*Falco buteo*), *Aijsavlwn* (*Falco aesalon*) aus.²⁴ Die Farbe ihrer Feder variierte nach Alter und Jahreszeiten, deswegen war es oft fast unmöglich, diese Vogelarten von einander zu unterscheiden.²⁵

Man zählt *kivrko* "allgemein zum unbekanntem Vertreter der Falken- oder Habichtfamilie. Im georgischen Sprachareal aber hat er eine konkrete Entsprechung. *K'ir>ita*,²⁶ ein rötlicher Raubvogel der Falkenfamilie, entspricht dem *Falco tinnunculus*, genau der Art, die für die Ägypter als heiliger Vogel galt.

Die georgische Sprache bietet auch andere interessante Parallelen: *>ir>ita* ist, wie gesagt, eine Art Raubvogel, *>ir>iti* aber bedeutet in einem der georgischen Dialekte die hölzernen Webenadel für den Teppich.²⁷ Das Weberschiffchen (*kerkiv*"), wie es oben schon gezeigt wurde, verbinden die antiken Autoren etymologisch mit dem Namen der Kirke.

Bei der Suche der Wörter, die in das semantische Feld des Namens *Kirke* gehören, hat sich die georgische Entsprechung des gr. *μᾶλυ* beachtenswert erwiesen.

Bezüglich der Etymologie von *mw'lu* gibt es verschiedene Meinungen, aber man kann darüber nichts bestimmtes sagen.²⁸ Es wäre hier überflüssig, das ganze Material zu erörtern. Nicht zu bezweifeln ist nur, dass *mw'lu* ein nichtgriechisches Wort ist und das es im Georgischen eine beachtenswerte Entsprechung dieses Wortes gibt, nämlich georg. *moli*. *Moli* verbindet man mit georg. *moloki*, einer Art Gras, lat. *malva* identifiziert wird.²⁹ Es wäre meines Erachtens interessant, zum oben genannten Material hinzuzufügen, dass dem botanischen Terminus *malva* in den georgischen Dialekten *>or>ot'a*,³⁰ *>or>ot'ina*, *čit'ipura*³¹ entspricht. Nach Iwane Djawachischwili

²⁴ Plin. nat. X, 21; Aristot. hist. an. VIII, 3.

²⁵ Keller O., 1909, 14.

²⁶ Gordesiani R., Vorgriechisch und Kartvelisch, Tbilisi 1985, 88; Bagrationi I., Naturwissenschaftliches Bedeutungswörterbuch, 1986, 6; Bedeutungswörterbuch der georgischen Sprache, Tbilisi 1986; Lexikon der georgischen Dialekte, Tbilisi 1984.

²⁷ Lexikon der georgischen Dialekte, 1984.

²⁸ Georgica, 1970; Гордезиани Р., 1984, 208; Гара Я., Овидий Назон и древняя Колхида, Тбилиси 1984, 65-68.

²⁹ Makaschwili A., Botanisches Wörterbuch, Tbilisi 1961, 172.

³⁰ Lexikon der georgischen Dialekte, 1984.

³¹ Makaschwili A., Botanisches Wörterbuch, Tbilisi 1961.

war diese Pflanze im Südkaukasus verbreitet. Aus ihrem Stengel bereitete man Hanf, den Brei aber aus Milch und Mehl der *malva* gebrauchte man als Heilmittel.³²

Aus dem gleichen Stamm ist das georgische Wort *>or>ot'i* abgeleitet, das sowohl das runde Weizenkörnchen, als auch eine gewisse rituelle Speise bedeutet.

In den Namen *>ir>ita*, *>ir>iti*, *>or>ota(na)*, *>or>oti* könnte man einen die Rundung bedeutenden Stamm **>r>/>r* und einen diminutiven Suffix *-ita / -iti / -ota* aussondern. Eine derartige Formation der Namen ist für das Georgische völlig normal.

Beachtenswert ist die westgeorgische Tradition der Zubereitung der rituellen Speise *>or>oti*, die auch in anderen Regionen Georgiens verbreitet ist: für dieses Gericht gebraucht man in Milch oder Wasser gekochte gedreschte Gerste oder Weizen, denen man Honig zugibt. Mit diesem Gericht und dem Rotwein gedenkt man der Seelen der Verstorbenen.³³

Nimmt man die Verbindung der Kirke mit der jenseitigen Welt in Acht und hält man für plausibel die Verbindung der aus dem Stamm **>r* mit dem Suffix *-ita / -iti / -ota* abgeleiteten Wörter mit den Wörtern, die in das semantische Feld der Kirke gehören, so muss es nicht unwichtig erscheinen, dass *>or>oti* ein mit dem Totenkult zusammenhängendes Wort ist. Nach der noch heute lebendigen Tradition sind *>or>oti* und Rotwein unentbehrlich beim Gedenken der Seelen der Verstorbenen.

In der Kirkepisode bietet die Göttin den griechischen Seefahrern eine mit den Zauberkräutern zubereitete Speise an und verwandelt sie danach mit einem Schwung des Stabes zu Schweinen:

*ejn dev sfin turovn te kai; a[ffita kai; mevli clwro;n
oijnw/ Pramneivw/ ejkuvka:...*³⁴

Die von Kirke zubereitete Speise war eine Mischung von Käse, Gerste, Honig und pramneischen Wein.

Man könnte sich nicht vorstellen, dass die Göttin auf der Insel Aiaia, die der Überlieferung nach vom Meer umgeben und vom Rest der Welt abgeschnitten ist, den Wein vom Berg Pramneios in die Speise mischte. Traditionell ist die folgende Überstzung des Namens *"Pravmneio"* angenommen:³⁵ Im Wort *"pravmneio"* könnte man den den Suffix des Part.

³² Djawachischwili I., Werke, V, Tbilisi 1986, 174.

³³ Baramidze J., Adjarische Gerichte, Batumi 1987, 56.

³⁴ *k234-235*: Käse, Gerste und den bernsteinfarbenen Honig vermischte sie mit dem pramneischen Wein ...

³⁵ Дворецкий И., Древнегреческо-русский словарь, Москва 1958; Siehe Richter W., Die Landwirtschaft in Homerischen Zeitalter, in: *Archeologica Homeric, II*, Kap. H, Göttingen-Ruprecht 1968, 130: auf der Insel der Kirke kann man den Importwein nicht vorstellen.

Pass. *-mnoš* (*mnh*, *mnon*) und den Stamm *pra* aussondern, den A. Goebel mit **spar* verbindet. Die Fälle des Verlustes des anlautenden *š* sind im Griechischen häufig (vgl. parallele Formen *pevrgu*"/*spevrgu*"; *pevrgulo*"/*spevrgulo*" u.a.m.). Aus dem gleichen Stamm ist *pavr-t-a*" abgeleitet, den Hesychios folgendermassen deutet: *partavde*": *a[mpelo]*". Nach Hesychios hat auch *pravmnh* die gleiche Bedeutung: *pravmnh*: *a[mpelo]*". Also, *hJ pravmnh* = *pavr-t-a*". Das Wort *pavr-t-a*" deutet ein anderes aus dem Stamm *spar* abgeleitetes Wort *spavrtōn*; *spavrtōn* – gedreht, geflochten (die Leine).

Folglich müsste *oivno*" *pravmneio*" einen aus einer wilden rankigen Rebe gepressten Wein bedeuten. Solche Rebe wächst frei im Unterschied zu den kultivierten Arten, und ihr Stock ist besonders gewunden, die Früchte aber sind klein, mit einem sauer-bitteren Geschmack. Deswegen gebrauchte man aus diesen Reben gepressten Wein gewöhnlich nur zum Vermischen, wie das bei Homer beschrieben ist (Vgl. *k235_ L639*).³⁶

Nach Plinius nennt man Pramnion auch einen schwarzen Edelstein.³⁷ Der zweite Name des gleichen Steines – *Morio* (vgl. *movron*, bot. *Morus nigra* L.³⁸) – lässt es vermuten, dass dieser Name auf dem Vergleich beruht, und die entsprechende Rebenart, sowie auch aus ihr gepresster Wein dunkelrot, fast schwarz war.³⁹

Der Name des Berges *Pravmneio*" muss aus dem Stamm **spar* abgeleitet gewesen sein. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass er seiner gewundenen Form wegen diesen Namen bekommen hat.⁴⁰

Nach dem von A. Goebel gegebenen etymologischen Material könnte man vermuten, dass *oivno*" *pravmneio*" einen aus der rankigen Rebe gepressten Rotwein bedeutet. Eine der georgischen Entsprechungen für die wilde rankige Rebe – *>ri>ina* – ist aus dem Stamm **>r* abgeleitet; sie musste den Namen eben wegen ihrer geflochtenen (gewundenen) Form bekommen haben. Die schwarze Art dieser Rebe war in Georgien verbreitet.⁴¹

Die Termini *>ir>ita* – *>ir>iti* – *r>ali/>ruli/rulva* – *>ri>ina* – *>or>oti* – *>or>otina* – gehören zu einem semantischen Feld sowohl in der sprachlichen, als auch in der Hinsicht der mythologischen Semantik.

³⁶ Richter W., Die Landwirtschaft in Homerischen Zeitalter, in: *Archeologica Homerica*, II, Kap. H, Göttingen-Ruprecht 1968, 130.

³⁷ Plin. nat. XXXVII, 63: *quae nigerrimo colore translucet*.

³⁸ Makaschwili A., Botanisches Wörterbuch, Tbilisi 1961.

³⁹ Richter W., 1968, 129-130. Vgl. Куликов Б. Ф., Буканов В. В., Словарь камней самоцветов, 1988, 64.

⁴⁰ Goebel A., *Lexilogus zu Homer und den Homeriden*, Berlin 1878, 572-576.

⁴¹ Djawachischwili I., *Werke*, V, Tbilisi 1986, 308-309.

Wenn man berücksichtigt, dass die Vogel-, Tier- und Pflanzennamen, auch Speisennamen die älteste Sprachschicht aufbewahren, so muss die vergleichende Analyse des georgischen und griechischen Materials beachtenswert erscheinen.

Nach dem in der antiken Literatur zerstreuten Material ist die Hauptfunktion der Kirke das Zaubern:

- Sie kann Menschen verwandeln,⁴²
- ihre zauberhafte Stimme, die derer der Syrenen ähnelt, kann die Himmelskörper auf die Erde hinunterbringen.⁴³

In dem oben angeführten Material versuchte ich zu zeigen, wie sich die mit der Kirke zusammenhängenden wichtigsten mythologischen Schichten in ihrem Namen widerspiegeln haben.

Es muss nicht uninteressant sein, die entsprechenden georgischen Termini in Erwägung zu ziehen, die die Funktionen und Attribute der Kirke widerspiegeln:⁴⁴

Georg. >ar-/>r- v->r-av; še-v->ar; >r-va; >r-ul-i.

Mengr. >ir- />ər- do->ir-u "er hat zugebunden"; >ir-un-s "er bindet zu"; >ir-u-a//>ər-u-a "das Binden"; >ir-il-i "zugebunden"; o->ir-al-i "Bündel".

Las. >or-/>ir- o->ir-u "zubinden"; b->or-um "ich binde zu"; do->ir-u "er hat zugebunden"; n-o->ir-s // n-o->or-s "es hängt drauf"; ko-gv-a->ir-u "er umwand"; >or-el-i "zugebunden".

Das lasische >or- entspricht genau dem georgischen Stamm >ar-.

Die Archetypen *>ar- / >r- hat auf der georgisch-zanischen Ebene G. Klimov rekonstruiert, *>r₀ aber T. Gamkrelidze und G. Matschawariani.

Georg. gr>>//>r>-/r>; gr>-al-i//r>-al-i; >ir>-al-i (kach., ing.); >ri>-al-i (kizik.); v->r-av; >r-ul-i.

Mengr. >ir-//>r-; do->ir-u "er hat zusammengebunden"; >ir-il-i "zusammengebunden"; o->ir-al-i "Bündel".

Laz. >ir>; o->ir>-ol-u "schlängeln", "lockig machen"; i->ir>-ol-e-n "er schlängelt sich"; >ir>-ol-er-i "geschlängelt"; toma->ir>-ol-er-i "kraushaarig".

Die genaue Entsprechung des georgischen >rkal- (<*kr₀kal-) Stammes muss das lasische k'irk'ol sein.

Georg. >r- >r-ial-i; >r>-ial-i "leuchten, glänzen" (wird im Georgischen auch im Bezug auf die Stimme gebraucht – *fein*).

⁴² Z.B. die Geschichte der Verwandlung der Seefahrer zu Schweinen, die Geschichten von Glaukos und Pikus.

⁴³ Vgl. Petron. Sat. 127, 29-32; Verg. ecl. VIII, 70.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Fähnrich H., Sardjveladze S., Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Kartvelsprachen, Tbilisi 1990; Климов Г., Этимологический словарь картвельских языков, Москва 1964.

Svan. > *ər- li-> ər-e* "glänzen", *na>ər-i* "klirren, glänzen"; >*ər-e* "es glänzt".

Diese Wurzel ist in den georgischen Dialekten auch mit der Form >ar bezeugt: >ar>ari / >ar>ara "rein, durchsichtig", mo>ar>areba "reinigen".⁴⁵

Wie man sieht, könnte jedes dieser Wörter zum Archetyp *>r> / >r / r> zurückgehen, der nicht später als die georgisch-zanische Einheitsphase, in manchen Fällen aber bis zum Protokartvelischen rekonstruiert werden kann. Seine Hauptbedeutung ist die des Kreises, der Rundung. Am Beispiel des Kirkemythos bildet er Mythologeme des Mondes.

Kivrko" bedeutet gleichzeitig sowohl den Kreis, als auch den Vogel. Die Sprache meidet die Homonymie und wenn es diese Homonymie trotzdem gibt, so müsste man zwischen diesen Wörtern einen Zusammenhang suchen.

Die formelle und semantische Analyse der Wörter lässt folgende Schlussfolgerungen zu: *Kivrkh* ist Name einer Göttin, den man zu einer weiblichen Parallele des Namens *kivrko*" halten könnte. Der Stamm bedeutet den Kreislauf, kreisende Bewegung, *kivrko*" aber den im Himmel kreisenden Vogel. In der Epoche, in der die Astralisierung der Mythen geschah, hat man diese Göttin scheinbar mit einem Himmelskörper, nämlich mit dem Mond identifiziert, der im Himmel einen Kreis macht und stellen sie als einen Falken vor. Ursprünglich hat man ihn scheinbar zu einem Kadaver fressenden Raubvogel gehalten. Der Kirkemythos, der sich in der griechisch-römischen Welt verbreitete, stellte die Göttin als eine Zauberin dar, die mit Hilfe des Gesanges, der magischen Speise und der Erotik vermochte, die Menschen in den magischen Kreis zu einzuschließen. Die Spindel aber, eines ihrer ständigen Attribute, lässt es vermuten, dass Kirke irgendwann auch eine das Schicksal steuernde Gottheit sein könnte.

⁴⁵ Gordesiani R., Vorgriechisch und Kartvelisch, 1985, 47.

Ketevan Gardapchadze (Tbilisi)

DIE ANTIKEN GESTALTEN IN DER GEORGISCHEN LITERATUR DES XX JAHRHUNDERTS

Das XX Jahrhundert zeichnet sich in der georgischen Literatur durch moderne Strömungen aus. In diesem verwickelten Prozeß wird der Rezeption des antiken Kulturgutes und der Aneignung der neuzeitlichen europäischen literarischen Tendenzen besondere Rolle beigemessen. Natürlich wäre es unmöglich in diesem Aufsatz die Analyse der gesamten schöngeistigen Literatur unseres Jahrhunderts vorzunehmen. Ich halte es für angebracht mich auf die Gruppe der georgischen Dichter einzuschränken, deren Schaffen besonders interessant und gewissermaßen widersprüchlich im Sinne der schöpferischen Aufnahme des antiken Erbes ist.

Das sind die georgischen Symbolisten (P. Jaschwili, W. Gaprindaschwili, T. Tabidse, K. Nadiradse, G. Leonidse u. a.), die eine ganz neue Etappe in der georgischen Dichtung eingeleitet hatten. Der Beitrag, den sie in der Literatur Georgiens geleistet haben, ist dem Beitrag der französischen Symbolisten in der Kultur Frankreichs ebenbürtig.

Symbolistische Ansätze gibt es in Georgien schon Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts, aber der organisatorische Zusammenschluß kam 1915 zustande, als sich eine Gruppe der jungen Dichter zu einem literarischen Orden-"Blaue Hörner" zusammenschloß.

Die georgischen Symbolisten führen ihre Genealogie auf Frankreich zurück, obwohl die russische symbolistische Schule ihren ästhetischen Werdegang nicht weniger beeinflußt hatte. Die georgischen Dichter pflegten mit ihren russischen Kollegen außerordentlich herzliche freundschaftliche Beziehungen, davon zeugen die Briefe von A. Bely, B. Pasternak, I. Tinianow, I. Ehrenburg u.a. Hier ein Auszug aus einer Abhandlung von B. Pasternak "Luftige Straßen": "Warum waren mir diese zwei Menschen zugesandt (die Rede ist von T. Tabidse und P. Iaschwili), wie sollte man unsere Beziehungen nennen? Die beiden sind Bestandteile meiner persönlicher Welt

geworden. Ich habe keinen vor dem anderen bevorzugt, den die beiden waren unzertrennlich, sie haben sich gegenseitig ergänzt."¹

Es soll darauf hingewiesen werden, daß in Georgien symbolistische Bewegung zu jener Zeit ihren Anfang nimmt, als in Rußland Symbolismus schon zu seinem Ausklang neigt, Es war die Zeit, wo das georgische künstlerische Leben einer gewissen Hilflosigkeit anheimgefallen war. Die unfähigen Epigonen der großen Autoren des XIX Jahrhunderts hatten das literarische Leben dieser Periode fast ad absurdum geführt. Die neue Generation konnte diesen Weg nicht beschreiten. Zum einzigen Mittel ihrer Selbstbehauptung wurde damals der Symbolismus.

Die Vertreter der "Blauen Hörner" haben die grundlegenden ästhetischen Prinzipien des Symbolismus adoptiert und die Notwendigkeit der Einbürgerung dieser Prinzipien auf die nationale Ebene begründet. Sie haben versucht, westeuropäische, russische und georgische Konzeption zu vereinigen um den eigenständigen Charakter des georgischen Symbolismus auszuprägen. Einer der Begründer des Dichterordens – "Blaue Hörner" – T.Tabidse schrieb: "Wir müssen unser georgisches Profil herausbilden, unsere Hauptforderung ist die grundlegende Wahrnehmung des georgischen Phänomens unseres Temperaments, unseres Geistes, unseres Flairs. Wir werden die Schärfe des Abendlandes mit der mythischen Entspannung vom Morgenland vereinigen und mittels künstlerischen Willens des Westens werden wir den Sonnenblick des Orients schärfen".²

Diese Eigenständigkeit des georgischen Symbolismus widerspiegelt sich eigenartig in der Rezeption der Antike.

Im Schaffen der französischen und russischen Symbolisten tritt die Antike als Quelle der leidenschaftlichen symbolischen Figuren und unsterblicher Ereignisse auf, welche wegen ihrer Unvoreingenommenheit gebraucht wurden. Der griechische Geist gab den Symbolisten das geistige Material für die Ruhe, gab Mittel dazu, von dem Alltag zu fliehen und sich über das Dasein zu erheben.

Wie steht es diesbezüglich bei den georgischen Symbolisten, was bedeutet für sie die Antike? Die georgischen Symbolisten waren in der Frage der künstlerischen Aneignung des antiken Erbes in der Frage der Wahrnehmung der Antike als des kulturell-historischen Phänomens einig. Die Antike ist für sie, einerseits, ein ewiger Wert, ein Fundament der Zivilisation, die unerschöpfliche Quelle des menschlichen Schaffens, zu welcher die Epochen, Länder und Persönlichkeiten ewig heimkehren. Bei der Aneignung des mythischpoetischen Erbes der Antike muß der Künstler in jeden einzelnen Fall

¹ „Legende von der roten Nelke“, Tbilisi 1985, 238.

² „Blaue Hörner“, 1990, 65 (Zeitschrift).

einerseits den griechischen und römischen Originalgeist beibehalten und der Natur der Muttersprache anpassen, damit allgemeinmenschliche Maßstäbe nicht verlorengehen.³

Die Antike ist zugleich historisch-mythologische Vergangenheit des eigenen Landes, die Legende über den Feldzug der Argonauten in Kolchis und die des am Kaukasus gefesselten Prometheus.

In vielen Fällen verwendet der symbolistische Dichter die antike Thematik im Kontext der Geschichte des Heimatlandes. Dabei war die Antike jener Orientierungspunkt, welcher die gloriöse Vergangenheit Georgiens mit wichtigsten Wertvorstellungen der Weltkultur vereinigen sollte. In der Bewußtmachung der Antike, als des kulturell- historischen Phänomens, stehen alle georgischen Symbolisten auf einer Position. Was die Rolle der Antike für ihr Schaffen anbetrifft, so lassen sich die Ergebnisse meiner Forschung in folgenden drei Punkten verallgemeinern:

A) In einigen Fällen wird bei den georgischen Symbolisten die Annahme der traditionellen antiken Bilder faktisch verweigert. Der orthodoxeste Vertreter der georgischen Symbolismus, W. Gaprindaschwili verfaßt im Jahre 1922 ein theoretisches Traktat "Deklaration (neue Mythologie)", wo er konsequent folgender Idee nachgeht, ungeachtet der Produktivität der antiken mythologischen Figuren in der Weltliteratur "hat die Mythologie die Verbindung mit unserem Bewußtsein eingebüßt" und der Dichter sucht nach neuen Objekten für sein Schaffen, versucht, die traditionellen Symbolen mit neuen zu ersetzen.

"In der Poesie nehmen heute den Platz der griechischen Götter die Dichter wie Chaterton, Rimbeud ein... sie spornen die Träume des Dichters nicht weniger an, als Zeus oder Apollo, Aphrodite und Athene. ..Dichter nehmen die Stelle der Götter ein und die alten antiken Helden werden durch neue Helden (Ophelia, Hamlet) ersetzt." W. Gaprindaschwili ist tief davon überzeugt, daß diese neue Mythologie zur mächtigen Grundlage für Schaffung neuer poetischen bilder, Symbole, Mythen und eines neuen Pantheons wird.

Aber die theoretischen Gedanken und ihre praktische Realisierung in der Dichtung des Dichters unterscheiden sich voneinander. Trotz des oben erwähnten Traktats sollte man nicht denken, daß es im Schaffen der Symbolisten (W. Gaprindaschwili, K. Nadiradse, P. Iaschwili, G. Leonidse u. a.) keine antiken Symbole, Figuren und Motive gibt. Hier sind m. E. einige Nuancen zu berücksichtigen. Es gibt fast keinen Fall, außer seltener Ausnahme, wo irgendwelches antikes Sujet oder ein Motiv zum Gegenstand der

³ Frenzel E., Stoffe der Weltliteratur, ein Lexikon Dichtungsgeschichtlicher Langschnitte, Alfred Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart 1976, 15; Hight G., The Classical Tradition Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature, Oxford University Press, London, Oxford, New York 1962, 9.

speziellen Bearbeitung geworden wäre, oder das antike Symbol einen solchen inhaltlichen Belang hätte, daß es als bestimmendes Motiv für das Gedicht gedient hätte. In jedem Fall treten die antiken Gestalten mit den neuen mythologischen Figuren zusammen auf ("Ophelia und Nero", "Ophelia – Eurydike" u. a.) und ihre Symbolik sind unbedingt traditionell. Z. B. werde ich ein Stück der Rohübersetzung des Gedichts von W. Gaprindaschwili "Ophelia und Nero" zitieren.

"Wind und Mond, ein Traum
wundervoll und beende
Im tiefen Abgrund flieht ein Roß,
Der böse Nero drückt Ophelia ans Herz
Und rast mit seiner Last wie ein Narr dahin"⁴

Meines Erachtens hat der Dichter durch die parallele Verwendung der alten und neuen Symbole die Wirkung der antiken Symbole gewissermaßen neutralisiert.

B) Als den zweiten Typ der Rezeption der Antike im Schaffen der georgischen Symbolisten betrachte ich die sogenannte pseudo-mythologische Literatur (hier sind die Werke gemeint, die die alte Mythologie nur als Impulse verwenden und sie wesentlich transformieren). Es seien hier zwei Werke von T. Tabidze erwähnt "Amazonen" und "Die neugeschaffene Legende".⁵

Wie bekannt, machte das antike mythologische Sujet einen interessanten und schwierigen Weg durch. Aus dem reichen mythologischen Material wählte jeder Autor das, was am meisten Interessen seiner Epoche, seines Landes und seiner Nation entsprach. Wahrscheinlich ist es kein Zufall, daß T. Tabidze seine Aufmerksamkeit dem Amazonenmythos schenkte.

Es ist bekannt, daß ein Teil der antiken Quellen (Herodot, das Geschichtswerk, 4, 110; Apollonios von Rhodos, Argonautika, 2, 996; Pausanias, 1, 2, 1)⁶ als Wohnsitz der Amazonen die Schwarzmeerküste nennt. In Äschylus "Gefesseltem Prometheus" (723)⁷ sind die Amazonen die Ureinwohnerinnen von Kolchis. Bei Pausanias heißt der Fluß der Amazonen Phasis. Aus dem oben dargelegten wird es klar, daß der Dichter, wenn er auf Grund des

⁴ Gaprindaschwili W., Gedichte, Poem, Übersetzungen, Essays, Briefe aus dem Archiv des Dichters, Tbilisi 1990, 49.

⁵ Tabidze T., Werke in drei Bänden, Tbilisi 1966, Bd. III, 165; Bd. I, 266.

⁶ Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, R.C. Seaton, London 1954, Scriptorium Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (2, 996); Herodoti Historiarum Libri IX, ed. H. R. Dietsch, Teubner, MDCCCXCIX; Pausanias, Graecae Descriptio (1, 2, 1), ed. M.H. Rocha-Pereira, 1973, Teubner.

⁷ Aeschylus, Tragoediae, ed. M. L. West, 1990, Teubner (723).

Amazonenmythos ein Werk schafft, zu den historisch-mythologischen Wurzeln des eigenen Landes wiederkehrt. Die beiden Werke behandeln die Geschichte der tragischen Liebe. In der Erzählung "Amazonen" ist das Opfer der Liebe die Königin von Amazonen Tomiranda, die selbst die eigenen Gesetze verletzt, in dem sie der Herzenslust nachgibt. Die streng erzogenen Amazonen steinigen ihre Königin.

Kurz der Inhalt des Werkes. Aus der Schwarzmeerregion ziehen alle Männer in den Krieg. Daheimgebliebene Frauen, Kinder, Alten leiden äußerst schwere Not. Die Frauen werfen die Alten und Kinder von einem Felsen ins Meer und mit an der Spitze stehenden Tomiranda, der Ehefrau des Anführers, gründen sie einen Frauenstaat. Zwecks besserer Bogenführung verstümmelt Tomiranda ihre rechte Brust durch Feuer und fordert andere Frauen auf, als Zeichen des Gehorsams dasselbe zu tun. Von nun an werden die Frauen Amazonen genannt. Die zurückgekehrten Männer, die mit reicher Kriegsbeute und gefangenen Sklavinnen heimkehren, werden auf Geheiß der Königin in einer Nacht gemordet. Die Fema, ungehorsame Amazone wird zuerst in den Kerker geworfen und dann hingerichtet. Inzwischen denkt die Königin an das Nachkommen, deswegen werden einmal im Jahre, im Frühling "Hochzeitsnächte" angeordnet. Die geborenen Mädchen werden erzogen und nur einige rassige Jungen beibehalten.

Auch die Königin will eine Erbin gebären. Tomiranda verliebt sich selbstvergessen in einen Hirten, welcher ihr die Treue mit der Amazone Menalipa bricht. Tomiranda konnte es nicht über sich bringen, den Hirten unter Strafe zu stellen und wird lebendig in die Erde begraben.

Was die "Neugeschaffene Legende" anbetrifft, wird die Liebe der Königin Isowell und Alexander von Makedonien erzählt. Die Wirkung der Amazonen in der Alexander Roman war auch den antiken Quellen nicht fremd. Es ist bekannt, daß im Werk von Martianus "Die Hochzeit von Philologie mit Merkur" (9, 313) Alexander von Makedonien der Partner der Königin von Amazonen ist. Der Königin der Amazonen sagt die der Zauberkunst mächtige Sklavin voraus, daß sich am Himmel der große Recke zeigen wird, welcher ein Zeichen ist für die zukünftliche Liebe von Isowel. Das ist der Sohn des makedonischen Königs Alexander. Isowel reist nach Indien, sucht Alexander und findet ihn. Drei Tage und Nächte lodert die Liebesbrunst von Isowel und Alexander. Dann stirbt der König am Schüttelfrost. Isowel kehrt heim. Hier läßt der Dichter die neue mythische Figur, den am Kaukasus gefesselten Amiran erscheinen, der auch, wie Alexander der große in Isowel verliebt ist.

Nun wird es hier geprüft, wie weit treu T. Tabidse den Geist des mythischen Sujets, die mytho-poetischen Figuren wiedergibt. Erstens fällt es in die Augen, daß T. Tabidse völlig frei die antike mythologische Fabel behandelt und ein prinzipiell neues Sujet schafft.

Was die Hauptkennzeichen des Mythos anbetrifft (Wohnort der Amazonen, Art und Weise ihres Lebens, die Sitten, das Äußere, der Kampf, der Gürtel der Königin u. a.) werden sie entsprechend der griechischen mythologischen Traditionen wiedergegeben. Die Eigennamen, die in dem Werk vorkommen, können in zwei Kategorien eingeteilt werden.

1) Die Namen, die aus den antiken Quellen bekannt sind, werden bei T. Tabidze einigermassen transformiert. z. B. der Name der Amazonenkönigin Tomiranda soll ein Equivalent von Tomirris sein (bekannt von Pausanias), Teleskir und Termadon sind von Thermodon und Themiskira abgeleitet.

2) Die Namen, die zwar die Frucht der Phantasie des Dichters sind, ihrem Klang nach aber altgriechischen Namen sehr ähnlich sind (Phema, Isowel, Pala u. a.).

Mit "Amazonen" und "Neugeschaffenen Legende" weist sich T. Tabidze als Pseudomythologe aus und schafft eine neue, interessante Variante des Mythos von Amazonen.

C) Die dritte und wichtigste Richtung bei schöpferischen Aufnahme der Antike im Werk der georgischen Symbolisten ist die Poesie, die sich durch Intensität der Beziehungen zu den antiken Traditionen und Tiefe auszeichnet. Das realisiert sich am besten in der poetischen Welt des berühmtesten georgischen Dichters des XX Jahrhunderts G. Tabidze.

Galaktion war kein Mitglied des Ordens der "Blauen Hörner" und doch ist er Verfasser der besten symbolistischen Werke in der georgischen Literatur. Symbolismus war nur eine Episode seiner vielseitigen poetischen Tätigkeit. Für Galaktion ist die Antike eine der bedeutendsten Seiten in der Geschichte der Zivilisation. Eben deshalb ist der hellenophilische Geist seiner Poesie so bemerkbar.⁸ Galaktion verwendet etwa 150 antike Symbole, Namen und Gestalte. Die Fälle der Verwendung der antiken Terminologie konnte man in 3 Gruppe einteilen.

1) In die erste Gruppe vereinige ich die Fälle, wo die antiken Namen und Symbole der ganzen Dichtung organisch verknüpft sind.

Einige meiner Betrachtungen könnten subjektiv erachtet werden, denn oft ist es schwer zu bestimmen, welchen Sinn der Dichter diesem oder jenem Begriff geben wollte und trotzdem denke Ich, daß die meisten zu analysierenden Termini deschiffrierbar sind. Die von mir behandelten antiken Termini machen nicht nur die Originalität der Ansichten von Galaktion deutlich, sondern auch das, wie tief sich der Dichter in das Wesen von jedem dieser Begriffe versenkt, wenn er seine poetischen Bilder schafft. z. B. der berühmte griechische Gelehrte des dritten Jahrhunderts v. chr., Archimedes findet in der Dichtung von Ga-

⁸ Gardapchadse K., Antike Termini und Begriffe in der poetischen Sprache von Galaktion (in der georgischen Sprache), Tbilisi 1995.

laktion ziemlich interessante symbolische Darstellung. Galaktion führt seinen Namen in der Form von "Archimedi" an in seinem Gedicht "Freundschaft geschlossen". Dieses Gedicht ist ziemlich interessant für die Interpretation. Hier tritt deutlich die Frage der Opposition des Menschen mit der Natur zutage. Galaktion beginnt sein Vers mit der Zeile:

"Selbst mit der Natur hat der Mensch Freundschaft geschlossen".⁹ Das ganze Werk gibt die Entfremdung des Menschen von der Natur wieder. In dieser Gegenüberstellung tritt folgender Abschnitt sehr interessant in Erscheinung:

"Er antwortet auf alles mit der Rache,
woraufhört er?
der große Zorn der Naturkräfte von der
alten Malaria,
die bis heute Archimedes bekümmert".¹⁰

Wir denken, in diesem Fall ist der Name "Archimedi" nicht nur deswegen angebracht, um es mit "Hoffnung" zu reimen. Archimedes war der große Wissenschaftler, der Mensch mit großer Intelligenz, der viele Entdeckungen gemacht hatte, die dem Menschen die Möglichkeit der Umgestaltung der Natur gaben.

Dabei ist es bekannt, daß im antiken Denken es als eine Häresie galt, wenn ein Mensch seine Gabe gegen die Natur und die Menschen richtete. .

Mit dem Namen des Archimedes ist folgende Anekdote verknüpft (Plutarchos, Perikles, Markelus). Als die römische Flotte auf seiner Heimatinsel Sizilien die Stadt Syrakus inzunehmen drohte, bat ihn der Stadthalter von Syrakus Hieron, sich etwas für Verteidigung der Stadt einfallen zu lassen, dann konstruierte er wunderbare Kriegsmaschinen, dank seines Wissens der Gesetze der Mechanik. Seine "Zaubermaschine" zwang die Römer zum Rückzug. Voller Reue hat er keine Zeichnungen von seiner Kriegsmaschinerie hinterlassen und bei dem erneuten Überfall der Römer hat er keine Verteidigungssysteme mehr geschaffen. Er fiel selbst den Invasoren in Syrakus zum Opfer. Auch die großen antiken Denker tadelten seine momentane Schwäche und seine einmalige Verteidigungsmaschine.¹¹ Also ist Archimedes meines Erachtens für Galaktion ein Symbol der Menschlichkeit, ein Symbol für Harmonie zwischen der Natur und den Menschen und dafür, wie man

⁹ Im Artikel angeführte Rohübersetzung gehört mir (K. G.).

¹⁰ Tabidze G., Gesammelte Werke in 12 Bänden, Tbilisi 1996, Bd. II, 263.

¹¹ Die Diskussion über die Gegenüberstellung des Menschen mit der Natur beginnt schon bei Hesiod. Vgl. Hesiod, Theogony, Ed. with prolegomena and commentary by M. L. West, Oxford 1996.

theoretisches Denken mit der praktischen Tätigkeit in Bezug auf die Natur einsetzen soll.

Deswegen sollte man die Zeile "weswegen ist heute Archimedes bekümmert" als den Kummer deuten, welcher die Menschheit bis heute plagt, als Gegenüberstellung des Menschen mit der Natur.

Wie gesagt, hat Galaktion viele schöne Zeilen Hellas gewidmet. In dieser Hinsicht ist das Gedicht die "Nackte" keine Ausnahme. In knappen vier Zeilen wird es ziemlich originelle Beziehung zum Hellas, dem dort waltenden Geist und der in Hellas geschaffenen Standbild der Venus von Milo hergestellt:

"Hier trägt der Geist seine leichte
Kleidung,
mit einem solchen Licht
strahlte die Stirn der Venus von Miletos"¹²

Hier fällt auf, daß Galaktion ganz feines Gefühl für die klassische griechische Kunst, ihre wunderbare Leichtigkeit offenbart. Deswegen trägt der Geist hier "seine leichte Kleidung!" lichtstrahlend wie das Standbild der Venus von Milo, leicht und zierlich in ihrer halben Nacktheit.

Die beiden Termini: "Hellas" und die "Venus von Milo" kommen hier zusammen vor, Hellas als Symbol des Erhabenen und Venus als sein plastisches Äquivalent. Also ist das von Galaktion gesichtete Hellas nicht das Ebenbild der vergangenen Zeiten; es ist mit ewigen Impulsen bedacht, wie das Standbild der Venus von Miletos.¹³

3) Bis jetzt habe ich die einzelnen Fälle der Verwendung der antiken Termini bei Galaktion analysiert, jetzt möchte ich mein Augenmerk auf solche Werke richten, deren Hauptpathos die antiken Namen und Begriffe bilden. Hier können verschiedenartige Texte auftreten. In manchen können völlig mythologische Sujets realisiert werden, in anderen wird vom Dichter die Welt geschaffen, die mit verschiedenen Perioden der Geschichte der antiken Länder verbunden ist, aber hier wird die Antike als ein höchst Erhabenes Phänomen dargestellt. Es gibt auch solche Fälle, wo Galaktion im Grunde Zeitbarriere aufhebt und sich selbst als ein Teil dieser prächtigen, harmonischen Welt darstellt.

Die poetische Verkörperung der antiken Mythe bietet das Gedicht "Als Aktaion, der Sohn des Aristaios". Die ersten zwölf Zeilen stellen die poetische Wiedergabe des bekannten griechischen Mythos dar. Darin sind alle Schlüsselwörter verwendet, die in den traditionellen Varianten dieser Mythe

¹² Tabidze G., Gesammelte Werke in 12 Bänden, Tbilisi, Bd.I, 279.

¹³ Werman K., Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker, S. Peterburg 1903 (russisch).

die Grundlexik der Geschichte bilden: Aktaion, Aristaios, Artemis, Nymphen, Ströme des Parthenons.

Es kommen noch zwei Wörter hinzu, die man nicht zu antiken Termini zählen kann, aber geltend für diese Sage sind: (Hunde und die Jagd). Diese Mythe im ganzen gebraucht Galaktion, um die Opposition – Aktaion und die von ihm aufgezogene Hunde- auszusondern. Und nun zieht er unter diesem Zeichen eine Parallele zwischen dem eigenen und Aktaions Leben:

"Ich habe in dir, Galaktion, Aktaion erkannt-
Dich bestraft alles, wie die Liebe.
Die von dir Abgerichteten bellen unruhig
Immer wieder dir böse-für dir bissige Hunde sind."

An den beiden Stellen kommt die Strafe von der Liebe, in beiden Fällen sind die Strafenden die von Aktaion und dem Dichter "Gezüchteten". Die ganze Mythe dient der Hervorhebung zweier Symbole: Aktaion, der fähig ist durch seine Schönheit und Liebe die Anderen zu berücken, und die Hunde, die instande sind, ihren Erzieher zu zerfleischen. Natürlich erhält in diesem Fall das Hunde-Symbol in Galaktions Gedicht eine spezifische Bedeutung und ist gänzlich von dem Inhalt des Mythos bedingt.

Die antiken Bild-Symbole treten ziemlich organisch in die georgische Dichtung ein, klingen natürlich im georgischen Gedicht und bilden bekannte poetische Kontexte für den georgischen Leser. Dies ist dadurch verursacht, daß Galaktion nicht nur gründlich die griechisch-römische Welt kennt, sondern er fühlt erstaunlich genau dank seinem untrüglischen dichterischen Sinn die Antike.

Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

THE CULT OF DIONYSUS IN THE LIGHT OF LINGUISTIC DATA

Scholars agree that the Dionysian cult entered and established in Greece either from Anatolia or from the regions in the northern part of the Balkans, and probably, from Thrace. It was believed for a long time that the process took place in a comparatively later period, or at least in the post-heroic age. Among the principal arguments in favor of such a hypothesis was Dionysus' pale presentation in the Homeric epics. However, after the name was attested in Mycenaean documents, it became clear that Dionysus was familiar in Aegeis as early as the Mycenaean age. So far, three Mycenaean inscriptions have been discovered with the name of the god represented as di-wo-nu-so-jo (PY Xa 102), di-wo-nu-so (PY Xa 1419) and di-wo-nu-so-jo (one of recent inscriptions from Khania, Crete). Evidently, the cult was spread not only in continental Greece but also on the Cretan island already in the Bronze Age. Remarkably, Mycenaean texts imply its links with both wine and Zeus.¹ It is difficult to argue whether Minoan culture was also familiar with a deity equivalent to Dionysus. As concerns wine, it should have been quite widespread in the Minoan civilization. As it is beyond any doubt that the cult of Dionysus existed in Aegeis in the heroic age, the most natural question that comes up sounds as: where did the cult originate from? I believe linguistic analysis can be very important to bring clarity into the matter. In this respect, the Dionysian world offers quite a number of interesting lexical formatives, which I will attempt to analyze below.

Let us start with the name of the god. *Diovnuso*¹, perhaps, is the easiest term to understand among the Greek formatives connected to the cult. Its attested use in Mycenaean texts points to its fairly old origins. Evidently, the formative was

¹ For the review of the question, see Cf. DNP, 3, 651 ff.

established in the Mycenaean Greek language through its widespread and familiar variants; if di-wo-nu-so-jo is the genitive, its nominative should presumably be di-wo-nu-so.² The name is commonly believed to be a composite consisting of two components diov" and nu'so". The latter is reflected in one of Dionysus' epithets or by-names Nushvio", Nuvsio". Having in mind the form Dionuta" attested in the Smyrna inscription, Furnée suggested that it 'wenigstens im Hinterglied vorgr.-kleinasiatischer Herkunft ist.'³ Evidently, after Greeks settled Aegeis, the term replaced the earlier one, which was used to refer to the Pre-Greek-Anatolian equivalent of Dionysus. If we admit that the name is a further development of *Diosnuso" → *Dionnuso" form as believed by part of scholars, then its first element should be considered either the genitive of the theonym Ζεύς", or the nominative of di'o" 'divine, brilliant, heavenly' formative. Correspondingly, the nu'so" element can be understood as '(male) child, son, born', or as a proper name with certain semantics. I incline to identifying the first element with the name of Zeus, which suggests the second element should mean 'child'. In my opinion, such an assumption is substantiated by Mycenaean texts that apparently mention Dionysus and Zeus side by side.⁴ The supporters of the Thracian hypothesis point at Thracian proper names Deopus 'son of god', Deospor, Deispuris 'son of god', and believe both parts of the name are Thracian borrowings. Consequently, following the opinion of P. Kretschmer, they consider nu'so" the Thracian formative for 'child', although such a word has not yet been attested in Thracian.⁵ On the other hand, various place names with nus- root are known as early as since the Homeric epics. According to the mythological tradition, their origins may be linked to the name of Dionysus' nurse Nu'sa,⁶ the majority of sources mention Nysa (Nu'sa) as the place where Dionysus was brought up.

According to the *Iliad* (VI, 130 ff), Lycurgus, King of Thrace, incurred the divine wrath because he pursued Dionysus' 'nurses' in Nysa (presumably, a mountain or a certain place). However, this does not necessarily mean that Dionysus was brought up in that very place. Later, ancient sources mentioned plenty of Nysas that claimed the honor of being the place where the god was reared. E.g. Stephanos of Byzantium names ten cities with the same name and 'ambitions' located in Helicon, Thrace, Caria, Arabia, Egypt, Naxos, India,

² Cf. Казанскене В.П., Предметнопонятийный словарь греческого языка. Крито-микенский период, Ленинград 1986, 142, 157; Hallager E., Vlasakis M., Hallager B.P., *New Linear B Tablets from Khania, Kadmos XXXI*, Hft. 1. 1992, 61 ff.

³ WKE, 250.

⁴ Hallager E., ... op.sit.

⁵ Cf. Duridanov I., *The Language of the Thracians*, V. The Thracian vocabulary (<http://members.tripod.com>).

⁶ Cf. RML, III, 567 ff; DNP, 8, 1073 ff.

the Caucasus, Libya, Euboea; while Eustatius of Thessaloniki, apart from the Caucasus, mentions Nysas in Boeotia, Arabia, India and Libya. In my opinion, *NU'SO*- can be a Pre-Greek formative meaning 'child, born, created'. It should not be ruled out that the formative derives from a participial form and contains *n* + voiced prefix and *-s*, the root denoting 'birth, origin'. In this case, a parallel can be drawn with Kartvelian languages where **šw-* root goes up to the common Kartvelian level and with the help of **na-*, **ne-*, **ni-* common Kartvelian either participial or derivational prefixes can produce different formatives denoting 'child, born' at either theoretical or practical level: Georg. *na-š-ob-i/na-šw-i* 'born'; Mengr. *na-sqv-i* 'born, placed', etc.⁷

Evidently, *Bavkco*" is synonymous of the name of the god. Its etymology is not known.⁸ The Lydian *Baki* attested in adjectives *Bakivalis*, *bakillis*, corresponds to Greek *Bavkco*", and can most probably be a borrowing from Greek itself or the third source, from which the name entered both Greek and Lydian.⁹ The semantics of the formative evidently reflects the impact connected with the earthly activities of the god. A person possessed with Dionysian ecstasy is called *Bavkch*, *Bakciv*", *Bakçouv*". The majority of adjective or verbal stems derived from this stem refer to the noisy actions of individuals possessed with Dionysian ecstasy. I believe Furnée was quite right as he pointed to important parallels with Georgian formatives *baki*, *bakiaoba*, *baki-buki*, *baxi*, *paxi*, *baxi-buxi*, *paxa-puxi*, *paxpaxi*, *paca-puci* ('idle boasting, blustering, aplomb, swagger, cockiness, showing off, rattling around, bustling, commotion').¹⁰ According to Furnée, the stem is eastern Mediterranean and could have penetrated Georgian language after the split of Kartvelian languages. Recently, H. Fähnrich reconstructed the common Kartvelian **bak-* archetype (Georg. *baki*, *bak-ia*, *bak-ia-oba*, *bak-i-buki* 'idle boasting, boaster, boasting'; Mengr. *buk-u-a*, 'hyping, puffing, overstating', *buk-ul-a* '(a person) who overstates', *buk-ul-ob-a* 'blustering', *a-buk-ari*, 'blusterer'; Svan. *bak*, *bäk* 'falsehood, lie', *bakáj*, *bakáráj* 'liar, swindler').¹¹ In my opinion, expressive interchange of the initial stem could have produced plenty of versions with diverse semantic implications. The tendency to an expressive interchange on the part of the final stem consonant in Kartvelian can account for the formation of Greek geminate *kc-*.

⁷ EDKL, 548.

⁸ Cf. DELG, 159.

⁹ Cf. WKE, 211.

¹⁰ BGE, 22, 23

¹¹ BZK, 46.

The most remarkable figures from Dionysus' ancestry, apart from Zeus of course, are Cadmus and Semele.

The etymology of *Kavdmo*" is ambiguous.¹² Although a lot of Greek sources say he moved from the East, Phoenicia in particular, as scholars have repeatedly stated, the earliest mythological tradition makes no allusion to the Phoenician origin of Boeotian Cadmus. Astour attempted to find a similar name in the Ugaritic tradition; however, its semantics is unknown.¹³ It was likewise repeatedly noted that the Cretan glossa *kavdmo*" attested by Hesychius is its homonym, while the name *Kavdmilo*" of one of the Cabiri clearly refers to it. In my opinion, the initial stem is *kavdmo*". According to Hesychius, its should mean *dovru* 'cudgel, spear', *lovfo*" 'aigrette', *a[spi]*" 'shield'. Correspondingly, the formative apparently referred to armor and could mean a particular kind of weapon. The meaning could logically develop in the following way: weapon, armor → ornament → power → ruler → order. That is why I find it acceptable to link the stem to another Greek *kovsmo*" formative. In my opinion, an interesting parallel can be drawn with common Kartvelian **>ad-* archetype as reconstructed by H. Fähnrich (Georg. *>ed-i/ >et-i*, 'cudgel'; Svan. *>ād-e/>ād-a* 'hatchet, axe').¹⁴

Semevlh, according to commonly accepted interpretation, should be linked to *sem(e)la*, the name of the Thracian earth deity, which in Phrygian is presented as *zemelō*. On its own part, the stem attested in the Indo-European languages enables to reconstruct common Indo-European **d[h](e)g[h]om-* or late Indo-European **dhghem/*ghem-* archetype.¹⁵ It should be taken into consideration that in Thracian, Phrygian and Slavic languages the stem is extended with *-el* element, which facilitates reconstruction of the late Indo-European **ghemel-*. Th. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov relate Georgian-Zan **diq-* stem to the Indo-European archetype.¹⁶ According to Furnée, the archetype is more likely to be related to Georgian-Zan **qam-/*qm-* stem (Georg. *xm-ob-a*, *qm-el-i* 'drying', 'dry' *adj*; Mengrel. *xom-af-a/xum-af-a* 'drying'; *o-xom-in-u/o-xom-u* 'drying'). As concerns the late Indo-European **ghemel* stem, in Furnée's opinion, it could have originated from Paleo-kartvelian **qemel* (?).¹⁷ I believe the occurrence of *-el* element allows to assume that the source for late Indo-European **semel/*zemel* could have been Kartvelian **qm-el*, which Klimov reconstructs to common Georgian-Zan

¹² DELG, 478.

¹³ Astour M.C., *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden 1967, 147 ff.

¹⁴ BZK, 59.

¹⁵ ИЯИ, 821; PPE, App. I, 2.

¹⁶ ИЯИ, 877.

¹⁷ PPE, App. I, 2.

language.¹⁸ In this case, the above-mentioned *qam- stem is presented with *-el participial suffix, which on its part goes up the common Kartvelian level. Presumably, Paleokatvelian *qemel-/*qmel could have developed into *semel in Pre-Greek on one hand, and in late Indo-European on the other hand. However, this does not rule out the interrelationship between Kartvelian *qam-/*qem-/*qm- and Indo-European *ghem- stems at even an earlier chronological level.

Now let us consider the names of divine or quasi-divine creatures organically linked to the Dionysian cult.

Sivlhno", is among the most vivid figures associated with Dionysus. The etymology of the name is unknown.¹⁹ Some scholars try to link it to the Thracian glossa zivlai 'wine' attested by Hesychius, which is also represented as zela".²⁰ This assumption is supported by Silenus' inseparability with hard drinking; however, it is difficult to say when exactly Silenus was linked to the Dionysian cult so organically. Evidently, the term initially corresponded to the essence of the seductive and sarcastic daemon and was used to indicate the whole clan of the demonic forces. Anyway, when describing mountain nymphs, the love goddess apparently says in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite²¹:

'... and with them the Sileni and the sharp-eyed Slayer of Argus mate in the depths of pleasant caves;' (262-63)

The individual figure of Silenus, who according to the tradition about Midas, had a reputation for practical wisdom, should have been distinguished among the Sileni quite early. Evidently, he possessed the feature typical of his kin – the ability to provoke laughter. Let us recall the passages from Plato's *Symposium* that describe how Alcibiades gives glory to Socrates in a sarcastic manner. In Alcibiades' opinion, most of all Socrates resembles Silenus– by his looks as well as by his character traits and abilities: his boldness, his skill for carrying away his listeners, seductiveness, originality, his speech, which at first sight provokes laughter but in fact is deep and godlike (215b ff). This appreciation included in Plato's *Symposium* vividly presents the properties of 'Silenism', which should have been familiar to the Greek tradition at the latest from the archaic epoch, and which to a certain extent was prevailed over by the later image of the ever-drunk member of the Dionysian escort.

¹⁸ ЭСКЯ, 266.

¹⁹ DELG, 1003.

²⁰ WKE, 353.

²¹ For the date of the hymn cf. Гордезиани Р., Проблемы композиционной организации в раннегреческом эпосе (А. Ф. Лосеву к 90-летию со дня рождения, Тбилиси 1983), 74 ff.

Hence, I support the viewpoint which links the name of Silenus to the stem attested in Pre-Greek *sivllo*" formative ('light, mocking verse') also found in the verb *sillaivnw/sillovw* 'to mock, scoff at'. The etymology of the formatives is unknown. Furnée drew parallels with Georgian *cili* 'slander' and suggested the existence of the Aegean **cil* or **cœil* stem.²² Nowadays the parallel is even more obvious. Fähnrich reconstructed common Kartvelian **cœel-/cœil/cœel-* archetype (Georg. *c-t-om-a*, *še-c-t-un-eb-a*, *cil-i* 'mistaking; erring; deceiving, being misled, leading astray, slander'; Mengrel. *čil-at-a* 'misleading, seducing, error'; Svan. *li-č-d-in-e* 'mixing, stirring').²³ Evidently, Georgian *cil-ob-a*, *še-cil-eb-a* 'arguing; rivalry, strife', etc. derive from the same stem.

savturo", 'satyr', is probably a common name for the demoniac creatures which also include the *Sileni*. The tradition incorporated them into the Dionysian escort. The etymology of the term is not known.²⁴ According to Furnée, it may go up to Paleokartvelian **ceṭ-/ṭcaṭ-* or **cœeṭ-/ṭcœeṭ-* stem, which when attached with a suffix formed the term of our immediate concern in the Aegean linguistic domain. Furnée sees the stem in Georgian *ceṭ-i*, *cercceṭ-i* forms ('reckless, thoughtless, rushing headlong').²⁵ The stem may go back to Georgian-Zan **ceṭ-* archetype (Georg. *ceṭ-a* 'a small thick river fish'; Mengr. *ciṭ-u* 'fry, small fish, sprat, fingerling').²⁶ Evidently, stem initially denoted 'hurry up without much thought, senselessly', which later was generalized and became synonymous of 'small river fish' and 'fry' on the one hand and to 'silliness, frivolity' on the other hand. This is how satyrs are pictured in the Greek tradition starting with Hesiodus (fr.123).

tivturo", 'goat', 'satyr', 'tailed monkey'. It can be a *savturo*" stem variant.²⁷ *tivturo*" can also be related to *diqu*-stem found in the term *dithyramb*. I will dwell on these parallels later. If this is true, then *sat-/ṭsit-/tit-/diq-*stem variation can be accepted as the basis for the development of phonetically and semantically similar formatives. If we take into account that *ai|x* was the Aegean word for 'goat', we may assume that the stems concerned referred to properties pertinent to a particular kind of creatures rather than to a goat. Admittedly, satyrs were initially believed to be certain hybrid creatures distinguished for restlessness and recklessness and not goats in particular. Therefore, *tivturo*" equally refers to a goat, a monkey, a satyr

²² PPE, 96.

²³ BZK, 99 ff.

²⁴ DELG, 990.

²⁵ PPE, 94.

²⁶ EDKL, 577.

²⁷ For the overview of the question, cf. WKE, 184.

and Silenus. What attracts attention in case of both *savturo*- and *tivturo*-, is the *-ur* suffix element which Furnée considers parallel to Georgian *-ur* suffix element.²⁸

diquvrambo", a song for the Dionysian festival, is related to the cult in an original way. Its etymology is not known.²⁹ The same ending is found in [*lambo*" 'iambus', *qrivambo*" 'a hymn to glorify Dionysus performed during the procession at the festivals in honor of the god'. #*lambo*" admittedly splits into two elements: *ia-* a yell evidently found in the Greek interjections *ijhv*, *ijai*. and *mb-o*".³⁰ The term of our immediate interest is split in the same way – into *diqu(a)* and *(a)mb-o*" elements. According to Furnée, it is most likely to be synonymous of *tragw/diva* formative 'the song of a goat'.³¹ This leads to the thought that *-mb* is not merely a suffix but a constituent element of the composite with certain semantics. Evidently, it implied the following approximate sense: 'sound, stretching, singing'. If this is true, it can be associated to common-Kartvelian **bam/bm-* stem (Georg. *v-a-b-am*, *ga-bm-a* 'stringing out'; Mengr. *b-um-ap-a*; Laz. *go-v-o-b-u-am* '(I will) string out'; Svan. *li-b-em* 'tying').³² Admittedly, *b~m* substitution is widespread in Kartvelian languages especially in the case of this particular stem: *dambuli*, *gambuli*. Apart from its primary meaning, the stem implies 'stretching' as concerns talking, shouting and singing. It should not be ruled out that *bm/mb* in Pre-Greek language could produce formatives denoting 'singing', 'yelling'.

qivaso", 'a festive procession in honor of a god (mostly Bacchus or Dionysus), noisy mob, cult gathering'. Furnée links it to common Kartvelian **zœw-i* stem.³³ In my opinion, we should rather draw a parallel with Georgian-Zan **bwew* stem (Georg. *buev-a/bveva* 'inviting; visit'; Mengr. *giša-bvi-al-a* 'calling up; inviting; challenging; provoking').³⁴ Evidently, there existed an **bwiw* allophone to the stem. In my opinion, *qivaso*", *qw'sqai* 'feast', *qoivnh* 'feast, party' is semantically closer to this very stem.

qriniva, 'bunch of grapes' in Cretan speech, according to Hesychius. The version of the same stem can most likely be found in words *turniva* 'grape' and *tovrnio*" 'wine'.³⁵ I would refer to common Kartvelian **twer-/tr-* arche-

²⁸ PPE, 94.

²⁹ DELG, 289; WKE, 194, 191.

³⁰ DELG, 453; WKE, 184, 191.

³¹ WKE, 191 ff.

³² EDKL, 88 ff.

³³ PPE, 11.

³⁴ EDKL, 640.

³⁵ WKE, 191.

type³⁶ (Georg. m-tr-av-s, da-v-i-tuer, m-tr-va-l-i ‘makes me drunk, I got drunk, drunk’; Svan. li-tr-e ‘drinking’) to illustrate the links. -in, could correspond to common Kartvelian *-in derivational suffix.

quvrso", ‘thyrsos’, a bacchic staff covered with ivy vines and leaves and topped with a pine cone. Its etymology is not known.³⁷ Its synonym quvsq̄la attested in Homer could be a derivative from the same stem (←*qursq̄la).³⁸ Some scholars attempted to link the formative to the Ugaritic trš ‘must, fizzy new wine’ which itself goes up evidently either to Assyrian šerešu, serāšu, serāš stem ‘wine’,³⁹ or to tuwursa formative ‘bunch of grapes’ found in late Hittite (hieroglyphic Luvian).⁴⁰ It can be a version of the same stem as found in q̄riniva. In this case, common Kartvelian *twer-/tr- can be suggested as the source.

sivkinni", ‘dance of satyrs’. According to Hesychius, the plural Sikanoiν referred to a certain kind of dances. There are attempts to link the word to the hypothetical Thracian-Phrygian source stem and detect its relationship with the stem found in Greek khkiv" (Dor. kakiv") formative ‘fire flame, stream of liquid’.⁴¹ Such etymology is not convincing for the following reasons: a) No reliable Thracian or Phrygian hypothetical source stem has been identified; b) The etymology of Greek khkiv" itself is ambiguous. Furnée noticed its links with Georgian ce>v-a stem ‘dance’; as concerns the formative found in Greek language, he considered it the derivative from the initial eastern Mediterranean *ci>in-i or *cœi>in-i form.⁴² Recently, Fähnrich and Sarjveladze reconstructed Georgian-Zan *cœe>- archetype (Georg. ce>v-a ‘dance’; Mengr. ča>-al-i ‘walking swaying, stamping, in a noisy manner’).⁴³ Georgian ci>an-i/ti>an-i ‘kid’, dialect. ci>in>ila (‘hop-scotch’) and Mengr. čī>in-i ‘giving oneself airs, stretching legs – in dialectical use implies ‘putting on airs’, numbing, turning stiff’ compel me to suggest the existence of Georgian-Zan *ci>an-/*ci>in- archetype.

Kubevlh, ‘great mother’, Rhea-Cybele. A cult spread from Anatolia, presumably, Phrygia. The etymology of the name is not clear. Its affinity with

³⁶ EDKL, 236.

³⁷ DELG, 447.

³⁸ DELG, 448.

³⁹ Hellenosemitica, 187.

⁴⁰ ИЯИ, 902 ff. Ъъю

⁴¹ For the overview of the question see: DEIG, 1003.

⁴² PPE, 88.

⁴³ EDKL, 591 ff.

the Dionysian cult, especially in the orgiastic sphere, was detected already in Antiquity.⁴⁴ Several etymologies of name *Kubevlh* have been suggested:

a) Part of scholars associates it with the name *Kubaba*, which belongs to a deity of Carchemish city, located on the bank of the Euphrates River.⁴⁵ b) Furnée finds it possible to associate the name with the hypothetic Anatolian **kub* stem, which in his opinion could mean ‘rage, madness, turning mad’.⁴⁶ c) Ivane Javakhishvili suggested its relationship with pagan Georgian *Copala*.⁴⁷ At the same time, he did not rule out parallels with *ebel* denoting ‘mother’ in some Caucasian languages.⁴⁸ In my opinion, to identify the meaning of the name, one should first of all closely consider the function of the deity itself. *Cybele* was apparently one of the appellations for ancient Mediterranean Great Mother. Considering the universal and comprehensive essence of the goddess, her name may denote ‘mother of all’. And truly, *Mhvthr* is found in most of her epithets. What is more, it is sometimes intensified with qualifiers that incorporate *pā* ‘all’. *Kubevlh* is presented not only as the creator (mother) of all, but also as the all-nourishing power whose comprehensiveness in fact incorporates the ‘competence’ of the earth, *Gaea* herself.⁴⁹ Having this in mind, I find it acceptable to suggest that the name of the deity implies the senses of either ‘mother, (a person) who brings up, breeds, provides nourishment’ or ‘all, every’. In this connection, close attention should be paid to Georgian-Zan **>web-* (Georg. *>ueb-a*, feed; Mengr. *>uab-u-a*)⁵⁰ on the one hand, and to Georgian-Zan **qovl-* (Georg. *qovl-i/qoveli* ‘all’; Mengr. *qir-i/ir-i* ‘all’; Laz. *ir-i* ‘all’) on the other hand.⁵¹

Undoubtedly, formatives related to wine and winemaking are very important as concerns the analysis of terms associated with Dionysus. Let us consider some of them:

i|bhna – according to Hesychius, Cretans used the term to denote wine. Brown believes the formative originated in Pre-Greek language. Following the opinion of some scholars, Furnée connects it with Georgian-Zan **wenaq-* stem (Georg. *venaq-i* ‘vine, vineyard’, Mengr. *binex-i* ‘vine, vineyard’; Laz.

⁴⁴ RML, II, 1658 ff.

⁴⁵ Cf. DELG, 594.

⁴⁶ WKE, 215.

⁴⁷ Javakhishvili Iv., *The History of Georgian Nation*, I, Tbilisi 1951, 137 ff. (in Georgian).

⁴⁸ Javakhishvili Iv., *Historical and Ethnographical Problems of Georgia, The Caucasus and the Near East*, Tbilisi 1950, 123 (in Georgian).

⁴⁹ Cf. RML, II, 1638 ff.; Burkert W., *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart ... 1977, 276 ff.

⁵⁰ EDKL, 276 ff.

⁵¹ EDKL, 542.

binox-i ‘vine’).⁵² Links between the Kartvelian stem and Indo-European *uein-āg-/*uein-āk dialectal stem admittedly found in hypothetical Slavic *vinjaga were detected long ago. Part of scholars consider it the source for the Georgian-Zan stem⁵³; but in my opinion, despite the specific links between vin- and wen- elements, the Georgian-Zan archetype could be the source for Indo-European *uein-āk dialectal stem itself. Another fact to support the assumption is the *vinac* (Tabula Cortonensis) form found in the latest Etruscan inscription. I suppose the stem passed from the Kartvelian linguistic domain into the Indo-European one, and earlier into the Aegean one. Through the use of the prothetic *i-* element, the glossa *i[b]hna* produces a Pre-Greek formative denoting wine. Having this in mind, the most natural question that comes up concerns the composition of the Georgian-Zan stem itself. If links between the Cretan glossa and the Kartvelian stem are accepted as true, then we should assume that *wenaq-* stem consists of two elements: *wen-* and *-aq*. In Kartvelian languages, where *w/b* interchange is a typical phenomenon, *w* can be replaced by *b* not only in Zan language, but also in Georgian. This may naturally lead to the following questions: what is the origin of *wen-* element itself? Does it reflect the Indo-European stem or is it the Georgian *gwin- stem variant? I will return to these questions below while dwelling on *gwin- stem.

stafuvlh, ‘bunch of grapes’. Its etymology is not known. Furnée, who associates Kartvelian *bœ with Pre-Greek *st*, believes that in this case a parallel can be drawn with *bip-*, *m-bip-e* stems meaning ‘ripe, mature’ that derive from the common Kartvelian *bœ; the scholar also suggests the existence of the hypothetic Pelasgian *bœapul ‘ripe, bunch of ripe grapes’.⁵⁴ In my opinion, it would be more accurate to link the word with Georgian-Zan *stw- archetype (Georg. *stu-el-i* ‘vintage, the season of picking grapes’, *mo-stu-l-eb-a* ‘picking grapes’; Laz. *do-st-u-n* ‘is torn, is torn off’, *ma-stv-a-s* ‘[may it] be torn off’).⁵⁵ It is very realistic to receive *staf-* from *stw-complex, while *-ul* element should imply links with Georgian *-ul* participial suffix.

oino, ‘wine’, is among the most interesting terms. The majority of scholars believe it is presented in many different language families through congeneric stems. Part of scholars suggest that the source for all the stems is Indo-

⁵² VK, 31. Cf. also Brown R.A., Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources, Amsterdam 1985, 61 ff.

⁵³ ДИКЯ, 106 ff.

⁵⁴ PPE, 122.

⁵⁵ EDKL, 402.

European *uei-(*Huei-)⁵⁶. Correspondingly, Georgian *gvino* 'wine' formative that is reconstructed at the common Kartvelian level (Georg. *gvino*; Mengr. *gvin-i*; Laz. *g(v)in-i*; Svan. *gwin-äl*) is also believed to be of Indo-European origin. However, in other scholars' opinion, the starting point is either the earliest Mediterranean or even Kartvelian stem.⁵⁷ According to Chantraine, the stem at first could have entered one of the Indo-European languages in the archaic period and afterwards spread into quite a large group of Indo-European languages.⁵⁸ Walde-Hoffmann in fact have the same opinion.⁵⁹ It looks as if the stem entered different Indo-European languages independently and at different times from a certain source (or sources). Recently, Fähnrich put forward convincing arguments concerning the links between two common Kartvelian stems: **gwin-* and **gun-* (Georg. *gun-v-a* 'bending'; Mengr. *gun-u-a* "id."; Laz. *gun-i* 'hive'; Svan. *u-gwn-a* 'elbow').⁶⁰ These facts imply organic links with Georgian linguistic domain and provide even stronger basis for assuming the South Caucasus as the fatherland of wine.

Linguistic data reveal intrinsic links between the cult of Dionysus and the Pre-Greek world. And one of the basic and most important linguistic components of the latter (at least from the II millennium B.C.) was presumably Kartvelian or quasi-Kartvelian language. This of course does not mean that the Dionysian cult was mechanically borrowed from the Caucasus. Its formation undoubtedly took place in Aegeis, and apart from Georgian components, the development process should certainly involve other components as well (Thracian, Greek, etc.). However, its relationship with Kartvelian language is distinguished for its highly systemic character at the linguistic level and evidently reflects the language environment of the 2nd millennium B.C. Aegeis-Anatolia.⁶¹

⁵⁶ For the review of the question see: ИЯИ, 647 ff. see also ДИКЯ, 78 ff.

⁵⁷ For the review of the question cf. ДИКЯ, 78 ff.

⁵⁸ DELG, 784.

⁵⁹ LEW, II, 794 ff.

⁶⁰ BZK, 90 ff.

⁶¹ About relations between Pre-Greek and Kartvelian see Gordeziani R., Pre-Greek and Kartvelian, Tbilisi 1985 (in Georgian); Gordeziani R., *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, vol. II (in Georgian, to be published in 2007).

Abbreviations

BGE	Furnée E. J., Beiträge zur georgischen Etymologie, Fasz. I, Leuven 1982.
BZK	Fähnrich H., Beiträge zur Kartwelologie, Jena 2005.
DELG	Chantraine P., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, 1-4, Paris 1968-1980.
ДИКЯ	Климов Г. А., Древнейшие индоевропеизмы картвельских языков, Москва 1994.
EDKL	Fähnrich H., Sardjveladze Z., Etymological Dictionary of Kartvelian Languages, Tbilisi 2002 ² (in Georgian).
ИЯИ	Гамкрелидзе Т. В., Иванов В. В., Индоевропейский язык и Индоевропейцы, Тбилиси 1984.
PPE	Furnée E. J., Paläokartvelisch – pelasgische Einflüsse in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Leiden 1986.
WKE	Furnée E.J., Die wichtigsten konsonatischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen, Den Haag 1972.
ЭСКЯ	Климов Г. А., Этимологический словарь картвельских языков, Москва 1964.
VK	Furnée E. J., Vorgriechisch-Kartvelisches, Leiden 1979.
LEW	Walde A., Hofmann J.B., Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3Bde. Heidelberg 1938-1956.
RML	Roscher W.H., Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Leipzig 1884-1937.
DNP	Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Hrsg. Cancik H., Schndneider H., Bd. 1-15, 1996-2003.

Alessandro Grilli (Pisa)

EROISMO COMICO E LOTTA POLITICA: CONSIDERAZIONI DIACRONICHE SU ALCUNE DINAMICHE STRUTTURALI

1. Nato come adattamento stilizzato di un rito collettivo, trasferito dalle pratiche del culto rurale al centro della vita istituzionale della *polis*, non sorprende che il teatro ateniese abbia manifestato fin dai suoi primi passi, ponendosi come momento essenziale di riflessione della collettività su se stessa, una spiccata vocazione politica. Fra le prime risposte a questa vocazione (attestata fin dai primi anni del V secolo a.C.,¹ e testimoniata per noi dai *Persiani* di Eschilo,² prima e unica tragedia greca superstita esplicitamente incentrata su un problema di immediata attualità), l'opera di Aristofane sembra definire una volta per tutte le coordinate espressive dell'aggressione politica nella tradizione occidentale. Non sappiamo quanto di specificamente aristofaneo ci sia nelle situazioni delle sue undici commedie conservate – visto che esse sono altresì tutto quanto ci resta del teatro comico più antico. Quel che è certo è che l'intera commedia ateniese del V secolo a.C. è stata commedia politica, come *ad abundantiam* rivelano i frammenti degli autori contemporanei di Aristofane. La componente politica viene assunta anche nelle più antiche teorizzazioni storico-letterarie, risalenti alla prima età ellenistica, come il tratto determinante dell'*archaia*. Ed è proprio a causa dell'aderenza all'attualità extratestuale che la commedia attica di epoca

¹ Fra le tragedie del poeta Frinico, tutte perdute, erano ispirate all'attualità politica la *Presa di Mileto*, che metteva in scena fatti del 494 a.C. con ogni probabilità a breve intervallo; e le *Fenicie*, presumibilmente dedicate alla sconfitta persiana nella seconda guerra contro i Greci. Un terzo dramma storico di Frinico, *I Persiani*, è testimoniato in modo confuso e il titolo potrebbe essere solo una variante del precedente.

² Rappresentati nel 472 a.C., otto anni dopo la vittoria greca a Salamina.

classica diviene presto repertorio di difficile fruizione, subordinato al sussidio erudito una volta sottratto al suo contesto originario.

Se la componente politica è senz'altro il tratto più vistosamente peculiare della commedia antica, tutt'altro che uniformi sono le modalità del suo adattamento, in ciascun dramma, alle dinamiche del genere. Nello stesso *corpus* di Aristofane, per dire, l'innegabile politicità di tutte le commedie è declinata nei modi più diversi: in *Acarnesi*, *Cavalieri*, *Pace* e *Lisistrata*, ad esempio, la commedia apporta in modo diretto, senza mezzi termini, il proprio contributo al dibattito politico in corso, asserendo con il crisma perentorio della drammaturgia la preferibilità della pace alla guerra o denunciando il carattere inaffidabile dei *leader*. *Uccelli*, *Rane*, *Ecclesiazuse* e *Pluto*, invece, con loro programma di palingenesi o di radicale riforma dello Stato o dell'economia, non fanno altro che affrontare il problema politico in una prospettiva di maggiore ampiezza. Anche nelle altre commedie l'apparente studio di carattere non è altro che uno strumento, un modo di piegare l'esplorazione sociologica all'analisi politica: la condanna delle avanguardie intellettuali (*Nuvole*) o dell'ipertrofico apparato giudiziario ateniese (*Vespe*) vanno intese infatti come capitoli di un discorso ininterrotto sulle dinamiche della vita associata, un discorso che non viene meno neanche quando il fuoco dell'interesse sembra ricondotto entro il più limitato orizzonte della critica letteraria (*Tesmofoziause*): parlare di tragedia e di poesia, per Aristofane, è ancora una volta un fatto politico, perché il teatro è già di suo, con dignità pari rispetto a spazi istituzionali come consigli e assemblee, un luogo naturalmente deputato alla riflessione politica.

Da questo, un piccolo paradosso: Aristofane parla di politica anche quando sembra parlare d'altro, anche quando i riferimenti all'attualità sono più coperti e indiretti – il contesto, le sue basi materiali, gli stessi meccanismi del genere comico (lo vedremo fra poco) sono congegnati *ad hoc* per l'espressione di un discorso politico. Spariti questi elementi, nella civiltà dello spettacolo del nostro tempo, ad esempio, il rischio è quello di un indebolimento strutturale, di una progressiva afasia dello spettacolo (con isole di felice eccezione, come gli anni Settanta e in genere il teatro di Dario Fo) rispetto alla dimensione politica. Lo vedremo alla fine con una piccola *sugkrisis* che potrà sembrare azzardata, ma che mostra in che modo, se il teatro di Aristofane è politico anche quando parla di nuvole e di uccelli, i nostri spettacoli stentano ad esserlo anche quando parlano del Presidente del Consiglio.

2. Sarà il caso di scendere un po' nello specifico: un testo cruciale per la comprensione della commedia di Aristofane come teatro politico è proprio uno di quelli in cui natura e misura della componente politica sono state più soggette a discussione: gli *Uccelli*. La storia della sua interpretazione si

presenta infatti decisamente polarizzata: la tradizione più illustre e più antica vede in questa commedia il compimento di un sogno di evasione, e sottolinea a preferenza di ogni altra la componente di idealità rarefatta entro cui avviene la realizzazione dell'utopia.³ Altri studiosi hanno invece rivendicato a vario titolo, con argomenti a volte anche curiosamente disparati, l'esistenza e la rilevanza di una dimensione politica nel testo. Per dirla con l'autore di *Sei lezioni sulla storia*, come l'opera storiografica, anche la critica letteraria dice di più dell'epoca in cui è scritta che di quella *su cui* è scritta. Carr cita ad esempio la storia greca di Grote e la storia romana di Mommsen, in cui ogni lettore avvertito è in grado di riconoscere, dietro all'esaltazione delle figure rispettivamente di Pericle e di Cesare, l'impronta della borghesia progressista inglese in opposizione al disorientamento dei liberali tedeschi alla ricerca, dopo "le umiliazioni della Rivoluzione tedesca del 1848-49", dell'ennesimo 'uomo forte'.⁴ Applicato agli *Uccelli*, il ragionamento permette di capire come mai gli esponenti più di spicco della lettura 'evasiva' e disimpegnata di questa commedia si siano trovati ad attraversare alcuni dei momenti più travagliati della storia del continente o del pianeta. Darò tre esempi: nel 1809, quando A.W. von Schlegel esplicita, nelle sue *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, l'interpretazione degli *Uccelli* come parabola di evasione nel mondo della fantasia, Napoleone era al culmine del suo programma di espansione, e aveva trasformato i connotati politici del continente con successi costati decine di migliaia di vite e riportati in primo luogo sui campi di battaglia italiani e tedeschi. Nel 1933 esce invece a Oxford la monografia su Aristofane di Gilbert Murray, *Regius Professor* di greco, ellenista famoso e ancor più famoso esponente dei movimenti pacifisti nati dal trauma della Grande guerra. È un dato che torna facilmente alla memoria quando nelle sue pagine sugli *Uccelli* si legge che quella commedia è soprattutto "an escape from worry and the sordidness of life, away into the land of sky and clouds and poetry".⁵ Nel 1954, infine, quando l'interpretazione degli *Uccelli* come vicenda di evasione viene riproposta in un articolo di E.M. Blaicklock,⁶ il ricordo della II guerra mondiale è vivo e doloroso, e l'autore ne è a tal punto influenzato da esplicitare nel sottotitolo la radice autobiografica della sua

³ Inaugurata da A.W. Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, I, Heidelberg, Mohr und Zimmer 1809.

⁴ E.H. Carr, *What Is History?*, London, Macmillan 1961, trad. it. *Sei lezioni sulla storia*, Torino, Einaudi 1966, 41-42.

⁵ G. Murray, *Aristophanes. A Study*, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1933, 135 sgg.

⁶ E.M. Blaicklock, *Walking Away from the News. An Autobiographical Interpretation of Aristophanes' Birds*, "Greece and Rome", n.s. 1, 1954, 98-111. L'articolo deriva peraltro da una conferenza tenuta alla Classical Association of Otago a Dunedin, in Nuova Zelanda, già nel novembre 1949.

lettura. Per Blacklock "[i]t is one of the uses of literature to enable men and women to escape [ancora la stessa parola chiave] from the pains of here and now and to transport themselves imaginatively into happier times and places".⁷ Chi di politica ne ha vista troppa nella vita reale, insomma, e in particolare ha avuto modo di apprezzarne gli effetti distruttivi, tende a valorizzare negli *Uccelli* il disimpegno, e a vedere nella sua vicenda la realizzazione di quella pace indisturbata esperibile solo nella fantasia.

Per quanto autorevoli, le voci che hanno ridimensionato le componenti politiche degli *Uccelli* sono comunque minoritarie rispetto a quelle di chi ha preferito invece metterle in rilievo. Per continuare l'ipotesi metadiscorsiva, si potrebbe osservare che all'infiltrarsi delle letture politiche corrisponde sul piano della storia il diradamento, l'estromissione della politica dal campo dell'attività intellettuale in senso lato. La politica è ormai affare dei professionisti: i professori diventano sempre più professori (mi ci metto anch'io), sicché la politica di Aristofane diventa tanto più interessante e cospicua quanto meno si riesce a sentire il mondo esterno, quanto più lontane si fanno le urgenze di una presa di posizione sul campo. Ma il discorso andrebbe forse ulteriormente precisato distinguendo, anche fra i sostenitori della politicità degli *Uccelli*, un approccio erudito da uno più propriamente letterario. Per chi interpreta, politico può voler dire molte cose diverse; in compenso lo sguardo erudito si mantiene costante nel tempo, indifferente a quello che avviene fuori dalle biblioteche. In effetti la ricerca antiquaria del XIX secolo non è diversa, per problemi e metodi, da molti studi anche recentissimi, e tende a ricondurre la politicità degli *Uccelli* alle allusioni più o meno esplicite a fatti o personaggi dell'Atene classica.⁸ Contrariamente alla prassi di Aristofane, gli *Uccelli* sembrano evitare le allusioni dirette,⁹ ma il testo si presta in più punti, di struttura o di dettaglio, al disvelamento di rimandi in qualche misura trasparenti alla realtà politica ateniese del 414 a.C. Al centro di queste letture è ovviamente il rispecchiamento, nella progettata utopia di deduzione coloniale, della spedizione imperialistica in Sicilia partita da Atene pochi mesi prima della rappresentazione del dramma. Su questa somiglianza di

⁷ *Ibid.* 104.

⁸ La tendenza è inaugurata da J.W. Süvern, *Über Aristophanes' Vögel*, (1827), Berlin, Dümmler, 1830 e prosegue, con affinamenti metodologici di non poco momento, fino a M.J. Vickers, *Alcibiades on Stage: Aristophanes' Birds*, "Historia", 38, 1989, 267-299 e oltre.

⁹ Si è molto discusso se ricondurre questa apparente reticenza alle restrizioni imposte da un presunto decreto di Siracosiso, testimoniato solo dallo scolio antico al v. 1297 degli *Uccelli*. Con la sua palese contraddizione del presunto decreto, l'evidenza documentaria lascia piuttosto credere a un'informazione imprecisa o fraintesa.

fondo, gli studiosi hanno cercato corrispondenze di dettaglio,¹⁰ in ossequio a una concezione della commedia antica che vede in essa qualcosa di molto simile a un fossile, a una lastra fotografica – a un oggetto magicamente impregnato di una specifica aria di Atene e capace perciò di rivelarla a partire da un sedimento leggibile come traccia meccanica.¹¹ Simili ricerche cominciano a farsi più sfumate con un lavoro di J. Dalfen,¹² che non insiste tanto sui richiami puntuali all'attualità politica quanto sull'omogeneità fra la strategia persuasiva di Pisetero e quella della demagogia democratica fautrice delle scelte imperialistiche di Atene. Del resto già qualche anno prima G. Paduano aveva intuito che la radice della prospettiva politica negli *Uccelli* non è tanto una questione di referenti puntuali quanto di progetto complessivo, e va individuata pertanto nella stessa "ipotesi comprensiva di rinnovamento che viene adombrata nella fondazione di *Nefelokkygia*".¹³ Paduano non contesta la formulazione della lettura escapistica: si limita a osservare che anche un'utopia di evasione non è altro che un progetto politico fondato sul radicale rifiuto della città nella sua forma storica.

La mia posizione si colloca sulla stessa linea, ma è più radicale nel sostenere che la politicità degli *Uccelli* dipende, prima ancora che dal tema o dalla natura fondamentalmente politica del progetto utopico, dalle coordinate entro cui si colloca lo scontro di forze che dà luogo al dramma. Come ho avuto modo di argomentare più ampiamente,¹⁴ la vicenda degli *Uccelli* si configura come il capovolgimento carnascialesco di uno stato di frustrazione individuale, una frustrazione che nasce da uno scontro dell'io con la collettività, la quale è rappresentata nel testo, in modo subliminale ma nettissimo, come un superindividuo dalle esigenze urgenti e insaziabili. La città, di cui il cittadino non può non sentirsi parte integrante,¹⁵ è quindi al

¹⁰ Ad esempio B. Katz, *The Birds of Aristophanes and Politics*, "Athenaeum", 54, 1976, 353-381 esplora l'ipotesi che l'ambasceria dei tre dei di *Uccelli* 1565 sgg. sia una rappresentazione parodica della terna di generali responsabili della spedizione in Sicilia (Nicia, Alcibiade e Lamaco).

¹¹ La maggior parte degli studiosi di Aristofane operano peraltro con la piena consapevolezza di quanto fluttuanti e imprevedibili sono i modi della trasformazione parodica – una consapevolezza assai minore ad esempio in molti studi storici (un esempio cospicuo: V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes. A Sociology of Old Attic Comedy*, Oxford 1951; tr. it. *L'Atene di Aristofane. Studio sociologico della commedia attica antica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia 1957).

¹² J. Dalfen, *Politik und Utopie in den Vögeln des Aristophanes. Zu Ar., Vögel 451-638*, "Bollettino dell'Istituto di Filologia Greca dell'Università di Padova", 2, 1975, 268-285.

¹³ G. Paduano, *La città degli uccelli e le ambivalenze del nuovo sistema etico-politico*, "Studi classici e orientali", 22, 1973, 115-144 (qui p. 116).

¹⁴ A. Grilli, *Del falso in bilancio come chiave del successo*, saggio introduttivo a Aristofane, *Gli uccelli*, Milano, BUR, 2006, 7-108, in particolare 7-41.

¹⁵ Lo dimostra l'ironia contro i cittadini di origine straniera (v. 10, contro Esecestide; v. 31, contro Saca).

tempo stesso il suo più pericoloso nemico *personale* (nel senso che essa è una persona in concorrenza con lui come persona).

La posizione dei protagonisti è infatti inizialmente sospesa fra l'orgoglio civico per l'esuberanza imperialistica di Atene,¹⁶ di cui ci si continua a sentir parte, e il timore delle esazioni che a questa esuberanza inevitabilmente si collegano.¹⁷

L'impennata eroica degli *Uccelli*, che è di fatto il prototipo dell'eroismo comico tipico di Aristofane,¹⁸ scaturisce appunto dal capovolgimento dell'asimmetria iniziale: se l'individuo è dapprima vittima di uno scontro che lo oppone al gruppo, cioè a questa Città-Stato che è al tempo stesso mondo e individuo, la soluzione più efficace coinciderà con l'espansione dell'io individuale che si farà Stato esso stesso. L'eroe di Aristofane è un individuo che trova nell'energia del desiderio, in cui la commedia antica riconosce con perspicacia la sola vera forza propria dell'individuo, la chiave per ridisegnare

¹⁶ Le battute dei due vecchi ateniesi sono costellate di indizi: per loro Atene è, con sapida perifrasi, la città "delle triremi belle" (v. 108), cioè la capitale dell'impero marittimo (cfr. anche v. 1204); il progetto utopico di Pisetero viene equiparato all'assedio di Melo (v. 186), uno degli episodi più crudi della politica estera ateniese, così come le sue trovate sovrapazano l'abilità strategica del generale Nicia (vv. 362-363). Analogamente l'oriente è ridotto a memoria della guerra vinta sui Persiani (v. 278). Non sorprende pertanto che la fondazione dello stato degli uccelli sia di fatto concomitante a un progetto di guerra (sacra, contro gli dei), come mostra il riferimento agli avvisi di mobilitazione (v. 450). Il clima generale rispecchia proprio quello della madrepatria, dove, come rimarca il coro, bastano requisiti minimi per fare una brillante carriera militare (vv. 798-800, contro Diitrefe).

¹⁷ Concretamente, il carattere esigente della città si traduce in odio delle tasse e paura delle multe: nel primo caso le stoccatine sono esplicite (cfr. v. 36) oppure investono il lusso dei funzionari, dietro al quale il cittadino vede lo sperpero di risorse di sua competenza (cfr. ad esempio v. 1022, sull'abbigliamento eccessivo dell'Ispttore); nel secondo, la paura si articola seguendo i vari aspetti della prassi giudiziaria: si esecrano direttamente i tribunali (v. 41; 110) oppure i sicofanti, cioè gli individui che, stante l'inesistenza della procedura d'ufficio nel diritto attico, si costituivano parte civile e venivano gratificati in caso di condanna degli imputati (contro i delatori si va dall'irrisone nominale, ad esempio al v. 153 contro Opunzio; oppure alla deplorazione degli effetti, come nel caso di Callia salassato dalle continue accuse, v. 285; ma le ragioni di opportunismo personale del sicofante sono analiticamente esplorate in una delle scene più gustose del dramma, vv. 1410 sgg.).

La tensione fra le due componenti dell'orgoglio e del disagio di appartenenza affiora in più punti del testo: al v. 124 la grandezza oggettiva di Atene viene esplicitamente considerata incompatibile con il benessere soggettivo dell'individuo; ma anche il nesso implicito nella battuta dei vv. 145-147 lascia intendere che la soddisfazione di far parte di una collettività esuberante è solo la controparte luminosa di un sicuro disagio personale. Questo spiega l'istinto della fortificazione, che è di fatto al centro della vicenda e che si legge anche tra le righe in battute extratematiche, come quella del v. 293, sui Cari che vivono sulle creste "per ragioni di sicurezza".

¹⁸ Sulla base del modello delineato da C.H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1964.

il proprio mondo, un mondo perfettamente adeguato ai suoi bisogni perché perfettamente coincidente con il suo profilo.

In sintesi: la politicità del teatro di Aristofane non è un fatto di contenuti, ma di forme – una politicità ‘di posizione’, in qualche modo. Posizione che traduce gli estremi dello scontro primordiale ‘io-altro’ nel codice del genere: il ruolo eroico è un vero e proprio distillato dell’individualismo implicito nell’‘io’, mentre l’‘altro’ (che è ‘chiunque-altro’, ovvero ‘tutti-gli-altri’) diventa facilmente, in chiave politica, l’ipostasi del gruppo che schiaccia l’individuo, il ‘mondo-com’è’, vincolato alla limitazione delle parti, cioè alla negazione del desiderio infinito di ciascuna.¹⁹

Che di fatto l’energia politica di Aristofane derivi più da uno scontro di posizione che da un reale confronto di posizioni mi sembra confermato dalla semantica degli *Uccelli*, dove la trasformazione del vecchio in nuovo avviene all’insegna di una sostanziale continuità, e i soli reali cambiamenti riguardano non gli enti ma le loro relazioni e posizioni nel sistema. Questo si intuisce ad esempio da una replica di Pisetero i cui impliciti, a mio giudizio, non sono stati adeguatamente messi in evidenza: "Gli uccelli sono *gli dei degli uomini*, adesso. A loro devono fare sacrifici, e a Zeus basta, per Zeus!" (vv. 1236-1237): la rivoluzione di Pisetero non cambia la sostanza degli oggetti, ma le loro relazioni. Gli dei restano dei (come mostra il giuramento che ne conferma le funzioni), ma non sono più gli "dei degli uomini", cioè sono privi delle prerogative relazionali che procuravano loro sacrifici e offerte. Il merito del discorso non viene nemmeno affrontato, né in termini teologici né in termini politici – semplicemente l’eroe, tuttora uomo ma *anche* uccello fra gli uccelli e loro capo, si limita a occupare la *posizione* che garantiva agli dei tutti i vantaggi.

3. Nel marzo 2006, con una scelta strategica e discussa della data, a ridosso delle elezioni politiche del 9-10 aprile, è uscito nelle sale italiane l’ultimo film di Nanni Moretti, *Il caimano*. Un film politico come pochi altri, o meglio un metafilm, che tematizza la difficoltà/impossibilità di fare un film su Berlusconi Presidente del Consiglio. Proprio pochi mesi prima la Schiwago Film, una casa di produzione tedesca di cinema indipendente, aveva presentato alla Berlinale 2006 un film a basso costo diretto da Jan Henrik Stahlberg²⁰. Il film, sceneggiato da Stahlberg e dalla sua compagna

¹⁹ La nozione di desiderio infinito deriva dalla teoria di I. Matte Blanco, *The Unconscious as Infinite Sets. An Essay in Bi-Logic*, London, Duckworth 1975, trad. it. *L’inconscio come insieme infiniti. Saggio sulla bi-logica*, trad. it. Torino, Einaudi 1981².

²⁰ Al suo secondo film come regista, Stahlberg (nato nel 1970) è stato attivo in precedenza soprattutto come attore TV. Una filmografia selettiva nel *carnet de presse* pubblicato nel sito ufficiale del film (<http://www.byebyeberlusconi.de>), 4; dati più completi in <http://www.imdb.com>.

italiana Lucia Chiarla, e girato in Italia con attori italiani, era stato presentato sia col titolo originale (*Buonanotte Topolino!*) che con quello per la distribuzione internazionale, meno sottile, va da sé, ma utilmente inequivocabile: *Bye Bye, Berlusconi!* Un giudizio d'insieme? In estrema sintesi: un film politico come pochi altri, o meglio un metafilm, che tematizza la difficoltà/impossibilità di fare un film su Berlusconi Presidente del Consiglio...

Se qualcuno pensa che io stia ipotizzando un plagio in uno dei due sensi, sbaglia: chi ha visto entrambi i film (non molti, da noi, visto che *Buonanotte Topolino!* non ha avuto una regolare distribuzione ed è stato ignorato stranamente anche da molti dei circuiti cinefili di solito attenti alla promozione delle pellicole più rare o coraggiose) sa che, al di là dell'idea di fondo, tutti i dettagli di produzione, sceneggiatura, regia rivelano la più completa indipendenza dei due progetti. Com'è possibile allora che i due film si possano riassumere con una stessa frase, decisamente molto meno ovvia dell'onnipresente "lui incontra lei"?²¹ È proprio questo il punto su cui vale la pena di riflettere, e che mi ha spinto a questa bizzarra divagazione. Due sono gli elementi che sarei incline a considerare significativi: da un lato l'urgenza espressiva, che fa sì che nello stesso momento due autori non accomunati nemmeno dalla nazionalità scelgano di concentrarsi sulla figura dominante della politica italiana dell'ultimo quinquennio; dall'altro, e direttamente proporzionale a quell'urgenza espressiva, la difficoltà con cui essa si scontra al momento della realizzazione. In entrambi i casi il film sceglie di focalizzarsi proprio su dinamiche e conseguenze di questa difficoltà di espressione: Moretti attribuisce l'istanza critica a una giovane sceneggiatrice, una ragazza dura e pura che si vede approvare il progetto di un film su Berlusconi più che altro per equivoco. Il produttore, dapprima coinvolto suo malgrado poi sempre più convinto del progetto, reagisce con forza crescente a ogni incidente di percorso investendo sempre più sul film, in termini sia materiali che umani. Stahlberg racconta invece di essere arrivato alla cornice metanarrativa quasi per caso, dopo che il consulente legale aveva suggerito una strategia di straniamento per evitare possibili difficoltà giudiziarie.²² La soluzione è quella della farsa, con un travestimento appena opacizzato sul piano onomastico che permette la messa in scena di Berlusconi-Topolone, sindaco di Topolonia, uomo d'affari corrotto ma popolare grazie al successo

²¹ Alludo a un divertente aneddoto della biografia di Billy Wilder, che aveva più volte visto in sogno la storia ideale per un film, che però gli sfuggiva sempre al risveglio. Col taccuino a portata di mano, una volta cercò di annotare l'idea geniale durante la notte, e al risveglio trovò l'illuminante appunto: "Lui incontra lei". È da vedere se l'aneddoto la dice più lunga sulle strutture del cinema o del sogno...

²² Il racconto è a p. 7 del *carnet de presse* citato.

della volgarissima Tele Anguria, che viene rapito da una banda sovversiva e sottoposto a un processo di fronte a un tribunale popolare; la giuria è lo stesso popolo della rete, che appunto via internet viene chiamato a esprimere il proprio verdetto.

In entrambi i casi, lo spostamento metanarrativo serve ad accentuare un dato cruciale, e cioè il conflitto paradossale fra pervasività e ineffabilità di uno stesso oggetto: la presenza di Berlusconi al potere è più che semplicemente ingombrante, per la coscienza critica del cittadino – è un ostacolo alla sua stessa dicibilità. L'ipotesi più ovvia, infatti, cioè che la rappresentazione delle difficoltà di fare un film su Berlusconi rifletta una semplice paura del potere, non mi sembra affatto convincente. Un argomento del genere definirebbe meglio le mancate critiche alla mafia, il cui potere si fonda appunto sull'inibizione della denuncia esplicita (mi limito a rimandare a *I cento passi*). Nel caso di Berlusconi, invece, il problema non sta tanto nei limiti posti alla libertà di parola; il problema è a monte, e investe strutturalmente la stessa dimensione linguistica, comunicativa del discorso politico. Con Berlusconi il punto è l'ottundimento dello scarto differenziale da cui dipende (Saussure *docet*) ogni possibilità di significazione. La pervasività del personaggio politico è il dato quantitativamente e qualitativamente di maggior rilievo: nel film di Moretti esso è segnalata dalla molteplicità eterogenea dei contesti dove il Caimano ha le mani in pasta; in quello di Stahlberg, più semplicemente, dall'efficacia ubiqua e ipnotica di Tele Anguria. Proprio questa pervasività è tale da non permettere nemmeno le forme minimali della contrapposizione. Al personaggio Berlusconi è riuscito nientemeno che il progetto eroico del protagonista degli *Uccelli*: abbattere la barriera identitaria fra se stesso e il mondo, in modo da precludere *a priori* ogni presa di coscienza alternativa. Un 'eroe' che ha mangiato il mondo, che è diventato il mondo, è difficile infatti anche solo concettualizzarlo: se lui è tutto, al di fuori di lui non c'è spazio per nient'altro – e proprio questa è la dinamica cui i nostri due film, con la pesantezza implicita nella scelta metadiscorsiva, cercano di dare voce. Ma si tratta comunque di una voce sommessa – garbata, ironica, graffiante quanto si vuole, ma a tutti gli effetti più vicina al silenzio che al grido di denuncia. Deboli, dissanguati, poco definiti (lo si vede soprattutto nel film di Stahlberg) i portatori dell'istanza positiva non sono mai individui determinati, in ogni senso. Dalla parte dei buoni sta una collettività inarticolata che aspira ma non desidera. Una collettività di cui fa parte (col ruolo del 'raggio di sole' ottimista, in un film dove si ride per non piangere) anche il figlio di Topolone, che chissà perché odia suo padre e non perde occasione per sabotarlo o dissociarsi. Sempre, però, curiosamente, senza dire una parola. Nessuna sorpresa che alla fine tutta la *troupe* degli idealisti finisca dispersa in una nuvoletta di afasia.

4. Un'ipotesi possibile, facilitata dalla familiarità con il teatro di Aristofane: l'afasia è il risultato dell'impossibilità di tradurre una situazione estrema (pervasività del nemico e suo successo nella strategia di confondere i confini io/altro) in una chiara dinamica di conflitto. Possiamo, una volta rotti i tabù delle divaricazioni eccessive, permetterci una piccola verifica: anche Aristofane, agli inizi della sua carriera, si è confrontato con l'urgenza di attaccare il leader democratico Cleone, un uomo politico dalla popolarità debordante e pervasiva da cui erano state ispirate molte scelte di Atene agli inizi della guerra del Peloponneso. Che si trattasse di una figura ubiqua è chiaro non solo dall'insistenza pressoché ossessiva, nell'opera di Aristofane, degli strali da cui Cleone fu bersagliato finché visse, ma soprattutto dalla sua rappresentazione nella commedia 'monografica' del 424, i *Cavalieri*, in cui Cleone viene adombrato nella figura di un temibile occhiuto onnipotente servitore di Demo (l'allegoria del popolo). In una prospettiva come quella di Aristofane, la contrapposizione a un nemico pervasivo sì ma precisamente individuato si realizza attraverso la contrapposizione del mostro non a una collettività di benintenzionati (che infatti si limitano a ideare-creare il golem del Salsicciaio, e poi a lasciarlo agire), ma a un individuo altrettanto netto e mostruoso nell'esibizione delle sue urgenze di soddisfacimento privato. Il punto del confronto è il carattere essenziale della dimensione individuale nella rappresentazione dello scontro: in virtù delle energie profonde che esso è in grado di mobilitare nel destinatario, grazie agli automatismi identificativi del genere, l'individualismo comico è il solo piede di porco capace di scardassare un sistema fondato sul torpore oppiaceo indotto dalla pervasività della propaganda nemica. Contro il Paflagone, come contro Berlusconi, non c'è gruppo che tenga: di fronte a un individuo malvagio, anche se esteso quanto un mondo, o forse *soprattutto se* esteso quanto un mondo, è necessaria la forza non di un mondo, ma di *un altro individuo* disposto a prestare l'energia della sua consistenza individuale a un progetto di rinnovamento valido per tutti.

Ketevan Gurtschiani (Tbilisi)

GEORGISCHE VERSIONEN DER POLYPHEMGESCHICHTE

*Herrn Professor Richard Klein in dankbarer
Erinnerung gewidmet*

Die Geschichte von der Blendung eines einäugigen Riesen, der von einem schlaun Menschen überlistet wird, ist in vielen verschiedenen Kulturen überliefert. Die älteste literarische Umsetzung dieses Stoffes liegt bei Homer, im 9. Buch der *Odyssee* vor. In dieser Geschichte treffen sich Odysseus und der Kyklops Polyphem und Odysseus zeigt sich von seiner markantesten Seite: er rettet sich mit Hilfe seiner Intelligenz. Der Polyphem-Mythos wurde im alten Griechenland viel behandelt und es gab mehrere Versionen: es sind neben Homer eine reiche ikonographische Tradition sowie die späteren satyrischen bzw. komischen Gestaltungen dieses Mythos vorhanden.¹

Außerhalb von Griechenland findet man die sogenannte Polyphemsage, wie bereits erwähnt, in verschiedenen Ländern von Finnland bis Afrika. Diese Geschichten sind viel später anzusetzen als die homerische Episode. Die älteste (gemeint sind nicht-antike Auffassungen des Motivs) literarische Bearbeitung liegt bei Firdowsi in *Shahname* vor (ca. 980-1010). Dann kommt die dritte Reise von Sindbad aus "Arabischen Nächten", die europäische Version in Dolophatos (XII. Jh.) und die vielleicht meist erforschte türkische Geschichte von Tepegöz, die außer Folklore auch in literarischer Bearbeitung vorliegt (Dede Korkut, XIII Jh.).

¹ Erste Quelle: *Odyssee* 9. 169 ff. Polyphemgeschichte wird in späterer Tradition aufgegriffen: Euripides, *Kyklops*. Epicharmis (CGF 1 fr. 81-83), Kratinos (CAF 1fr. 135-50) usw. Die friedlichen Kyklopen sind bezeugt bei Hesiod, *Theogonie*, 139 ff., Apollodoros I. 2,1, Euripides, *Alkestis*. 5, Orph. Fr. 178-80 (Kern), Ap. Rh. 1.510, 730, Kallimachos dian. 46-97, Cic. Div. 2.1943-44, Verg. Aen. 8.418-53 usw.

Als erster hat einige von diesen Geschichten im XIX Jahrhundert W. Grimm gesammelt,² dann spürte O. Hackman 221 Versionen auf,³ später kamen noch einige Sammlungen dazu. Bei L. Röhrich⁴ gibt es eine ausführliche Bibliographie über die Erforschung von verschiedenen Versionen. Das geographische Areal der Verbreitung umfaßt mittlerweile auch Afrika. Ähnliche Geschichten gibt es auch im Kaukasus.

Die georgische Mythologie ist in dieser Hinsicht eigenartig und interessant, weil in georgischer Volkstradition nicht nur Geschichten mit der gleichen Episodensequenz vorkommen, sondern auch Parallelgestalten zu vielfältigen Kyklopen auftauchen. Also, es besteht eine Verbindung nicht nur mit der Geschichte des Polyphem, sondern auch mit allen Kyklopen.⁵

In diesem Fall ist das Anliegen dieses Aufsatzes alle bekannten Geschichten und Episoden mit dem Polyphem-Motiv zusammenzustellen, die in georgischer Überlieferung bewahrt sind. Bis jetzt waren nur einige Episoden bekannt und es bedarf einer Vervollständigung.

Die kaukasischen und darunter georgischen Polyphemgeschichten sind für den westlichen Leser von O. Hackman⁶ unter den Nummern 110 und 111 und von J. G. Frazer, in der Loeb Ausgabe der *Bibliothek* von Apollodorus unter den Nummern 32, 33, 34 bekannt.⁷ Von diesen drei frazerianischen Versionen ist Nummer 33 die vollständigste georgische (mingrelische) Version (sie fällt mit Nr.110 bei Hackman zusammen, aber Frazer bietet eine ausführlichere Erzählung), die Nummer 32 ist ein armenisches Märchen, das aber im Süden

² Die Sage von Polyphem, in: Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissensch. zu Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1857.

³ Hackman O., Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung, Helsingfors 1904.

⁴ Röhrich L., Mittelalterliche Redaktionen des Polyphem-Märchens, in: *Fabula* 5, 1962.

⁵ Es ist nichts Neues, wenn ich sage, dass das, was in allen Erzählungen in verschiedenen Mythologien grundsätzlich gleich bleibt, die Gestalt vom Monster ist. Das Monster verkörpert das Unzivilisierte, das Kulturlose und Gesetzlose. Interessanterweise haben die griechischen und kaukasischen Riesen noch ein weiteres Charakteristikum: sie werden widersprüchlich geschildert. Neben der berühmten Sage aus der *Odyssee* gibt es bereits in der Antike eine weit verbreitete Vorstellung von Kyklopen, die sehr vielfältig und manchmal widersprüchlich ist: Sie werden einerseits als friedliche Schmiede und Bauarbeiter, als Helfer des Zeus, andererseits als gewalttätige Menchenfresser geschildert. Polyphemus, der Riese mit einem Auge, ist einer dieser Kyklopen, mindestens bei Homer und nach Homer. Im Aufsatz: Polyphem und Devi: *Geschichten von kannibalistischen Riesen in altgriechischer und georgischer Tradition* (Stephanos. Tribute volume for Walter Puchner. *Athen. Mai 2007*, 69-77) habe ich versucht, diese Parallele aufzuzeigen und einige der schwierigen Fragen der Mythen- und Literaturforschung um Homers *Odyssee* zu klären, nämlich, wie es kommt, daß einst friedliche Kyklopen mit Polyphem in der *Odyssee* verbunden sind? Warum haben sie einerseits die besondere Gnade der Götter und andererseits warum werden sie als wilde Wesen beschrieben? Und wofür ist die georgische Überlieferung aufschlussreich?

⁶ Hackman O., op. cit.

⁷ Frazer J. G., Apollodorus, vol. 2, London 1921.

Georgiens, in Achalziche aufgeschrieben wurde und laut Frazer von Armeniern aus der Türkei mitgebracht worden sein.⁸ Nummer 34 ist eine ossetische Erzählung aus dem Nordkaukasus.

Es gibt eine kurze Abhandlung von M. Tschikowani in georgischer Sprache, in der die meisten Episoden aus Heldenepos und Märchen zusammengestellt sind, die gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit Polyphemgeschichte aufweisen.⁹ Doch fehlt bei ihm, was Hackman (Nr. 111) hatte. Obwohl erwähnt, kennt der georgische Wissenschaftler wohl das Buch von Hackman nicht (es ist auch falsch zitiert), von Frazer ist da gar nicht die Rede. Das ist gut erklärlich, wenn man die Situation in den sowjetischen Republiken berücksichtigt, die sich in ziemlicher Isolation von der westlichen Wissenschaft entwickeln mussten.

In der georgischen Überlieferung soll man zwei wesentliche Gruppen unterscheiden, die Polyphemmotiv aufweisen. Das sind: 1. Einzelmotive in Märchen und Sagen, 2. Ganze Episoden im Heldenepos oder das als ein Märchen ausgearbeitetes Motiv.

1. Einzelmotive der Polyphemgeschichte:

Einige Motive treffen wir in Geschichten, die aber im weiteren einen anderen Handlungsablauf haben. So ein Beispiel ist das Märchen vom Hirten und dem blinden Riesen.

a) In diesem Märchen aus Ostgeorgien wird erzählt, wie ein Geselle einen blinden Riesen trifft, der sein Schaf hütet. Da er alleine ist und ohne Dach über dem Kopf, versucht er in die Höhle des Riesen zu gelangen (Inversion der Polyphem's Erzählung), damit er nicht verhungert.¹⁰ Der Junge sieht, dass der Riese sich in den Eingang stellt und allen Schafen auf dem Rücken streichelt, um sie zu zählen. Diese für Polyphemgeschichte charakteristische Sequenz wird im georgischen Märchen so erklärt: Der Riese hatte eine Gewohnheit, dass er sich breitbeinig am Eingang der Höhle stellte und allen Schaffen den Rücken streichelte und nur danach rein lies. An so einer känglichen Erklärung sieht man deutlich, dass diese Episode aus einer anderen Erzählung übernommen wurde.

Der Junge kriecht unter ein grosseres Schaf, hält es fest und gelangt auf diese Weise in die Höhle. Er kriegt die Essensreste vom Riesen Devi. Am Ende werden sie noch Freunde.

⁸ Frazer J. G., 446 ff.

⁹ Tschikowani M., Probleme der griechischen und georgischen Mythologie, Tbilisi 1971 (in georgischer Sprache).

¹⁰ Georgische Märchen, gesammelt in Karthli von Luka Razikaschwili, 1909, 208 (in georgischer Sprache).

b) Es gibt weitere Parallele in georgischer Mythologie, z. B. wenn in einem Lied aus Thuschethi (Ostgeorgien) erzählt wird, wie der böse Riese mit einem erhitzten Spieß geblendet wird. Dieser Devi, wie auch andere seinesgleichen, hat ein Auge auf der Stirn.¹¹

"Da kam jemand mit Hörnern, mit dem Schwanz wie ein Fuchs,
ein Auge trägt er in der Mitte seiner Stirn, das ungefähr die Grösse eines Siebs hat..."

In diesem Gedicht: "die Hochzeit der Devis" ist der Konflikt einerseits von Devis, die das Kulturlose darstellen und andererseits des Kulturhelden thematisiert.

Es gibt viele weitere Parallele, die manchmal widersprüchliche Eigenschaften der Devis in georgischer und der Kyklopen in griechischer Tradition angehen.¹²

2. Episoden aus dem Volksepos über Amiran

a) Neben dem Material aus Märchen sind Episoden aus dem volkstümlichen Heldenepos über Amiran beachtenswert. Es gibt mehrere Versionen dieser Geschichte und viele weisen Ähnlichkeiten mit Polyphem-motiv auf.

Eine Episode aus dem Epos über Amiran ist bereits bei Hackman unter Nr. 111 zu finden: "Ein weiblicher böser Geist betört den Helden Amiran und führt ihn in eine Höhle, deren Eingang sie mit einem Felsblock verrammelt. In der Höhle haust ein einäugiger Riese mit seinem Sohne. Der Sohn erbietet sich, den Amiran zu töten, aber dieser schlägt den Jüngling am Gesichte seines Vaters tot. Dann ringt es mit dem alten Riesen, überwindet ihn und stösst ihm mit dem Kindschal das Auge aus. Darauf tötet er auch das Weib und bemächtigt sich der ausgespeicherten Schätze."¹³

b) Es gibt eine andere Version dieser Geschichte, wie sie in Svanetien, im Norden Georgiens erzählt wird. Die Version erhellt andere Motive der so genannten Polyphem-Geschichte. Das sollte auf eine weite Verbreitung dieses Typos in Georgien weisen. Einzelne Episoden wurden übernommen oder weggelassen. Hier die Geschichte:

Es trifft der Held Amiran im Wald eine Riesen-Frau, die übergrösse Bäume in der Hand hält, damit strickt und das Schaf nach Hause treibt. Amiran wird in ihre Höhle eingezwungen und eingesperrt. Dort hat die Frau in einer Truhe auch den Vater vom Helden Amiran versteckt. Wenn sie einschläft, kommt der Vater von Amiran aus der Truhe und die zwei

¹¹ Tschikovani M., op. cit. 36.

¹² Gurtschiani K., op. cit. 74 ff.

¹³ Hackman O., op. cit. Nr. 111.

versuchen, die Frau zu töten: aber jedesmal, wenn der Kopf abgeschnitten wird, kommt ein neuer Kopf an die Stelle. Ein Vogel kommt geflogen und sagt dem Helden, er soll Salzwasser auf sie giessen. Die kopflose Hirtin steht nun im Eingang zur Höhle und prüft jedes Schaf, damit ihr die zwei nicht entkommen. Amiran und sein Vater häuten schnell zwei Schafe und rutschen unter deren Fell. Am Ende können sie auf diese "odysseische" Weise der Riesen-Frau entkommen.¹⁴

c) In einer westgeorgischen, svanetischen Version des Amiraniepos, aufgeschrieben 1887 von B. Nischaradze, wird folgendes berichtet:¹⁵ Drei Helden (ein Hauptheld und zwei Helfer) gehen, um den Riesen aufzusuchen und mit ihm zu kämpfen. Der Riese steht auf einer Wiese und hat seine Herde unter Apfelbäumen. Von den Helden verlangt er, dass sie einen Apfel runternehmen, anderen rauf auf den Baum werfen. Zwei Helden versuchen, aber kein Apfel kommt runter, versucht der Hauptheld Amiran mit seinem Bogen und von einer Seite fallen alle Äpfel runter, auf die andere Seite fliegen sie alle rauf. Dann kommt die zweite Aufgabe: die Helden sollen ein Schaf aufstehen und ein anderes sich hinlegen lassen. Zwei Nebenhelden sind unfähig, der Amiran holt die ganze Herde auf die Beine und lässt dann die ganze Herde mit aller Kraft zu Boden versinken. Der Riese wird daraufhin ärgerlich, holt die ganze Herde mitsamt Amiran und wirft sie in sein Haus. Die Tür wird von Innen geschlossen, die zwei Nebenhelden bleiben draussen. Zum Abendessen bereitet der Riese vier Schafe vor. Er kocht sie und isst das Fleisch, Knochen wirft er seiner Schwester zu, die er mit einer Kette angebunden hält. Ehe er zu Bett geht, sagt er: das soll für heute mein Abendessen sein, für Frühstück habe ich den Amiran. Der Riese legt sich hin zum Schlafen und der Held Amiran geht zu der Schwester vom Riesen und bietet sie, ihm beizubringen, wie er den Riesen umbringen kann.¹⁶ Hier sollte man auf den grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen dem homerischen schlauen Odysseus und dem volkstümlichen Helden hinweisen.

Die Schwester hilft ihm auf Versprechen hin, dass ihr nichts passiert. Der Held schwört den Namen Christi. Amiran töttet den Riesen, hält später sein Wort nicht und bringt auch die Schwester vom Riesen um. Deshalb wird er am Ende seines Lebens von Gott bestraft und wird an einem Berg gefesselt. Hier kommen dann Motive des gefesselten Prometheus hinzu. Die Sage über Amiran ist mit ihren vielfältigen Bezügen zu griechischer Mythologie ein breites Forschungsthema und kann uns hier nicht weiter beschäftigen.

¹⁴ Tschikowani M., op. cit. S. 31.

¹⁵ Tschikowani M., ibid.

¹⁶ Die Fortsetzung wird nach M. Tschikowani, *Der gefesselte Amiran*, Tbilisi 1947, 358-59 zitiert (in georgischer Sprache).

Das georgische Polyphemmärchen

Die vollständigste Ausarbeitung des Polyphemmotivs findet man in einem mingrelischen Märchen, das bereits bei Hackman (Nr. 110) und Frazer (ausführlicher Nr. 33) geschildert ist.¹⁷ Deshalb wird dieses Märchen hier nur kurz erzählt. Acht Brüder, die Fischer sind, begeben sich auf die See. Nach einem Abenteuer mit einem riesigen Fisch wollen sie wieder nach Hause gehen, da bemerken sie aber eine Herde von Schafen und Ziegen, die von einem einäugigen Hirten geleitet nah ans Schiff kommt und es samt den Fischern hochzieht und mit der Herde zusammen nach Hause treibt. Das Haus ist von Felsbrocken gebaut. Es gibt dort vier Gebäude: für Schafe, Ziegen, Lämmer und Zicklein. Der Riese sperrt die Brüder im Haus. Am Abend fängt die kyklopische Mahlzeit an, aber im Unterschied zu Homer, werden hier die Schafe auf einem Spiess gebraten. Es wird in Einzelheiten erzählt, wie die lebendigen Tiere und später die Brüder gebraten und gegessen werden. Das Motiv der Auge und der Blendung wird in diesem Märchen akzentuiert. Es wird mehrmals erzählt, wie im Feuer die Augen der Opfer platzen. Am Ende, als nur noch der Erzähler und sein jüngster Bruder lebendig bleiben und der Riese, weil viel gegessen, einschläft, nehmen sie mit Mühe den Spiess, heizen ihn im Feuer und blenden den Riesen, der ein Auge hatte. Auch dieses Augenblick der Blendung wird ausführlich geschildert. Dann stellt sich der Riese am Eingang des Hause, damit sie nicht raus gelangen. Er streichelt jedes einzelne Tier. Da kommt jetzt eine Unstimmigkeit im Märchen: ein Fischer hat glücklicherweise doch noch ein Messer und sie können die Schafe häuten. Unter dem Fell der Schafe versteckt schleichen sie unbemerkt aus dem Haus des Riesen und entkommen. Sie eilen an den Strand, wo sie ihr Boot vorfinden. Sie nehmen noch die schönsten Schafe mit. Dem Riesen, der noch an den Strand kommt, rufen sie ihre Namen zu, um ihn zu höhnen, er schleudert Steine nach dem Schiff.

Dieses Märchen zog die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher wegen einer grossen Ähnlichkeit mit der homerischen Version. Es gibt Sequenzen, die üblicherweise in verschiedenen Überlieferungen nicht vorkommen, in der mingrelischen Version aber wie bei Homer vorhanden sind. Besonders sei auf die so genannte Namenspisode verwiesen. Die Helden rufen noch ihre Namen, um den Riesen zu höhnen und um diese Heldentat für sich zu beanspruchen. Diese odysseische Haltung ist für viele andere Überlieferungen

¹⁷ Hackman O., kennt das Märchen aus der Untersuchung von W. Miller „Kaukasische Erzählungen über Kyklopen“ (in russischer Sprache), die in der Zeitschrift *Ethnographische Untersuchungen* im Jahre 1890, 25-43 veröffentlicht wurde. Hackman, op. cit. 94-95. Frazer J. G., beruft sich beim Zitieren auf A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, Jena 1920, Nr. 65, 248-251 und bemerkt zugleich, dass die mingrelische Sprache (in der Sprache ist das Märchen verfasst) dem georgischen verwandt sei. Frazer, op. cit. 449-450.

unbekannt. Auch deshalb war es vielleicht, das die ersten Forscher dieses Märchens darin eine literarische Kontamination vermuteten.¹⁸

Die Forschung über die Polyphemgeschichte und die Kyklopen beschäftigte sich ziemlich lange hauptsächlich mit dem Ursprungsproblem. Hat Homer die Sage erfunden oder schöpfen alle Sagen einschliesslich Homer aus einer volkstümlichen Quelle? Liegt allen Erzählungen eine gemeinsame Struktur zugrunde und wenn ja, worin besteht diese Struktur? Was hat Homer hinzugefügt? Wie weit beeinflusste die homerische Erzählung die spätere Tradition?

W. Grimm, der erste Sammler von Parallelgeschichten, äusserte die Meinung, daß alle vorhandenen Varianten (darunter auch Homer) eine gemeinsame Vorlage als Quelle benutzten. Demzufolge ist die Sage von Polyphem bei Homer nicht die Ur-Quelle, aber wohl die älteste Version der Geschichte. Vorsichtig äusserte sich auch J. G. Frazer, der zweite wichtige Sammler dieser Geschichten und vermutete, dass sie alle wohl von einem Original abstammen "whether that original was the narrative in the *Odyssey*, or, more probably, a still older folktale which Homer incorporated in his epic."¹⁹

W. Grimm, O. Hackman, D. Page²⁰, J. Glenn²¹ und andere bilden die größere Gruppe der Wissenschaftler, die den homerischen Ursprung dieser Sage ablehnen und eine gemeinsame Quelle für wahrscheinlich halten. Besonders einflussreich war D. Page: Nach seiner Meinung sind die Geschichten von Circe und von Polyphem ihrerseits Weltmärchen, die unabhängig von einander und von dem Hauptthema der *Odyssee* entstanden sind. Ausserdem sagt er²²: "The story of Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* is not an element but a compound – there is a basic story of Polyphemus, told with some variety of version, and to this the poet has added incidents from other folk-tales which were wholly independent of it."

K. Meuli²³ und A. Van Gennep²⁴ sind die nennenswerten Kritiker der Grimmschen Auffassung. Nach deren Meinung verbreitete sich diese Sage nach Homer. Von der hohen Literatur ging die Sage in die niedrigere Volksüberlieferung. Dadurch entstanden viele neue Versionen. Für Meuli ist das sog. Polyphem-Märchen der Abhängigkeit von der *Odyssee* verdächtig.

¹⁸ M. Tschikowani über Chachanaschwili und Miller, op. cit. 36.

¹⁹ Frazer J. G., Appendix zu Apollodorus, 404.

²⁰ Page D., *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford 1955.

²¹ Glenn J., *The Polyphem Folktales and Homer's Kyklopeia*, TAPHA, 102, 1971, 133-81.

²² op. cit. S. 3

²³ Untersuchungen zur griechischen Sagengeschichte und zum Epos, Berlin 1921.

²⁴ La legende de Polypheme. In: Religions, moers, et legendes..., Paris 1908.

Nach seiner Beobachtung überwiegt in der *Kyklopeie* die individuelle Dichtererfindung.²⁵

Die Forscher sind heute fast einig, dass Homer die bekannte Sage übernahm und sie änderte, aber nicht so, dass man sie nicht mehr wiedererkennen konnte.

Eine der ausführlichsten Analysen dieses Problems liegt bei J. Glenn vor.²⁶ Er hat 25 Details der homerischen Erzählung im Lichte der Folklore untersucht und ist zu der Schlussfolgerung gekommen, dass die von ihm analysierten Abweichungen zwischen der Mehrzahl der Versionen einerseits und der homerischen Erzählung andererseits sich nur aus der thematischen Notwendigkeit der *Odyssee* erklären lassen und dass man in Homer's Fall vom homerischen Polyphem sprechen kann, der dem monotonen, pastoralen Riesen der Volksüberlieferung gegenübersteht.²⁷ J. Glenn stellte fest, dass typisch homerische Ausarbeitung von "Niemand Episode" in untersuchten 125 Märchen und Sagen nur in zwei vorkommt (Hackman Nr. 30 und Dawkins 4a), die einen Einfluss von Homer hatten. In den meisten georgischen Versionen fehlen genau die Sequenzen, die auch in anderen nicht-homerischen Versionen fehlen: das ist die Episode des Trinkens, die erwähnte Niemand-Episode, die Geschichte der Blendung und des Entkommens: das Schaf wird getötet usw.

In der mingrelischen Version der Polyphemgeschichte war für einige der Forscher der homerische Einfluss sichtbar. W. Miller, der erste Herausgeber dieses Märchens vermutete, dass ein gelehrter Mann ins Dorf kam, der Homer gelesen hatte und eine Episode aus dem Epos erzählte. Die Episode wurde dann verändert und ging so vom Dorf zu Dorf.²⁸

Es ist schwer zu sagen, in welchem Fall genau in volkstümlichen Erzählungen eine literarische Kontamination liegt und in welchem die dichterische Umsetzung unbekannt ist. Ein Charakteristikum ist bei solchen Versionen eindeutig zu erkennen: das Geniale gibt es in rein volkstümlicher Überlieferung so gut wie nie. So ist es z. B. im Falle der Sequenz des falschen Namens: In vielen Erzählungen fehlt meistens die "Niemand Episode". Diese Episode, mit ihren Wortspielen von *me tis – metis* (niemand – List), erhellt äußerst präzise den Charakter des Helden Odysseus und zeigt ihn von seiner markantesten Seite. Diese Sequenz, die in Form von "ich selbst" in anderen Märchentypen bezeugt ist, kann nur von einem genialen Dichter in die

²⁵ op.cit. S.65ff; 71-72

²⁶ Anm. 6

²⁷ Glenn J., *The Polyphem Folktales and Homer's Kyklopeia*, TAPHA, 102, 1971.

²⁸ Vgl. M. Tschikowani, op. cit. 36. M. Tschikowani selbst ist sehr gegen diese Auffassung.

traditionelle Erzählung des dummen Ogers übernommen und eingeflochten sein.²⁹

Dagegen findet man oft in nichthomerischen Versionen schlecht bearbeitete Episoden, die eben das Fehlen des genialen Dichters und das Fehlen des Wissens von einer besseren Bearbeitung bezeugen.

So ist es auch in der mingrelischen Version. Um ein kleines Beispiel zu nennen: der Held hat Schwierigkeit mit einem Holzspiess den Riesen zu blenden, aber wenn er nach der Blendung das Schaf häuten möchte, um dem Riesen zu entkommen, taucht in seiner Hand plötzlich ein Messer auf.³⁰

Georgische Versionen sind allem Anschein nach nicht von Homer abhängig. Es gibt viel zu viele Unstimmigkeiten und wenn man Homer gekannt hätte, würde man vermutlich mit denen geschickter umgehen lernen. Und das wichtigste: in diesen Versionen fehlt der schlaue Odysseus. Man kann deutlich merken, dass die Gestalt des Riesen eigentlich immer gleich bleibt. Den Unterschied machen hauptsächlich Helde aus.

Wie der georgische Held in den Polyphemerzählungen aussieht, ist ein weites Thema und kann hier nur angedeutet werden: ihm kommen keine so schlaun Einfälle in den Kopf, wie dem Odysseus. Er fragt nach Rat und handelt dann oft mit Hilfe von anderen. Er ist kein Individualist, wie Odysseus und nicht immer der Herr der Lage.

Viel interessanter als nur verschiedene georgische Varianten dieser Erzählung aufzufinden, ist es wesentliche Ähnlichkeiten in der Betrachtung der Riesen als Träger der Vor-Zivilisation, Un-kultur und des Konfliktes mit der (neuen oder gar entstehenden) Kultur, die durch den Helden vertreten ist, aufzuzeigen. Vergleiche können den Prozeß erhellen, welche Mechanismen bei der Entstehung dieser Gegensätze wirken. Interessant ist auch zu fragen, wie verschiedene Kulturen sich in solchen Erzählungen niederschlagen. Vergleiche zeigen, wie ein und derselbe Stoff von verschiedenen Kulturen aufgenommen und erzählt wird. So bietet dieses Thema ein interessantes Spektrum für Forschung.

²⁹ Eine andere Frage ist, welche Episoden die meisten dieser Erzählungen gemeinsam haben. Aufgrund der Analyse der Sequenzen wird es möglich, die Tiefenstruktur zu entdecken und somit ein Modell dieser Erzählung zu bilden. In dieser Hinsicht sind die Arbeit von C. Calame und das Heranziehen von Greimass' Methode sehr wichtig. Calame C., *The Craft of Poetic Speech in Ancient Greece*, New York 1995, 138 ff.

³⁰ Frazer, op. cit. Nr. 33.

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Tamar Japaridze (Tbilisi)

TRANVESTITE DISGUISE IN ARISTOPHANES' COMEDIES

Aristophanes often resorts to the transvestite disguise of his characters to make a comical effect. Such disguise involves fusion of the opposite – male and female – elements and represents a powerful comical device owing to the discrepancy and the sexual theme.

Admittedly, transvestite disguise was a typical element in the ritual practice of many different peoples. In the archaic Greek community, like other peoples of the archaic epoch, transvestite disguise as a part of a ritual implied preparation for the assumption of a new role. According to Plutarch, two young men dressed in women's clothes led the procession at the festival of Oschophoria.¹ This served to dramatize the young men's readiness to assume the age of manhood and marriage. Another element in Greek festivals is the so-called symmetric inversion – men and women would swap their dresses and imitate each other's appearance and behavior. The exchange of roles and clothes among young men and women in initiation and bridal rites is explained through the ritual logics: at the threshold of assuming the steady male or female identity (as it was provided for by the cultural ideology) each sex was given the last opportunity to play the part of the opposite sex.²

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 23.

² Its classical example in Greek mythology is the story of Achilles: Achilles, dressed as a girl, hides away on the island of Scyros among the daughters of Lycomedes until he asserts his manhood upon seeing a weapon or hearing the sound of a trumpet. About different forms of transvestism in Greek mythology and ritual, see Delcourt M., *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, trans. by J. Nicholson, London 1956, 1-16; Burkert W., *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979, 29-30; Zeitlin F. I., *Playing the Other: Theatre, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama In Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, ed. by Winkler J. J., and Zeitlin F. I., Princeton: Princeton University Press 1989, 63-96; Vidal-Naquet P., *The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian*

A large number of cultures associate festivals with the performance of ritual roles and the exchange of the roles. Therefore, transvestite performances are historically a traditional phenomenon.³ Transvestite disguise, an ancient form of fun making, is the central element in Dionysian dramas.⁴ At the Athens drama festivals, men played every single part, whether tragic or comic. Unlike tragedies, comedies accentuate this fundamental aspect of performance through intentionally imperfect and discrepant disguises. The few pieces of vase painting that picture comic dresses show the theatrical 'androgyny' of a comical body, e.g., the Apulian red-figure bell-krater (IV B.C.) pictures an old man who plays or is to play Antigone's part. He holds a hydria in his left hand and, presumably, a female mask in his right hand.⁵ The symbolic 'double mask' and the phallus visible beyond his transparent clothes accentuate his theatrical disguise.⁶ Comic costumes both in comedies and on vases imply close links with the context of a play.⁷

Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, which presents the first instance of transvestite disguise, is fostered by Euripides' tragedies. Through presenting a man in female clothes, Aristophanes touches the most 'painful' point of the tragic (as well as comic) illusion – a male person (actor)⁸ plays a female part;

Epebeia & Recipes for Greek Adolescence *In Myth, Religion, and Society*, ed. Gordon R. L., Cambridge 1981, 147-85; Vernant J.-P., *The War of the Cities In Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. by J. Lloyd, New York: Zone Books 1988, 29-54; Brisson L., *Sexual Ambivalence, Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, trans. by J. Lloyd, Berkeley: University of California Press 2002, 61-64; Burkert W., *Greek Religion*, trans. by J. Raffan, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 1985, 260-64; Vidal-Naquet P., *The Black Hunter: Figures of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. by A. Szegedy-Maszak, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1986, 116.

³ For the social history of transvestism, see Ackroyd P., *Dressing Up, Transvestism and Drag*, New York 1979.

⁴ Cf. Philostr., *Imag.* I.2.

⁵ Taplin O., *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase Painting*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1993, fig. 21.22.

⁶ Foley H., *The Comic Body in Greek Art and Drama In Not the Classical Ideal, Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. Beth Cohen, Leiden: Brill 2000, 275-311.

⁷ Cf. Seeberg A., *From Padded Dancers to Comedy In Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley*, ed. A. Griffiths, London 1995, 8.

⁸ See Aristophanes and the Comic Hero, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1964, 223; Zeitlin F. I., *Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae In Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. H. P. Foley, New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers 1981, 169-217; Rau P., *Paratragödie: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1967 & *Das Tragödienspiel in den 'Thesmophoriazusen' In Aristophanes und die alte Komödie, Wege der Forschung*, ed. H. J. Newiger, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1975, 339-56; Gibert J., *Falling in Love with Euripides (Andromeda)*, ICS, 24-25, 1999-2000, 75-92; Compton-Engle G., *Control of Costume in Three Plays of Aristophanes*, *AJP*, 124, 2003, 515-24.

the playwright presents what according to dramatic norms remains beyond the stage. Thus he violates theatrical constructions and creates the so-called dramatic illusion. The play, which is inspired by other plays and represents their comic adaptation, is meta theatrical; and meta theater is 'notorious' for mixing up the parts of the spectator, the actor and the playwright. The spectator is entitled to what normally is the privilege of the playwright – watch the working process beyond the stage, observe costumes and the art of acting. The characters become actors within the play as they reject their parts and take on different ones. Comedy presents transvestite disguise as an illusion that serves as the basis for the theater and the comedy itself.⁹

At the same time, transvestite disguise is a dramatic device used by a playwright to develop the action within the play. The emphasis either on the adequacy between the character and the costume or on sex ambiguity is what frequently accounts for the comical effect of the action and serves to implement the artistic intention of the play. Besides, transvestite disguise (like any other disguise) is related to the identification of the character's status in the comedy. It is interesting to identify the characters with whom transvestite disguise is so 'successful'. The decisive role should be assigned to the very nature of ancient comedy. Agonism as its intrinsic property 'compels' the characters to take over their rivals and show their superiority. This is clearly attested by the scenes involving disguise, which at the same time specifies the status of the characters. In fact, with a dominant and active character, transvestite disguise is associated with success.¹⁰

The theme of transvestite disguise is essential in Aristophanes' two comedies: the *Thesmophoriazusae* and the *Ecclesiazusae*, which abound in swaps of costumes and parts.

The costume in a comedy was consistent with the character's age, sex and social status. In the *Thesmophoriazusae* this condition is fully violated; almost all male characters look like women: Agathon wears a white mask without beard (191), woman's clothes (136-38, cf. 97-98, 250-51, 257-58) and does not have a stage phallus (142); Cleisthenes has no beard (575) and probably wears the same white mask (cf. 571-73); in the final part of the comedy, Euripides enters the stage dressed as a woman and the Scythian takes him for a woman (1194); Mnesilochus (the protagonist) wears a female

⁹ Bobrick E., *The Tyranny of Roles, Playacting and Privilege in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae In The City as Comedy, Society and Representation in Athenian Drama*, ed. Gr. W. Dobrov, Chapel Hill & London, The University of North Carolina Press 1997, 177-97.

¹⁰ Considering the specificity of the genre, success or failure of a character's scheme is rather conventional. Disguise can be regarded as successful or unsuccessful only with respect to its dramatic function.

costume almost throughout the whole play (cf. 137-38, 257-58). Evidently, transvestite disguise was at the same time funny in the eyes of spectators and embarrassing for the characters.¹¹ Aristophanes presents in detail how Mnesilochus acquired a female shape (213-68) and how his true sex was revealed later (636-51). The scenes abound in indecent humor.¹²

In the comedy, Mnesilochus' disguise is important for the implementation of Euripides' scheme: the women gathered at the festival of Thesmophoria¹³ are furious with Euripides and have decided to punish the tragedian. After Agathon's refusal, Mnesilochus agrees to penetrate the festival of Thesmophoria under female disguise and make a speech in favor of Euripides. Hence the protagonist resorts to transvestite disguise in order to implement the scheme. However, it is clear from the very start that he is not the initiator of the transformation; he only acts according to Euripides' wish and order, and therefore has a passive part in the disguise. Although Mnesilochus says himself that he agrees to participate in Euripides' scheme, the way he tells about his readiness suggests he yields to another person's control:

ἐμοὶ δ' ὁ τι βούλει χρῶ λαβών. (212)¹⁴

With these words, Mnesilochus admits to Euripides' superiority and his own subordinated status from the very start. Mnesilochus' passive part is also emphasized by Euripides' imperative tone (213-78). Euripides makes it clear from the very start that Mnesilochus has submitted himself to him. (213). And in the second part of the comedy, Mnesilochus says several times that it was not of his own will that he stole into the festival under the female guise (1043-46; cf. 766-67).

¹¹ Cf. *Eccl.*, 311-727.

¹² Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, ed. C. Austin and S. D. Olson, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press 2004, lxxix-lxxi.

¹³ The Thesmophoria was a women's festival widely celebrated in Mediterranean ancient Greek polises in honor of Demeter and her daughter Pherrephatta/Persephone/Kore. See Nilsson M. P., *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluß der attischen*, Leipzig 1906, 313-16; Farnell L. R., *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford 1907; repr. New York 1977, 328-32; Burkert W., 1985, 242-46; Brumfield A. C., *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year*, New York 1981, 70-103; *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, ed. M. Detienne and J-P. Vernant, Chicago and London 1989; originally published in French in 1979, 129-47; Versnel H. S., *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual*, Leiden, New York, and Cologne 1993, 235-60; Dillon M., *Girls and Women in Classical Greek religion*, London and New York 2002, 110-20; Tzanetou A., *Something to Do with Demeter: Ritual and Performance in Aristophanes Women at the Thesmophoria*, *AJP*, 123 2002, 331-35. Men's attendance at the festival was strictly prohibited and the assembly was regarded as a secret ceremony. Cf. *Thesm.*, 363-64, 627-28, 1150-54; *Eccl.*, 442-43.

¹⁴ *Deal with me as you please*. All translations are by B. B Rogers, Loeb Classical Library, Aristophanes III, 1963.

Mesilochus has to give up all exterior signs of manhood in order to be accepted as a woman. Under Euripides' direction, he first of all takes off his himation (214), which is followed by a burlesque scene of his shaving. Mnesilochus should get rid of his beard and the hair on his body. Euripides himself shaves off his beard (215) and even removes hair from his genital (216), which was obviously practiced by women and which Mnesilochus went through as part of his physical 'transformation into a woman'.¹⁵ The protagonist's words are another proof of the fact that such an act is humiliating for a man:

τίς δ' οὐτως ἀνὴρ
ἦλίθιος, ὅστις τιλλόμενος ἠνείχετ' ἄν; (592-93)¹⁶

According to Euripides, Mnesilochus, half shaved, looks ridiculous (καταγέλαστος, 226). Mnesilochus looks in the mirror and says he sees Cleisthenes instead of himself (235).¹⁷ He feels himself as an offered swine,¹⁸ and regrets he has agreed to go through the transformation. He groans with pain and even attempts to run away (222-42), which indicates that the disguise process is forcible and unacceptable to him.

Euripides borrows from Agathon all the items necessary for the disguise and puts on him female clothes. These items are ἱμάτιον (250), κροκωτόν (253), στροφάλιον (255), κεκρυφάλου καὶ μίτρας (257), ἔγκυκλον (261), ὑποδημάτων (262). Remarkably, Euripides borrows all these things from Agathon, who himself was clad as a woman as the play started, and whose appearance Mnesilochus found humiliating (98; 134-45).

The terms which Mnesilochus uses to address Agathon ὦ νενίσχ' (134) – a young man who is neither a child (παῖς), not a man (ἀνὴρ), ὁ γύννης (136) – a female man,¹⁹ point to the opposition of archetypical male (βάρβιτος,

¹⁵ Beard and hair on the body as masculine signs are discussed by Stone L. M., *Costume in Aristophanic Poetry*, New York: Arno Press 1981, 28-31; Saïd S., *Travestis et travestissements dans les comédies d' Aristophane*, Cahiers du GITA, 3, 1987, 227; Taaffe L. K., *Aristophanes and Women*, London: Routledge 1993, 83-84.

¹⁶ *No man would let himself be tweezed so.*

¹⁷ Cleisthenes was a prominent political figure frequently mocked at by Aristophanes as a womanish man. Cf. *Ach.* 117-21; *Knights*, 1373-74; *Clouds* 355; *Birds*, 829-31; *Lys.*, 1091-92; *Frogs*, 57, 422-24. About Cleisthenes as a kinaidos (i.e. of irregular, unnatural build) see Winkler, J. J., *The Constraints of Desire, The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*, New York, London, Routledge 1990, 193-94.

¹⁸ δελφάκιον γενήσομαι (237). δέλφαξ – a grown-up pig (antonym for χοῖρος). δελφάκιον is its diminutive. About the swine in the context of the festival of Thesmophoria, see Bowie A. M., *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual, and Comedy*, Cambridge University Press 1993, 215-17.

¹⁹ This term is borrowed from Aeschylus' *Edonians*, where it is used by Lycurgus to address Dionysus as he inquires about his appearance. According to one interpretation, Agathon (ὁ

λύρα, λήκυθος, ξίφους) and female (κροκωτῶ, κεκρυφάλω, στρόφιον, κατόπτρου) traits in Agathon's appearance. Agathon's epithets – εὐπρόσωπος, εὐπρεπής, λευκός, ἐξυρημένος, γυναικόφωνος, ἀπαλός (191-92) – underline his female nature. Likewise, according to Euripides, shaved Mnesilochus is εὐπρεπής (233). Agathon sings a brief dialogue in a female voice and with appropriate gestures (101 ff.); in the same way, Mnesilochus under female guise is to speak as a woman at the festival (268-69).

So, Mnesilochus has to borrow from Agathon his 'female part'²⁰, although he finds it humiliating to fuse it with his male being. Unlike Agathon, he wears men's clothes and mask in the comedy prologue. And later he has to fit on female guise right on the stage, facing the audience. Mnesilochus as a man is embarrassed with the necessity to put on woman's clothes and manners. His forcible visual feminization in the first half of the comedy serves as a pretext to the collapse of his scheme in the second part.

Mnesilochus' dressing up is over when Euripides says the following words:

ἀνήρ μεν ἡμῖν οὐτοσὶ καὶ δὴ γυνή
τό γ' εἶδος· (266-67)²¹

The female mask, which the protagonist was forced to put on, fails to assist him as he tries to mislead women and carry out the scheme. When disguised Mnesilochus addresses the women gathered at the festival with a speech in favor of Euripides, instead of persuading them, he incurs their mistrust (although at first they seem to notice nothing extraordinary about his female appearance). The women decide to catch and punish him (536-39). It is suggested to tear his hair out as a way of punishment. This stresses the fact that Mnesilochus has already gone through such humiliation. Mnesilochus once again becomes a 'victim'; his passiveness and subordination becomes even more conspicuous in the comedy. Cleisthenes tells the women about Euripides' intention:

ἀφεῦσεν αὐτὸν κάπετιλ' Εὐριπίδης,
καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ἄπανθ' ὥσπερ γυναικ' ἐσκεύασεν. (590-91)²²

γύνυς, like Dionysus) is the god of theater (or its imitator, which, according to Agathon's theories, is the same). See Zeitlin, 1981, 196-98; Riu X., *Dionysism and Comedy*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, 1999, 191-201.

²⁰ Cf. Zeitlin, 1981, 178.

²¹ *There then, the man's a regular woman now, at least to look at.*

²² *Euripides has tweezered him, and singed him, and dressed him up, disguised in women's clothes.* Cf. *Ach.*, 121, 739; *Frogs*, 523; *Hdt.* V. 20. 3.

The way the information is put to words once again suggests that Euripides is the 'agent'; the driving force while Mnesilochus is the 'patient'. Such distribution of parts accentuates the Inlow's passive part in the disguise scene. The women start to remove clothes from Mnesilochus (636-40).

Mnesilochus' divestiture also suggests the passiveness of his part. Some of his clothes are removed by force (ἀπόδυσσον αὐτόν· 636; and ff. 636-40). The women notice that he does not have breasts (640). Despite his hard efforts, he fails to hide his phallus (643-48). So, Mnesilochus is passive as concerns both disguise and divestiture: the female costume is put on and later taken off him against his will.

Mnesilochus' transvestite disguise is not successful. In the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the failure is associated with a subordinate status.²³ The protagonist, who is deprived of the authority over his own dress, is altogether humiliated and neglected. In the comedy, such a state is rendered through the loss of masculine properties and feminization.

Mnesilochus is unable to take off his female dress himself when he wishes to do so. Tied to a board like Andromeda, he asks Prytanis to undress him:

γυμνὸν ἀποδύσαντά με
κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σανίδι δεῖν τὸν τοξότην,
ἵνα μὴ ν κροκωτοῖς καὶ μίτραις γέρων ἀνήρ
γέλωτα παρέχω τοῖς κόραξι ἐστιῶν. (939-42)²⁴

Mnesilochus, doomed to death (938), wishes to avoid the shame of being laughed at. He is appalled at the thought of becoming an object of ridicule for the crows that have gathered to torture his flesh. And the cause of shame is his appearance: an old man clad in woman's dress.²⁵ After he is unmasked, Mnesilochus prefers to be humiliated through being stripped naked rather

²³ Saïd, 1987, 233. At this point, a parallel is drawn with Euripides' *Bacchae*, whose links with comedy is commonly admitted: Dodds E. R., Euripides: *Bacchae*, 2d ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press 1960, 192; Seidensticker B., Comic Elements in Euripides' *Bacchae*, *AJP*, 99, 1978, 303-20; Foley H. P., The Masque of Dionysus, *TAPA*, 110, 1980, 107-33; Segal C. P., Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' *Bacchae*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1982, 254-59; Muecke Fr., 'I Know You – by Your Rags': Costume and Disguise in Fifth-Century Drama, *Antichthon*, 16, 1982, 17-34; Gruber W. E., *Comic Theaters: Studies in Performance and Audience Response*, Athens: University of Georgia Press 1986, 26-27.

²⁴ *Don't expose me thus; do tell the Scythian he may strip me first; don't let a poor old man, in silks and snoods, provoke the laughter of the crows that eat him.*

²⁵ The contrast is essential for the visual humor of the comedy. For the role of shame in the Athens community, see Cairns D. L., *Aidos*, Oxford 1993, 178-431. κροκωτοῖς καὶ μίτραις (941) denotes a complete set of woman's clothes worn by Mnesilochus. Cf. 945, which mentions only κροκῶθ', as the most conspicuous disgracing item; also 1044.

than to endure even greater dishonour of wearing female clothes,²⁶ which once again attests that the loss of masculine symbols and feminization is extremely humiliating.

Apparently, the forcible transvestite disguise of the protagonist in the *Thesmophoriazusae* is associated with the degradation of his status and a passive part, which leads to the failure of the scheme involving the disguise.

Remarkably, Euripides in the end of the comedy successfully uses the practice of dressing up as a woman, which failed with the protagonist. It was he who initiated Mnesilochus' transvestite disguise as the play started; and it was he who gave orders to Mnesilochus and Agathon regarding costumes. Consequently, he asserted himself as a dominant character. In the second part of the comedy, Euripides' strategy that targets the liberation of Mnesilochus again involves a role-playing: he plays several roles (that of Menelaus, Perseus, and Echo presumably) from his own tragedies. Eventually, as they fail, the tragedian decides to act as a comical character. Disguised as an old woman, Euripides enters the stage in the company of a dancing girl. The Scythian guard is so amused with the girl's dance that he fails to identify Euripides under the old lady's guise. The tragedian manages to release Mnesilochus. He himself takes off the female mask from Mnesilochus' face and lets him reacquire his masculine role by telling him to run away in a manly manner (1204-5). Euripides, who unlike Mnesilochus, is never subjected to physical manipulations, eventually manages to make good use of disguise.²⁷ This may also imply that the comedy links success with an active and dominant character.

Transvestite disguise is the central theme in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* as well. However, unlike the *Thesmophoriazusae*, here women are dressed up as men:²⁸ Athenian women, worried about the fate of their city, decide at the

²⁶ See Sommerstein A. H., *The Comedies of Aristophanes*: vol. 8, *Thesmophoriazusae*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips 1994, 217, which cites *Lys.*, 1019-24 and *Tyrtaeus* 10. 21-30 and points out that the plural form κροκωτούς, μίτρας, 941 puts even stronger emphasis on the humiliation and derision Mnesilochus is afraid of because of his clothes. When Prytanis rejects his request, Mnesilochus expresses his worries with respect to his clothes: ὦ κροκῶθ' , οὐ εἴργασσαι (945).

²⁷ The failure of tragic plots and the success of comical ones imply the 'advantage' and 'victory' of comedy over tragedy. See Slater N. W., *Spectator Politics, Metatheatre and Performance in Aristophanes*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2002, 168-79; Compton-Engle, 2003, 523-24.

²⁸ The transformation works at two levels in the comedy as the men who acted as women were dressed up as men.

festival of Scira²⁹ to pave their way to the public assembly through dressing up as men and to take authority in their hands.³⁰

The visual play on a costume and identity starts in the very prologue of the comedy. The spectator sees a character dressed as a man – ‘he’ wears Laconian shoes and himation in a manly manner and holds a staff in ‘his’ hand. Later it will become clear that the character is Praxagora (124), the protagonist of the comedy. She wears a white female mask but is clad as a man. Undoubtedly, the discrepancy in her appearance used to cause laughter among the audience. (Let us recall another woman’s words that such a behavior (i.e. women’s putting on men’s costume) seems to her very funny (καταγέλαστον, 125) right because of its discrepancy (125-27).³¹

The protagonist’s speech in the beginning of the play clearly points to the decisive role of a mask in her scheme. Praxagora’s, as the initiator’s, role in the disguise is highlighted from the very start. After her female co-citizens enter the stage, the protagonist, already dressed as a man, checks if the women are loyal to the decision taken at Scira (58-60). The scene of women’s dressing up as men holds quite a sizable place in the comedy (24-279). Throughout this scene, Praxagora is the person who gives out directions, takes decisions, sets the order in the dressing-up process and chooses the appropriate time.

First of all, the women should give up outer female signs and acquire masculine ones. It was mentioned above that in the *Thesmophoriazusae* the first thing a man’s ‘transformation’ into a woman (215-45, 589-90, 1042) involved was shaving hair off his body. Hence, in the *Ecclesiazusae*, the first thing to do is to ‘acquire’ more hair on the body. The following items were necessary for this: ἔρραμμένους... πώγωνας (24-25), τὰς μασχάλας... δασυτέρας (60-1). Lack of hair on one’s body is a feminine property while abundance of hair – is typically masculine.³² Rejection of female properties and acquisition of masculine ones is also marked with a symbolic gesture:

²⁹ The women take the decision to dress up as men at the festival of Oschophoria. The festival involved the procession from the temple of Dionysus to the temple of Athena Sciras. Similarly to the Thesmophoria, Scira was a women’s festival in honor of Demeter. On that day, women were allowed to leave their homes and take part in the procession from Athens to Scira. Scira was the festival of inversion as women left homes and held the procession outside Athens. So, the event was an appropriate place to design such a scheme. See Burkert, 1985, 230; Burkert W., *Homo Necans*, trans. by Bing P., Berkeley & Los Angeles 1983, 45; Parke H. W., *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, 77-80.

³⁰ In the Greek world, politics and power was associated with the masculine domain (cf. Aristot., *Pol.*, I. 5. 7. 1254a 13-14; I. 12. I. 1259b 1-2). Women had to ‘transform’ into men in order to penetrate it (121).

³¹ The characters’ understanding of the discrepancy in their appearance compels to pay more attention to the theme of costumes and disguise. Cf. *Birds*, 804; *Wasps*, 1309.

³² Cf. *Ach.*, 120-21; *Wasps*, 476; *Lys.*, 800-804, 1072; *Thesm.*, 33, 190, 191-92, 214-35, 575, 583; *Eccl.*, 24-25, 68-71, 118, 121, 126-27, 145, 273, 493-94, 501-2.

women throw away razor – an item associated with female appearance (65).³³ The next step is to acquire darker complexion (64) – another masculine property.³⁴ One of the women makes quite a remarkable comment: μηδὲν εἶην ἔτι γυναικι προσφερής (67).

Women are to fit on men's clothes in order to play men's part: θαϊμάτια (26), which they stole from their husbands, ἐμβάσιον (47) (Λακωνικά cf. 269), βακτηρίας (74) – which their husbands used to wear at the Assembly.³⁵

The women are to fit on the necessary items with the ritual order Praxagora sets for them (268-79). The women are obedient to the protagonist's will and order, which marks the admission of Praxagora's dominant position.

Apart from acquiring physical masculine properties, the women are to imitate men's speech and behavior (148 ff),³⁶ which is very important for the success of the scheme. It is again Praxagora who gives the women appropriate training.

The Assembly has its own 'protocol' (e.g. the speaker should have a garland on his head when delivering a speech (131);³⁷ and it is essential that the women know the rules – otherwise, their true identity will be exposed. They are to speak worthily, in a manly language (ἀνδριστι, 149)³⁸, and lean on their staff with dignity (150). Such a way of speaking primarily involves phrases and swearing formulae appropriate for men (cf. 155, 158, 165, 189, 204).

Although the women have difficulties in acquiring masculine skills for speech making, Praxagora herself shows surprising ability, which is illustrated through her words. She is capable of all that makes up the so-called masculine speech type starting with the traditional way of word-building and manly evaluation of events, and ending with the aptitude to discuss appropriate themes and swear by gods appropriately.³⁹

³³ See Aristoph. *Fragm.* 332, where it starts the list of women's 52 accessories.

³⁴ Cf. *Ecll.*, 699; *Birds*, 667; *Frogs*, 1092. *Thesm.*, 31, 191. See Henderson, J., *The Maculate Muse, Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, London 1975, 211.

³⁵ The *Ecclesiazusae* accentuates the importance of a staff as a necessary item to imitate men (cf. 150, 276, 509). Some even believe βακτηρία means phallus. See Rothwell K. S., *Politics and Persuasion in Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae*, Leiden 1990, 84.

³⁶ Cf. Mnesilochus, dressed up as a woman, has to learn how to imitate female speech (*Thesm.*, 267-68).

³⁷ Cf. *Birds*, 463.

³⁸ ἀνδριστι may denote 'in a male voice'. See *The Comedies of Aristophanes: vol. 10, Ecclesiazusae*, ed. Al. H. Sommerstein, Warminster: Aris & Phillips 1998.

³⁹ Some scholars suggest that Praxagora's character was modeled to a traditional figure of ῥήτωρ. See Rothwell, 1990, 82-92.

The women address Praxagora the way they would address a man: ξυνετὸς ἀνὴρ (204). They call her their strategus (στρατηγὸν, 246),⁴⁰ which is the formal recognition of Praxagora's superiority (Praxagora being dressed as a man), her control over the rest of the women (who also wear men's clothes) and her leading role in agon. The whole first scene is the rehearsal and preparation for the coming dispute. The women's chief weapon is their disguise, and Praxagora dominates the process. Remarkably, later it is Praxagora's husband, Blepyrus, who calls her the strategus, the same way as the women do it in the first scene, and by that time, Praxagora has already taken off the masculine guise. Blepyrus' words once again accentuate his wife's active and dominant role against his own passive and subordinated status (725-27).⁴¹

Praxagora is accepted as a man at the Assembly. This is attested through the epithets εὐπρεπῆς νεανίας (427), λευκός.., ὅμοιος Νικία, (428).⁴² The women's scheme enjoys success. The protagonist wins the agon. The city governance goes to women. Unlike Mnesilochus, nobody can detect a woman beyond the protagonist's guise. Praxagora herself speaks about the success of her scheme:

ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, εὐτυχῶς
τὰ πράγματ' ἐκβέβηκεν ἀβουλεύσαμεν. (504-5)⁴³

Remarkably, Praxagora, who initiated and managed the disguise scheme, decides herself on when and how the women should take off their masks. Her tone is likewise imperative (506-9).

It is also important that the protagonist, unlike Mnesilochus, takes off the mask of her own will – the mask that enjoyed success in the agon:

ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι,
εἴσω παρερπύσσασα πρὶν τὸν ἄνδρα με
ἰδεῖν, καταθέσθαι θοιμάτιον αὐτοῦ πάλιν
ὄθειπερ ἔλαβον τᾶλλα θ' ἄξηνεγκάμην. (510-13)⁴⁴

⁴⁰ ὁ στρατηγός does not always imply military power. See Liddle H., & Scott R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

⁴¹ Cf. Robson J., *New Clothes, a New You: Clothing and Character in Aristophanes In The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. L. Cleland, M. Harlow and L. Llewellyn-Jones, Oxford: Oxbow Books 2005, 70-75.

⁴² Agathon and Mnesilochus in the *Thesmophoriazusae* have similar epithets. Evidently, Praxagora's complexion was not dark enough, which is implied in her epithet (428) (cf. also 385-87). See *The Comedies of Aristophanes: vol. 10, Ecclesiazusae*, 1998; Taaffe L., *The Illusion of Gender Disguise in Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae*, *Helios*, 18, 1991, 100.

⁴³ *So far, dear sisters, these our bold designs have all gone off successfully and well.*

⁴⁴ *I myself will steal into the house, and ere my husband see me, put back his overcloak, unnoticed, where I found it, and whatever else I took.*

The text accentuates Praxagora's own intention to take off man's clothes and retrieve her natural role. So, she never acts as a 'patient'; on the contrary, she is the 'agent', the person who can exercise power over others. The deeds by Praxagora and her followers (they have stolen their husbands' clothes) compel Blepyrus (as well as other men) to put on a woman's dress. Blepyrus loses the exterior sign of his male being (man's clothes), which equals to the loss of power: he stays at home (the female domain) and despite his wish is unable to join the Assembly (354, ff). Blepyrus' status is degraded, which is caused by his feminization. He has to accept woman's items: ἡμιδιπλοίδιον (318) (sc. κροκωτίδιον (332) and χιτώνιον (374), Περσικᾶς (319) (sc. ἐμβάδες (74) and κοθόρνω (346). Blepyrus unwillingly puts on the costume which resembles Agathon's female clothes in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (136-39) and which proves sufficient to dress up Mnesilochus as a woman (250-63).

Remarkably, Blepyrus (similarly to Mnesilochus) finds it disgraceful to wear woman's clothes. Clad in his wife dress, he is ashamed of his appearance. This is how he comments on his 'unusual attire' as he addresses Chremes:

ἐν τῷ σκότῳ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔτυχον ἔνδον λαβών. (375)⁴⁵

Leaving Blepyrus without man's clothes is also associated with death (the same way as Mnesilochus' failure in the *Thesmophoriazusae*: the women sentence him to 'capital punishment') (938).⁴⁶ Blepyrus reproaches Praxagora:

εἶτ' οὐ τὸ σαυτῆς ἱμάτιον ἐχρῆν σ' ἔχειν;
ἀλλ' ἐμ' ἀποδύσας, ἐπιβαλοῦσα τοῦγκυκλον,
ῥῆχου καταλιποῦσ' ὡσπερὲν προκείμενον,
μόνον οὐ στεφανώσας, οὐδ' ἐπιθείσα λήκυθον. (535-38)⁴⁷

Evidently, Blepyrus used his himation as a blanket as well (cf. 334). Praxagora takes it away and in return puts on his husband her own mantle (ἔγκυκλον). Blepyrus says his wife left him as a corpse ready to be buried. *πρόθεσις* – laying the dead in the house – was an essential element of the ancient Greek burial ritual.⁴⁸ A lecythos and a garland were regular attributes of *πρόθεσις*. A garland made from natural or artificial (waxen or metal) flowers or leaves was either put on the head of the dead or laid beside him.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ 'Twas dark indoors: I caught it up by chance.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Lys.*, 599-614.

⁴⁷ *Is that the reason why you did not put your mantle on? You threw it over my bed and took my overcloak, and left me lying like a corpse laid out; only I'd never a wreath, or bottle of oil.*

⁴⁸ See Garland R., *The Greek Way of Death*, London 1985, 23-31. Cf. the ritual of *πρόθεσις* (with garland and lecythos, which is later described in the comedy (1030 ff.)).

⁴⁹ Cf. 1034-35; *Lys.*, 602; *Eur.*, *Tro.*, 1223.

A lecythos is also an important attribute of the funeral ritual. In the course of *πρόθεσις*, lecythoi were placed around the dead body. During the funeral and later as well, they were put on the grave.⁵⁰ Through her deeds (taking her husband's things and stealing away at night) Praxagora denies Blepyrus' existence. In the comedy, loss of male clothes is equaled to death.⁵¹

Hence, Blepyrus' forcible disguise is linked to his passive status, feminization and defeat (loss of power, death), while Praxagora's dominant position in the course of dressing up is associated with her active status, masculinization and success (she usurps power). Interestingly, the opposition of their names (Praxagora – actor, and Blepyrus – viewer) suggests the active part of the former and the passive state of the latter.

Links between the forcible disguise of a male character and his failure and feminization are evident through one passage in the *Lysistrata*.⁵²

Lysistrata and her supporters forcibly put woman's clothes on Proboulos as he approaches the rebellious women (532-37). They put a veil (*κάλλυμμα*) on him (530), which they normally wear when they leave home⁵³ and have him carry a basket – *καλαθίσκον* (535), in which they put items necessary for carding the wool.⁵⁴ Proboulos' previous words indicate that woman's role was associated with a lower status:

ΠΡΟ. σοί γ', ὦ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ' γώ, καὶ ταῦτα
κάλλυμμα φορούση
περὶ τὴν κεφαλῆν; μή νυν ζώην. (529-31)⁵⁵

Evidently, keeping silence in the face of women is the same for Proboulos as accepting death. However, now the women take off and put on him their female attributes. Proboulos' failure to resist their 'assault' points to his passive role. He remains on the stage in the female attire almost throughout 100 lines (532-613). Proboulos' status is degraded through his dressing up as a woman. Now Lysistrata, the protagonist with masculine qualities, can keep

⁵⁰ See Garland, 1985, 36-37.

⁵¹ Cf. 994-97, 1030-33, 1105-11; *Lys.*, 599-607. Remarkably, forcible disarmament and loss of control over weapons is unambiguously linked to death in epics where weapons are taken off the defeated warriors. Interestingly, in epics beaten and divested heroes are identified with women (Il. 22. 124-25). See Compton-Engle, 2003, 507-35.

⁵² In general, the appearance and costume of a character is very important in *Lysistrata*'s scheme (46 ff., 149-54, 219-21).

⁵³ See *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, vol. 7, *Lysistrata*, ed. Sommerstein A. H., Warminster: Aris & Phillips 1990, 180; Stone 1981, 202-3.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Eccl.*, 88-92.

⁵⁵ *Silence for you? Stop for a wench with a wimple enfolding her? No, by the Powers, may I DIE if I do!*

him silent as if he was a woman.⁵⁶ Lysistrata has the dominant position – she can assert her superiority, which is expressed through her making Proboulos put on female clothes against his wish. The dispute between Lysistrata and Proboulos ends in Lysistrata's favor. Women drive Proboulos out. His failure is associated with feminization and death (as in the case with Mnesilochus and Blepyrus) (599-607).⁵⁷

Women see Proboulos off as if he was dead and get prepared for the funeral ritual. Lysistrata makes a honey cake for him (601) – traditionally, such a cake was put with a dead person so that he could cajole Cerberus in the Underworld.⁵⁸ Proboulos, as a dead man, is 'embellished' with a garland (602, 604).⁵⁹ He is given stripes (603), which are often tied around the dead body in the course of *πρόθεσις*.⁶⁰ More than that: Charon awaits Proboulos (606),⁶¹ and the women promise to bring an offering to the tomb on the third day from Proboulos' death (612-13).

Proboulos' transvestite disguise and later, his ritual death is linked to the loss of power: he who is the city authority by the law is deprived of his power (Lysistrata and her supporters dominate over the Acropolis). The women let Proboulos go humiliated and defeated.

Evidently, the transvestite disguises of an active and dominant character in comedy is associated with success while forcible dressing-up implies passiveness, subordination and disgrace and marks the failure of a character.

⁵⁶ See Taaffe, 1993, 48-73.

⁵⁷ Daniel Levine says that the practice of putting women's dress on men antagonists by their opponents (to make them feel disgraced) was the imitation of preparation for a death ritual. With Euripides' Pentheus, as well as with Proboulos, the practice marks the preparation for either direct or symbolic death. See Lysistrata and Bacchae: Structure, Genre, and Women on Top, Helios, 14 1987, 29-38. Cf. Seidensticker B., Comic Elements in Euripides' Bacchae, AJP, 99, 1978, 318; Aristophanes, Lysistrata, ed. J. Henderson, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987, 136.

⁵⁸ Cf. Verg. *Aen.*, 6. 420. Other sources present it as an offering to chthonic powers. Cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 507-8; Hdt. 8. 41. 2-3; Paus. 9. 39. 5. See The Comedies of Aristophanes, vol. 7, Lysistrata, 1990, 185; Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 1987, 147.

⁵⁹ A garland is related to the funeral ceremony. Cf. Eccl. 537-38, 1034-35. Proboulos, as if truly dead, is decorated with a wreath of flowers (natural or artificial) (602) as well as with a metal (probably gold) crown (604). Vase painting scenes frequently picture a dead person with a metal crown. The Comedies of Aristophanes, vol. 7, Lysistrata, 1990, 185; Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 1987, 147.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Eccl.*, 1032.

⁶¹ This passage is the reminiscence of Euripides' *Alcestis* (252-57).

Medea Metreveli (Tbilisi)

ΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΚΑ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΑΣ "ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΙΚΗΣ" ΣΤΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ Μ. ΚΑΡΑΓΑΤΣΗ

Δεν μπορεί να αρνηθεί κανείς την συγγραφική ιδιοφυΐα και το αφηγηματικό ταλέντο του Μ. Καραγάτση. Το πιο δυνατό πεζογραφικό ταλέντο, ο πιο γόνιμος και προικισμένος Έλληνας συγγραφέας της γενιάς του '30 έφερα στην Ελλάδα το σύγχρονο ευρωπαϊκό μυθιστόρημα. Ο σκοπός της μελέτης μας είναι να παρουσιάσουμε μια πλευρά του σκανδαλώδους καραγατσιακού έργου – την γυναικεία προσωπογραφία. Δημιουργός απίθανων σεξουαλικών σκηνών, πεζογράφος "σεξομανής", "ερωτικός προαγωγός", "αφροδισιολόγος του ελληνικού μυθιστορήματος" ταυτόχρονα είναι τέλειος αρχιτέκτονας των γυναικείων μορφών. Ο συγγραφέας με την μαστοριά και γούστο δημιούργησε και χάρισε στην Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία ωραίες και ξεχωριστές γυναικείες μορφές και χαρακτήρες. Η γυναικεία προσωπογραφία στα έργα του Καραγάτση είναι πραγματικά νατουραλιστική. Ο συγγραφέας αντιλαμβάνεται την γυναίκα σαν έργο τέχνης, σαν ομορφιά αυτή καθ' αυτή και από τα μυθιστορήματά του καταφέρει να μεταδώσει (στον αναγνώστη) όλα τα αισθήματα και τις συγκινήσεις του. Ο Γ. Χατζίνης ονόμασε τις ηρωίδες του Καραγάτση "μια θαυμαστή ανθρώπινη τελειότητα".¹ Ο Καραγάτσης είναι μαγεμένος, γοητευμένος από το γυναικείο κορμί, από τα μαλλιά και τα μάτια της γυναίκας. Μερικές φορές δημιουργείται εντύπωση πώς η λεπτομερειακή και συγχή περιγραφή των γυναικών είναι λίγο επιτηδευμένη και προσποιητική. Όπως φαίνεται όμως η πορεία αυτή για τον Καραγάτση παρουσιάζει ένα αντικείμενο απόλαυσης.

Η αντίληψη της *γυναίκας* από την πλευρά του συγγραφέα και γενικότερα περιγραφή των γυναικείων μορφών στα έργα του Καραγάτση δεν είναι συνηθισμένη για την ελληνική λογοτεχνία του 20^{ου} αιώνα. Ο συγγραφέας με

¹ Χατζίνης Γ., Το δώρο της ζωής, Ο Καραγάτσης μέσα από το έργο του, Αθήνα 1972, 97.

μεγάλη μαστοριά και με ιδιόρρυθμό του τρόπο περιγράφει την εξωτερική εμφάνιση των γυναικών, την κομψότητα, την ελκυστικότητα του κορμιού και την σεξουαλικότητα τους. Όμως ταυτόχρονα δημιουργεί και γυναικείες μορφές που διακρίνονται από έλλειψη σεξουαλικότητας και θηλυκότητας. Ο σκοπός μας είναι να παρουσιάσουμε Καραγατσική αντίληψη της γυναίκας, τους τρόπους που δημιουργεί τις γυναικείες μορφές, το στυλ του που πραγματικά είναι ιδιόρρυθμο και τις αποχρώσεις στην εξωτερική εμφάνιση των γυναικών, στις οποίες εφιστά την προσοχή μας ο συγγραφέας. Και πραγματικά ο Καραγάτσης ενδιαφέρεται για την παραμικρή λεπτομέρεια στην γυναικεία παρουσία. Από την κορφή ως τα νύχια η γυναίκα τραβά το ενδιαφέρον του συγγραφέα και γίνεται το βασικό στόχαστρο της έμπνευσής του.

Το κυριότερο πλεονέκτημα μίας γυναίκας για τον συγγραφέα είναι το κορμί της το οποίο είναι και η βασικότερη ένδειξη της θηλυκότητας και της σεξουαλικότητάς της. Ο Καραγάτσης θαυμάζει αυτόν τον πλούτο της γυναικείας μορφής. "Έχει μια γλύκα το κορμί της γυναίκας! Μια γλύκα!"² – λέει ένας ήρωας του μυθιστορήματος *To 10*.

Παρ' όλο που η Μαρία Ρούση δεν ανήκει στην κατηγορία των όμορφων γυναικών, το τέλειο και κρεατωμένο κορμί της υπογραμμίζει την θηλυκότητα της ηρωίδας:

*"Όμορφη ποτέ της δεν πρέπει να ήταν· μα είχε γλύκα σε 'λα της, και κάλεσα θυλικό. Κορμί κοντό, καλοκρεατωμένο και καλοπλασμένο, που αντιστάθηκε στο χρόνο νικηφόρα."*³ Μαρία Ρούση

Στα μυθιστορήματα του Καραγάτση βρίσκουμε πολλά αποσπάσματα με νατουραλιστικές περιγραφές των γυναικείων κορμιών. Αρκεί να θυμηθούμε την ηρωίδα του μυθιστορήματος *Γούγκερμαν* την Ντίνα την οποία με ηδυπαθή ματιά εξετάζει ο Γιούγκερμαν:

*"Το λεπτό λινό φόρεμα, ανοιχτό κι ελάχιστο, καλά εφαρμοσμένο και φορεμένο κατάσαρκα, αντί να κρύβη, ανάδειχνε πióτερο το κορμί της: τους σφαιρικούς μαστούς, που φύτρωναν χαμηλά κι είχαν τέλεια πληρότητα, σα να έσφυζαν βλαστεροί χυμοί κάτω από το πετσί τους· τον κυματιστό καταρράχτη της κοιλιάς, με τις απαλές καμπύλες· τους δυνατούς κι αρμονικούς· τη γυμνή στρογγυλή γάμπα· τα γλυπτά σφυρά· και το πόδι."*⁴ Ντίνα

Ο Καραγάτσης με τέτοια ακρίβεια και λεπτομέρεια περιγράφει την ηρωίδα του που δημιουργείται η εντύπωση, ότι ο αναγνώστης κοιτάζει έναν πίνακα μιας γυμνής γυναίκας:

² Καραγάτσης Μ., *To 10*, Αθήνα 2003, 580.

³ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Ο Κίτρινος Φάκελος*, Αθήνα 1956, 24.

⁴ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Β', Αθήνα 1998, 145.

*"Απόμεινε ολόγυμνη. Είχε όμορφο κορμί, σταράτο, καλοκρεατωμένο, αλλά με αρμονικές αναλογίες. Στήθος πλούσιο, καλοστεκούμενο· κοιλιά ρουφηχτή, με πυκνό καστανό τρίχωμα στο υπογάστριο. Το ίδιο και στις μασχάλες, δυο πλούσιες τούφες· όλο το άλλο δέρμα ήταν άτριχο, σχεδόν χωρίς χνούδι... Ήταν από κείνες τις γυναίκες που μόνο γυμνές φανερόνουν την ομορφιά του κορμιού τους· που το πιο καλοραμμένο φόρεμα τις ασχημίζει."*⁵ Μαρία Μακρή

*"Η ζέστη την πνίγει. Με κίνηση απότομη λευτερώνει το κορμί της από την εκνευριστική επαφή του νυχτικού. Τώρα είναι ολόγυμνη, πιο λευκή κι απ' τα λευκά σεντόνια. Είναι ελκυστική· είναι όμορφη. Ανοίγει τα μάτια και κοιτάζει το κορμί της, από τις απαλά ρόδινες σφαίρες τις φτέρνας ως τους μελαχρινούς κύκλους των μαστών."*⁶ Μαρίνα

Η ανάλυση των μυθιστορημάτων μας έδωσε την δυνατότητα να μιλήσουμε και για το γούστο του Καραγάτση. Η μελέτη μας απέδειξε ότι η ιδεώδης γυναίκα για τον συγγραφέα είναι μια γυναίκα τροφαντή και σαρκώδης. Μιλώντας για γυναικείο κορμί ο Καραγάτσης συχνά χρησιμοποιεί τις λέξεις: καλοκρεατωμένη, γεροδεμένη, σαρκώδης, νόστιμη, ορεκτική, τροφαντή, καλοπλασμένη, καλοφτιαγμένη, μεστωμένη κ.τ.λ. Τα παρακάτω αποσπάσματα θα παρουσιάσουν πιο καθαρά με πόση ευχαρίστηση και απόλαυση περιγράφει ο Καραγάτσης τις κρεατωμένες γυναίκες:

*"Άρχισε να περιεργάζεται τις διαβάτισσες. Νοστιμούλες, ναι... Ηλιοκαμένες και μαυρειδερές είναι Ρωμιές. Μα πρέπει να 'ναι πλούσιες σε ζουμιά. Κορμιά μικροφτιαγμένα, όλο νεύρο· ποδαράκια κομψά, έζυπνα ... Χεχέ! Στο κρεβάτι δεν θα στενοχωριέσαι μαζί τους. Θα νιώθουν καλά τι τους συμβαίνει."*⁷

*"Ως τριάντα χρόνων, μικροκαμωμένη, μα καλά κρεατωμένη, μπουλουκούλα."*⁸ Μαρίκα

*"Η άσπρη μπλούζα έδινε υποτυπώδη αναγλυφικότητα στο κορμί της· την έκανε κάπως ορεκτική."*⁹ Ενστάθεια

*"Η Μαρία (ανάμεσα είκοσι πέντε και τριάντα) ήταν κοπέλα τροφαντή, γεροδεμένη..."*¹⁰ Μαρία Μώρου.

Το ωραίο γυναικείο κορμί προκαλεί στον συγγραφέα ενδιαφέροντες συνειρμούς. Ο Καραγάτσης πολύ συχνά συγκρίνει το γυναικείο κορμί, όπως γενικά και την γυναίκα, με γάτα:

*"Πως θα έχανε τα φλογερά φιλιά της, το χαριτωμένο μουτράκι της, το γατίσιο μελαχρινό κορμί."*¹¹ Μάρθα Μετζελή

⁵ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 108-109.

⁶ Καραγάτσης Μ., Η Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα, Αθήνα 2001, 181.

⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', Αθήνα 1998, 46.

⁸ Ibid; 155.

⁹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 241.

¹⁰ Ibid; 78.

¹¹ Ibid; 179.

Σ' ένα άλλο μυθιστόρημα το γυναικείο κορμί ξαπλωμένο στην πολυθρόνα του θυμίζει έναν καταρράχτη:

*"Ο κορμός, καθώς είναι ριγμένος στη χαμηλή πολυθρόνα, έχει κυματισμό σάρκας αρμονικό· κάτι σαν καταρράχτης, που ξεσκινώντας απ' την πηγή του στήθους, χύνεται στη θάλασσα των λαγόνων."*¹² Λευκή

Στο μυθιστόρημα *Γιούγκερμαν* το γυναικείο κορμί είναι αριστούργημα φύσης φτιαγμένο από μεγάλο καλλιτέχνη:

*"Ήταν πια σ' όλη την άνθηση των είκοσι χρονών της. Θα 'λεγες φτιαγμένη από καλλιτέχνη, πού 'χε για νοητό πρότυπο την γνώση του ιδανικού κορμιού του θηλυκού ανθρώπου. Κι ήταν τόσο απράνταχτη η αχτινοβολία της μοναδικής ομορφιάς της, από τ' ανέμισμα των χαλκόξανθων μαλλιών ως το γεφύρι του μικρού τρυφερού ποδιού, πού οι πενήντα θεατές είχαν στηλώσει τα μάτια..."*¹³ Ντίνα

Για τον Καραγάτση η ομορφιά της γυναίκας είναι συνδεδεμένη με την ηλικία της. Οι επιθυμητές γυναικείες μορφές στα έργα του είναι νεαρές γυναίκες με νεαρά και σκληρά κορμιά. Αυτή η στάση του Καραγάτση φανερώνεται πιο έντονα σε μια σκηνή του μυθιστορήματος *Το 10*, που περιγράφονται κοιμισμένες νεαρές και ηλικιωμένες γυναίκες:

*"Οι γυναίκες είχαν σκεπαστεί με σεντόνια, να κρύψουν τη γύμνια τους. Αλλά μέσα στον ανήσυχο ύπνο της κάψας, πολλές τα κλώτσησαν, τα πέταξαν· και πρόβαλλάν στο φτωχό φως της αυγής τα μισόγυμνα κορμιά τους. Θέαμα δυσάρεστο ή ευχάριστο, ανάλογα με την ηλικία και τη σωματική διάπλαση της καθεμιάς. Μερικές γριές ήσαν απαίσιες, με χαλαρά κι άδροσα δέρματα πάνω σε κρέατα και ζίγκια νερουλιασμένα. Άλλες, πιο νέες, έδειχναν σάρκες τροφαντές και τρυφερές."*¹⁴

Σ' αυτό το σημείο άξιο λόγου θεωρούμε τις συζητήσεις των ηρώων του μυθιστορήματος για τα πλεονεκτήματα του νεαρού γυναικείου κορμιού:

*"Άλλα τι σχέση έχει η ομορφιά μπροστά στα νιάτα; Εσύ, κυρ Νίκο μου, προτιμάς μια τέως όμορφη σαρανταπεντάρα, από μια άσκημη εικοσάρα; Το φρέσκο κρέας έχει τη χάρη του..."*¹⁵

Ο Καραγάτσης είναι πολύ αυστηρός με τις γυναίκες που με τα χρόνια δεν προσέχουν τον εαυτό τους και τελικά χάνουν την σκληρότητα και την ελαστικότητα των κορμιών τους:

*"Πάχυνε τώρα τελευταία, έχασε τη φόρμα της. Την είχε πιάσει μια βουλιμία! Όλο μακαρόνια έτρωγε. Έτσι, άμα οι γυναίκες φτάσουν τα τριανταπέντε, το ρίχνουν στον ύπνο, το φαΐ και τα λοιπά."*¹⁶ Μαρίκα

¹² Καραγάτσης Μ., *Ο Κίτρινος Φάκελος*, 196.

¹³ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Β', 123-124.

¹⁴ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Το 10*, 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid*; 105.

¹⁶ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Α', 207.

Περιγράφοντας το γυναικείο κορμί ο συγγραφέας μας παρουσιάζει τις δικές του οπτικές προτεραιότητες. Το πρώτο και το σημαντικότερο πλεονέκτημα, που τονίζει την σεξουαλικότητα και την θηλυκότητα του γυναικειού φύλου, είναι "το πλούσιο", όμορφο στήθος, γλουτοί και πόδια. Διαβάζοντας τα έργα του Καραγάτση, ο αναγνώστης με την πρώτη ματιά θα πειστεί αυτό. Χωρίς διστακτικότητα ο συγγραφέας, ξεγυμνώνει τις ηρωίδες του μπροστά στον αναγνώστη και σχεδόν με πορνογραφική λεπτομέρεια περιγράφει την σκληρότητα και την πληρότητα του γυναικειού στήθους και των γλουτών:

*"Είχε ξεθλυκώσει το μπλουζάκι της κι έβγαζε έξω δυο μαστάρια καλοκρεατωμένα, σφιχτά, γεροστεκούμενα, με μεγάλες καστανόμαυρες ρώγες ορθωμένες."*¹⁷ Μπεμπέκα

*"Οι δυο σφαιρικοί μαστοί, οι σκληροί κι ελαστικοί, με τις ορθωμένες θηλές, που συμπιέζονταν στο κοκαλιάρικο στήθος του. Οι καλοκρεατωμένοι γλουτοί, που βάραιναν πανάλαφρα στα σκελετωμένα μεριά και τ' αχαμνό του υπογάστριου."*¹⁸ Μάρθα Μετζελή

*"Ήταν γυμνή, μόνο με μια κυλότα από άσπρο μισοδιάφανο νάυλον, που μόλις σκέπαζε το μελαχρινό δέρμα των πλούσιων γλουτών..."*¹⁹ Γιαννούλα

*"Το κορμί ήταν μακρύ, λιγνό, αρμονικότατο, με στέρνο πλατύ και στήθη άμεμπτα σφαιρικά, τοποθετημένα ψηλά κι ελεύθερα από κάθε υποστήριγμα."*²⁰ Κάθριν Μάκ-Λή

*"Σε κάθε στροφή, σε κάθε πήδημά της, οι δυο γεμάτοι κι ελεύθεροι μαστοί τρεμούλιαζαν αργά κι ελαστικά, μέσα στο κολλητό φουστάνι."*²¹ Ντίνα

*"...ο τροφαντός της κόρφοσ ανεβοκατέβαινε άρρυθμα, τρικυμισμένος από ανάσα κομπιαστή. Ολόγυρά της οι άντρες, με μάτια θολά και στόματα μισάνοιχτα, απ'όπου ανάβλυζαν βραχνές φωνές, κοινωνούσαν με τη φαντασία στον οργασμό της."*²² Ζάγκνα

Για τον Καραγάτση αυτά τα μέρη του γυναικειού κορμιού υπογραμμίζουν πιο έντονα την θηλυκότητα της γυναίκας. Είναι η δική του προσωπική αντίληψη της γυναικειάς ομορφιάς. Οι ηρωίδες που δεν έχουν τα παραπάνω πλεονεκτήματα, δεν διακρίνονται από καμία ιδιαίτερη σεξουαλικότητα και ο ίδιος ο συγγραφέας τις περιγράφει με κάποια αντιπάθεια. Η ηρωίδα του *10 η Σία* με την έλλληψη θηλυκότητά της προκαλεί στον Καραγάτση όχι μόνο σίχαμα αλλά και λύπη:

¹⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., *To 10*, 294.

¹⁸ *Ibid*; 358.

¹⁹ *Ibid*; 478.

²⁰ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 229.

²¹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Β', 126.

²² Καραγάτσης Μ., *Ο Συνταγματάρχης Λιαπκίν*, Αθήνα 2000, 186.

*"Αυτή η μύξα, το σίχαμα του γυναικείου φύλου, η δίχως στήθια και γλουτούς, η τάβλα, η πιο τάβλα κι από αγόρι."*²³ Σία

Οι γυναίκες του Καραγάτση ούτε που υπονιάζονται ότι, περπατώντας, χιλιάδες μάτια αντρών καρφώνουν το βλέμμα με φλογερή επιθυμία στο "σάλεμα" των γλουτών τους:

*"Μπροστά του πήγαινε η Άννα, με σεινάμενους γλουτούς."*²⁴ Άννα Λέφα

*"Κατέβηκε γοργά τη σκάλα, σαλεύοντας υποβλητικά τους σαρκωμένους της γλουτούς."*²⁵ Μαρία

*"Ξύπνησε μέσα του ο λάγνος πίθηκος. Έριχνε ζερβόδεξα ύπουλες ματιές, στα πόδια και τα καπούλια των γυναικών."*²⁶

Τα ωραία, ορεκτικά, κρεατωμένα πόδια της γυναίκας από την μεριά τους παίζουν αρκετά σημαντικό ρόλο στην θυλικότητα μιας γυναίκας. Είναι πολύ ενδιαφέρον ότι στα έργα του Καραγάτση βρίσκουμε πολλές περιγραφές των γυναικείων ποδιών. Ο συγγραφέας, οξύτετος παρατηρητής της λεπτομέρειας, περιγράφει τα σχήματα της γάμπας, της φτέρνας και της σφύρας. Δημιουργείται η εντύπωση ότι ο Καραγάτσης το κάνει με μεγάλη ευχαρίστηση και επιθυμία.

*"Τα γυμνά πόδια ήσαν μικρά, ντελικάτα, με καλοχωρισμένα δάχτυλα, φτέρνα στενόμακρη ψηλά, σφαιρική χαμηλά."*²⁷ Σοφία Παντοφλίτσα

*"Είχε σφυρά ντελικάτα φτέρνα μικρή, καλοπλασμένη και ρόδινη."*²⁸ Άννα Λέφα

*"Όσο για το πόδι, αυτό είχε άλλη χάρη. Κρεατωμένο, παχουλούτσικο, αχτινοβολούσε αφροδισιασμό μες' απ' το γοβάκι. Κι η αρχή της γάμπας, ύστερ' από 'να μέτριο σε χόντρος αστράγαλο, είχε πληρότητα συγκλονιστική."*²⁹ Μαρίκα

Στην εξωτερική εμφάνιση της πρωταγωνίστριας του μυθιστορήματος *Κίτρινος Φάκελος* της Μαρίας Ρούση ο Καραγάτσης υπογραμμίζει το πλεονέκτημα των ορεκτικών ποδιών της γυναίκας:

*"Όπως έχει σταυρώσει τα πόδια της, η μια γάμπα της εκτείνεται καλοσχεδιασμένη και καλοκρεατωμένη, συμπληρωμένη από πόδι μικροφτιαγμένο και παχουλό."*³⁰ Μαρία Ρούση

²³ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 353.

²⁴ Ibid; 89.

²⁵ Ibid; 437.

²⁶ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 121.

²⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 233.

²⁸ Ibid; 89.

²⁹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 156.

³⁰ Καραγάτσης Μ., Ο Κίτρινος Φάκελος, 93.

Το ωραίο γυναικείο πόδι, κατά τον Καραγάτση χάνει τη βασική λειτουργία (που υπονοεί το βάδισμα), και παίρνει τη άλλη διάσταση – μεταμορφώνεται σε αντικείμενο ηδονής για το αρσενικό φύλο:

*"Ήταν ξαπλωμένη στην πολυθρόνα, σε στάση όχι πολύ σεμνή. Καθώς είχε σταυρώσει τα πόδια, το φουστάνι της ανέβηκε ως το γόνατο, ξεσκεπάζοντας τις γάμπες. Κι όσο περνούσε ο χρόνος, δίνοντας στο κορμί της κι άλλη θηλυκότητα, οι γάμπες αυτές τελειοποιούνταν, ωριμάζαν, ξέφευγαν ολότελ' απ' τον τύπο του περιπατητικού άκρου, για να γίνουν αντικείμενο ηδονής. Και τ' ωραιότερο πόδι του κόσμου, κάτω από το γενετήσιο πλάσμα του, εξακολουθεί να μένει πόδι, μ' όλα τα γνωρίσματα ενός ποδιού. Μα στην Ντίνα δεν εφαρμοζόταν αυτός ο κανόνας· ωσάν η Φύση να της έδωσε τα κάτω άκρα για την αποκλειστική ηδονή των αρσενικών κι όχι για να περπατάη."*³¹ Ντίνα

Είναι φανερό ότι τα καλοφτιαγμένα γυναικεία πόδια δίνουν μεγάλη ευχαρίστηση τόσο στους πρωταγωνιστές των μυθιστορημάτων του Καραγάτση, όσο και στον ίδιο τον συγγραφέα. Ο Καραγάτσης με την άπειρη δημιουργική φαντασία του τα συγκρίνει τότε με κολόνες, τότε με σπαθιά και τότε με ελληνικά αγάλματα:

*"...μεριά κολόνες δωρικού ναού, γάμπες σπαθιά δαμασκηνά, πόδια καμαρωτά μες στ' ανοιχτά πασουμάκια, με δάχτυλα καλοσχεδιασμένα, καλοχωρισμένα, και ακακοπάθιαστα από στενό παπούτσι."*³² *Ηρώιδα χωρίς όνομα*

*"Οι γυμνές σταυρωμένες γάμπες απόληγαν σε πόδι μικρό, γεμάτο... που μόλις το έκρυσαν τ' ανοιχτά σαντάλια. Πόδι ελληνικού αγάλματος, μοναδικό ηθονικό εργαλείο για τους μύστες."*³³ Ντίνα

Μιλώντας για το γυναικείο κορμί ο Καραγάτσης όχι σπάνια επιστράτη προσοχή του αναγνώστη στο γυναικείο δέρμα, στο χρώμα του. Το μαλακό, βελουδίνο και λευκό γυναικείο δέρμα δεν αφήνει αδιάφορο τον συγγραφέα, επειδή υπογραμμίζει έντονα την τρυφερότητα και την θηλυκότητα του γυναικείου φύλου":

*"Κι ήταν ολόγυμνη, λευκή σαν οπτασία μέσ' στο σκοτάδι· κάτι σα γαλατένια συγκέντρωση της αστροφεγγιάς. Μοναδικά ωραία."*³⁴ Ντίνα

*"Το άσπρο δέρμα της πρέπει να' ταν σα βελούδο απλωμένο σε πούπουλα, τρυφερό και ζεστό πράμα· αδύνατο να υπάρχουν κόκαλα από κάτω, θα φαριστιέται το χέρι να τριγυρνάη."*³⁵ Μαρίκα

Αγγίζοντας το βελουδένιο δέρμα της πρωταγωνίστριας του *Κίτρινου Φακέλου* της Μαρίας Ρούση ο Μάνος Τασάκος χάνει τα μυαλά του:

³¹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Β', 24-25.

³² Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 568-69.

³³ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 330.

³⁴ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Β', 181.

³⁵ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 155.

*"Της έβγαλε τα παπούτσια, κι ύστερα τις κάλτσες. Η επαφή της θερμής και βελουδένιας σάρκας των μεριών, του μαστίγωσε τα νεφρά. Χάιδεψε με λαχτάρα τα λαλοφτιαγμένα πόδια και σκόρπισε, σ' όλη τους την έκταση, ένα κομπολόι από γοργά φιλιά."*³⁶

Εκφραστικά, ζωντανά, γεμάτα φως, έξυπνα, προκλητικά, ηδυπαθή, σατανικά, παιγνιδιάρικα, γεμάτα αυτοπεποίθηση. Όλα αυτά τα επίθετα ανήκουν στα *γυναικεία μάτια*. Ο Καραγάτσης αρκετά συχνά τονίζει την ελκυστικότητα και τη μαγεία των ματιών της γυναίκας, που καθιστούν τους ήρωες θύματα του σαγηνευτικού γυναικείου βλέμματος, δούλοι των μεγάλων ματιών:

*"Μα η γοητεία των ματιών της ήταν απροσμέτρητη. Ωραία μάτια γαλανά και ψυχρά, γεμάτα πεποίθηση και πρόκληση..."*³⁷ *Μαρία*

*"Όσο για τα μάτια, τα μαντεύω, Μεγάλα, γαληνεμένα, βαθύχρωμα, κάτω απ' τις μακριές αναγερετές βλεφαρίδες."*³⁸ *Λευκή*

Στα μυθιστορήματά του ο Καραγάτσης δείχνει προτίμηση στα καστανά μάτια και αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από την συχνή χρήση των ματιών αυτού του χρώματος. Οι περισσότερες ηρωίδες του πραγματικά έχουν καστανά, κάποτε και σκούρα καστανά μάτια:

*"...με μάτια το ίδιο καστανά, δυσανάλογα μεγάλα μέσα στη λιγνή μορφή, γεμάτα φως και ρέμβη – κάτι σαν έκφραση υποταγής στο Πεπρωμένο."*³⁹ *Βούλα*

*"...μάτια καστανά εκφραστικά, έξυπνα κι ανήσυχα."*⁴⁰ *Βιργινία*

*"Τα μάτια όμως άξιζαν ό,τι και να πης! Καστανά, μισόκλειστα, γελαστά και λαγγεμένα μαζί, που πρέπει να λίγωναν πολύ υποβλητικά κάποιες στιγμές..."*⁴¹ *Μαρίκα*

*"Τον ευχαρίστησε με ματιά εκφραστική. Τα μάτια της ήταν πραγματικά ωραία, βαθυκάστανα, ήρεμα."*⁴² *Ελενίτσα*

Ο κυριότερος λόγος για τον οποίο ο πρωταγωνιστής του *Γιουγκερμαν* ο Βάσιας θέλει να κατακτήσει την Βούλα είναι τα μαγευτικά μάτια της. Εδώ έχει ενδιαφέρον να επισημάνουμε ότι η κοπέλα είναι εντελώς αντιερωτική για τον Βάσια και δεν ικανοποιεί καθόλου το γούστο του:

"Ο Βάσιας χαμογέλασε βλέποντας το ανύπαρχο σχεδόν κορμάκι, τα καλαμένα χέρια, τις αδύνατες γαμπίτσες. Όταν όμως τον πλησίασε κι είδε από κοντά τα μεγάλα καστανά μάτια, κάτω από το πλούσιο στέμμα των ανυπόταχτων μαλλιών, κοντοστάθηκε κυριευμένος από άλλα αισθήματα. Τούτη

³⁶ Καραγάτσης Μ., Ο Κίτρινος Φάκελος, 146.

³⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., Η Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα, 18.

³⁸ Καραγάτσης Μ., Ο Κίτρινος Φάκελος, 196.

³⁹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 28.

⁴⁰ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 196.

⁴¹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 155.

⁴² Ibid; 311.

τη στιγμή, το σώμα του βρισκόταν εξαγνισμένο απ' ορέξεις, ένιωσε πως ίσως να υπήρχε ηδονή στο αγκαλιάσματα του φτωχού αυτού κορμιού· και μάλιστα, αν κοιτούσες τα μάτια – μόνο τα μάτια- να βασιλεύουν στους θολούς οκεανούς...⁴³ Βούλα

Δίπλα στις καστανομάτες γυναίκες ο συγγραφέας παρουσιάζει και γαλανομάτες, πρασινομάτες, μενεξεδενομάτες, σταχομάτες και χρυσομάτες γυναίκες. Τα γαλανά μάτια ο Καραγάτσης άλλες φορές τα ονομάζει διαβολικά και άλλες φορές αγγελικά μάτια. Παραδείγματος χάριν, τα μάτια της πρωταγωνίστριας του *Γιούγκερμαν*, της Ντίνας, ο Καραγάτσης τα ονομάζει "σατανικά μάτια".⁴⁴

*"το χαρακτηριστικό σημάδι της ομορφιάς ήταν τα μάτια. Γαλανά κι αυτά, μα κάπως σκορρότερα, μ' ελαφρή πράσινη απόχρωση, τραβηγμένα προς τους κροτάφους λοζά, μ' έκφραση διαβολική."*⁴⁵ Ντίνα

*"...μάτια γαλανά, μεγάλα, αγγελικότατα."*⁴⁶ Ελέν

*"...μάτια πρασινοπά, γεμάτα φλόγα μισόθολη ακόμα από τον ύπνο τον αχόρταστο."*⁴⁷ Δασκάλα

*"Τα μάτια – μεγάλα, γαλανά, λοζά προς τους κροτάφους – αντιφέγγιζαν όλη τη μοχθηρία της ψυχής της. Ήταν όμορφη..."*⁴⁸ Μαρίνα

Στο μυθιστόρημα *Γιούγκερμαν* συναντάμε μάτια μενεξεδένια και χρυσά. Τα μενεξεδένια μάτια έχουν μόνο οι τρεις ηρωίδες του έργου: η Νιονία, η Λιλία – η μητέρα του Γιούγκερμαν και η Βαλέρι. Μόνο μία ηρωίδα εμφανίζεται με χρυσά μάτι – η κυρία Αντωνοπούλου:

*"Η Βαλέρι τον κοιτούσε με τα μενεξεδένια μάτια της."*⁴⁹ Βαλερι

*"Τα χρυσά εξύπνα μάτια της, αντί ν' αποφύγουν το βλέμμα του, τον κοιτούσαν σαστισμένα· ίσως ευχαριστημένα."*⁵⁰ κυρία Αντωνοπούλου

Ο Καραγάτσης δεν μιλάει με λιγότερο θαυμασμό για την ομορφιά και την γοητεία των *γυναικείων μαλλιών*. Τα όμορφα μαλλιά δίνουν στις ηρωίδες του περισσότερη σεξουαλικότητα και ελκυστικότητα. Ο συγγραφέας, μαζί με τα άλλα πλεονεκτήματα της γυναίκας, μας περιγράφει λεπτομερειακά τα ξανθά, τα μαύρα και τα καστανά μαλλιά που προσθέτουν στο ιδανικό κορμί της γυναίκας περισσότερη αρμονία και μυστικότητα. Παρ' όλο που για τον Καραγάτση ομοίως ελκυστικές είναι οι ξανθιές, οι μελαχρινές και οι καστανομάλλες γυναίκες, πρέπει να παρατηρήσουμε ότι ο συγγραφέας

⁴³ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Α', 287-88.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*; 330.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*; 312.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*; 312.

⁴⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Ο Συνταγματάρχης Λιαπκίν*, 61.

⁴⁸ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Η Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 212.

⁴⁹ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Α', 193.

⁵⁰ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Β', 150.

εφιστά περισσότερη προσοχή στα καστανά και στα ξανθά μαλλιά. Το κοινό χαρακτηριστικό που αφορά τις "ευνοούμενες ηρωίδες" του συγγραφέα είναι τα πυκνά, φουντωτά και κυματιστά μαλλιά:

*"Τα μαλλιά, καστανά προς το χαλκοκόκκινο – σπανιότατο χρώμα – σκέπαζαν το στενό μέτωπο, το πίεζαν από παντού με κυματιστές τούφες, και κατέβαιναν θεληματικά προς τη σμίξη των φρυδιών."*⁵¹ Ντίνα

*"Οι ξανθές μπούκλες, ξεφεύγοντας απ' το μπερέ, στεφάνωναν το κεφάλι της με φως."*⁵² Μαρίνα

*"Τα ξανθά μαλλιά, με τους φυσικούς κυματισμούς, κατεβαίνουν με χάρη στον ψηλόλιγνο αυχένα."*⁵³ Σοφία Παντοφλίτσα

Την ομορφιά της γυναίκας και τα ωραία χαρακτηριστικά του προσώπου της υπογραμμίζουν ακριβώς τα ωραία μαλλιά που τονίζουν περισσότερο την ελκυστικότητα μιας γυναίκας. Τα ωραία μαλλιά ο συγγραφέας τα συγκρίνει με στεφάνι πάνω απ' το κεφάλι της γυναίκας:

*"Το σύνολο στεφανωμένο από μαλλιά ξανθά προς το σταχτί, που συμπλήρωναν σα φωτοστέφανος την παρθενική, την εξιδανικευμένη μορφή της."*⁵⁴ Έλεν

Στην εξωτερική εμφάνιση της γυναίκας ο Καραγάτσης ενδιαφέρεται για όλες τις λεπτομέρειες. Με την άπειρη φαντασία του ο συγγραφέας δίνει στα μαλλιά των γυναικών διάφορες αποχρώσεις. Παραδείγματος χάριν, τα μαλλιά της Ντίνας στο *Γιούγκερμαν* έχουν χαλκόχρυση απόχρωση.⁵⁵

*"Τα μαλλιά της όμως ήταν όμορφα, κυματιστά, ολόμαυρα με κνανές αναλαμπές."*⁵⁶ Ντίνα

*"...τα πυρόξανθα μαλλιά της, τα χτενισμένα σε τεχνικές μπούκλες, τα μρωμένα μια ιδέα γιασεμί."*⁵⁷ Κάθριν Μακ-λή

Ο Καραγάτσης έχει εμψυχώσει τα γυναικεία μαλλιά που με τον άνεμο "παίζουν τρελά" γύρω από την γυναίκα:

*"Φορεί ένα μπερέ μπεζ, και τα καστανά μαλλιά παίζουν τρελά ολόγυρα."*⁵⁸ Εφη

Αξιο λόγου θεωρούμε και τον ρόλο των *χειλιών* στην εξωτερική εμφάνιση των γυναικών. Οι γυναίκες του Καραγάτση είναι πλάσματα γμάτα ζωή που με την ομορφιά και την προκλητικότητα τους δεν αφήνουν αδιάφορους τους άντρες. Γι' αυτό το λόγο τα ελκυστικά πρόσωπα τους

⁵¹ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Α', 312.

⁵² Καραγάτσης Μ., *Η Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 211-12.

⁵³ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Το 10*, 489.

⁵⁴ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Α', 312.

⁵⁵ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Β', 146.

⁵⁶ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Το 10*, 129.

⁵⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Α', 237.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*; 411.

πρέπει να στολιζόνται από τα ηδυπαθή, επιθυμητά χείλη που προσθέτουν στις γυναίκες τελειότητα και αρμονία. Μαζί με τα άλλα γυναικεία πλεονεκτήματα οι γυναίκες του Καραγάτση έχουν σαρκώδη, κόκκινα, ηδυπαθή χείλη:

*"...χείλια σαρκώδη και πάντα μισάνοιχτα, έτοιμα να ρουφήξουν τη γλώσσα ή οτιδήποτε άλλο του σερνικού."*⁵⁹ Μπεμπέκα

*"Τα δροσερά σαρκωμένα χείλη, που φτερούγιζαν πηδηχτά πάνω στο πρόσωπό του..."*⁶⁰ Μάρθα Μετζελή

*"Όμορφα χείλια, λίγο μεγάλα ίσως, μα πού υπόσχονται και κρατούν υποσχέσεις τους."*⁶¹ Μαρίκα

Στα μυθιστορήματα βρίσκουμε πολλές ενδιαφέρουσες συγκρίσεις που κάνει ο Καραγάτσης σε σχέση με τις γυναίκες. Οι συγκρίσεις αυτές ακόμη μια φορά επιβεβαιώνουν την πρωτοτυπία και ιδιομορφία της καραγατσικής αντίληψης της γυναίκας και την πλούσια φαντασία του. Αρκετά συχνά ο Καραγάτσης συγκρίνει την γυναίκα με την γάτα ή τον τίγρη:

*"Χαμογέλασε γλυκά· με γιατίσια κίνηση χάιδεψε τα μεταξένια, τα σγουρά και καστανά μαλλιάκια της..."*⁶² Μάρθα Μετζελή

*"Μ' ένα παίξιμο των ματιών είπε το ναι· και σφίχτηκε απάνω του σαν ζαναμμένη γάτα."*⁶³ Ηρωίδα χωρίς όνομα

*"Τον έπαιξε όπως η γάτα το ποντίκι."*⁶⁴ Ντίνα

*"Τα νερουλιασμένα, τα πεθαμένα, τ'αχρωμα γαλανά μάτια της πήραν, για μια στιγμή, την έκφραση μιας ζωής άγριας, πρωτόγονης, φρικιαστικής... Έτσι θα κοίταζε μια λυσσαγμένη θηλυκιά γριά τίγρη το νεαρό σερνικό..."*⁶⁵ Κατερίνα

Κάποτε οι ηρωίδες του Καραγάτση μοιάζουν με άψυχα, ωραία, ξόανα και κάποτε με αρχαίες προτομές με αυστηρά χαρακτηριστικά προσώπου:

*"Ήταν ακίνητη, ανέκφραστη, μυστηριώδης και πανέμορφη. Σαν άγαλμα: Όχι. Σαν ξόανο πρωτόγονου τεχνίτη, πού απόδινε την ομορφιά, μα πού η ψυχή του ξέφευγε."*⁶⁶ Ντίνα

*"...η μορφή είχε την αυστηρή ομορφιά πού μόνο στις αρχαίες προτομές συναντιέται: μύτη ολόσια· χείλια κοντυλογραμμένα πάνω σε δόντια πάλλευκα, ανεγάδιαστα· και μάτια μεγάλα, καστανά, βαθιά σαν θάλασσα της όστριας..."*⁶⁷ Η ηρωίδα χωρίς όνομα

⁵⁹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 45.

⁶⁰ Ibid; 358

⁶¹ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Α', 155.

⁶² Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 361.

⁶³ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Β', 152.

⁶⁴ Ibid; 169.

⁶⁵ Καραγάτσης Μ., Ο Κίτρινος Φάκελος, 42.

⁶⁶ Καραγάτσης Μ., Γιούγκερμαν, τ. Β', 129.

⁶⁷ Καραγάτσης Μ., Το 10, 569.

Πολύ πρωτότυπη είναι η σύγκριση του γυναικείου χεριού με το κομπολόι (το χέρι της όμορφης γυναίκας στο χέρι του γέρου μοιάζει με κομπολόι):

"...ένα όμορφο γυναικείο χέρι είναι κάτι σαν κομπολόι στα χέρια ενός γέρου μελλοθάνατου. Μετράει, στο κεχριμπάρι των δαχτυλιών, τα χρόνια της επιθυμίας."⁶⁸ Ντίνα

Τα γυμνά, λευκορόδινα γυναικεία πόδια στο σκοτάδι παρομοιάζονται με άστρα:

"Τα γυμνά πόδια, λευκορόδινα και λιγνοκαμωμένα, έλαμπαν σαν μουντά αστέρια μέσ' στο μισόφωτο."⁶⁹ Δασκάλα

και το γέλιο της γυναίκας ο συγγραφέας συγκρίνει με έναν "γαργαρό" καταρράχτη που γεμίζει ολόγυρα με "ήχους επουράνιας γλυκάδας":

"Κι ήταν τόσο γοητευτικό το γέλιο της! Ένας γάρφαρος καταρράχτης από κρύσταλλα, που γέμιζε την καμάρα με ήχους επουράνιας γλυκάδας."⁷⁰ Μάρθα Μετζελή

Στο *Γιούγκερμαν* βρίσκουμε ένα ιδιαίτερα συγκινητικό επεισόδιο, όπου η θηλάζουσα νεαρή γυναίκα με το μωρό στα χέρια συγκρίνεται με τη Παναγία:

"Φορούσε το λευκό νυφικό, με το πέπλο ριγμένο πίσω. Στα χέρια κρατούσε το παιδί της και θηλάζε. Το μικρό κάτασπρο και διάφανο στήθος της ξεπετιόταν δειλά, παρθενικά, από το ανοιχτό μπούστο... με το κεφάλι σκυμμένο, κοιτούσε το παιδί της και χαμογελούσε. Κι ήταν τόσο όμορφη, άυλη, ξανθή, λευκή, αγνή, παρθενική κάτω από τους λεμονανθούς των μαλλιών της, πού έμοιαζε με θηλάζουσα Παναγιά κάποιου πρωτοπόρου ζωγράφου του Βορρά: του *Duerer* του *Holbein* του *Cranach*..."⁷¹ Ελέν

Όπως βλέπουμε, στην αντίληψη της γυναίκας ο Καραγάτσης δείχνει προτίμηση στη λεγόμενη σωματική αρχή. Δηλαδή το γυναικείο κορμί για τον συγγραφέα αποτελεί το σημαντικότερο χαρακτηριστικό της γυναικείας οπτικής ουσίας. Ιδιαίτερη τεχνική φόρτιση στην "αρχιτεκτονική" της γυναίκας έχουν: τα πόδια, το στήθος και οι γλουτοί. Όσον αφορά το γυναικείο πρόσωπο, είναι φυσικό ότι ο συγγραφέας στρέφει την προσοχή του στα γυναικεία μαλλιά και μάτια και στο χρώμα τους. Δηλαδή μπορούμε να πούμε, ότι ο Μ. Καραγάτσης αντιλαμβάνεται την εξωτερική εμφάνιση μίας γυναίκας με τα χαρακτηριστικά τα οποία στην ίδια τονίζουν την θηλυκότητά της.

Τολμάμε να πούμε ότι το караγατσιακό μεγαλείο δεν είναι μόνο οι ατελείωτες σεξουαλικές σκηνές που κυριαρχούν στα έργα του, αλλά είναι αυτά τα ζωντανά πρόσωπα, που ύστερα από το θάνατο του συγγραφέα τους σηραχίζουν να υπάρχουν και να αγαπιούνται από τον αναγνώστη.

⁶⁸ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Β', 408.

⁶⁹ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Ο Συνταγματάρχης Λιαπκίν*, 61.

⁷⁰ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Το 10*, 366.

⁷¹ Καραγάτσης Μ., *Γιούγκερμαν*, τ. Β', 194-95.

Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi)

EURIPIDES' *MEDEA*: SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF EURIPIDEAN HEROINE

It is a long time that the specialists of Classical Philology have been discussing the magical power and oriental barbarism of Medea in Euripides' tragedy of the same name. A number of scholars, who claimed, that Euripidean Medea was a sorceress and an oriental barbarian went so far as to exclude Medea altogether from the social context of the author's time. (Though the declaration of Medea's magical power and barbarism as a main component of this character didn't mean, that for them Medea wasn't a tragic human heroine at all). It appears to be a bit curious conception taking into consideration, that Euripides was regarded as a "carrier of feminist ideas" mainly due to the artistic interpretation of Medea. For instance in Grube's opinion although in her programmatic speech Medea is speaking as a fifth-century woman, further scenes bring to the fore another aspects of Medea's character: the sorceress and barbaric side.¹ Schmid writes: "den lässt der Dichter noch wissen, dass sie als barbarin eine Tat verüben konnte, der eine Griechin nicht fähig gewesen wäre und das die Täterin eine Zauberin ist, d.h. er stellt sie ausserhalb des Kreises normaler griechischer Weiblichkeit".²

Conacher and Lesky held more moderate position in the interpretation of Medea from this viewpoint; E.g. Lesky considered that although Medea's witchcraft had its place in the development of the heroine's story, Euripides tried to make his audience forget a witch in favour of an individual.³ Conacher writes, "Pre-Euripidean Medea showed little affinity with the tragic or even with heroic type... while denying her neither her fury nor her magic,

¹ Grube G. M. A., *The Drama of Euripides*, London 1941, 153-154.

² Schmid W., – Stählin O., *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, B. III, München 1940, 360.

³ Lesky A., *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1972, 147.

he yet makes her a woman of stature, of potentially tragic power".⁴ Yet the scholar interprets Medea as a sorceress and a barbarian together with a tragic human individual. In the very stimulating article "The *Medea* of Euripides" Knox criticized such an attitude toward Euripidean Medea. In his opinion the dramatist hardly mentions the popular story of Medea's sorcery (rejuvenation/murder of Pelias) and when he does it, it is described simply in the blandest of terms, it is described simply as a murder - "I killed Pelias the most painful way to die, at the hands of his own daughters" (Med. 486 ff.) – without any of the sensational details.⁵ According to Knox until the end of the play, when she herself is transformed into some kind of superhuman being, she is merely a helpless betrayed wife and mother. She has only two resources: cunning and poison.⁶

On the other hand there are scholars, who completely deny the magic power of the daughter of Aetes. Here is an example of such consideration: "Scholars are wrong in thinking, that Medea is a madwoman, an incarnate witch, a woman possessed of a daemon. For Euripides she is a pure woman, but woman at the mercy of her own destructive powers, wounded in the weakest and most sensitive part of her nature".⁷ Euripidean Medea's human, normal aspects have been emphasized in German (and more rarely Italian) literature. For instance, Rohdich speaks about the difficulties occurring before Euripides, when he tried to free Medea from so-called "monstrous" image of the tradition and place her in a category of normal women.⁸ Together with Knox we assume, that such an attitude goes too far in the opposite direction. Medea undoubtedly is an exceptional, extraordinary woman, different from the others. This difference is achieved with the help of certain aspects, which are called magic by some of the specialists, though we prefer to characterize them by the more delicate term "inhuman aspects" and which at the end of the play make Medea something more than human. And then main thing is to reveal the scale and the importance of this very aspect in the Euripidean heroine. For this aim we tried to discuss the passages of the play, which provide us at least with some information about the magic power of the Colchian princess.

First of all the information about Medea's sorcery should have been found in the monologue of the Nurse, where the Nurse tells the audience the past story of her lady, story of her just before Jason abandoned her. But there is

⁴ Conacher D.J., *Euripidean Drama; Myth, Theme and Structure*, Toronto 1967, 186.

⁵ Knox B. M. W., 'The *Medea* of Euripides' in (edd.) Gould T. F., Herington C. J., *Greek Tragedy*, YCLS, 25, 1979, 193-225, 214.

⁶ Knox, 1979, 214.

⁷ Musurillo H., *Euripides' Medea: A Reconsideration*, AJP, v. 87, №1, 1966, 52-74, 73.

⁸ Rohdich H., *Die Euripideische Tragödie, Untersuchungen zu ihrer Tragik*, Heidelberg 1968, 44-46.

everything – story of love, loyalty, betrayal of the motherland, Medea's emotions and misfortunes after Jason's treachery – everything except her sorcery. The Nurse just briefly mentions Pelias' murder here and it is presented as a fact without any magic context (Med. 8-10).

The second passage of our interest is undoubtedly the scene of Creon's and Medea's meeting. The king of Corinth is afraid of Medea as Medea is threatening to kill her daughter. Creon believes, that Medea can really fulfill her threat, as she is a wise woman – σοφή πέφυκας and knows much evil – κακῶν πολλῶν ὕδρις (Med. 285). His phrase is a clear argument for the scholars, who argue Medea's witchcraft. And indeed by the term σοφία Creon implies the very knowledge, which helped Jason to escape from Colchis and which murdered Pelias. Creon remembers Medea's past story well enough. Medea herself admits that she is "σοφή", though what she speaks about was a "new intellectual, enlightened outlook of the great sophistic teachers and generation they taught", as Knox explains.⁹ But this "σοφία" (intellectual outlook) was scary too for the Athenian society, for Creon and others. For her aims Medea uses the scary nature of "these knowledges", the trait they have in common and on this ground mixes the magic knowledge implied by Creon with the intellectual one. The manipulation is done so skillfully, that Creon can't even realize that the discussion was turned to the different subject. However, this is a real hint at Medea's magic power. The audience should not forget, that Medea is not an ordinary woman (she could have made such an impression in the previous scene talking to the Corinthian women), but something more.

The next passage reminding us of Medea's witchcraft is the scene of her first meeting with Jason. Here the heroine's sorcery is not only just briefly told. Here Medea herself speaks about it and furiously reminds her treacherous husband of the deeds she has done for his sake: "I saved thee .../Thee sent to quell the flame-outbreathing bulls/ with yoke-bands, and to sow the tilth of death. / The dragon, warder of the Fleece of Gold/ that sleepless kept it with his manifold coils/ I slew, and raised deliverance light for thee" (Med. 470 ff.) Undoubtedly the folk-tale witch is presented here before the audience. To defeat the dragon, to subdue the fire-breathing bulls, to sew the dragon's teeth are by all means the characteristics of sorcery, magic.

The scene of the meeting with Aegeus presents spectators with an extraordinary wisdom of this woman. The audience should be impressed by the respect the king shows toward Medea. In Conacher's opinion Aegeus doesn't

⁹ Knox, 1979, 212.

speak in the tone which one reserves for a witch doctor. Medea's utterances acquire a sort of brisk professionalism and are completely different in tone from other speeches (esp. Med. 672-86). Throughout the play only here is Medea presented as a specialist, a professional "wise woman".¹⁰ And to remember – Greeks didn't associate healing childlessness with witchcraft.

After the encounter with Aegeus a drastic change occurs in Medea's plans – Medea declares that she is going to murder her children. Apart from cunning she has another weapon – poison. She sends the poisoned gift to the princess. It is not easy to give a clear answer if the use of poison was regarded as an undoubted evidence for sorcery.¹¹ Still, having in mind her past story, Medea's relationship with poisons arises certain associations. We are inclined to propose, that here too Euripides uses his chance to remind the audience of something extraordinary, beyond human essence of this woman. One must not forget also, that the presents are her heritage items, her grandfather being the Sun god Helios himself. But her inhuman essence is mainly revealed in the final episode, when Medea escapes by deus-ex-machina from Corinth. Naturally such an ending is the best argument for the scholars assuming Medea's sorcery and then it doesn't need any explanations; e.g. Page writes, "Because she was a witch, she could escape in a magic chariot".¹² On the other hand Cunningham tries to explain the meaning of this visual image – Medea's disappearance by the magic chariot. In Cunningham's opinion after butchering the children Medea loses her human essence and transfers to the other dimension – becomes a *theos*. But the loss of human nature is her punishment for her deed, some awful and terrible retribution and hence her association with a *theos* should be considered from the negative perspective. Medea was deprived of humane nature and was given merciless, inhuman essence of a *theos* instead.¹³ Though Knox agrees with Cunningham in regarding Medea as a *theos* in this episode, the scholar argues, that even in this case being a *theos* doesn't imply Medea's sorcery. Supernatural winged chariots are hardly an identification mark of witches; they are rather properties of gods in Greek mythology.¹⁴ But Medea is not a god at the end of

¹⁰ Conacher, 1967, 190.

¹¹ For the interesting discussion over this subject see Knox, 1979, 214. The scholar assumes that fifth-century Greek word for "witch" was "pharmakis", though the term "witch" is not adequate translation of it. "Pharmakis" means a woman, who deals with love-charms, drugs and poison. Yes, Medea is a "pharmakis", but it has nothing to do with witchcraft. Besides, there are other "pharmakises" in the Greek literature, e.g. Deianira, Creusa (in *Ion*), who use poison as well, but no one calls them witches.

¹² Euripides, *Medea*, ed. Page D. L., Oxford, Clarendon Press 1938, XXV.

¹³ Cunningham M. P., *Medea ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*, CP, v. 49, №3, 1954, 151-160, 158-160.

¹⁴ Knox, 1979, 212.

the play; she is rather a figure, which personifies something permanent and powerful in the human situation. This strange *theos* bears some resemblance with the force of revenge – dike, but she is more than Lesky's "Dämon der Rache".¹⁵

Kitto argues, that during the whole play there is nothing of the magic background. Even more, the background is at times painfully prosaic. Medea may be the granddaughter of Helios, but still the play deals with an ordinary life. She knows poisons, she is a barbarian princess and thus the audience is less surprised at her miraculous escape. The critics may claim that the chariot is only dramatic convenience, but still it is more than a mere palliation. This visual image of Medea also serves for the interpretation of this character as an embodiment of some irrational force. In Kitto's opinion "The magic chariot is a frightening glimpse of something... the existence in the universe of forces, that we can neither understand nor control – only participate in".¹⁶

In our opinion Kitto's presentation of Medea as an embodiment of irrational force seems too exaggerated. For him this force – *θύμος* is not only one, even the main aspect of this character, it is the whole woman. Medea is a victim of this passion and thus she must be regarded more as a tragic victim, than as a tragic agent.¹⁷ Such a great existence of *θύμος* in her soul is Medea's tragedy indeed, but still it is difficult to accept Kitto's conception completely. Conacher seems to be more precise in claiming, that Medea is rather an individually tragic heroine, engaged in a real agon and making a real choice, than catastrophic figure, doomed by her nature to suffer and to cause disaster.¹⁸ Moreover, we have to take into consideration, that apart from irrational the rational aspects – namely cunning, rhetorical skills, hypocrisy, and certain qualities of mind, ironic treatment – are presented quite well in this character. It is another matter, that the irrational force – *θύμος* is stronger than reason in Medea's personality. Medea acknowledges this completely. In general the irrational is widely connected with nature, with wildness in Greek mentality and Medea too is frequently associated in the play with wildness through the poetic metaphors. Musurillo pays close attention to the poetic metaphors portraying Medea as an untamed animal – lioness with cubs (Med.187), Scylla of Etruria (Med.1343), a Fury, driven by avenging spirits (Med.1260). She swoops down like some bird of prey to wreak havoc on the head of Jason (Med.1231-2).¹⁹ For Musurillo the last scene manifests and

¹⁵ Lesky, 1972, 309.

¹⁶ Kitto H. D. F., Greek Tragedy, Garden City, New York, Doubleday 1954, 209.

¹⁷ Kitto, 1954, 205.

¹⁸ Conacher, 1967, 184.

¹⁹ Musurillo H., Euripides' Medea: A Reconsideration, AJP, v. 87, №1, 1966, 52-74, 66-9.

accomplishes the bestial violence of Medea, hence it is not unmotivated or irrelevant, and it offers a fitting exit for a woman, whose vast passions recall the demons and the Furies.²⁰

Another aspect of Medea's nature, which also prevented scholars to consider the Euripidean heroine as a figure relevant to the problems of the Athenian society, is Medea's foreign origin. The most eloquent supporter of this case, D.L. Page in his introduction of "Medea" argued for the importance of interpreting Medea as a barbarian. "Though her emotions are natural to all women of all times in her position, their expression and the dreadful end to which they lead are everywhere affected by her foreign origin".²¹ According to Page, Euripides' Medea was exactly the kind of a woman, as Greeks would have expected a barbarian woman to be. Her unrestrained excess in lamentation, readiness to tawn upon an authority, the powers of magic, childish surprise at falsehoods and broken promises – were the features ascribed by Greeks to barbarians, argued Page. The scholar presented the Greek sources, in which the above-mentioned traits characterized oriental people.

But to assume, that Euripides strongly accentuated the barbarian nature of Medea and therefore entirely excluded her from the social problems of Athenian women, this argument is not enough. The coincidence of Medea's features with the certain traits of oriental people described in Greek sources is not the right evidence to argue for Medea's presentation in the play mainly as a barbarian.²² Medea is a foreigner by her origin, it is a fact, but what mainly matters for our case is the question as how far her foreign origin prevents her from being regarded as a figure relevant to the problems of the Athenian society.

Medea mentions her origin in her programmatic speech with the Corinthian women. While discussing women's lot in Greece, Aeetes' daughter uses the first person plural forms. She considers herself among them, shares common problems with them, suffers in a same way. Only after listing women problems, does she start to speak about her special case: "But ah, thy story is not one with mine! / Thine is this city, thine a father's home, / Thine bliss of life and fellowship of friends; / But I, lone, cityless, and outraged thus/ of him who kidnapped me from foreign shores, / Mother nor brother have I, kinsman none, / For port of refuge from calamity" (Med. 252-58). It is difficult to be a foreigner in general. But her case is not only difficult, it is tragic, as she is betrayed by the last close person she had and is

²⁰ Musurillo, 1966, 70.

²¹ Page, 1936, XVIII.

²² See Knox's disagreement with Page's conception (Knox, 1979, 211-12).

left absolutely alone in the foreign country. This is the case that distinguishes Medea's situation from a foreigner's situation in general.

From the reaction of the Corinthian women we can see, that they don't regard her as a person alien to their problems. Medea is speaking as a woman to women and exploits and appeals to their feeling, for sympathy and wins their heart.²³

In the scene of Medea's and Jason's first meeting Medea's foreign origin is mentioned once again. To Medea's accusations, Jason has his answer – he speaks about the reward Medea had got for her service to his aims: "First, then, in Hellas dwell'st thou in the stead/ Of land barbaric, knowest justice, learnest/ to live by law without respect of force; / And all the Greeks have heard thy wisdom's fame. / Renown is thine; but if on earth's far bourn/ Thou dwellest yet, thou hadst not lived in story" (Med. 536-540). Here we come across the famous opposition Greek: Barbaric. On the one hand there is the superiority of law (Greece) and on the other hand – the use of force (barbarian land). To live in Greece is a gift, reward for a barbarian. Among barbarians wisdom does not mean anything, while in Greece it is a high honour. If we connect Jason with Greece and Medea with barbarians, the following binary opposition can be drawn: Medea: wild (barbarian) x Jason: culture (Greece). Though it is interesting to notice, that in the whole context of their meeting, this opposition belongs already to the past. Medea is of course a barbarian by origin, but at present she is already well acquainted with Greek civilization. The wifely obedience characteristic of Greek wives is expected from her as well. It is difficult to conclude from this scene (if one is not biased), that Jason regards Medea here as an alien to Greek problems.

The scene, in which Medea's barbarian nature is really accentuated, is the final episode, the scene, when Jason finds his sons butchered by their mother herself. Outraged Jason cries in despair, that only now has he realized whom had he taken from the barbarian land. He had married the woman, the traitor of her father and the motherland, the murderer of her brother. She is a tigress, not a woman, harboring a fiercer nature than Tyrrhenian Scylla (Med. 1342-43), shouts Jason. It is only now, that he puts a demarcation line between barbarian Medea and a Greek woman. "There is no Greek woman, which has dared this", exclaims Jason (Med. 1339). Murder of children is the only trait mentioned in the play as a trait of Medea's barbarism.

While discussing Medea's foreign origin, Knox pays special attention to Corinthian women's – ordinary Greek women's reaction on Medea's terrible deed. Yes, they cry out in protest, when Medea tells them, that she is going to

²³ Knox, 1979, 219.

kill her sons, but it is only the murder of the children, that appalls them. And when after the offstage murder of the children they sing their antistrophe, far from suggesting, that she is a witch and an oriental barbarian, they find another murderer of children in their own, Greek tradition – Ino (Med. 1282 ff.).²⁴

On the basis of our analysis we may attempt to assume, that so-called "magic aspects" as well as the barbarian origin of Medea, mentioned in Euripides' play time and again did not present the heroine as a sorceress and a barbarian woman having no relevance to the problems of the Athenian society. They suited Euripides' purpose to display the deepest aspects of his heroine. The first one – Medea's sorcery of the tradition served for him to present Medea as an impersonification of a tremendous irrational force, to portray "inhuman essence" existed in this woman and the second one – the foreign origin was a material for him to accentuate the exceptional, different nature of this heroine.

²⁴ Knox, 1979, 218.

Ketevan Nizharadze (Tbilisi)

FOR THE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF TROJAN CHARACTERS
IN THE *ILIAD*

The Homeric principles for the individualization of characters have long been among the focal points in the Homeric studies.¹ There are two principal conflicting opinions – part of researchers considers Homeric characters altogether traditional² while others believe they are highly individual.³ Consequently, some attribute all what determines the individuality of characters in the *Iliad* solely to the plot, the story and thereby find them limited to the frameworks that a traditional story sets for the properties of its characters; Homeric characters are distinct from one another only through either the outward features typical of traditional characters or the specific nature of their adventures. According to the other position, what builds the images of the Homeric characters are their personal properties revealed in the poem and not the individuality of the events described. In fact, the supporters of this viewpoint share Aristotle's opinion, who praised Homer for his surprising ability to create vivid images of characters.⁴

R. Gordeziani shares the second position. Following Aristotle, the scholar believes the characters of the *Iliad* are 'endowed' with the individuality of choice manifested either through their deeds or through their words. Consequently, he attempts to find with each central character the so-called

¹ For the review of the question, cf. Гордзениани Р., Проблемы гомеровского эпоса, 1978, 291 ff.

² Шталь И. В., Синкретизм эпического мышления и принцип эпической характеристики предметов и явлений. Античность и современность, Москва 1972, 215 ff; Also Шталь И. В., Гомеровский эпос, Москва 1975.

³ Lohmann D., Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias, Berlin 1970; Also Gordeziani R., Greek Literature, 2002, 291 ff (in Georgian).

⁴ Aristotle, Poetics, 1460a (XXIV), also 1454a (XV).

‘coordinative’ trait, which determines his/ her individuality and which in fact attests to the presence of existential elements with the characters.⁵

In my opinion, the analysis of a broader ‘range’ of Homeric characters could give more interesting results than focusing only on the central characters. I will attempt to explore how diverse the Homeric individualization principles are through analyzing the images of the Trojan characters that appear and act in the poem with different intensity.

Hector, one of the central characters, certainly holds the second position in the poem according to the intensity of his activities although his dramatic parts are twice as small as Achilles’ (they make up 1121 lines).⁶ According to R. Gordeziani, the principal coordinative trait of his character is ‘the feeling of shame and commitment to his fatherland. His choice is always determined by the shame in the face of his co-citizens and the readiness to struggle devotedly to protect his city, fatherland, Trojan women and men.’⁷ It is not accidental that the phrase that shows the motivation for his choice at the most dramatic points of the drama sounds as “αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἔλκεσιπέπλους” (VI, 442; XXII, 105).

This basic trait of Hector’s character is complemented with numerous additional traits, which make his image unparalleled. They are: special affection for his family, which is vividly pictured in Book VI; his failure to curb emotions in certain circumstances which results in taking wrong decisions (ignoring Polydamas’ advice and understanding the mistake later – XXII, 100 ff); feel for realism especially in the first part of the poem until his advancements make him giddy (III, 58 ff); momentary weakness in the face of the superior power and escape prior to unequal combat with Achilles (XXII, 136 ff); strong willpower, which enables him to brace up and overcome fear; his ability to show respect for his opponent; sharp sense of his own and other’s dignity, which is clearly expressed through the words he utters before he starts combating with Aias (VII, 234 ff) and Achilles (XXII, 250 ff).

So, Hector’s image is presented comprehensively at the level of both the so-called ‘coordinative trait’ that runs throughout the poem and the so-called ‘supplementary traits’ pictured periodically, in particular episodes.⁸

Although Priam does not personally take part in the battles, his involvement in the plot is the second most intensive after Hector among the

⁵ About the images of the Homeric characters, see Гордзџани 1978, 291 ff; also Gordeziani, 2002, 113 ff.

⁶ Gordesiani R., Kriterien der Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im homerischen Epos, Frankfurt am Main ..., 1986, 93 ff.

⁷ Гордзџани, 1978, 300 ff.

⁸ About Hector, see Wathélet P., Dictionaire des Troyens de l’Iliade, Liege 1988, 906 ff.

Trojan characters. He acts throughout 393 lines.⁹ In my opinion, Homer presents Priam through a very interesting coordinative trait, which suggests the author's favorable attitude to the king of Trojans. The trait can concisely be formulated as follows: curbing one's emotions and behaving adequately even in the most dramatic episodes for the sake of common success and benefit. This trait is explicit in all central episodes that can show Priam's character:

'Teichoscopy' of Book III, where Priam's address to Helen (III, 162-170) contains no trace of wrath towards the cause of the war. On the contrary, Priam's words are filled with tender: *φίλον τέκος*; and Helen's explanations regarding the leaders and army men of the enemy rouses admiration instead of provoking wrath and rage (cf. 182 ff).

Priam is going out to the battlefield at the time of making an oath prior to the combat of Paris and Menelaus (III, 267 ff).

Book XXI, episode 521 ff, which clearly shows how different Priam is from his renowned son Hector as concerns the overcoming of emotions. When the Trojan warriors are horror-stricken and disarrayed by Achilles, Priam calls upon them to take shelter in Troy and afterwards has the gates shut up.

He addresses Hector, when he is very rational as he puts forward the arguments for why Hector should avoid combating with Achilles (XXII, 38 ff).

The moment of extreme worry caused by Hector's death when Priam starts thinking of how to retrieve his son's body (XXII, 415 ff).

Priam's encounter with Iris when Iris tells him about the divine wills – he is to go to Achilles with ransom and ask for his son's body (XXIV, 169 ff). Priam cannot be certain that the message is truthful; through the mischievous stunt, the divine powers may want to have the king surrender to the enemy of his own will. However, Priam's decision is flawless – he is to trust the divine will and hope for Achilles' generosity.

Again, Priam has to make a choice on his way to Achilles' camp – should he trust or not a young man, who in fact is disguised Hermes? And again, Priam's intuition and experience enable him to make the right choice (XXIV, 349 ff).

The character trait is particularly vivid in Priam's address to Achilles. It is very important that even under unparalleled emotional burden, facing the slayer of his children, the king is still able to say the words that can move even the cruelest enemy (XXIV, 486-506). Scholars unanimously appreciate

⁹ About the image of Priam, see Wathelet 1988, 179 ff.

the orderliness of the speech concerning its emotional as well as logical aspects, and the surprising impact conveyed by the king's final phrases¹⁰:

"...ἔγώ δ' ἔλεεινότερός περ
ἔτλην δ', οἷ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος,
ἄνδρὸς παιδοφόνου ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι."

(XXIV, 504-506)

According to the size of parts in the *Iliad*, the Trojan to hold the third place after Hector and Priam is Aeneas (253 lines). In R. Gordeziani's opinion, Aeneas' valor is never driven by impulses. The hero possesses caution typical of mortals because he is mortal by nature; at the same time, he has the readiness to confront any kind of force – because he knows he is the son of a goddess.¹¹

Both qualities of the hero are shown in Book V, in the episode when he starts fighting. He shows unimaginable courage as he confronts Diomedes, who, supported by Athena, has become almost unbeatable (297 ff). However, caution and reason do not abandon him and starts to retreat when Menelaus and Antilochus, two bravest heroes, begin pursuing him, for Aeneas knows he is doomed to lose if he starts fighting with them (V, 571 ff).

In Book XX, which relates about Achilles' combat with Aeneas, the son of Anchises is at first reluctant to face such a strong fighter, and he has enough reasons for this:

τῶ οὐκ ἔστ' Ἀχιλῆος ἐναντίον ἄνδρα μάχεσθαι·
αἰεὶ γὰρ πάρα εἰς γε θεῶν, ὃς λοιγὸν ἀμύνει.

(97-98)

Anyway, he believes at the same time that he will be a worthy rival for Achilles provided they have equal divine patronage. Finally, he decides on fighting Achilles after Apollo reminds him of his divine origin and tells him that he is closer in heritage to Zeus than Achilles. And truly, Aeneas is inspired with pride for his ancestry as he addresses Achilles before they start fighting (XX, 200 ff). Apart from this, Aeneas has the so-called 'genealogy commitment' as according to the *Iliad*, Aeneas, descendant of Dardanus, was not doomed to die (XX, 303-308).¹²

By the intensity of action in the *Iliad*, Paris comes after the three above-mentioned heroes (187 lines). It is believed that Homer transformed the well-known traditional image of Paris and remarkably limited his heroic status.¹³

¹⁰ See Lohmann, 1970.

¹¹ Gordeziani, 2002, 115-116.

¹² About Aeneas, see Wathelet, 1988, 179 ff.

¹³ About the image of Paris, see Gordeziani 2002, 118 ff, also Wathelet 1988, 814 ff.

In the course of the creative transformation, Homer highlighted quite an interesting coordinative trait, which according to R. Gordeziani, is the discrepancy between his desire or duty to show gallantry and his rather limited abilities. Consequently, his personality is split, which is vividly depicted in the *Iliad*.¹⁴

Let us consider the corresponding scenes. Paris appears in the *Iliad* in Book III when he comes out to the battlefield to fight Menelaus. The scene clearly implies his desire to put an end to the war (III, 16 ff). However, his determination becomes weaker as soon as he sights Menelaus:

ἐν προμάχοισι φανέντα, κατεπλήγη φίλον ἦτορ
ἀψ δ' ἑτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ' ἀλεείνων

(III, 31-32)

After Hector puts him to shame, Paris once again decides to fulfill his determination. However, when Aphrodite rescues him from an extremely hopeless situation and returns him to the walls of Troy to meet Helen, Paris seems quite 'happy' (III, 438 ff). He then appears in Book VI when Hector finds him idle at home. Once again, Hector puts him to shame and admonishes him for being out of the battle. Paris is inspired with the desire to fight and with the hope for victory (VI, 335 ff).

So, Homer degraded Paris from the hypothetical protagonist of the tradition to the character that is driven by two discrepant properties: the desire to show valor and inability to act appropriately. The discrepancy is 'supplemented' with bitter epithets for Paris; particularly remarkable is Δύσπαρι that presents him as 'anti-hero'.

Out of the Trojan heroes involved in the battle, Sarpedon is the noblest by origin as he is the son of Zeus. His parts make up 181 lines. Besides, his country, Lycia, is the most distinguished and important among Troy's allies. Consequently, being its king is likewise important.

In my opinion, the coordinative trait of Sarpedon is the so-called 'Lycian consciousness'. Almost all of his words imply commitment to his country and people. His modesty indicates his consciousness is of 'Lycian' type as he never speaks of his parentage; he mentions neither his father Zeus, nor his mother Eos. Lycian people's opinion is the most important to him (XX, 310 ff). He regards the inevitability of death 'philosophically' (XII, 326-328) and is not sorry about his ill fate as he is dying; he accepts death with dignity. He only wishes that Glaucus and Lycians go on fighting worthily (XVI, 492 ff).

¹⁴ Ibid. 119.

If we take into consideration that Sarpedon is an Anatolian name, the character should have been known earlier in epic tradition. It is particularly interesting to consider how Zeus treats his son and how much attention is paid to the divine transfer of the hero's body. Zeus ordered Apollo himself to carry Sarpedon's body off the battlefield and wash it, and afterwards entrusted it to Sleep and Death to bear to Lycia and give it honorable burial (XVI, 667 ff).

Evidently, through the use of the traditional information and his own principles for individualization of characters, Homer created a portrait of the hero who, owing to his character traits and tragic lot, is among the most memorable images of the poem.¹⁵

Poulidamas is certainly distinguished among the Trojan characters. His parts make up 130 lines. He has an eloquent Greek name¹⁶ and a distinctly shaped mission – to tell his people the divine will and give wise advice. Hence, Poulidamas combines within himself the rational with the irrational. If one bears in mind that in the *Iliad* he most frequently appears in the company of Hector and gives him right advice in the most dramatic episodes of the poem, one may assume that his mission is to balance emotional Hector and adjust his activities for the sake of common interests. Homer endows the character with respectful epithets: ἄναξ – ruling, ἀγανός – marvelous, ἀμύμων – flawless, ἀγχέσπαλος – piercing with a spear, πεπνυμένος wise, etc.

And what is more important, Poulidamas always utters truth. Consequently, the coordinative trait of the character can be considered his belief in the truthfulness of his own decisions based on the ability to prophesy (comprehend the divine will) and the unyielding decision to provide his fellow citizens (Hector first of all) with rational advice and not on arrogance and conceit. Therefore, Poulidamas never restrains from giving categorical advice even if the Trojan commander has different opinion (XII, 60 ff, XII, 211 ff, XVIII, 254 ff).

The best appreciation for Poulidamas' eternal truthfulness is Hector speech as he is caught in a hopeless situation (XXII, 99-103).

Poulidamas is perfectly well aware of his unique gift and speaks of it straightforwardly (XIII, 727-729).

Homer himself gives Poulidamas a very concise but at the same time very substantial appreciation:

ὁ γὰρ οἶος ὄρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
 Ἐκτορι δ' ἦεν ἑπαίρος, ἱὴ δ' ἐν νυκτὶ γένοιντο
 ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀρ μῦθοισιν, ὁ δ' ἔγχεϊ πολλὸν ἐνίκα.

(XVIII, 250-252)

¹⁵ About Sarpedon, see Wathelet, 1988, 973 ff.

¹⁶ About Poulidamas, see Wathelet, 1988, 910 ff.

Glauco is among the most memorable images among the Trojan characters of the *Iliad*. His parts make up 122 lines. Homer does not mention that the hero was not destined to return from Troy back to his native Lycia, as stated by other Greek authors. However, Homer presents a very interesting character of Glauco, who, owing to his valor and descent, is capable of telling his rivals and fellow warriors due words straight in the face in the most critical episodes.

Although Glauco as a character is not so intensely involved in the plot as to speak of his distinctly shaped coordinative trait, he still has some noteworthy properties, which can be attributed to his awareness of his singular descent.

Among the most memorable episodes of the poem is Glauco's encounter with Diomedes who is giddy with success (Book IV). Scholars unanimously admit that Glauco's response to his rival's most arrogant and hostile address is among the best passages of the *Iliad* (IV, 145-211). D. Lohmann offered a convincing description of its quite interesting structure. The speech is among the longest ones of the poem and contains several components of ring composition.¹⁷ Owing to the speech, Glauco is presented as a wise hero as it is through him that Homer stated the famous words that became a maxim throughout the antiquity:

οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
(VI, 146)

Moreover, the speech reveals not only Glauco's thorough awareness of his genealogy, but also his utter belief that he can be duly proud of his ancestry and his readiness to face anybody including Diomedes. The speech is constructed in such a way that it should suffice to picture the hero's image and assert his prominence. Glauco is not afraid of confronting Diomedes; he manages to put in his words the whole story of his forefathers' origin as well as how they moved to Lycia. The speech consists of several parts:

The first part, the story of his forefathers in Ephyra, is rendered through 152-170 lines. It relates about Bellerophon's ancestors.

The second part deals with Bellerophon's Lycian adventure and his posterity. It relates about his feats in Lycia and three generations of his Lycian descendants (VI, 171 ff).

Afterwards comes Glauco's famous concise statement of his genealogical pride embodied in a single sentence, which appeals even to his rival:

¹⁷ Lohmann, 1970, 89 ff.

"ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι".
(VI, 211)

This episode includes the scene where two confronting warrior become friends and exchange armor on this occasion. Moreover, they make a personal truce, which will serve as a guarantee that they will not kill each other in the war.

The whole scene can be appreciated as unique in the *Iliad* because of its outcome. Besides, it renders the image of Glaucus vivid and memorable. Although the hero says nothing of his genealogy in his next speech, it is still obvious that his valor and pride for his genealogy allows him to:

- a. be the hope for Sarpedon, his mortal fellow warrior. It was Glaucus who dying Sarpedon appealed to with the call to struggle devotedly for his sake and inspire others (XVI, 492-493);
- b. think of how to rejoin the battle even when he is wounded (XVI, 523-525);
- c. straightforwardly address Hector with the bitterest and most humiliating words which nobody has ever dared to tell the son of Priam. This happens when Glaucus was disappointed with Hector's failure to recover Sarpedon's body from the Achaeans (XVII, 1ff).

So, the above facts allow concluding that if Sarpedon's pride is fostered by ethnic consciousness, Glaucus is driven by the pride that roots in his awareness of the supremacy of his genealogy.¹⁸

Homer offers rather a one-sided picture of Lycaon. In such a case, it is very difficult to trace the coordinative trait of a character. One can only identify the property that dominates the character's personality in a critical situation. Lycaon, son of Priam and Laothoe, has quite a sizable part in Book XXI (34 ff) although his role is not very important in the *Iliad*. Here the poet resorts to the device of telling the past story of a certain character: he related about how Achilles captured Lycaon and sold him, and how eventually Lycaon managed to reach home.

Homer presents rather a feeble and helpless image of the character as he comes out of the river naked and armless and encounters Achilles for the second time. All what happens afterwards, along with the character's words, suggests his coordinative trait is misery and cowardliness. He is afraid of death much more than others (XXI, 64-66).¹⁹

In my opinion, Homer used the episode to insert a tragicomical picture into the poem and at the same time present a double attitude to death: of the

¹⁸ About Glaucus, see Wathelet, 1988, 385 ff.

¹⁹ About Lycaon, see Wathelet, 1988, 721 ff.

cowardly and miserable character who meets death with fright, and of Achilles, who accepts death in a calm and philosophical manner.

The images of Trojan women offer likewise interesting cases of individualization. The paper will dwell on three female images: Andromache, Hecuba and Briseis.

Andromache's function is very important: she is to appear as a woman who cannot even think of living without Hector and who after his death is to be remembered through her heartbreaking mourning.

R. Gordeziani discusses the image with regard to Helen and Penelope and suggests that in the case of Andromache, Homer intended to explore wife's attitude to husband.²⁰

All of Andromache's speeches are dominated by Hector's image and his tragic death, which will entail a dreadful lot for her and her child. In this respect, her famous speech from Book VI is the climax (VI, 429 ff). The whole speech in fact serves to illustrate the idea that her life has sense only if Hector is alive. And she associates his death with a great disaster for her and her son (XXII, 477 ff). Andromache is most of all concerned with:

οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὐδέ κεν αἰεὶ
μεμνήμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δάκρυ χέουσα

(XXIV, 744-745)

Andromache cannot imagine without Hector not only her family, but also the whole Troy (XXIV, 728-731).

Therefore, her image is far ampler than merely a devoted and loving wife. Andromache is a woman who has fully identified all the motivations of her being with her husband's life.²¹

Hecuba does not play an intensive part in the poem (her parts make up 55 lines). However, through the few speeches that she makes in the *Iliad* Homer succeeded in making her image the symbol of the Trojan disaster. Unlike Priam, Hector and many other characters, she is not doomed to die, but her punishment is even more dreadful – she will have to witness the death of all who are close to her. All her words imply either the fear of the pending disaster (VI, 254 ff), or mistrust and caution.

When Priam goes to Achilles to retrieve Hector's body, she is afraid of the worse and doubts her husband will be killed. So she advises Priam to ask Zeus to send a bird as the divine approval of the King's going to the Achaeans' camp (XXIV, 296-298).

²⁰ In connection with the image of Andromache, see Gordeziani, 1978, 302 ff; also Gordeziani, 2002, 120 ff.

²¹ Wathelet, 1988, 274 ff.

Such an attitude to the Achaeans is very natural for Hecuba, who always expects the worse. And although the size of her parts does not allow regarding her as a vividly individualized character, Homer succeeds in developing her image into the symbol of the mother of an ill-fated family and the desperate queen of the doomed city.²²

Briseis holds quite a modest place as concerns the size of her parts in the poem (41 lines). Anyway, she is still among the most important female images of the *Iliad*. Homer found an unusually interesting way of presenting the character: she is always silent; she is the figure with no own dramatic part. Homer violates the principle only on one occasion: she mourns over Patroclus' body. Owing to this scene preceded with several lines describing her looks, Briseis can truly be regarded as an individualized character.

If we follow the logics of how Achilles' wrath develops (which is the central motif of the epic), it becomes clear that Achilles himself links Briseis to the principal cause of his wrath. It is not accidental that the name appears in the *Iliad* in Book I when Agamemnon tells Achilles what exactly he plans to 'confiscate' in return for handing Chryseis over to her father. The name of fair Briseis is highlighted in Agamemnon's words (I, 184). Agamemnon thus counts on what can be the most painful for Achilles. Although Achilles says women are not worth fighting for (I, 298), and later does nothing to the messengers who have come take Briseis away and asks Patroclus to hand her over to them, he promises that Agamemnon and the Achaeans will pay for this.

It is assumed that Achilles was infuriated not because he lost Briseis, but because he was deprived of his property.²³ In my opinion, the analysis of corresponding extracts from the *Iliad* renders such an assumption not quite acceptable. Interestingly, the theme of Briseis runs throughout all basic stages of Achilles' wrath. When the hero meets Thetis, he puts a particular accent on the Briseis motif, which he finds rather painful (I, 391-392). It is unambiguously stated in Book II that Achilles, who keeps out of the war, is enraged because of Briseis (II, 688-689). When Agamemnon finally admits to his mistake and decides to make it up with Achilles, he says:

τὰς μὲν οἱ δώσω, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται ἦν τότ' ἀπηύρων
 κόρη Βρισηῖος· ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι
 μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἠδὲ μιγῆναι,
 ἢ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.

(IX, 131-134)

²² About Hecuba, see Wathelet, 1988, 451 ff.

²³ For the overview of the question, cf. Gordeziani, 2002, 116 ff.

Remarkably, Agamemnon says the same as he presents Achilles with Briseis and other promised gifts (XIX, 261-263).

And finally, Book XXIV, which in fact closes up Achilles' part in the poem, has the following words:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς εὐδε μυχῶ κλισίης ἐυπήκτου.
τῷ δὲ Βρισηῖς παρελέξατο καλλιπάρῃος.

(XXIV, 675-676)

Some scholars believe the passage sounds so unnatural and improper after the famous scene of Priam and Achilles that it was certainly inserted later. However, the analysis of the *Iliad* shows that the lines are intrinsically linked to the structure of the epic.²⁴

In all above-mentioned cases Briseis plays a very important part. However, as she has no dramatic part herself, it is impossible to speak of the individualization of her image. Anyway, Homer does not fail to pay Briseis due attention and makes a brief but at the same time quite ample presentation of the image exactly through the dramatic part. The part is rendered through lines 287-300 of Book XIX and presents Briseis mourning over dead Patroclus. Her words are preceded with a rather concise but extremely interesting description of the character, which to a certain extent accounts for Achilles' fondness for her. The Author compares her with Aphrodite (XIX, 282-285). Homer does not use the comparison very often – only in the cases when he wants to show the superior beauty of a mortal woman.

As concerns Briseis' speech, it is interesting in many ways. First of all, it tells how the Achaeans and Achilles in particular have ruined her family:

τρεις τε κασιγνήτους, τούς μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ,
κηδείους, οἱ πάντες ὀλέθριον ἡμαρ ἐπέσπον.
οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμόν ωκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς
ἔκτεινεν, πέρσειν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύνητος.

(XIX, 293-295)

At the same time, it is stated unambiguously that Briseis dreams to become Achilles' wife; and she considered Patroclus as the most reliable guarantee for this.²⁵

So, Homer is the first in the history of literature who presented the image of a woman capable of falling in love with the person who brought unparalleled harm to her family, a woman who dreams of marrying such a

²⁴ Гордезиани, 1978, 38 ff.

²⁵ In connection with Briseis' image, see Wathelet, 1988, 367 ff.

person. In my opinion, this is what accounts for the individuality of this quite unusual image.

The analysis of 12 Trojan characters reveals quite interesting properties of the Homeric individualization principles. It is very important to note that with each character Homer accentuates the property intrinsically linked to the events described in the *Iliad*. Depending on the size of the characters' parts, the property can either be recurrent, or can occur in a single scene picturing the action of the character. Hence, what can be considered a recurrent and regular coordinative trait pertinent to the artistic images of central characters (Hector, Priam, Aeneas, Paris), in the case of the characters with a comparatively 'modest' status, acts as a single 'dramatic accent' necessary to shape the image; i.e. with 'minor' characters (e.g. Lycaon, Briseis), the accent occurs only in one particular episode, which in fact renders the function of the images. As concerns the characters with 'higher status', depending on the size and intensity of their parts in the epic, the coordinative trait can be supplemented with additional traits.

The analysis of the above-considered coordinative traits and accents leads to the following conclusion: It is less likely that the characters were 'endowed' with any of the above-considered traits by the tradition; It should be more realistic to assume that we deal with the principles of the poet himself – his intention to individualize the characters in accordance with the plot of the epic. So, Homer should be regarded as the matchless artist capable of producing most individualized epic and dramatic character traits – as duly appreciated by Aristotle.

Thamar Otkhmezuri (Tbilisi)

EUTHYMIUS THE ATHONITE AND COMMENTARIES ON GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS' WRITINGS

The writings of Cappadocian father Gregory of Nazianzus, one of the most significant representatives of early Byzantine ecclesiastic literature, have always attracted particular interest of Byzantine scholars and have been discussed by them. During the Middle Ages no other Byzantine author's writings were commented on as frequently as Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies, poetry and letters. The commentaries on his writings were composed by well-known scholars of Byzantium: Dorotheus of Gaza, Maximus the Confessor, Michael Psellos, Nicetas Heracliensis, etc. The commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' writings were popular not only in Byzantium, but in the Christian East as well. Over the period of several centuries these works were translated into different languages of the Christian East including Georgian.

In Georgian literary tradition the translation of commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' writings is closely connected with the translation of these writings themselves. Almost every translator who worked on the writings by the Cappadocian father, rendered into Georgian the commentaries on his writings as well. These translators are: Grigol Oshkeli, David Tbeli, Euthymius the Athonite, Ephrem Mtsire and the anonymous representative of Gelati translation school. Among the Georgian translations of the commentaries on the works by Gregory of Nazianzus, the translations of the tenth-eleventh century scholar Euthymius the Athonite deserve special interest.

The period of transition between the tenth and the eleventh centuries is supposed to be the beginning of the so-called Golden Age – a new era in old

Georgian literature.¹ This was the starting point of a determined orientation of Georgian intellectuals towards Byzantine culture. The process of the growth of Byzantine influence on Georgian literature began in the monastic centre of Mt. Athos and the initiator of this cultural process was Euthymius the Athonite. The aim of Euthymius' literary activity was to bring Georgian literature into line with the Byzantine norm. As is well known, earlier Georgian translated literature, being under the influence of Jerusalem liturgical practice in the fifth-tenth centuries, was quite diverse, but in a certain sense limited.² The main task of Euthymius was to enrich Georgian literature with Byzantine writings of a different character. There hardly exists a single genre of ecclesiastical literature which has not benefited from the translations of Euthymius: he translated the works of well-known Byzantine authors like Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Maximus the Confessor and others; he rendered into Georgian more than one of the patristic commentaries on Biblical books, etc.

The commentaries on the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus translated by Euthymius the Athonite are: *Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentary on Oratio 39 (In sancta Lumina)*, which survived as a fragment, compiled theological-philosophical *Commentary on Oratio 38* and *Commentary on Oratio 44*.³

Commentary on Oratio 38 (In Nativitatem)

The *Commentary on Oratio 38* by Gregory of Nazianzus – "Targ-manebaÁ Zniad gulisÁmissayofelTa sityuaTa *ჭობიგბ ჰეობობ* sakiTxavisaTa. Tqmuli wmidisa mamisa Cuenisa maqsimesi aRmsaareblisaÁ" (*The Explanation of Difficult Passages from Oratio in*

¹ Kekelidze K., History of Old Georgian Literature, I, 5th ed., Tbilisi 1980, 60 (in Georgian); Tarkhnishvili M., Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur (Studi e testi, 185), Citta del Vaticano, 1955, 35.

² Metreveli H., Le rôle de l'Athos dans l'histoire de la culture géorgienne, dans Bedi Kartlisa, Revue de Kartvélogie, XLI, 1983, 19.

³ The texts of the commentaries are published, see Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio iberica I, Orationes I, XLV, XLIV, XLI, ed. a H. Metreveli et K. Bezarachvili, Ts. Kourtsikidze, N. Melikichvili, Th. Otkhmezouri, M. Raphava, M. Chanidze (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 36. Corpus Nazianzenum, 5), Turnhout-Leuven 1998; Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio iberica III, Oratio XXXVIII, ed. a H. Metreveli et K. Bezarachvili, Ts. Kourtsikidze, N. Melikichvili, Th. Otkhmezouri, M. Raphava (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 45. Corpus Nazianzenum, 12), Turnhout-Leuven 2001; Th. Otkhmezuri, Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 50. Corpus Nazianzenum, 16), Turnhout-Leuven 2002. The introductory part of this work deals with Euthymius the Athonite's translation of *Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentary*. Therefore this issue is not discussed here.

Nativitatem by our Father St. Maximus the Confessor) is attested in the most important collections of Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies translated by Euthymius the Athonite. The manuscripts are: *Ath.* 68 (a. 1002-1005), *Tbilisi A-1* (a. 1030), *P-3* (a. 1040), *Tbilisi S-383* (s. XI), *Tbilisi S-413* (s. XI), *Tbilisi A-87* (s. XI), *Tbilisi A-80* (s. XIII), *Tbilisi A-518* (a.1708).⁴

The Structure and Nature of the *Commentary*. The *Commentary* has the following structure: before the passages taken from Gregory's *Oratio* 38 for explanation there is a note *RmrTismetyuelisa* (From the Theologian), referring them in this way to Gregory of Nazianzus. The passages are followed by explanations with the note *Targmani* (*Explanation*). In total, 101 *explanations* are attested in *Commentary on Oratio* 38.

The title of the *Commentary* ascribes the writing to the famous Byzantine scholar of the seventh century, Maximus the Confessor. In the history of Byzantine literature the name of Maximus is closely connected with the thoughts of Cappadocian fathers, especially Gregory of Nazianzus.⁵ One of his most famous writings *Ambiguorum Liber* consists of commentaries on the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus and Dionysius Areopagita.⁶ The *Commentary on Oratio* 38 translated by Euthymius is connected with the above-mentioned work of Maximus the Confessor, namely, with one of the parts of this writing – *Ambigua ad Iohannem*. The writing consists of commentaries on seventeen homilies, one epistle and one poem by Gregory: *Orationes* – 7, 14, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45; *Epist.* 101; *Carm.* II, 2. In *Ambigua ad Iohannem* Maximus the Confessor comments on eight passages from *Oratio* 38 by Gregory of Nazianzus. These eight *explanations* by Maximus have equivalents among 101 *explanations* in Euthymius' translation. So *Ambigua ad Iohannem* serves as one of the sources for the Georgian translation of *Oratio* 38. These *explanations* are: *expl.* 20 – PG 91, col. 1273 D 5; *expl.* 21 – PG 91, col. 1281 B 7; *expl.* 23 – PG 91, col. 1285 B 14; *expl.* 43 – PG 91, col. 1288 A 10; *expl.* 52 – PG 91, col. 1288 D 1; *expl.* 91 – PG 91, col. 1289 B 5; *expl.* 95 – PG 91, col. 1289 D 6; *expl.* 101 – PG 91, col. 1297 C 1.

The *explanations* make up the most important part of the writing according to their volume (Maximus' eight *explanations* constitute half of the

⁴ Bregvadze T., Répertoire des manuscrits de la version géorgienne, dans *Versions orientales, repertorium ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, ed. B. Coulie (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 20. Corpus Nazianzenum, I, Brepols-Turnhout 1988, 67-74.

⁵ Berthold G. C., The Cappadocian Roots of Maximus the Confessor, in *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, ed. E. Heinzer et Ch. Schonborn, Fribourg 1982, 51-59.

⁶ Jeuneaeue E., *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 18), 1988, IX.

whole text of the *Commentary*) as well as their content (with their philosophical depth and meaning). This probably explains why Maximus the Confessor is named as the author of the *Commentary* in its title.

The remaining *explanations* included in the translation of the *Commentary on Oratio 38* are connected with the *Commentary on Oratio 38* composed by the tenth-century Byzantine scholar Basilius Minimus,⁷ namely, a particular version of the *Commentary* attested in *Sylloge* (a collection of the second half of the tenth century consisting of commentaries by Basilius Minimus and George Mokenos). Phraseological coincidences are revealed in Basilius' commentaries and in several *explanations* of the *Commentary*: *expl. 1, l. 3* = Bas. Minim. 1a, *l. 1*; *expl. 19, l. 2-6* = Bas. Minim. 12, *l. 6-11*; *expl. 2, l. 5-6* = Bas. Minim. 2, *l. 3-4*; *expl. 36, l. 3-5* = Bas. Minim. 36, *l. 1-3*. This clearly demonstrates the influence of Basilius Minimus' writing on the *Commentary*.

Two *explanations* in Euthymius' translation are identical with the text of Basilius Minimus:

rameTu viTarca xati
gamoacinebs pirmSosa mas
saxesa, egreTve sazRvari da
sityuaÁ gamoacinebs mas,
romlisa iyos sazRvar da
sityua. xolo sazRvari mamisaÁ
ars ZÁ, viTarca sityuaÁ,
romlisa mier gamoCndebis
mamaÁ. rameTu ityÁs,
viTarmed "romelman mixila
me, ixila mamaÁ Cemi da me
da mamaÁ erT varT." (Ioh.
12, 45). rameTu viTarca TÁnier
mamisa ara iTqumis ZÁ,
egreTve arca TÁnier Zisa
icnobebsi mamaÁ. da
samarTlad sazRvarad da
sityuad mamisad uwoda Zesa,
viTarca aRmasrulebelsa

ჟღ•□მ□ ოჴ☉ მჟერ&•□◆
□□♦□□•□□□ □◆⊗◆>⊥
○თჳ•●□□ ♂მ□ &ჟჳ□ □●მ
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მჟერ◆ ერ◆⊕■ □☉ □☉□•○□
◆>⊕⊕•●□ჳ◆ □□□◆□⊕ მჟერ
◆ჳ□ □•□•ჳ□□ &ჟჳ□ □☉□•
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◆☉> ☉□•ჳ□□ &ჳ ერ □◆⊕
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მ☉•□ⱄ◆◆•>⊕⊕⊕⊕ ၿ•ჳ•ჳ მჟერ○მ
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ჳⱄⱄ ☉ⱄ> ოთ□□ ᱄ⱄ◆□□ †
ჳ☉□◆◆ □☉□•○□□> ♂ჳ ერ
□◆⊕ ოთ□□•◆•>ⱄⱄ◆◆◆
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⁷ Basilius Minimus in Gregorii Nazianzenii orationem XXXVIII commentarii, editi a Th. S. Schmidt (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 46, Corpus Nazianzenum 13), Turnhout-Leuven 2001.

The traces of Basilus' work found in the *Commentary on Oratio 38* enables to determine the date of its origin. As far as one of the sources (the *Sylloge* version) of the compiled theological-philosophical *Commentary on Oratio 38* had already been composed by the second half of the tenth century, the *Commentary* must have been created no later than the end of the tenth century.

In general, the compilation style is a distinctive feature of Byzantine commentarial genre. The tradition of using earlier commentaries to compose new writings has been present throughout the whole history of exegetical and commentarial genre in Byzantium. This process is evident in the studies of commentaries on Gregory's writings.⁸

It should be noted that Georgian scholars were well familiar with this characteristic feature of commentarial genre. The epistles of Byzantine scholars Basilus Minimus and Cyril of Alexandria with description of this method were translated into Georgian by Georgian scholars.⁹ It can be said that Georgian scholars creatively applied the compilation method. They often made efforts to introduce Byzantine techniques into Georgian translation practice. This is particularly relevant in relation to the tenth-eleventh century Georgian translators, who introduced into Georgian scholarly tradition not only new genres and conceptions, but Byzantine scholarly techniques as well: e.g. complementing the writings of one author with excerpts from the writings of another author on the same topic, the method of compositional restructuring and rearrangement of texts, copying the expression techniques from Greek editors and scribes, etc. The compilation method belongs to the same category. It is noteworthy that this method was often used by Euthymius the Athonite: e. g. he used it in his translation of Maximus the Confessor's writing *Ad Thalassium* as well as the *Nomocanon* and the *Guide*.¹⁰

Today it is very difficult to say who compiled the *Commentary on Or. 38* – an anonymous Greek scholar or Euthymius the Athonite. Even Ephrem Mtsire was unable to provide exact answers to the like questions. Regarding

⁸ Fromont M., Lequeux X., Mossay J, Gregorius Florellius, commentateur de Gregoire de Nazianze au XVIe siecle, dans *Versiones orientales, repertorium ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, ed. B. Coulie, (Corpus Christianorum, Serie Graeca, 20. Corpus Nazianzenum, 1, Brepols-Turnhout 1988.

⁹ The texts of these epistles are published, see Otkhmezuri Th., *Towards the History of Commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' Writings*, in Mravaltavi, *Philological and Historical Researches*, 15, 1989, 18-31; Tvaltvadze D., *The Georgian Translations of the Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul*, in *Philological Researches II*, Tbilisi 1995, 345-362.

¹⁰ Van Esbroek M., *Euthyme l'Hagiorite: le traducteur et ses traductions*, dans *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*, IV, 1988, 97; Euthymius the Athonite, *Nomocanon*, E. Giunashvili ed., Tbilisi 1972; N. Chikvatia, *Euthymius of the Holy Mountain, the Guide*, Diss., 1997.

the Georgian version of *De Fide Orthodoxa* by John of Damascus rendered into Georgian by Euthymius the Athonite, Ephrem admits: *I do not know whether it was compiled by Father Euthymius himself, or he used the already compiled Greek source* (xolo ese ara uwyi, Tu TÂT mamasa eTÂmis gamoukrebia, anu berZulad esreT upovia¹¹). Ephrem is also very careful in his remarks regarding Euthymius' translation of *Oratio 2* and *Oratio 3* by Gregory of Nazianzus: *We do not know whether our Father St. Euthymius had a Greek original of this kind, or whether he did it by himself* (ara viciT... anu TÂT wmidasa mamasa Cuensa evTimis dedaÁ eseguari miXuda, anu TÂT raÁme gangebulebIT hyo¹²). Therefore, it is very difficult to say whether Euthymius himself compiled *Commentary on Oratio 38*, or whether he simply chose a compiled text for translation.

Character of Translation. Those parts of the *Commentary on Oratio 38* which have Greek equivalents in Maximus' and Basilus Minimus' commentaries are translated through the *reduction / expansion* method. This method used by Euthymius the Athonite in translating Greek texts was described as early as in the eleventh century by Ephrem Mtsire: *By the grace of the Holy Spirit Euthymius could both, expand and reduce.*¹³ The results of scientific study of Euthymius' works fully support the observation of the Middle-Age scholar.

Scholars have noticed two types of the *reduction / expansion* method in Euthymius' translations. One is introducing minor changes into the text without altering the meaning of the Greek original. The aim of this method is to convey the idea of the original text more clearly, to facilitate its comprehension for Georgian readers and in some cases to refine the text stylistically. Euthymius also used another kind of *reduction / expansion* method, which allowed making major changes to the text, i. e. dropping rather long extracts from the original and inserting vast interpolations into it. Besides, he also used other techniques such as compiling, excerpting, combining texts and paraphrasing. In the translation of the *Commentary on Oratio 38* both kinds of the *reduction / expansion* method are used. In general, due to their nature and function, the texts of commentarial genre are open to such kind of changes – additions or alterations by translators, scribes or scholars who work on the commentaries.¹⁴

¹¹ John of Damascus, *Dialectica*, ed. by M. Raphava, Tbilisi 1976, 69.

¹² See the colophon by Ephrem Mtsire in cod. A-292. Bregvadze Th., *The Description of the Georgian Manuscripts of the Works by Gregory of Nazianzus*, Tbilisi 1988, 174.

¹³ John of Damascus, *Dialectica*, 67.

¹⁴ West M. L., *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 16.

Maximus the Confessor, the author of the main part of *Commentary on Or.* 38, is considered to be one of the writers with the most difficult and complicated language and style in the history of Byzantine literature.¹⁵ This, of course, encourages a translator to make some changes while translating Maximus' text, for stylistic refinement and clarity.

The *Commentary on Oratio* 38 is translated by Euthymius mainly in natural, plain Georgian. The translation follows the principle of dynamic equivalence. A sentence is taken as a unit of translation, as it is usual for the translations of this type. Euthymius reorders the structure of the sentences of the original text placing the constituent parts of the sentence according to the norms of the Georgian language. Euthymius also simplifies Maximus' long and complicated sentences through omitting those words that are not essential for understanding the meaning of the sentence. In some cases he renders Greek words with alternative meaning and inserts verbs into nominal sentences, which are rather characteristic of Greek language. In the translation, several examples of inserting Biblical quotations and references are also observed.

In the translation of Maximus' *Commentary* Euthymius has also omitted and inserted large passages, e.g. in Euthymius' translation of *explanations* 91 and 95 large parts of Maximus' text are omitted, while at the beginning of *explanation* 21 a long interpolation is inserted. The comparison of this interpolation with Greek texts of *Commentary on Oratio* 38 has revealed that one passage of Basilus Minimus' *Commentary on Oratio* 38 is used as a source for the interpolation:

¹⁵ Аверинцев С., Философия VIII-XII вв., Культура Византии, вторая половина VIII-XII вв., М., 1989, 38; Флоровский Г., Византийские Отцы V-VIII вв., Париж 1933, 197; Laga C., Maximus as a Stylist in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, in *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, ed. Heinzer E. et Schonborn C., Fribourg 1982, 145.

da keTilad TiToeuli TiToeulsa SeerTvis _
 SobaÁ yrmasa Tana CuenTÂs queyanad
 mosrulsa, xolo mocemaÁ Zesa Tana da
 dausabamosa mas mamisagan Sobasa,
 rameTu iSva Cuenda yrmaÁ CCÂli da
 sruli kaci. xolo ars igi Ze dausabamad
 mamisagan Sobili, romeli-igi Cuen,
 viTarca yrmaÁ, mogueca mÃsnelad
 warwymedulTa amaT. xolo Tu iSva
 Cuenda da mogueca Cuen, ese
 amisTÂs, rameTu yoveli kaci Tavisa
 TÃsisaTÃs iSvebis, raÁTa miiRos naTeli
 da gulisÃmisyofaÁ RmrTisaÁ sargebelad
 TÃsa. xolo qriste Ze iyo Tanamosaydre
 ramisaÁ da ara eÃmareboda SobaÁ
 queyanasa zeda, arca Tavisa TÃsisa
 iSva, aramed Cuenda iSva da Cuen
 mogueca macxovrad, rameTu yovelTa
 kacTa Sobani TavTa TÃsTaTÃs arian,
 ara sxuaTaTÃs. xolo qriste CuenTÃs da
 Cuenisa cxorebisaTÃs iSva (*Expl.* 21).

□□□•x♦◆•†x &εx= □
 εv◆◆ □□□•x&□v◆◆
 x M⊕&εv◆◆M□□ M⊕
 &ε◆M•□•& ◆◆x□
 εx† *□= ○M= Mεr
 YoM■x◆x□x□ □□□x
 ◆□= □εx†x◆□
 &εx= ◆x= &εv◆◆
 YoM◆x◆x◆x†
 ◆□= εM= Mεr◆□□
 □□□x ◆□= □⊕
 x &εx= ◆x= εv◆◆
 □□□εx†◆x†□ Mεr&
 εε◆□□x
 M⊕&•εv□x†† *□=
 εM= x⊕x† □□v◆
 &Mx†εxMεr□Mxεx=
 □ε†x εv□□•□□x M
 ⊕ε◆◆•ε†
 YoM■xε◆εx □□□x
 ◆□= x♦◆□x &εx=
 Yo◆◆x◆x x M□◆○M
 ◆ε•Mx†■ Mxεr
 ◆εxM◆•Mxεx M⊕ε◆◆
 □◆†ε †□x◆□x εM
 =
 ○xεM□□x ◆□◆◆◆
 ◆⊕εv□M◆ Mεr□xε
 Mx= Mxεr x⊕◆
 □xM•□x YoM■x□M
 x= x x⊕x† Mεrε□◆
 □x ◆◆x◆□
 (Bas. Minim. 16, l. 1-8).

There are two possibilities: the Greek compiler of the *Commentary*, while combining the *Commentaries* of Maximus the Confessor and Basilius Minimus, inserted a fragment from Basilius' commentaries into the *explanation of Commentary on Oratio 38* by Maximus. The second possibility is that while translating the *Commentary*, Euthymius the Athonite inserted into Maximus' text part of Basilius' commentaries in which Basilius explains a phrase from *Oratio 38*, not commented on in Maximus' text. In general, the practice of inserting an excerpt from one author's work into another author's

writing is very characteristic of Euthymius.¹⁶ The study of commentaries on the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus has also revealed the practice of inserting previous commentaries into new editions. This specific feature of commentaries on Gregory's writings was apparently well familiar to Georgian translators and they often creatively applied this method themselves.

It is noteworthy, that together with the above-observed practice, Euthymius also used literal translation method in rendering the *Commentary on Oratio* 38 into Georgian. This is particularly obvious in the translation of certain Greek terms. While translating the adjectives and abstract nouns with common stem Euthymius carefully follows word-for-word translation method, e.g. the Greek text contains substantivised adjectives denoting abstract notion. Euthymius renders them into Georgian as abstract nouns with suffixes -eba/-oba, while the adjectives with the same stem are rendered without changing their part of speech affiliation:

◆□= ოერობე□□❖■ – saxierebaÁ / ოერობე□□❖ჰ – saxieri; ◆□= ოეზამე□□■ – dausabamoebaÁ / ოეზამე□□ჰ – dausabamo; ◆□= ოეზომი□□■ – miuwTomelobaÁ / ოეზომი□□ჰ – uzomo; ◆□= ოეროცე□□■ – uÁorcoebaÁ / ოეროცე□□ჰ – uÁorco. The so-called qualitative nouns (*nomine qualitatis*) with suffix

□◆❖◆ □◆❖◆ჰ are often used by Maximus. These nouns are formed from adjective stems and denote abstract notions. In the translation Euthymius substituted these Greek nouns with Georgian abstract nouns; while rendering Greek adjectives with the same stem he used Georgian adjectives:

◆მ●მ□❖◆ჰ – srulebaÁ / ◆მ●მ□❖◆ჰ – sruli; ოერობე□□❖◆ჰ – saxierebaÁ / ოერობე□□❖ჰ – saxieri.

An interesting example of word-for-word translation is presented in the *explanation* 20, which contains about ten different lexical units formed from

¹⁶ Vast interpolations have been attested in Euthymius' translation of Basil the Great's Teachings – the excerpts from Gregory of Nazianzus' sermons are interpolated into his writings, see Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Basil of Caesarea's Teachings, Ts. Kurtsikidze ed., Tbilisi 1983, 70; Interpolations are found in Gregory of Nazianzus' Or. 43, into which the description of the miracles ascribed to Basil the Great are added, see Kurtsikidze Ts., The Peculiarities of Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Gregory the Theologian's Or. 43, in *Philological Researches*, II, 43; Extracts from the epistles of Gregory of Nazianzus are attested in Euthymius' translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' Or. 42, see Bezararshvili K., *Interpretation of One Peculiarity of Euthymius the Athonite's Translation Method: Interpolations of Oratio 42*, in *Matsne, Proceedings in Language and Literature*, 1-4, 1999, 133-148.

the verb $\square \bullet \mathcal{M} \square \square \diamond \blacklozenge \blacklozenge$. In most cases Euthymius tries to render the lexical units without changing their part of speech affiliation:
 $\square \bullet \mathcal{M} \square \square \diamond \blacklozenge \mathcal{M} \blacklozenge$ (Aor. pass. particip.) – aRvsebul [ars];
 $\square \bullet \mathcal{M} \square \square \diamond \blacklozenge \mathcal{M} \blacklozenge \square \bullet \mathcal{M} \square \square \blacklozenge$ (Fut. pass. particip.) – aRvsebad [ars];
 $\square \bullet \mathcal{M} \square \square \diamond \blacklozenge \mathcal{M} \blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacklozenge$ (Aor. Pass. Inf.) – aRvsebaÁ;
 $\square \bullet \mathcal{M} \square \square \diamond \blacklozenge \mathcal{M} \blacksquare \square \blacklozenge$ (Pr. med.-pass. particip.) – aRvsebuli;
 $\blacklozenge \square \blacksquare \square \bullet \mathcal{M} \blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacksquare \blacksquare$ (Pr. Act. particip.) – aRmavsebeli;
 $\square \bullet \mathcal{M} \blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacklozenge \blacklozenge$ (nomina actionis) – aRvsebaÁ.

Therefore, Euthymius' translation of the *Commentary* is a free translation with some passages and terms rendered into Georgian with literal translation method. The word-for-word translation of certain passages and some terms in particular must have been conditioned by the specific nature of term-formation by Maximus.

The Place and Function of the *Commentary on Oratio 38* in Georgian Manuscripts.

Gregory of Nazianzus appends the *Commentary on Oratio 38* to *Oratio 38* in Georgian manuscripts. It is inserted into the collection of Gregory's liturgical sermons. It is noteworthy that the Greek collections of Gregory's sermons do not include the *Commentary*. Neither Maximus the Confessor's *Commentary on Or. 38* is attested in any Greek manuscript of Gregory's writings. The *Commentary* by Maximus is usually presented in a separate manuscript together with other writings by Maximus.¹⁷ This makes us believe that Euthymius the Athonite himself inserted the *Commentary* into the collection of Gregory of Nazianzus' liturgical sermons. Euthymius must have translated the *Commentary* at the beginning of his work on the collection of Gregory's sermons. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the above mentioned *Commentary* is attested in the manuscript *Ath. 68* (a. 1002-1005), which was created at the initial stage of Euthymius' work on the translation of Gregory's collection.¹⁸ It is obvious that from the very beginning Euthymius intended to append commentaries to Gregory's work in order to make them clearer and easier for Georgian readers. Euthymius' intention is well illustrated by a colophon attached to *the Commentary*: "locva-yavT mamisa eTÁmistÁs, wmidano RmrTisano, romelman ese sakiTxavi Suenieri qristes SobisaÁ TargmaniTurT Targmna, ganmanaTlebeli sulisaÁ da

¹⁷ Bracke R., Some Aspects of the Manuscript Tradition of the Ambigua of Maximus the Confessor, Acts du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, 100-101.

¹⁸ Metreveli H., Introduction, I. presentation generale, dans Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Iberica I, 9.

ÃAorcTaÃ, dResaswaulobad erisa morwmunisa da samoZRurebelad da sadidebelad mamisa da Zisa da wmidisa sulisa"¹⁹ (*Saints of God, pray for Father Euthymius, as he has translated Oratio In Nativitatem and the Commentary to enlighten soul and body, to be celebrated by parish and to teach them and to glorify the Holy Trinity*). The reason for translating *Commentary* on Gregory's work (*to teach believers*) is perfectly in line with the major direction of Euthymius the Athonite's activities, namely, his educational and enlightenment intentions.

Commentary on Oratio 44 (In novam Dominicam).

In the collections of Euthymius' translations of Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies (*Tbilisi A-1* (a.1030-1031), *P-3* (a. 1040), *Tbilisi S-383* (s. XI), *Tbilisi S-413* (s. XI), *Tbilisi A-87* (s. XI), *Tbilisi A-87* (s. X-XI) the sermon *axalkÃriakisaTÃs da satfurebisaTÃs eklesiisa (In Novam Dominicam)* is followed by a short text – *ZnelTa sityuaTa ganmarteba (Explanations of Difficult Passages)*. The text consists of explanations of five passages of *Oratio 44* (*PG 36, col. 613 D 5-6; col. 617 A 7-8; col. 617 A 8-9; col. 617 A 9-10; col. 617 A 10-11*). The *Commentary* is translated in plain Georgian language. It provides explanations to those passages of *Oratio 44*, in which the author talks about human envy, the necessity to overcome it and the vanity of luxury.

The *Commentary on Oratio 44* containing five *explanations* is not attested in Greek manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus' works. Therefore, it can be suggested that this text could be a fragment from unknown *Commentary* on *Or. 44* inserted into Georgian collection of Gregory's sermons by Euthymius the Athonite. The distinct didactic character of the explanations probably makes clear Euthymius' motivation for inserting this text, rather than another, into the collection. For him, a discourse on moral issues supported with examples and quotations from the Bible would be the best way to establish strong moral principles among his parish.

The fact of translating the commentaries on the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus illustrates one more aspect of Euthymius the Athonite's dedication as a translator: he was determined to acquaint Georgian reader with the latest developments of Byzantine culture and literature as quickly, consistently and accurately as possible. Basiliius Minimus' commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies written in the middle of the tenth century as well as the collection *Sylloge* dating back to the end of the tenth century were very

¹⁹ Cods. *Tbilisi A-80*, 56v; *Tbilisi A-518*, 52v; *Tbilisi A-87*, 40r.

popular in Byzantium. The fact that Euthymius translated the *Commentary on Or. 38* created on the basis of the above-mentioned works attests Euthymius' profound interest in the latest developments in Byzantine literature and his commitment to introducing these processes to Georgian readers. This also proves that the Georgian monastic center on Mt. Athos was actively involved in the contemporary cultural-literary life of Byzantium.

Tamar Sukhishvili (Tbilisi)

LIVER DIVINATION IN CICERO'S *DE DIVINATIONE* *

Praesensio et scientia rerum futurarum (the foresight and knowledge of future events), Cicero gives this definition of the term *divinatio* at the very beginning of his treatise *De Divinatione* (*Div. I, I, 1*). He goes on to restrict this definition in an important way: *Id est de divinatione, quae est earum rerum, quae fortuitae putantur, praedictio atque praesensio / I refer to divination, which is the foreseeing and foretelling of events considered as happening by chance* (*Div. I, V, 9*).¹

This paper does not discuss the practice of divination and its theory in the ancient world, dealing chiefly with the depiction of *hepatoscopy* (liver inspection) in *De Divinatione*. First of all I will explain why I paid attention to the two definitions of the word *divination* presented by Cicero. The first definition explains the general idea of divination, and the second one concentrates on the remarkable detail: *events, which are thought of as happening by chance*.

Having taken into consideration the peculiarities of the Mesopotamian model of divination and the idea that there was no such thing as *chance*² I consider this definition important to get an idea of Greek and Roman models.

The treatise by Cicero is especially significant, first as a source depicting ancient ritual practice (in the first part the treatise contains much information on Greek and Roman divination practice) and second as a source for the

* The paper was presented during the Scottish Classical Postgraduate Conference at Edinburgh University on 24th of May 2006.

¹ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, with an English Translation and Introduction by W. A. Falconer, The Loeb Classical Library, v. 20, Harvard University Press 2001 = *De Divinatione*.

² Brill's New Pauly (Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World), edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider, v. 5, Leiden-Boston 2004, 569-577 = *BNP*.

theory of Stoicism (the second part of the treatise basically concentrates on a criticism of the Stoic arguments), as the Stoics used the theory of divination to support the theory of determinism. Stoics' opinions on divination practice can be found in other treatises as well: *De Natura Deorum* and *De Fato*.

In his works, Cicero derives his arguments chiefly from Greek sources and develops and illustrates them with examples from his experience. As a result we have a picture of both Greek and Roman divination practices. Though divination was not a part of official Roman cult it played an important role in the social and political life of the Roman people and even the fact that Cicero was very interested in it and found it necessary to dedicate a book to this topic underlines the importance of divination in the life of the Roman society of those times.

In his treatise, Cicero presents and describes the common forms of divination and discusses and evaluates the public opinion about this issue. One of the most important forms of the divination was a *hepatoscopy* by examining entrails, for which there is evidence from as early as the middle of third millennium. The first references to the divination from sacrifice are in Homer (*Il.* 24,221; *Od.* 21, 145; 22, 318-323). Later on this practice is more fully described.³ And Cicero's work is an important example of it. The information provided in the treatise about Greek and Roman divination is quite rich and valuable, as usually literary sources do not discuss the details of liver divination practice, they mainly focus on the results and not on the process. However, entrails examination and divination is implied in the content of a sacrificial ritual.

On the evidence of the treatise, we can conclude that liver divination (*Haruspicum disciplina*) derived from Etruria and it was the most important form of divination of those times. The practice, which was a part of a sacrificial ritual, was performed the following way: the first important stage of the ritual was the choice of a sacrificial animal. People believed that a sacrifice that was supposed to be offered to the god was not haphazard. They thought that an intelligent force, which was diffused throughout the universe, guided the choice of the sacrificial victim.

The divine response depended on the condition of the liver – whether it was healthy or not. If any part of the liver was absent (according to Cicero it was head of the liver, κεφαλή) this was considered a bad omen.

According to the common belief, a change in the vitals occurred – something was added or taken away – at the very moment when the sacrifice was offered. And that was an influence of a divine power.

³ *BNP*, v. 5, 569-577.

Divination was a chance given to humans to avoid future disaster but people do not always manage to use the chance because of their lack of skills in reading the signs:

Male coniecta maleque interpretata falsa sunt non rerum vitio, sed interpretum inscientia / *If prophecies, based on erroneous deduction and interpretations turn out to be false, the fault is not chargeable to the signs but to the lack of skill in the interpreters (Div, I, LII, 118).*

Cicero depicts the practice of *hepatoscopy* together with the other practices of divination and thus tries to criticize the Stoic doctrine. He argues that the method of the Stoic argumentation is completely illogical and full of contradictions, as illogical as the background and essence of divination itself.

Cicero builds up his criticism according to the following plan: He concentrates on the scheme suggested by the Stoics: *if x...than y*. Cicero thinks that there is a conflict between the propositions, i.e. between *x* and *y*, and the first proposition is not a true conditional and thus cannot be the basis for the following conclusions. Besides, a conjunction *x+y* is a collection of incompatible conjunctions. This opinion is best explained in *De Fato 12-15* on the example of astrological divinatory theorem: *Si quis... oriente Canicula natus est, is in mari non morietur*.⁴ *Si enim est verum, quod ita coniectitur: "Si quis oriente Canicula natus est, is in mari non morietur", illud quoque verum est: "Si Fabius oriente Canicula natus est, Fabius in mari non morietur." Pugnans igitur haec inter se, Fabium oriente Canicula natum esse, et Fabium in mari moriturum; et quoniam certum in Fabio ponitur, natum esse eum Canicula oriente, haec quoque pugnant, et esse Fabium, et in mari esse moriturum. Ergo haec quoque coniunctio est ex repugnantibus, "et est Fabius, et in mari Fabius morietur", quod, ut propositum est, ne fieri quidem potest. Ergo illud, "moriatur in mari Fabius", ex eo genere est, quod fieri non potest. Omne ergo, quod falsum dicitur in futuro, id fieri non potest. / *If this is a true conditional, "If someone was born at the rising of the Dogstar, he will not die at sea", so is this one, "If Fabius was born at the rising of the Dogstar, Fabius will not die at sea." Therefore these propositions conflict with each other: that Fabius was born at the rising of the Dogstar, and that Fabius will die at sea. And since Fabius' case the premise that he was born at the rising of the Dogstar is certain, there is also a conflict between the proposition that Fabius exists and the proposition that he will die at sea. Hence the conjunction "Both: Fabius exists, and Fabius will die at sea" is one of incompatible conjuncts, because it is incapable of happening as stated. Hence**

⁴ The Hellenistic Philosophers, ed. A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, v. 1, Translations of the Principal Sources with Philosophical Commentary, Cambridge 1987, 232 =HP

"Fabius will die at sea" belongs to the class of impossibilities. Therefore everything falsely stated about the future cannot happen (De Fato, VI, 12).

The general divinatory theorem can be found in *"De Divinatione"*: Sunt autem di, significant ergo; et non, si significant, nullas vias dant nobis ad significationis scientiam (frustra enim significarent); nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio. / *There are gods, therefore, they give us signs; and if they give such signs, it is not true that they give us no means to understand those signs – otherwise their signs would be useless; and if they give us the means, it is not true that there is no divination; therefore there is divination (Div. I, XXXVIII, 83).* Cicero's commentary on the theorems proposed by the Stoics is as follows: Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum", inquam, "Quinte, defendis, siquidem ista sic recipiuntur, ut et, si divinatio sit, di sint et, si di sint, sit divinatio. Quorum neutrum tam facile quam tu arbitraris conceditur. Nam et natura significari futura sine deo possunt, et ut sint di potest fieri ut nulla ab eis divinatio generi humano tributa sit." / *Why you are defending the very citadel of the Stoics in asserting the interdependence of these two propositions: "if there is divination there are gods", and, "if there are gods there is divination." But neither is granted as readily as you think. For it is possible that nature gives signs of future events without the intervention of a god, and it may be that there are gods without their having conferred any power of divination upon men" (Div, I, VI, 10).* The Stoics develop the principle: even things that will not be are possible, and Cicero says the opposite: they are impossible.⁵ The point is that actually the Stoics had the specific logical arguments of their own. And the differences that occurred between the Stoics and their opponents are due to a different definition and understanding of logical matters. The Stoics' logic was closely connected with the signs and their semantics and their theory was based on the existence of the connection between those signs that occur in the human world and the divine world. Besides, their ethics was based on the formula *if...then* meaning that they took something as established. Thus, this was in contradiction with the Epicurean ethics based on the principle that nothing

⁵ For the discussion of this passage see "Divination as a science, together with certain Stoic modal principles, allows us to infer that which has been predicted as true is necessary (Fat. 14) and that which has been predicted as false is impossible (Fat.13). Hence there appears to be a contradiction between the statements that all (predicted) future truths are necessary and that some are non-necessary; and between the statements that all (predicted) future falsehoods are impossible and that some are possible. As a result, Chrysippus has to give up either divination – and thus lose the support for the Fate Principle – or his concepts of possibility and non-necessity. Thus, the outcome is a variant of the standard dilemma: fate or that which depends on us? (Bobzien S., *Determinism and Freedom in Stoic Philosophy*, Oxford 1998, 144).

can come into being out of nothing (Lucretius, 2. 251-93)⁶. Cicero very often draws parallels to Epicurean studies and offers a presumable Epicurean response – laughter.

In her book Susanne Bobzien provides us a detailed discussion of the arguments of the Stoics and says that they are not as absurd as Cicero and other opponents present them. The main mistake to the author's opinion is an approach towards the Stoics argumentation. The opponents do not consider the issue as a whole.⁷

Cicero's critical method is as follows: to affirm nothing and to question everything. This was the characteristic mental attitude in which the disciples of the New Academy approached every question.⁸ And he succeeds in disputing the theories of his adversaries with logic and a fair measure of irony. His dispute is based mostly on intriguing questions. These questions lead up to Cicero's conclusion that myths should have no place in philosophy.

I think the best example of one of these puzzling questions can be found in the passage which discusses the liver divination performed just before Caesar's death: *Sed affers in tauri opimi extis immolante Caesare cor non fuisse; id quia non potuerit accidere ut sine corde victima illa viveret, iudicandum esse tum interisse cor cum immolaretur. Qui fit, ut alterum intellegas, sine corde non potuisse bovem vivere, alterum non videas, cor subito non potuisse nescio quo avolare? Ego enim possum vel nescire, quae vis sit cordis ad vivendum, vel suspicari contactum aliquo morbo bovis exile et exiguum et vietum cor et dissimile cordis fuisse. Tu vero quid habes, quare putes, si paulo ante cor fuerit in tauro opimo, subito id in ipsa immolatione interisse? / But you say, Once, when Caesar was offering a sacrifice, there was no heart in the entrails of the sacrificial bull; and since it would have been impossible for the victim to live without a heart, the heart must have disappeared at the moment of immolation. How does it happen that you understand the one fact, that the bull could not have lived without a heart and do not realize the other, that the heart could not suddenly have vanished I know not where? As for me, possibly I do not know what vital function the heart performs; if I do I suspect that the bull's heart, as the result of a disease, became much wasted and shrunken and lost its resemblance to a heart. But, assuming that only a little while before the heart was in the sacrificial bull, why do you think it suddenly disappeared at the very moment of immolation? (Div. II, XVI, 37)*

⁶ HP, 106.

⁷ Bobzien S., *Determinism and Freedom in Stoic Philosophy*, Oxford 1998, 91-92.

⁸ *De Divinatione*, 379, 1f.

And here is the culmination of the question: An quod aspexit vestitu purpureo excordem Caesarem, ipse corde privatus est? / Don't you think, rather, that the bull lost his heart when he saw that Caesar in his purple robe had lost his head? (*Div, II, XVI, 37*) Here Cicero plays on the common use of *cor* as intelligence.⁹ And we can find many examples in which Cicero makes complete fun of this practice.

The above-mentioned passage is noteworthy not only as a good example of Cicero's severe criticism, the depiction of ritual practice, reference to the absence of animal's heart also draws one's attention. The participation of a heart in divination practice is considered to be very unusual. Though one can find the examples of heart sacrifice and possible heart divination in Greek linguistic materials, but it seems to be a practice of later times in the Greek world. Greek verb καρδιουλέω which first appears in Lucian's work "On Sacrifices" (13) means to draw the heart out of the victim at a sacrifice¹⁰: *And although the notice says that no one is to be allowed within the holy-water who has not clean hands, the priest himself stands there all bloody, just like Cyclops of old, cutting up the victim, removing the entrails, plucking out the heart, pouring the blood about the altar, and doing everything possible in the way of piety.* It might be suggested that the two passages mentioned above concentrate on one and the same practice.

However, turning back to the Stoics' pro-divination arguments, though they were not very convincing and logical, the practice was very popular. In fact, Cicero explains the reason himself: *Atque haec, ut ego arbitror, veteres rerum magis eventis moniti quam ratione docti probaverunt. / The ancients were influenced more by actual results than convinced by reason (Div. I, III, 5).*

Thus, Cicero actually acknowledges that a logical basis and reasoning are not a necessary condition for human belief and in many cases a certain event happening in front of us is far more important than the whole logical chain of reasons and causes. Hence just several examples of the famous victory of an army preceded by "successful" divination seemed convincing enough. Certainly there were several reasons that strengthened the belief in divination, i.e. human wish to perceive the divine power as well as human belief in his own power – that mortals have the ability to approach the power of gods; the definition of divination as an art; long history of divination, divination as a knowledge and experience gained by the ancestors, especially famous personae, and a number of examples concerning successful divination. Besides, divination was not considered only as a fortune-telling business, it was a kind of stimulus for decision-making process. Divination in its essence

⁹ *De Divinatione*, 410, 2f.

¹⁰ Liddell H. G., Scott R., *Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edition), Oxford 1996.

contained a well-designed mechanism of self-defense, that one can never avoid mistakes. Moreover, there was one very simple reason – human inclination towards rituals – that is best expressed in the words of Quintus: ...quid fissum in extis, quid fibra valeat, accipio; quae causa sit, nescio. Atque horum quidem plena vita est; extis enim omnes fere utuntur. / *As to the cleft or thread in the entrails: I accept their meaning; I do not know their cause. And life is full of individuals in just the same situation that I am in, for nearly everybody employs entrails in divining (Div. I, X, 16).*

To my opinion, this passage best expresses the phenomenon of divination, the practice that was deeply intruded into the culture and daily life. Nobody thought of reasons and logic. The need for divination was evident itself, without any additional explanations. The habits were stronger than Cicero's arguments. And though Cicero completely ignores the prophetic value of divination, he offers a very realistic solution. He tries to find some meaning and goal for this practice, tries to make it useful at some points, and thus he suggests – why not utilize it for the public goal? It might be a good way of making a public event more significant and more valuable and it is a good way of keeping political power as well. And here I would like to remind you of his work on the republic where he had written "in favour of maintenance of the rights of augury and of auspices. But these practices were engrafted on the Roman constitution and he advocated their observance because of his belief in obedience to law and because, as a member of the aristocratic party, he thought augury and auspices the best means of controlling the excess of democracy."¹¹ Thus, in *De Divinatione* Cicero accepts the importance of divination practice for public uses.

¹¹ *De Divinatione*, 216.

Nana Tonia (Tbilisi)

SAPPHO AND ‘Πόλιον γῆρας’

The so-called ‘new Sappho poem’¹, discovered some two years ago in the papyri collection of the University of Cologne, attracted attention of all interested in Greek lyric poetry. It is particularly important for me as in my monograph² dedicated to Sappho’s poetry I considered the fragment numbered 58 in the well-known Lobel-Page edition³ (which Michael Gronewald and Robert Daniel identified with the Cologne poem) to be the main source for comprehending the Greek poetess’ weltanschauung. So, on reading the Cologne find, I was quite certain that the final lines of the fragment should be its logical ending. However, what puzzled me was Martin West’s conclusion: "When we had only the Oxyrhynchus portion, we had only line-ends, preceded and followed by line-ends of other poems, and it was not clear where one poem ended and the next began; the left hand margin, where this would have been signaled, was missing. That question is now settled. We have a poem of twelve lines, made up of six two-line stanzas. The last eight lines are virtually complete. The first four are still lacking two or three words each at their beginnings. But we can make out the sentence structure and restore the sense of what is lost, if not the exact words." Although I regard Martin West as a scholar of great authority, who indeed has an amazing feel for ancient Greek language and lyric poetry, I would still like to express my opinion about one detail, which I find very interesting. I mean the last lines of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, which Martin West considers to be a part of another poem. To put it straightforward, I admit that I do not agree

¹ West M., A New Sappho Poem, in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 151, 2005, 1-9.

² Tonia N., *The Poetic World of Sappho*, Tbilisi 1991 (in Georgian). The same opinion on the fragment is put forward in my doctoral dissertation *Sapphic Phenomenon and the Poetry of Antique Women*, Tbilisi 1993.

³ Lobel E., Page D., *Poetarum hesbiorum fragmenta*, Oxford 1955.

with this idea, as I believe that lines 25-26 of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, which without the first ten lines are numbered 15-16, make up a logical ending to Sappho Cologne version. What compels me to suppose so is the following phrase by Joachim Latacz: "Wer Sapphos Art kennt, möchte sich mit dem matten Ende des Tithonos-Beispiels nicht so gern zufriedengeben. Denn Sappho war nicht nur die Dichterin der Blumen, Kränze, Düfte, schönen Kleider und graziösen Tänze, sie hat in ihrem Mädchenkreis, der demals weitberühmt war, gelehrt, daß Schönheit nichts ist ohne Geist, der sie erst eigentlich zur Schönheit macht ..."⁴ I will attempt to corroborate this emotional phrase with a more prosaic argument connected with versification:

One chapter in my book called *The Poetic world of Sappho* is dedicated to the analysis of archaic composition and the structure of Sapphic verses.⁵ Bearing in mind the idea commonly admitted in cultural studies that each historical epoch tends to a particular structure, deeply imprinted in human psyche and subconsciously expressed in their artistic creations⁶, and analyzing Sappho's best survived poems, I come to the following conclusion: Sapphic verses are structured to the so-called 'triad principle', which represents a certain equivalence to the tendency towards tripartite composition attested in the archaic art. It is very important to mention here that the greater artists are and the closer their compositions are to the aesthetic principles of the epoch, the more intensely does their work reflect the leading compositional pattern of their contemporary epoch. Time has attested that in this respect Sappho holds the same place in the archaic poetry as Homer in the Geometric period. The principle of triad composition is distinctive and discrete in her poetry in the same way as the geometric principle in the Homeric epics. Now let us consider if the Cologne poem follows this pattern and reconstruct its full version:

If we accept the assumption that Sapphic verses are structured to the principle of triad composition, the principle should embrace both levels – inner and outer. Since the complete version of the poem concerned is still arguable, let us start with the inner composition, which clearly includes the following elements:

⁴ Latacz J., Ein neues Sapphi-Lied.

<http://www.klassphil.uni-muenchen.de/~waiblinger/sappho.html/>

⁵ About the archaic composition and the structure of Sapphic verses, see: Tonia N., 1991, 125-144.

⁶ For the review of the question, see Гордезиани Р., Проблемы Гомеровского Эпоса, Тбилиси 1978, 276; Also Andrae B., Flashar H., Strukturäquivalenzen zwischen den Homerischen Epen und der frühgriechischen Vasenkunst, Poetica, Bd., 9, Hft. 2, 1977, 217...

Character triad: girls (children);
Sappho;
Tithonus;

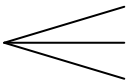
Poet's disposition: [my...] body old age now (γῆρας ἐπέλλαβε);
I oft bemoan (στεναχίσδω);
What's to do? (κεν ποείην);

The poet is old: my hair's turned [white] (τρίχες λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένοντο);
My heart's grown heavy (βάρυς δὲ μ' ὁ θυμός πεπότηται);
My knees will not support me (γόνα δ' οὐ φέροισι);

Paradigm: the tale was (ἔφαντο);
Love-smitten (ἔρωι...);
Carried off to the world's end (ἔσχατα...);

Moral: handsome (κάλον);
Young (νέον);
Yet in time grey age / o'ertook him (ἔμαρψε... γῆρας);

Below is the model of its **outer composition**:

1. Axis: Sappho 
 - addresses girls (lines 1-2);
 - personal reminiscences (lines 3-12);
 - addresses girls (lines 15-16);
2. Time: Present (addresses girls, lines 1-2);
Past (reminiscences, lines 3-12);
Present (addresses girls, lines 15-16);
3. Space: Location of Sappho's school (actual, lines 1-2);
Mythic space (Tithonus' paradigm, lines 9-12);
Sappho's place (irreal, lines 15-16).

So, this small poem, which Martin West rightly called 'a masterpiece', is structured to the tripartite compositional pattern, typical of the lyric period. The tendency is obvious at the level of individual elements analysis. However, when I approached the piece as a structural whole, I was convinced that the element rendered through 15-16 lines is indispensable for the comprehensive analysis of the poem. Apart from its structure, the unity is also

dictated by its content. ‘The ... Muses’ lovely gift’, which Sappho advises young people to be zealous for, is disclosed in these final lines. Namely, it is ‘love for the sun’. Let us try to comprehend the symbol: Sappho maintains that outer looks and beauty are short-lived in the same way as the pleasure to enjoy these merits. However, there is another, everlasting happiness, which the Muses bestow upon artists, and which in fact is the ‘great gift’ (‘κάλα δῶρα’). In another surviving fragment Sappho calls her gift for poetry ‘the holy gift of the Muses’ (‘Μοῖσαν ἄγλαα δῶρα’).⁷ In this respect, particularly interesting is the note survived in Aelianus’ work: ‘I think you have heard about Sappho claiming the following in the face of some women who believed they were rich: the Muses will grant her happiness and enviable glory, as she will not be forgotten after her death’ (Fr. 193 L.P.).

The fragment clearly suggests that the Muses made the poetess ‘ὀλβία(ν)’ ‘happy’ and ‘ζηλοπή(ν)’ ‘enviable’. Besides, owing to them, she will not be forgotten after her death. The same idea is stated in another Sappho fragment.⁸ Sappho believes that true poetry and true artist will be endowed with everlasting glory. Hence, it can be suggested that she was the first to state what in later poetry was established as Horace’s ‘exegi monumentum’.

Let us return to the Cologne poem: in the very first lines the poetess urges the girls to be zealous for ‘the Muses’ ... lovely gifts’ (implying that the gift is the source of everlasting happiness). This is followed by the lines describing her old age; however, the poetess is aware that outer beauty is perishable as illustrated through the paradigm of the myth about Tithonus. The renowned mentor of maiden’s school would not leave ambiguous the call concerning ‘the ... Muses’ lovely gift’ stated in the very first lines. Such a ‘requirement’ is provided for by the ring composition, characteristic of her verses, and the so-called tripartite pattern. As to the implications of ‘ἔρωσ τῶελίω’ (‘love for the sun’), it is a different point and is discussed in detail in my above-mentioned monograph. In my opinion, Sappho coined the expression to function as ‘the symbolic image for everlasting happiness’.⁹ So, the above-mentioned closes up the logical circle: ‘You, girls, be zealous for the Muses’ lovely gift; despite my old age, I was allotted splendour (ἀβροσύνη), through which I have already been initiated into the glamour and grandeur of everlasting happiness (or love for the sun)’.

So, I believe there is every ground to suppose that the final lines of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus make up a logical ending for the Cologne poem.

⁷ For more details, see: The Problem of Awakening an Individual and Some Aspects of Sapphic Weltanschauung, in: Tonia N., 1991, 47-75.

⁸ Cf. Fr. 147 L.P.; Fr. 55 L.P.

⁹ See Tonia N., 1991, 56.

Rusudan Tsanova (Tbilisi)

RITUAL AND FOLK ASPECTS OF EURIPIDES' IPHIGENIA

The ritual of human sacrifice was reflected in several of Euripides' tragedies: Macaria is sacrificed in the *Heraclesidae*, Polixenes in the *Hecuba*, Erechtheus' daughters in the *Erechtheus*, Menoeceus in the *Phoenician Women*, Iphigenia in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and Orestes and Pylades are to be offered as a sacrifice in the *Iphigenia among Taurians*. The cases of sacrifice (or pseudo-sacrifice) are included in Euripides' other tragedies as well; the 'offered' characters are Phrixus, Alcestis, Evadne, Laodamea, Megara, Protesilaus, Heracles, Andromache and others. Certainly, human sacrifices are highly important plots for Euripides' dramas; it is the only theme in some of the tragedies and an indispensable element in others. The problem of human sacrifice in Euripides' tragedies has been covered in several research works and papers, which offer diverse explanations of why the theme is so 'popular' in Euripides' works. Some attribute the fact to the author's intention to exercise an emotional impact on the spectator; some believe the use of the sacrifice theme is a distinctive property of Euripides' dramatic art while others consider it an attempt to accentuate the moral concept. Part of scholars studies the scenes with regard to the history of religion and offering ritual. In the present paper, I will reconcile mentioned viewpoints with my own opinion and will focus on several important aspects: upon whose will the sacrifice is offered; how the offering ritual is performed and what function it acquires.

In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the Greeks army stays on the island of Aulis whether bound. (It is necessary to invoke 'good' winds. According to seer Calchas, Greeks will not come across any obstacles on their way to Troy provided Iphigenia is sacrificed to goddess Artemis (Eur. I.A. 89-93)).

The drama does not specify why Artemis requires Iphigenia as an offering. The reason is given in other sources: according to Proclus' *Chrestomathy* and Euripides' *Orestes*, note 658, Agamemnon boasted he was a better hunter than Artemis. According to Euripides' *Iphigenia among*

Taurians, Agamemnon promised the goddess he would offer as a sacrifice ὃ τι γὰρ ἐναιυτὸς τέκοι κάλλιστον (20-1). Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* does not give a clear motivation for offering Iphigenia as a sacrifice.¹ As Calchas interprets it, Artemis is furious with the Atreides because they plan to destroy Troy. In Sophocles' trilogy, it is chiefly the chorus that narrates about Iphigenia (Aesch. Ag. 224-7).

The chorus sings ἀΐλινος (a funeral song), and Agamemnon speaks of the necessity to implement the divine will (Aesch. Ag. 205-17). All these symbols converge in the seer's vision, which regards the Atreides as vengeful eagles (kites).

Some scholars believe Euripides reversed the chorus part in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* that deals with ἀπορία and ἄπλοια and turned it into a drama.

According to Euripides, after Clytemnestra and Iphigenia learned why they were asked to arrive in Aulis, their ways diverged. At first, they both tried to alter Greeks' decision, but later Iphigenia changed her mind. Apparently, Achilles' words compelled her to do so; the hero told the women how eager and impatient Greek warriors were to sacrifice Iphigenia. According to W. Smith, Iphigenia was not only liked Achilles but in fact, she fell in love with him; consequently, she sacrifices herself to the welfare and ambition of her beloved for the sake of love. Inspired with the desire to render her name perpetual, Iphigenia starts to resemble Achilles; the son of Peleus was killed likewise young and unmarried; however, he gained everlasting glory. M. McDonald, who writes that Iphigenia dies rather for the sake of love that for the idea, shares Smith's opinion. The scholar appreciates this as a new kind of heroism.² Hence, Agamemnon showed a great deal of shrewdness when he named Achilles as Iphigenia's 'match'. In fact, the 'lie' accentuates the equivalence between the mythic images of Iphigenia and Achilles. This correlation is a successful example of how a symbol and metaphor work in a fiction.

Iphigenia puts forward arguments for why she should be sacrificed. All the Greeks are staring at her. Whether they will have a chance to proceed with the campaign and assault Troy – it all depends on Iphigenia. Foreigners carried away a Greek woman (Queen Helen) and they should not get away with it. Iphigenia's life is common for all Hellenes (κοινόν) (belongs to Hellenes). Iphigenia will open the way for Greeks and will gain an unfading

¹ About the versions of Iphigenia's sacrifice see: Schreiber H. M., *Iphigenies Opfertod: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Tragikers Euripides*, Diss., Frankfurt am Main 1963, 66-71.

² Smith W. D., *Iphigenia in Love*. In: *Arktouros: Studies Presented to Bernard M.W. Knox*, Berlin 1979; McDonald M., *Iphigenia's Philia: Motivation in Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis*, in: *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 63, 1990, 69-84.

name (1377-86). She does not wish to become an obstacle for hundreds of armed warriors who are ready to die for the sake of Hellas. Neither does she want Achilles to sacrifice his life to a single woman (1392-3) as εἷς γ' ἄνῆρ κρείσσων γυναικῶν μυρίων ὄραν φάος (1394). If Artemis wills to take Iphigenia's body, let her have it; a mortal woman cannot thwart a goddess. Iphigenia will give away her body to Greece (1395-7). Iphigenia's follows these words' call: sacrifice myself and destroy Troy. That will be my enduring monument, my marriage, my children and my name (cf. Macaria's words from Euripides' *Heracles*, 591-2).

As a farewell, Iphigenia bids her mother what to do and what not to do. Clytemnestra should not cut her hair; her household should not wear black (1437-1448). They should rear Orestes to manhood (1459-61). Clytemnestra should not follow Iphigenia to the place of the sacrifice and should not mourn. Iphigenia wants to persuade her mother of the secret significance of her death. Such a death cannot induce sorrow. Iphigenia will not have a tomb. Artemis' altar will become her μνήμα (1442-4). She wants women (the chorus) to sing a hymn to Artemis' glory, and Greek warriors should keep sacred silence (1467-9). Iphigenia asks for items that are necessary for an offering ritual: a basket (for grains of barley), some spring water, and bright fire; and together with her father, she walks around the altar from left to right:

οὐκ ἔω στάζειν δάκρυ.
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἰέπευφημήσατ' ἰ, ὦ νεάνιδες,
 παιάνα τῆμῃ συμφορᾷ Διὸς κόρη
 Ἀρτεμιν· ἴτω δὲ Δαναΐδαις εὐφημία.
κανᾶ δ' ἰ ἐναρχέσθω τις, αἰθέσθω δὲ **πῦρ**
προχύταις καθαρσίοισι, καὶ πατὴρ ἑμὸς
 ἐνδεξιούσθω βωμόν· ὡς σωτηρίαν
 Ἐλλησι δώσοις ἰ ἔρξομαι νικηφόρον (I.A. 1466-1474).

This scene is followed by a change in meter, which indicates Iphigenia's exaltation. She has said earlier it is necessary to be obsessed with *μανία* in order to be able to wish for death (125). And truly, Iphigenia is gradually gripped with *μανία*. She tells her father to lead her to the altar and asks him to give her flowers and adorn her with a garland. She decorates the altar with her curls and washes her hands with the sacred water. She asks the women of Calchis to give glory to Artemis through a ritual dance around the altar (I.A. 1476-86).

After the women (the chorus) start dancing, Iphigenia addresses her fatherland. With her last words the virgin bids farewell to the daylight χαίρε μοι, φίλον φάος (1509).

The women of Calchis sing of the deeds that will follow Iphigenia's sacrifice; they sing about the ritual to be performed (1512-18). They glorify Artemis and accentuate her taking delight in human sacrifices (I.A. 1521-1525).

Exalted Iphigenia offers Greeks the way out of the deadlock. She sacrifices herself not for the sake of Helen but for the sake of common Hellenic interests. Therefore, she performs the role, which the goddess, the fate (τύχη) and the myth allotted to her. According to H. Foley, owing to Iphigenia's heroic decision, the myth reacquires its traditional direction and hence performs the function of *deus ex machina*. Such a behavior can be linked to the general tendency of drama, in which human beings behave under the impact of irrational impulses.³

Agamemnon's and Clytemnestra's ideas and appreciations of Iphigenia's sacrifice are not alike. Agamemnon and Iphigenia have exactly the same stand. In Agamemnon's mind, the only alternative for the offering ritual is to dismiss the army. However, Greeks are so eager to go to war that they will not give up. They will kill both Agamemnon and Menelaus, and sacrifice Iphigenia anyway. If Agamemnon flees to Argos, they will pursue him and destroy the city. Therefore, Agamemnon regards Iphigenia as a sacrifice to Hellas (1271-2). The tandem of the father and daughter suggests that Iphigenia's emotional links with her father are stronger and closer than with her mother.⁴

Unlike Agamemnon and Iphigenia, Clytemnestra rejects the explanation of the sacrifice she is offered. She believes Iphigenia is sacrificed for Helen's sake, which is unfair and altogether appalling (1167-9, 385, 485). She even suggests Greeks an alternative way: that is to offer Artemis Menelaus' daughter. Let Menelaus sacrifice his own daughter or find somebody else himself (1200-2). Or let Hellenes decide whose child to slay – Agamemnon's or Menelaus' (1198-9). Clytemnestra came to Aulis not to have her daughter killed for the sake of an unfaithful woman but in order to marry her to an honorable and brave man.

Euripides uses two words to denote the sacrificial practice: θύειν and σφάζειν. Θύειν is used more frequently and means to place a ritual offering on the altar of an Olympian god. Σφάζειν means to place a bloody offering on a fire (ἑσχάρα) to seek the favor of chthonic powers as well as of rivers, the sea and the earth. The ritual was held before going to war and the shed blood was believed to appeal to the underworld gods and dead heroes.

³ Foley H. P., *Ritual Irony. Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*, Ithaca and London 1985, 66.

⁴ O'Connor-Visser E. A. M. E., *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides*, Amsterdam 1987, 122.

Although $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ differ in function and ritual sense, they sometimes overlap. They both are used in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Iphigenia's sacrifice to Artemis is related to a custom widespread in Phocis, where human sacrifice used to be offered to Artemis Tauropola. The same is true about Artemis Municheia in Pyreah.

Having considered the material collected from all of Euripides' tragedies, O'Connor-Visser concluded that although $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ are not identical, the difference is not as obvious in the tragedy as some scholars assumed it. According to O'Connor-Visser, the most important thing is that $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ was practiced when the sacrifice involved throat cutting and blood oozing – i.e. the blood of the victim was spilt on the earth. Such an offering was intended for chthonic gods. But since every victim was to be killed before placing his/ her body on the fire so that its smell could reach gods, $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ can be regarded as part of $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$. The latter stands for a complete sacrificial ceremony.⁵ Now let us consider several opinions on human sacrifice with respect to Euripides' tragedies.

P. Roussel studies the volunteer sacrifice practice in Euripides' tragedies (Macaria, Menoeceus, the Erechthides and Iphigenia). The scholar analyzes the artistic images against their general context and offers the following explanation: to liberate the country from a pending disaster ($\nu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\hat{\iota}$), the deity requires a volunteer $\phi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, whose blood, when spilt on the earth, will function as the purifier. In the classical period, criminals (slaves and cripples) were forced to act as farmakos and therefore the word acquired a negative implication. However, it was different in the earlier period (the primordial community), when the king (the priest, the leader) considered it his personal commitment to ensure the welfare of the people and in due time acted as a farmakos himself. He either performed a self-sacrifice ritual, or sacrificed his own child. In Roussel's opinion, the instances of deliberate self-sacrifice presented in Euripides' tragedies reflect that very custom. It is also important to mention the following detail: the assent of the victim freed the executioners from responsibility. This was provided for by Ancient legislation as well. In particular, if the victim forgave the murderer, the latter was not due to legal punishment. None of the vengeful daemons would ever disturb the murderers unless the victim was reluctant to accept death.⁶

⁵ O'Connor-Visser. Ibid. 191-5.

⁶ Roussel P., Le Theme du Sacrifice Volontaire dans la Tragedie d' Euripide, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1922, 237-240. About the volunteer sacrifice of a young person for the welfare of his/ her own nation (people) in a critical period, see also Schmitt J., *Freiwilliger Opfertod bei Euripides. Ein Beitrag zu seiner dramatischen Technik*. Giessen 1921; Roussel P., Le theme du sacrifice volontaire dans Euripide, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1922, I, 225-40; Strohm H., *Euripides. Interpretationen zur dramatischen Form*, Zetemata, 15, Munich

H. Foley suggested an interesting assumption on Euripides' concept about volunteer sacrifice. According to the scholar, the tragedian was evidently fond of the folk motif that involved self-sacrifice of a youth. None of the surviving dramas by other tragedians develop the same theme. And what accounts for it is that youngsters (children) and women were out of the political life of polis. Therefore, their involvement in ritual was deemed as a successful effort to escape the political crisis incurred by the male (men). In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* and other dramas the source for the survival strategy is a woman – the character whose outlook and beliefs were fostered by poetic traditions (ritual, marriage) and not by politics. Admittedly, women's participation in the life of a Greek polis was limited to religion where they were particularly active.⁷

H. Förs distinguished between the sacrifice dramas and Dionysian Spargmos although they both picture an unparalleled state of spirit. According to Förs, in the Dionysian tragedies the characters with state authority are obsessed with ecstasy; while in sacrifice dramas weaker characters are gripped with enthusiasm that eventually presents them as extremely brave individuals – which they had never been before. According to the scholar, in the sacrifice dramas Euripides presents divine love: Macaria dies for the sake of his brothers, Menoeceus – for his native city, Iphigenia – for Hellas. Heroic self-glorification starts with self-sacrifice, as it is a true heroism when a person is ready to die and lives solely for the welfare of his people. Euripides refers to the sacrifice theme to show a powerful spirit in a weak body.⁸

As stated above, H. Foley dedicated a monograph to the study of the function of ritual in Euripides' dramas.⁹ In the first part of the work, the scholar offers the viewpoints of ancient authors on the function of sacrifice. He sums up sociological and mostly structuralistic definitions regarding the setting and the function of sacrifice in Greek religious system and the Classical Greek culture. Foley's own observations are presented in the chapter called *Poetry and Sacrifice*. According to the scholar, tragedy should not be regarded as a consistent depiction of a ritual. In Euripides' dramas, ritual is the communication means between the man and the divine, the

1957, 50-63; Burnett A. P., *Catastrophe Survived: Euripides' Plays of Mixed Reversal*, Oxford 1971, 22-26; Vellacott Ph., *Ironic Drama: A Study of Euripides' Method and Meaning*, Cambridge 1975, 178-204.

⁷ Foley H., *Ritual Irony*, 62, 91.

⁸ Fors H., *Dionysus und die Starke des Schwachen im Werk des Euripides*, Diss., Tübingen 1964. Fors draws parallels between Christ and Dionysus. Dionysus lives among folk, like Christ, travels in the company of his disciples, fills the souls of his followers with inner peace, love and the feeling of divine servitude. According to the scholar, the self-sacrifice practice presented in Euripides' dramas alludes to what took place 400 years later on Calvary.

⁹ Foley H., *Ritual Irony. Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*, Ithaca and London 1985.

personal and the social, the past and the present. Sacrifice certainly implies the interrelation between everlasting and self-sufficient times, and the ironical confrontation against the disorder in the human world. Myth and ritual offer similar fictions, which help humans, introduce order into their lives. This is fulfilled through the understanding of the processes such as birth, initiation, marriage, death and the experience of a very important emotion rendered through the term 'suffering'.¹⁰ Tragedy and ritual are united with common requirements – that is to offer people therapy and immortality against the reality, which is discrepant from the existing circumstances. Consequently, Iphigenia's choice can freely be regarded as self-deception, while people can 'adopt' Iphigenia's, Heracles' and Alcestis' heroism into their lives through festivals and cults of heroes. As concerns Iphigenia's sacrifice, as mentioned above, she performs the function of *deus ex machina*. Thus, in his sophisticated rituals, Euripides is ironical, conflicting with the traditional religion and highly religious at the same time.

The reflection of human sacrifice in Euripides' dramas is analyzed in O'Connor-Visser's doctoral dissertation on *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides*.¹¹ The scholar analyzed four fully survived and one fragmental (the *Erechtheus*) tragedies that picture the cases of human sacrifice. Although sacrificial scenes are included in Euripides' other tragedies as well, the scholar chose only *Heraclesidae*, *Phoenician Women*, *Erechthides* (fragm.) and *Iphigenia at Aulis* because they present the cases of self-sacrifice. According to the scholar, all the four dramas are linked to the same concept: the sacrifice is performed under divine requirement and for the sake of social necessity.

The interpretation of the metaphor of Iphigenia's sacrifice is different in Aeschylus' and Euripides' tragedies. Euripides' version has already been considered above and it was mentioned that in Euripides' drama, Agamemnon has an opportunity to make a choice: The Greek army will enter Troy if Iphigenia is sacrificed – otherwise, they will have to return to their homes. According to Aeschylus, there is quite a number of serious reasons that compel Agamemnon to sacrifice Iphigenia: Zeus' order to revenge Paris' violation of hospitality manners and abduction of Helen; Calchas' oracle about Artemis' will to have Iphigenia sacrificed; the yearning of the Atreide and the Greek army to assault Troy. Having these in mind, Agamemnon gives

¹⁰ About rituals as the source of perception and a necessary lie see: Wolff C., *Aspects of the Later Plays of Euripides*, Diss., Harvard University 1969; Wolff C., *The Design and Myth in Euripides' Ion*, HSCP, 69, 169-94.

¹¹ O'Connor-Visse E. A. M. A., *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides*, Amsterdam 1987.

up Iphigenia. She is not sacrificed of her own free will. Analyzing Aeschylus' concept, R. Girard concludes that in Aeschylus, the old sacrifice system is replaced with the new one.¹² According to Aeschylus' Iphigenia, the sacrifice practice of is not a crime. Agamemnon forces the victim to accept death. Anyway, in terms of sacrifice ritual Iphigenia is a preliminary sacrifice offered by the Greek army before assaulting Troy. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, all the cases of human sacrifice are bound with a single chain: those who perform it are united with the desire to revenge. Their feasts are cannibalistic (they either eat the flesh of the victim or express the wish to drink the victim's blood); the heroes resemble raptors who are eager to revenge and devour the flesh of their enemy (Aesch. Ag. 109-20). This concept cancels the borders between the offered and the 'offerer', between human and animal.¹³

Apart from the description of the offering ritual, there is one more remarkable point that is present in Euripides' another drama as well – Iphigenia arrives in Aulis as a bride; till the very last moment, she considers herself a bride. H. Foley offers quite interesting ideas on the fusion of bridal and offering rituals in Euripides' tragedies.¹⁴

E. Garrison analyzes the metaphor of wedding and sacrifice rituals as well. He focuses on the phrase, which says Iphigenia is getting married to Hades. (I.A. 460-1). Through this sacral marriage, she loses her virginity.¹⁵ The loss of virginity through a sacrifice ritual can be explained in several ways. This may result from a very strong emotional experience that resembles the passion excited by an erotic act.¹⁶

Both rituals require ablution, a garland as a head dressing, and a ritual dance and a song. The mythologem of marrying the death or of the death interpreted as marriage is quite widespread and old. Evidently, the version of Iphigenia's bringing to Aulis by a ruse is rooted in the epic tradition.¹⁷ Such traditions point to the ancient model of a sacrifice ritual, which suggests that the 'bride-victim' directly becomes the property of a deity. This mythoritual

¹² Girard R., *Des choses cachees depuis la fondation du monde*, Paris 1978. Girard links Aeschylean concept to the ideas from the New Testament.

¹³ Foley H., *Ibid.* 40-41.

¹⁴ Foley H. P., *Marriage and Sacrifice in Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulis, Arethusa*, 15, 1982, 159-80.

¹⁵ Garrison E. P., *Groaning Tears. Ethical and Dramatic Aspects of Suicide in Greek Tragedy*, Mnemosyne, Leiden, New York, Koln 1995, 153.

¹⁶ For the discussion over this question see: Loraux N., *La gloite et la mort d'une femme*, *Sorcières*, 18, 1978, 51-7.

¹⁷ Conacher D. J., *Euripidean Drama: Myth, Theme and Structure*, Toronto 1972, 250-53; Schreiber H. M., *Iphigenies Opfertod: ein Beitrag zur Verstandnis des Tragikers Euripides*, Diss., Frankfurt am Main 1963, 66-71; Henrichs A., *Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion: Three Case Studies*, in: *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquite, Entratiens sur l'antiquite classique*, 27, Geneva 1981, 195-203.

model is quite popular in fairy tales. According to O'Connor-Visser, the motif of sacrificing a youth of noble descent accentuated in Euripides' tragedies is not accidental. In the like cases, particular attention was paid to virginity. According to ethnology studies, the sacrifice of a virgin was practiced in Mexico, Polynesia and evidently in Greece. Virgins were sacrificed before going to war or hunting. The act was accompanied with a remarkable psychological impact – after the offering ritual, the armed campaign (or hunting) was perceived as a vengeance. This sensation was reinforced through limiting sexual desire that fostered aggression. The innocent, pure blood of noble children (Iphigenia, Polixenes, the Erechthides, Phrixus, Menoeceus, Macaria,) was a powerful catalyst to gain divine favor.¹⁸

Sacrificed Iphigenia proved the only innocent member of Agamemnon's cursed family. Ultimately, it will be Iphigenia who will wash off Orestes' sin of murdering their mother; i.e. Iphigenia starts and ends the string of bloody sacrifices in Agamemnon's family.¹⁹ However, a lot was bound to happen before the circle closed up.

Iphigenia's artistic image was discussed from another perspective as well. According to Luschnig, Iphigenia is Helen's correlate. The scholar brings forth an interesting argument to support this idea: 1. Both have the epithet *ἑλέπτολις* – 'destroyer of the city' (this is a very important argument as concerns the parallels between mythic images). 2. Agamemnon, who finds himself in a horrible position (he regards the existing circumstances as *ἀπορία*-), tries to recall a person from the past who had found a way out of a similar situation. Such a person is Tyndareus, who was disturbed by Helen's suitors (Eur. I.A. 55-7).

Tyndareus wanted to prevent bloodshed among the 51 suitors; and he found a way out – he set several terms for them and bound them with an **oath**. Tyndareus managed to marry off her daughter in a peaceful way. Agamemnon mentions Tyndareus 13 times – anyway that was in the past. At

¹⁸ O'Connor. Ibid. 198, referring to Burkert W., *Homo Necans*, Berlin 1972, 77.

¹⁹ In the Trojan Cycle, Iphigenia's image has another function as well. This becomes clear from the episode with Sinon in the *Aeneid* by Virgil. Sinon seems an insignificant character at first sight; however he acquires a very important function in the *Aeneid*. He has to persuade Trojans to take into the city the wooden horse left by Greeks and at the same time he has to survive himself in order to be able to open the door in due time and let out the nine Greek warriors locked up in the horse. Sinon tells the Trojans: many a time Greeks wanted to leave Troy and return home but the strong wind did not allow them to do so. They erected a huge wooden horse to gain god's favor but the tempest would not calm down. Then Apollo's prophet said **it was necessary to sacrifice a human being (Argolic)** and he named Sinon as an offering (Verg. Aen. II, 116-119). i.e. Greeks sacrificed Iphigenia (of Argos) before going to war and Sinon (of Argos) in order to return home – or rather, left him with the wooden horse to have him incur the wrath of Trojans. Hellenes left a Hellen to Trojans to have the latter fulfill the sacrifice ritual.

present, 52 selected Greek warriors have assembled at Aulis with their armies; they are thirsty of war; with weapons in their hands (ὄπλον μετὰ), they have even **made an oath** that they will destroy Troy and bring Helen back. Tyndareus gave her daughter to one Greek, while Agamemnon has to sacrifice Iphigenia to the will of all Greeks. It seems Helen is the cause of the war. Helen is ‘wafted’ away by ‘the gentle gales of love’²⁰ (I.A. 69), and this is what accounts for all the mischiefs. The treachery, the law of Zeus, and the image of the Atreide as the revenge-seeker lead to the symbol of eagle – (an eagle – a kite is the symbol of two brothers, the vengeful Atreides in ancient drama).²¹ Helen, who now has ‘multiple’ husbands, was once a virgin too, then she became a bride, i.e. what now Iphigenia is. The terms ἀπόρως(55) and ἀπορία (89) refer to the parallels between the situations at Aulis and in Tyndareus’ household many years ago. In both cases, the cause of the confrontation is Helen. (53f; 77f...).

Iphigenia’s talk with Agamemnon starts and ends with Helen. With her decision to give her body away to Hellas (δίδωμι σῶμα τοῦμὸν Ἑλλάδι 1397), she in fact allows the war to start. This leads to the following conclusion: although Iphigenia’s and Helen’s motivations are different, they lead to the same outcome – to the inevitability to start war. After the war is over, Helen and Iphigenia become symbols.²²

The above-stated assumption can be developed into another direction: when Helen was getting married, the aggression of the favored sons of Hellas was soothed with an oath that prevented the suitors from bloodshed. This aggression can revive unless Iphigenia is sacrificed. If the ritual is performed, the target for the Greek aggression will change to Troy. If it comes to destruction, let it afflict Troy rather than Hellas.

According to another viewpoint, Iphigenia’ self-sacrifice is more of ‘an epidemic madness’ than romanticism. Iphigenia does not wish to die. However, she sees she has no chance to survive. She yields to the will of Greek people and is ‘infected’ with the same disease as the armed Greek warriors. From this very moment, she believes her name *Ἰφιγένεια* (the

²⁰ English translation by Potter R., *The Plays of Euripides*, vol. 1, 63, in Everyman’s Library, 1932, 288.

²¹ About the symbols of eagle and serpent see: Fagles R., Stanford W. B., *A Reading of the Oresteia. The Serpent and the Eagle*, in: Aeschylus, *The Oresteia*, Viking Penguin, New York 1979.

²² Luschig C. A. E., *Tragic Aporia: A Study of Euripides’ Iphigenia at Aulis*, Aural Publications 1988, 6-21, 37-56. The symbol of Helen’s image is used in Euripides’ other dramas as well. In the *Orestes* she was abducted against her will. Euripides in the *Helen* presents the version of ‘two Helens’: one is a real, physical person while the other is airy. Men struggle for both. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* Iphigenia is also abstracted when she is replaced with a deer on the altar. The question comes up: what has survived? Iphigenia or her name, as the symbol of self-sacrifice, will later inspire others as well and call for heroic deeds. As a matter of fact, the cause of war is always the same, and ‘heroic’ self-sacrifice adds greater impact to it.

bearer of heroes) corresponds to her deeds (1496). The wonderful words of exalted Iphigenia turn into the glorifying abstraction. From that moment, Iphigenia becomes part of rhetoric. Wars start with rhetoric. Anyway, they require a name and perpetual existence in art. From this perspective, the start of war is not motivated by an outer cause or will. War starts itself. Likewise, the Trojan War was launched because it was predetermined so. War preparations set human minds to expecting and accepting the war, and therefore nothing will prevent it. P. Vellacott writes that what is shown in Euripides' drama is quite familiar to the modern world. It is evident that the destructive example of events once occurred proceeds on its own; War is 'nourished' with private interests of lots of individuals. Those interests do not provide for the existence or non-existence of rational motivations.²³

The present paper analyzed the metaphor of Iphigenia's sacrifice in fiction. It offered several different and even conflicting ideas on the interpretation of the image: Some consider Iphigenia an exalted virgin obsessed with mania; some believe she is the heroine who sacrificed herself to the welfare of her people; some think she is a girl in love while others regard her as the instigator of war. Many viewpoints were avoided on purpose as they could have diverted the present research into a different direction.²⁴ All the ideas mentioned above have appropriate arguments. This once again points to the multidimensional character of mythic symbol images. They may imply much more than is evident at first sight. The image of Iphigenia, which has become a literary metaphor, suggests an ambivalent perception; neither does her sacrifice enjoy a single interpretation. This means that Iphigenia is a typical mythic image – good and bad, kind and evil, exemplary and deplorable. Mythic symbols certainly 'work best' in the creations of the literary celebrities (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides) and are rendered in dramas in all their diversity.

²³ Vellacott P., *Ironic Drama: A Study of Euripides' Method and Meaning*, Cambridge 1975, 174.

²⁴ It is necessary to refer to several books and papers which, most regrettably, I could not mention in the present paper although they helped to build my opinion: Kitto H. D. F., *Greek Tragedy*, Garden City, NJ 1954; Knox B.M.W., *Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulide*, YCS, 22, 1972, 239-61; Lattimore R., *Story Patterns in Greek Tragedy*, Ann Arbor 1969; Lloyd-Jones H., *Artemis and Iphigenia*, JHS, 103, 1983, 87-102; Marwin W., Dimock G. E., *Euripides: Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Oxford and New York 1978; Rabinowitz N. S., *The Strategy of Inconsistency in Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis*, CB, 59, 1983, 21-26; Rossi S., *Euripide, Iphigenia in Aulide*, Toronto 1944; Snell B., *From Tragedy to philosophy: Iphigenia in Aulis*, in Segal E., 1982, 396-405; Wassermann F., *Agamemnon in the I.A.: A Man in an Age of Crisis*, TAPA, 80, 1949, 174-86.

Zurab Vacheishvili (Tbilisi)

**ΜΥΣΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΛΕΥΡΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΡΩΩΝ
ΣΤΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ
"Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΞΑΝΑΣΤΑΥΡΩΝΕΤΑΙ"**

Η βυζαντινή κουλτούρα αποτελεί μεγάλη πολιτιστική κληρονομιά στην ιστορία της ανθρωπότητας. Η παράδοσή της συνεχίζεται μέσω του ορθόδοξου χριστιανικού πολιτισμού.

Κάθε καινούρια εποχή, πολιτιστικό ρεύμα ή ακόμα και συγκεκριμένοι λογοτέχνες έθεταν τη βυζαντινή πολιτιστική κληρονομιά υπό το δικό τους κοσμοθεωρητικό πρίσμα και, άλλοτε, εμπλουτίζοντας, ενώ, άλλοτε, λεηλατώντας την, την παρουσίαζαν μετασηματισμένη στο πλατύ κοινό.

Αυτό το άρθρο αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια να διακρίνουμε στα έργα του μεγάλου στοχαστή στοιχεία βυζαντινής παράδοσης που δίνουν μια εικόνα του χριστιανικού μοναχισμού. Θα μελετήσουμε μόνο ένα έργο του Ν. Καζαντζάκη, το έργο "Ο Χριστός ξανασταυρώνεται", όπου, κατά τη γνώμη μας, παρουσιάζονται οι αρχές της λεγομένης βυζαντινής παράδοσης.

Στους πρώτους τρεις αιώνες μετά την εξάπλωση του Χριστιανισμού, οι χριστιανοί καταδιώκονταν από τους παγανιστές. Σε αυτήν την περίοδο, η ομολογία του Χριστού σήμαινε αυτοθυσία. Ο διωγμός, τα βασάνια και ο θάνατος έπαιζαν το ρόλο της κάθαρσης. Στους πρώτους αιώνες, δεν υπήρχε ακόμα ο μοναχισμός, με τη λογική της ίδρυσης ξεχωριστής κοινωνίας από τους κοσμικούς. Αν και οι πρώτοι χριστιανοί δε γνώριζαν το μοναχισμό, ως ένα ιδανικό τρόπο ζωής που διεπόταν από ειδικό τυπικό κανονισμό, καταλάβαιναν πολύ βαθιά την ιδεολογική του σημασία. Στους πρώτους αιώνες, για έναν καλόγερο αρκούσε η παρθενία, η υπακοή και η φτώχεια.

Μετά την αναγνώριση της χριστιανικής θρησκείας ως επίσημης θρησκείας της ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορίας, σταμάτησαν, βέβαια, οι διωγμοί των χριστιανών. Από εδώ και πέρα, η χριστιανική εκκλησία αρχίζει την ανάπτυξη της. Στην εκκλησία μπαίνουν διάφοροι λαοί. Αν στους πρώτους τρεις αιώνες

ο διωγμός έφερε την κάθαρση στους ανθρώπους που ασπάζονταν τη θρησκεία αυτή, τώρα δεν υπάρχουν τα μέσα για την κάθαρση. Η Εκκλησία αρχίζει την "οριζόντια" ανάπτυξη της. Έκτοτε χρειάστηκε η δημιουργία των νέων κανόνων, οι οποίοι θα ανέπτυσαν το χριστιανισμό και "καθέτως".

Στον τέταρτο αιώνα, υιοθετείται ένας νέος τρόπος ζωής, σύμφωνα με τον οποίο ο χριστιανός που θα αποφάσιζε να ασκητέψει, έπρεπε να απαρνηθεί το σπίτι και να ζήσει μόνος. Τις περισσότερες φορές, οι άνθρωποι έφευγαν στις ερήμους. Ο μοναχισμός τότε ανεβαίνει στο υψηλότερο επίπεδο της ανάπτυξής του. Τα κέντρα του είναι: η έρημος της Αιγύπτου, τα βουνά της Νητρίας, η Θηβαΐδα...

"Το μοναχισμό δύσκολα δέχονταν όχι μόνο οι αλλόθρησκοι, αλλά και οι χριστιανοί, οι οποίοι, με τον τρόπο της ζωής τους, είχαν απομακρυνθεί από την ασκητική ζωή. Ο κόσμος και ο μοναχισμός άρχιζαν να εξελίσσονται αντιθέτως και γι' αυτό ο κόσμος άρχισε να κατατρέχει το μοναχισμό, αναζητώντας την ευτυχία επί της γης. Ενώ ο μοναχισμός, δηλαδή, έστρεφε τους πιστούς προς την πνευματική εξάσκηση, ο κόσμος επιζητούσε τη γλιδή, την οποία ο μοναχισμός θεωρούσε εφήμερη. Ο κόσμος έψαχνε την επίγεια ομορφιά, ο μοναχισμός την έβλεπε ως ματαιότητα και έψαχνε την επουράνια ομορφιά, την οποία ο κόσμος δεν αναγνώριζε"¹.

Όπως προαναφέραμε, για πρώτη φορά ο μοναχισμός ως χωριστή κοινωνία δημιουργήθηκε τον τέταρτο αιώνα.

Είναι φανερό ότι η μόλις αναγνωρισμένη χριστιανική θρησκεία ακόμα δεν είχε τους δικούς της κανόνες για τη ζωή γενικά και, κυρίως, για το μοναχισμό. Αυτήν την περίοδο, διαμορφώνονταν όλοι οι κανόνες της χριστιανικής ζωής και, βέβαια, ο μοναχισμός δεν αποτελούσε εξαίρεση, γι' αυτό και τα πρώτα βήματα της ασκητικής ζωής δεν ακολουθούσαν τους ειδικούς κανόνες, λόγω του ότι ακόμα δεν υπήρχε η πείρα της προσωπικής μοναχικής ζωής.

Κατά την ορθόδοξη παράδοση, ο πρώτος μοναχός ήταν ο Παύλος της Θηβαΐδας, και ο πρώτος δημιουργός των κανόνων για την ασκητική ζωή ο Μέγας Αντώνιος. Όμως οι κανόνες του δεν αφορούσαν την κοινοβιακή ζωή, διότι το είδος αυτό της μοναχικής συμβίωσης δεν ήταν ακόμη διαδεδομένο. Από αυτήν την άποψη, οι πρώτοι ιδρυτές της κοινοβιακής μοναχικής ζωής ήταν ο Μέγας Παχούμιος και ο Μέγας Βασίλειος. Όπως βλέπουμε, οι κανόνες που θεσπίστηκαν στο Βυζάντιο για τη μοναχική ζωή, αν και ανάγκαζαν τους καλόγηρους στην απομάκρυνση από τον κόσμο, δεν επέβαλλαν την απόλυτη απομόνωση.

¹ βλ. Архимандрит Рафаэль, Проповеди и лекции, Тбилиси 1994, 58-60.

Κατά τον Ισαάκ της Συρίας, χωρίς απομάκρυνση από τα κοσμικά, κανείς δεν μπορεί να πλησιάσει το Θεό. Όμως, η αποκοπή αυτή δεν είναι η μετοίκηση η σαρκική, αλλά η απομάκρυνση από τις κοσμικές πράξεις, το να μην ασχολείται ο νους μας με αυτόν τον κόσμο.² Άρα η απομάκρυνση από τον κόσμο δε σήμαινε πάντα την εγκατάλειψη της οικογένειας ή την απόλυτη απομόνωση.

Κατά τη γνώμη μας, ο Μανολιός είναι μιμητής του Χριστού, τον οποίο ταυτίζει με το Θεό. Αν και μοιάζουν σε πολλά σημεία ο ήρωας μας με το Χριστό, η κύρια πράξη τους, η αυτοθυσία, έχει διαφορετικούς στόχους. Ο Χριστός θυσιάζεται για την πνευματική σωτηρία του κόσμου. Ο Μανολιός, όμως, θυσιάζεται για να σώσει το μικρό κύκλο των μεταναστών συμπατριωτών του.

Μπορούμε να πούμε ότι ο Μανολιός, υποδυόμενος το ρόλο του Χριστού στο μυστήριο, φορεί τη μάσκα του Χριστού και γίνεται μιμητής του. Όμως, πίσω από τη μάσκα, μένει ένας θνητός άνθρωπος, στον οποίο αντιμάχονται η σάρκα και το πνεύμα, το καλό και το κακό. Ιδιαίτερα αυτή η πάλη τονίζεται στο μυθιστόρημα, όταν ο Μανολιός, πηγαίνοντας στην πόρνη Κατερίνα, με τη δικαιολογία να της κηρύξει το Χριστό και να την απομακρύνει από την πορνεία, έχει ως απώτερο στόχο το να κοιμηθεί μαζί της. Στην αρχή, η σάρκα κερδίζει, όμως, με τη βοήθεια του Θεού, νικητής ανακηρύσσεται το πνεύμα, διότι, όταν ο Μανολιός δεν μπορεί να αντισταθεί στη σάρκα, με αποτέλεσμα να κατευθυνθεί στο σπίτι της χήρας, έρχεται η αρρώστια από τη Θεία Πρόνοια να τον γλιτώσει από τον πειρασμό.

Ο Νίκος Καζαντζάκης γνωρίζει πολύ καλά τη διδασκαλία των Πατέρων, ότι, για τους καλόγερους, ο μεγαλύτερος κίνδυνος ροπής στην αμαρτία προέρχεται από τις γυναίκες.³ Η πορνεία είναι ο μεγαλύτερος πειρασμός για τους μοναχούς και, για τη σωτηρία από αυτόν τον πειρασμό, στο μοναχό χρειάζεται το θεϊκό θαύμα. Ο Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, στο "Αναφορά στον Γκρέκο", μιλώντας για την αρρώστια αυτή, λέει: "Ο ασκητής έφευγε από την έρημο Θηβαΐδα και έτρεχε να πάει στην πιο κοντινή πολιτεία, γιατί, ξαφνικά, ο δαίμονας της πορνείας τον καβαλίκευε κι έπρεπε να κοιμηθεί πάνω στη γη με την γυναίκα. Έτρεχε, έτρεχε, μα στην πόρτα της πολιτείας, την ώρα που ετοιμαζόταν να δρασκειλίσει το κατώφλι, έβλεπε με τρόμο το κορμί του να το σκεπάζει η λέπρα. Δεν ήταν λέπρα, ήταν η αρρώστια ετούτη. Πώς να παρουσιαστεί με τέτοιο φρικαλέο πρόσωπο σε γυναίκα; Ποια γυναίκα θα μπορούσε να τον αγγίξει; Έτρεχε, λοιπόν, πίσω στην σκίτη, στην έρημο, και

² Αρχ. Λαζαρέ, Για το σύγχρονο μοναχισμό, Βιθανία 1996, 6 (στα γεωργιανά).

³ Διδασκαλία των αγίων πατέρων, πατερικών, Τιφλίδα 1953, 9 (στα γεωργιανά).

δόξαζε το Θεό, που τον λύτρωσε από την αμαρτία"⁴. Να, τι ονομάζει ως "ασκητική αρρώστια" ο Ν. Καζαντζάκης.

Όπως προαναφέραμε, για τους πρώτους μοναχούς, τρία πράγματα ήταν απαραίτητα: η παρθενία, η υπακοή και η φτώχεια.

Ο Μανολιός αρνείται να παντρευτεί, επειδή θεωρεί ότι, με το γάμο, θα προδώσει το Χριστό. Οι επικρίσεις του Γιαννακού και η αποδοκιμασία του τον κάνουν να συμφωνήσει ότι, μετά τη Σταύρωση, θα ήταν αμαρτία να πάει κανείς να κοιμηθεί με τη γυναίκα του⁵. Και, με την πρώτη ευκαιρία, ειδοποιεί το Λενιό για την απόφασή του. Μπορούμε να πούμε ότι, με αυτήν την πράξη, ο Μανολιός διατηρεί την παρθενία του και, ταυτόχρονα, αρνείται και την περιουσία, την οποία θα του έδινε ο γέρο-Πατριαρχάς, στην περίπτωση αυτού του γάμου. Έτσι, ο ήρωάς μας παραμένει φτωχός. Όσον αφορά στην υπακοή, στο μυθιστόρημα, από την αρχή, τονίζεται ότι ο Μανολιός είναι υπάκουος νεαρός και γι' αυτό και επιλέγεται για το ρόλο του Χριστού, διαβάζει το Ευαγγέλιο και προσπαθεί, όσο το δυνατόν, να υπακούει στις εντολές του Χριστού. Εδώ παρουσιάζεται και μια άλλη απαραίτητη πράξη του μοναχισμού, η ανάγνωση της Αγίας Γραφής. Ο Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος συμβουλεύει τους ασκητές: "Το διάβασμα της Αγίας Γραφής είναι η μεγαλύτερη προσπάθεια κατά της αμαρτίας και η άγνοια των κειμένων αυτών είναι ο κατήφορος που οδηγεί στην Κόλαση"⁶: "Να διαβάσετε με μεγάλη προσοχή και να τα διδάσκετε και στους άλλους."⁷

Όπως βλέπουμε, οι ασκητές είναι απαραίτητα να διαβάζουν, να μαθαίνουν να υπακούουν στα διδάγματά της και να διδάσκουν και στους άλλους την Αγία Γραφή. Ακριβώς αυτό που κάνει ο Μανολιός. Όλα αυτά μας οδηγούν στο να θεωρούμε ότι ο ήρωας παρουσιάζεται στο έργο ως μοναχός, ακόλουθος της πρώτης χριστιανικής μοναχικής παράδοσης.

Ο Μανολιός δεν είναι ο μοναδικός ήρωας του μυθιστορήματος που, αναλαμβάνοντας ένα ρόλο στην αναπαράσταση της Μεγάλης Εβδομάδας, γίνεται μοναχός. Το ίδιο μπορούμε να πούμε και για το Γιαννακό και το Μιχελή. Και ο Κωνσταντής θέλει να "καλογερέψει", μα δεν είναι δυνατό, γιατί έχει γυναίκα και παιδιά, και, παρά το γεγονός ότι η ζωή του μαζί τους δεν είναι καθόλου ευχάριστη και εύκολη και η οικογενειακή του κατάσταση είναι τραγική (όπως είναι γνωστό έχει πολύ άγρια γυναίκα, η οποία τον βασανίζει πολύ σκληρά), δεν τους εγκαταλείπει. Άλλωστε, κατά τον κανόνα

⁴ Καζαντζάκης Ν., Αναφορά στον Γκρέκο, Αθήνα 1997, 350.

⁵ βλ. Καζαντζάκης Ν., Ο Χριστός Ξανασταυρώνεται, Αθήνα 1998, 78.

⁶ Κουμπανεισβίλι Ν., Ο Δρόμος της σωτηρίας, στο βιβλίο: Ημερολόγιο της Γεωργιανής Εκκλησίας 1992, Τιφλίδα 1992, 368 (στα γεωργιανά).

⁷ Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος, Χρυσό Πηγή, στο βιβλίο: Ημερολόγιο της Γεωργιανής Εκκλησίας 1990, Τιφλίδα 1990, 359 (στα γεωργιανά).

του δικαίου, ο άνθρωπος που θα παρατήσει την οικογένειά του, για να ασκητέψει, πρέπει να αφοριστεί από την Εκκλησία⁸.

Ακριβώς αυτό θέλει ο Ν. Καζαντζάκης να μας δείξει με το παράδειγμα του Κωνσταντή, θεωρώντας πως κάθε κοσμικός, όπως και ο ασκητής, μπορεί να σωθεί, ότι, όμως, βέβαια, το πλεονέκτημα έχουν οι ασκητές. Το βλέπουμε αυτό σε όλη τη διάρκεια του μυθιστορήματος, με την υπεροχή του Μανολιού, του Μιχελή και του Γιαννακού έναντι του Κωνσταντή. Αυτό το πλεονέκτημα το βλέπουμε και στα βιβλία της Καινής Διαθήκης, όπου διαβάζουμε:

"Θμ ❖ Υο ❖ Ωμ ≡ ◆ □ × † × & Ψ ε ρ Υ ο Ψ ❖ ○ □ × & & Ψ × ≡ ◆
 Ψ × † × ℳ ❖ ❖ □ Ψ × & & Ψ ○ □ ≡ ■ Ψ ❖ ε ρ ◆ □ × † × ℳ ε ρ Ψ
 ≡ ■ ○ ℳ × ❖ ■ ❖ ❖ ■
 ◆ ○ × & Ψ ε ρ Υ ο ❖ ❖ & ℳ × ε ρ Ω μ ≡ □ ◆ ε ρ & ℳ ε ρ & Υ ο & Ψ □
 Ψ ◆ ℳ ◆ ❖ ❖ □ ◆ Ψ × & Υ ο Ψ ○ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ & □ ℳ × † ◆ ◆ □ □
 Υ ο Ψ ❖ □ ℳ ε ρ ◆ × ■ Υ ο Ψ ○ ℳ × † ■ ❖ □ □ ◆ † □ Ψ ×."
 (Κορ. Α' 7. 8-9)

Θεωρούμε, λοιπόν, ότι, όπως ο Μανολιός, έτσι και ο Γιαννακός και ο Μιχελής παρουσιάζονται στο μυθιστόρημα ως ασκητές της πρώτης χριστιανικής μοναχικής παράδοσης.

Ο Γιαννακός είναι ένας άγαμος πραγματευτής. Η μοναδική του περιουσία είναι το αγαπημένο του γαϊδούρι, το οποίο είναι και η μοναδική πηγή του εισοδήματός του. Ο Γιαννακός αυτό το γαϊδούρι το χαρίζει στους πρόσφυγες. Έτσι, χάνει το μοναδικό πόρο ζωής και γίνεται φτωχός. Όσον αφορά στην υπακοή, η κατάσταση του Γιαννακού είναι παρόμοια με αυτήν του Μανολιού. Όπως βλέπουμε, ο Γιαννακός διατηρεί τόσο την παρθενία όσο και τη φτώχεια και την υπακοή, άρα λειτουργεί ως μοναχός, ασκητής, κατά κάποιον τρόπο.

Αν για το μοναχισμό του Μανολιού και του Γιαννακού υπάρχουν μόνο νύξεις, στην περίπτωση του Μιχελή, γίνεται άμεσος λόγος για τον ασκητισμό του. Πηγαίνει στο κορφοβούνι, όπου θronιάζεται στο κελί ενός παλιού ασκητή και λέει: "Δεν θέλω πια να βλέπω ανθρώπους, μήτε καλούς μήτε κακούς, κανένα, θ' ασκητέψω"⁹.

Όπως είναι γνωστό, ο Μιχελής έχει μοιράσει όλη την περιουσία του στους φτωχούς. Στη σπηλιά παίρνει μαζί του το Ευαγγέλιο και τις πλεξούδες της πεθαμένης αρραβωνιαστικιάς του, της Μαριορής, οι οποίες, κατά τη γνώμη μας, αποτελούν διττό σύμβολο, του έρωτα και του θανάτου.

Ο μοναχός, κατά τη χριστιανική παράδοση, "πρέπει να θυμάται πάντα δύο πράγματα: το Θεό και το θάνατο"¹⁰. Όπως είπαμε, οι πλεξούδες λειτουργούν

⁸ Κανόνας Δικαίων, στο βιβλίο: Ημερολόγιο της Γεωργιανής Εκκλησίας 1987, Τιφλίδα 1987.

⁹ Καζαντζάκης Ν., Ο Χριστός Ξανασταυρώνεται, Αθήνα 1998, 452.

¹⁰ Διδασκαλία των αγίων πατέρων, πατερικών, Τιφλίδα 1953, 23 (στα γεωργιανά).

ως σύμβολο του θανάτου, γιατί ανήκουν στην πεθαμένη γυναίκα, αποτελούν, όμως, και σύμβολο του μοναδικού και πιστού του έρωτα. Η σχέση του Μιχελή με τη Μαριωρή μας θυμίζει τη σχέση του Αγίου Φραγκίσκου με την Κλάρα, στο μυθιστόρημα "Ο φτωχούλης του Θεού", όπου διαβάζουμε: "Και τον έρωτά σου για την Κλάρα, την κόρη του άρχοντα Φαβορίνου Σκίθη, εγώ μοναχά τον ξέρω, οι άνθρωποι θαρρούν, γιατί 'ναι φοβητσιάρηδες, πως αγαπούσες μοναχά την ψυχή της, μα εσύ πρωτότερα απ' όλα, αγάπησες το κορμί της, από κει κινήσες και πήρες απίδρομο, ύστερα από αγώνα και παγίδες του πειρασμού και βοήθεια του Θεού, έφτασες στην ψυχή της, και την αγάπησες την ψυχή αυτή, όμως χωρίς ν' απαρνηθείς το κορμί της και χωρίς ποτέ να το αγγίζεις. Κι όχι μονάχα δεν σου στάθηκε εμπόδιο ο έρωτας αυτός ο σαρκικός για την Κλάρα, παρά και σε βοήθησε πολύ να φτάσεις το Θεό, γιατί ο έρωτας αυτός σου ξεσκέπαζε το μεγάλο μυστικό: με ποιον τρόπο, με ποιόν αγώνα γίνεται η σάρκα πνεύμα. Ποια 'ναι αγάπη, η ίδια, για την γυναίκα, για το γιο, για την μάνα, για την πατρίδα, για την ιδέα, για τον Θεό; και στο πιο χαμηλό σκαλοπάτι της αγάπης να νικήσεις, ανοίγεις το δρόμο που σε πάει στο Θεό"¹¹. Από το ανωτέρω χωρίο, μπορούμε να συναγάγουμε ότι οι πλεξούδες της Μαριωρής συμβολίζουν το Θεό, λόγω του ότι ο Θεός είναι αγάπη, και αυτό πρέπει να το θυμάται ο ασκητής, κάθε στιγμή.

Όταν ο γέρο-Πατριαρχέας ζητά από το γιο του να απομακρυνθεί από το Μανολιό, ο Μιχελής αρνείται να πραγματοποιήσει το αίτημα του πατέρα και λέει: "Δεν προτιμώ το Μανολιό, όχι, τι μπαίνει εδώ ο Μανολιός; Το Χριστό είναι που διαλέγω"¹². Άρα ο Πατριαρχέας δε ζητά από το γιο του να αρνηθεί το φίλο του, αλλά του ζητά να αρνηθεί τις εντολές του Χριστού, τις οποίες δίδασκε σε αυτόν ο Μανολιός, κάτι που δε δέχεται ο Μιχελής και φεύγει από το σπίτι. Με συμβουλή του Μανολιού, δεν πηγαίνει ο ήρωας να μείνει μαζί με τους πρόσφυγες, κάτι που θα σήμαινε την παντελή διακοπή των σχέσεων με τον πατέρα του, αλλά πάει να ζήσει στην πατρική στάνη.

Θεωρούμε ότι, με αυτό το επεισόδιο, ο Ν. Καζαντζάκης, ακόμα μια φορά, παρουσιάζει τη βυζαντινή παράδοση, την οποία βλέπουμε στα συναξάρια. Όπως είναι γνωστό, κατά τα συναξάρια, αν στον άγιο οι γονείς απαγορεύουν να υπακούει στις εντολές του Χριστού, αυτός εγκαταλείπει τους γονείς και φεύγει από το σπίτι, λ. χ. η Αγία Βαρβάρα¹³. Αν, πάλι, οι γονείς δεν ήθελαν να

¹¹ Καζαντζάκης Ν., Ο φτωχούλης του Θεού, Αθήνα 1998, 19.

¹² Καζαντζάκης Ν., Ο Χριστός Ξανασταυρώνεται, Αθήνα 1998, 290.

¹³ Μηναία, τ. 3, Τιφλίδα 1983, 637-641 (στα γεωργιανά).

καλογερέψουν τα παιδιά τους, τότε οι άγιοι υπάκουαν στους γονείς και καλογέρευαν μόνο μετά το θάνατό τους, λ. χ. ο Άγ. Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος¹⁴.

Λόγω αυτού, ο Μιχαήλ μόνο μετά το θάνατο του πατέρα φεύγει και από την πατρική στάνη. Μετακομίζει στο Μανολιό και όλη την κληρονομιά του τη μοιράζει στους πρόσφυγες. Με άλλα λόγια, καλογερεύει.

Συνοψίζοντας, αποφαινόμεσθε ότι ο Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, στο μυθιστόρημα "Ο Χριστός ξανασταυρώνεται", παρουσιάζει την ασκητική παράδοση, στη βάση των αρχών της πρώτης βυζαντινής παράδοσης, όπου τα κύρια στοιχεία, τα βασικά γι' αυτόν τον τρόπο ζωής, ήταν η παρθενία, η φτώχεια και η υπακοή.

¹⁴ Краткий очерк жизни св. Иоанна Златоуста, архиепископа Константинопольского, Кострома 1907, 3-5.

LAUDATIO*

Lieber Herr Müller,

zu Ihrem Ehrentag gratuliere ich Ihnen sehr herzlich im Namen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, deren Mitglied Sie seit 1992 sind, insbesondere im Namen des Herrn Präsidenten, ferner im Namen des Leipziger Instituts für Klassische Philologie und im Namen meiner Frau.

Die Leipziger Gelehrten-gesellschaft, die in diesem Jahr ihr 150jähriges Bestehen feiert, ist stolz, mit Ihnen einen so profilierten Klassischen Philologen in ihren Reihen zu wissen. Ihr Oeuvre umfasst – in der historischen Abfolge der "Objekte Ihrer wissenschaftlichen Begierde" – zahlreiche bedeutsame Monographien sowie mehrere Dutzend ebenso gewichtige Aufsätze vor allem zur frühgriechischen Dichtung, zum griechischen Drama – nicht, um es mit Aristophanes' "Fröschen" zu sagen, zu den *μειρακόλλια ... παῖξ προσουρήσαντα τη τραγωδία*, sondern zu ihren *γόνιμοι ποιηταί* -, zur griechischen Philosophie (der Sie sich als einer der Herausgeber der neuen kommentierten Platon-Übersetzung in besonderer Weise widmen), zur Novellistik und Historiographie, zur hellenistischen Dichtung und Poetologie, zum hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Roman (auch zum römischen), zur älteren römischen Dichtung sowie zur Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie. Für unsere Akademie von ganz spezieller Bedeutung sind Ihre Arbeiten zur griechischen Medizin (ihr galt ja auch Ihr erster Vortrag bei uns) und zur Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie; ich denke vor allem an Ihr Buch über Otto Jahn, eines unserer namhaftesten Mitglieder im 19. Jahrhundert. Hervorgehoben sei ferner, dass Sie – Ordentliches Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und Mitglied seiner Zentraldirektion – sich wiederholt mit Archäologischem beschäftigt haben. Das entspricht Ihrem Verständnis der Klassischen Philologie als integrativer altertumswissenschaftlicher Disziplin, die in engem Kontakt nicht zuletzt zur Klassischen Archäologie arbeitet. Ausdrücklich dazu bekannt haben Sie sich in Ihrer

* Als Prof. Carl Werner Müller, Ordinarius für Klassische Philologie an der Universität Saarbrücken und wichtiger Partner der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Tbilisi, 1996 seinen 65. Geburtstag beging, fand aus diesem Anlass in Saarbrücken ein Ehrenkolloquium statt. Bei dieser Gelegenheit hat das Mitglied unseres Herausgeber-Gremiums, Prof. Jürgen Werner (Berlin), seinerzeit Ordinarius für Klassische Philologie an der Universität Leipzig, als Vertreter der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, der Herr Müller ebenfalls angehört, ein Grusswort gesprochen, das uns erst jetzt bekannt geworden ist und das wir der wissenschaftlichen Welt nicht vorenthalten möchten.

Antrittsrede vor der Leipziger Akademie der Wissenschaften, einer Rede, die so pointenreich ist, dass ich mühsam der Versuchung widerstehe, daraus zu zitieren, ausführlich daraus zu zitieren. Sie publizierten über *διστομοι πέτραι*, Höhlen mit doppeltem Eingang auf der griechischen Bühne, die Bildtradition des Erysichthon-Mythos, Io und Argos auf einem Mosaik, Philoktet und Odysseus in der etruskischen Kunst, die Silberbecher von Hoby. Zu dieser Hoby-Forschung mit einem "b" tritt eine – sich schon bei diagonaler Kenntnisnahme als ebenfalls gewichtig erweisende – mit Doppel-b: über Pfälzische Brunnen, über Grabmal und Taufstein in dem Weinort Hainfeld, Ihrem Sabinum bzw. Tusculum, über die Herren von Hainfeld, über rheinische Dorfschullehrer ... – dies alles hat etwas mit Ihrer Vita zu tun, deren Linien ich hier nicht nachzeichnen will; ich werde also nicht vom Besuch des Gymnasiums in Bad Godesberg sprechen, nicht vom Studium in Bonn, das bereits ein Punkt Ihres Godesberger Programms war ...

Dass Ihre Publikationen durchweg ein sehr positives Echo fanden und finden, wird in der Leipziger Gelehrtensozietät mit Genugtuung vermerkt.

Seit über einem Jahrzehnt sind Sie Herausgeber des "Rheinischen Museums für Philologie", der ältesten noch existierenden und einer der international renommiertesten altertumswissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften; seit fast einem Jahrzehnt Mitglied des Beirates des "Medizinhistorischen Journals".

Sie haben sich, auch schon vor 1989, in vielfältiger Weise um die Klassische Philologie in Ostdeutschland verdient gemacht, unter anderem durch Anbahnung der Forschungskooperation zwischen der Klassischen Philologie der Universitäten Saarbrücken und Leipzig, durch Gastvorlesungen vor allem an der Universität Leipzig, durch die Mitwirkung in Leipziger und Dresdner Berufungskommissionen und in den Gremien, die sich mit der Neugestaltung der altertumswissenschaftlichen Institutionen der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften befassten. Für dies alles sage ich Ihnen hic et nunc einmal mehr herzlich Dank! -Die Forschungskooperation zum Thema "Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike" – ein Projekt, auf dessen Bedeutung bereits der Herr Universitätspräsident hingewiesen hat, das seinen Höhepunkt in einer gemeinsamen Tagung unserer beiden Institute 1989 hier in Saarbrücken hatte und dessen Ergebnisse in "Palingenesia" 36 vorliegen – ist, wie Sie einmal formulierten, "paradoxerweise ein Kind der deutschen *Teilung*". Wie bekannt, gab es für die meisten DDR-Wissenschaftler beträchtliche Reisebeschränkungen. Ich wurde, nachdem ich an der Universität Leipzig die Neogräzistik aufzubauen begonnen hatte, von der zweiten Hälfte der 70er Jahre an gelegentlich nach Griechenland und Zypern "delegiert", aber in die Bundesrepublik (und andere "kapitalistische" Länder) durfte ich seit dem Bau

der Berliner Mauer nicht mehr reisen, also auch nach Saarbrücken nicht. Dagegen waren in gewissem Umfang Besuche anderer Ostblock-Länder möglich, und so haben wir – Sie, Carl Werner Müller, und ich – uns in Tbilisi (das viele nur unter dem russischen Namen Tiflis kennen, der auch in andere Sprachen eingedrungen ist; die Georgier hören aber von Fremden ebenfalls lieber den georgischen Namen Tbilisi) auf einem der Kongresse der Partneruniversitäten Tbilisi und Jena kennengelernt, 1986, als Glasnost und Perestroika für die Weltöffentlichkeit noch nicht im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit standen. Doch Georgien war, seitdem ich es kenne, also schon in den 70er Jahren, viel liberaler, viel weniger, sowjetisch' als die anderen mir bekannten Teile der UdSSR. Hier konnte man zeitiger und großzügiger als in Moskau oder Leningrad, als in Leipzig oder Jena Kollegen aus dem westlichen Ausland einladen, zum Beispiel Sie, Herr Müller. Dass dies geschah, ist das Verdienst unseres georgischen Kollegen Rismag Gordesiani. (Inzwischen sind auch Saarbrücken und Tbilisi Partneruniversitäten.) Sie, Herr Müller, sprachen damals mit mir über die Möglichkeit eines gemeinsamen Forschungsprojektes. (Der "Umgang mit fremden Sprachen" spielte in meinem Leipziger Institut schon lange eine Rolle.) Sie wollten das Projekt offensichtlich auch dazu nutzen, die deutsch-deutschen geisteswissenschaftlichen Beziehungen ein wenig aus der Erstarrung herauszuführen. Der Saarbrücker Universitätspräsident, Herr Meiser, hat das Projekt sofort tatkräftig unterstützt; der Leipziger Rektor genehmigte es schließlich ebenfalls, gegen den Widerstand einiger Hardliner. Auf so komplizierte Weise, durch einen Kongress im fernen, nach der herkömmlichen Einteilung zu Asien gehörenden Georgien – dessen Bürger sich freilich eher als Europäer fühlen, ähnlich wie die Zyprioten -, kamen Sie und ich gemeinsam auf den gräzistischen westöstlichen Diwan zu sitzen. Ist es vermessen, hier an eine List des Weltgeistes zu denken? Dank Ihrer Initiative konnte ich ab 1987 zu Forschungen und zu Besprechungen über unser Projekt mehrfach Ihre Universität besuchen und damit zum ersten Mal seit 1961 wieder den Boden der Bundesrepublik Deutschland betreten.

Indirekt gehört in den Bereich Ihrer Beziehungen zu Leipzig auch der Umstand, dass Sie Ihrem "Erysichthon"-Buch – einer Abhandlung der Mainzer Akademie, der Sie noch länger als der Leipziger angehören und deren Präsident Herr Zintzen auf der heutigen Veranstaltung den Festvortrag halten wird – als Motto einen Satz des 1948-60 in Leipzig tätigen Franz Dornseiff vorangestellt haben.

Lieber Herr Müller, ich darf Ihnen nun das Glückwunschsreiben von Herrn Präsidenten Haase überreichen, dazu als $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma \delta' \omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta \tau\epsilon \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta \tau\epsilon$ der Akademie anstelle von Blumen, die jetzt, im Januar, wohl unterwegs zu Eisblumen geworden wären, eine Flasche sächsischen Wein und – im Sinne

jenes Mottos, dem Ihr erstes Buch galt: "Gleiches zu Gleichem" – von mir eine weitere Flasche sächsischen Wein (der eine Tropfen kommt aus Meißen, der andere aus der Dresdner Gegend); erfreulicherweise gehören Sie ja, mit Kratinos zu reden, nicht zu den ὕδωρ πίνοντες ...

Zu Ihrem Ehrentage meine, unsere besten Wünsche, vor allem für Gesundheit und weitere wissenschaftliche Erfolge!

Jürgen Werner, Berlin

A SESSION DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF ALEXANDER ALEXIDZE

According to Plutarch, beauty appeals through deeds and immediately inspires with the desire to create: The account of something done can be sufficient to produce the appeal – this idea stated twenty centuries ago is no less relevant nowadays.

Our desire to pay a tribute to the noble feats of a person is perhaps motivated by human pursuit of the perfect. Most regretfully, one of such admirable individuals, who was our contemporary and was distinguished for his virtues, social consciousness, academic advancements and most importantly, for humanity, passed away too early, at the age of 54. 15 years have passed since his unexpected death. However, time is unable to tarnish the memories and emotions he left in the hearts of his friends and relatives, colleagues and pupils. This year Mr. Alexander Alexidze would have completed his 70th year. In honor of this remarkable date, a session was held on the 12th of January 2007 in the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University.

Alexander Alexidze was born in Tbilisi in 1937, to a family with intellectual traditions. His father, Dimitri Alexidze, was a well-known stage director, and his mother was Marijan, a famous Georgian poetess. Having received education in the field of the humanities, he started working in the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, where he delivered lectures on the history of ancient and Byzantine literatures and taught classical languages. His primary goal and ambition was to investigate Byzantine literature. His efforts and activities were duly appreciated by Georgian and European scholars: he was a member of the Winkelmann International Association (Germany), a co-editor of the universally acknowledged journal of Byzantine studies *Vizantiyskiy vremennik* (Moscow), a member of the editorial board of the multivolume *Byzantine Culture* published by the former Soviet Union Academy of Sciences. Alexander Alexidze was regularly invited to the congresses in Athens, Vienna and Washington. He gave lectures on Byzantine and Kartvelian studies in the renowned European universities of Strasbourg (1967-71), Poitiers (1982) and Crete (1984). Remarkably, owing to the scholar's efforts, a students' group was formed in the University of Strasbourg that studied Georgian language and culture. The group was at first supervised by Alexidze himself, and later by his disciples. Admittedly,

lectures delivered by Professor Alexidze were a real discovery for most of the listeners interested in Georgian civilization.

Apart from his multiple papers, Mr. Alexidze owed his international name to a monograph called *The World of Greek Romance of Chivalry (the 13th-14th cc)*. Its Russian version was published in 1979. In 1982, his educational work *Millennial Old Athos* came out. It was followed by a monograph called *The 11th-12th cc. Byzantine Literature* (In Russian) in 1989, which offered Georgian Byzantinologists new horizons for studying Byzantine literature. Along with Byzantine writings, Alexander Alexidze studied Georgian literature as well. His collaboration with well-known *Les Editions Gallimard* was in fact the acknowledgement of his efforts. Alexidze published an essay on Georgian literature in the encyclopedic volume dedicated to world literature.

Alexander Alexidze devotedly combined his research activities with public work – he was a rector of the Ilia Chavchavadze Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, a delegate to the Supreme Council for several terms, head of the Central Committee Culture Department, head of the Republican Committee for Peace Protection – in short, in the person of Alexander Alexidze, Georgian people and academic community had a scholar of rare erudition and a citizen with unparalleled social consciousness.

Professor Rismag Gordeziani, director of the Institute, who afterwards made a speech on *The Cult of Dionysus in the Light of Linguistic Data*, opened the session dedicated to the 70th birth anniversary of Alexander Alexidze. Among other professors to address the session were Nana Tonia (who reported on *Alexander Alexidze as a Scholar, an Educator and a Friend*), Tina Dolidze (*Concept of Language in Cappadocians' and Post-Modern Philosophy*) and Sophie Shamanidi (*'Advocates' of Medea and Helen in Antiquity and Contemporaneity*). The session was continued with reminiscences by professors Nodar Lomouri, Gucha Kvaratskhelia, Zaza Alexidze, Elguja Khintibidze, Valeri Asatiani and others.

Nana Tonia, Tbilisi



RICHARD KLEIN

(* 11. DEZEMBER 1934 IN FÜRTH,
BAYERN; † 20. NOVEMBER 2006)

Am 20. November 2006 verstarb der langjährige Freund des Instituts für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik an der Staatlichen Universität Tbilisi Herr Professor Richard Klein. Zwei Tage später kam ein Buch in der Bibliothek Tbilisi an, das letztes von seinen vielen Geschenken an die Universität-Tbilisi und überhaupt sein letztes Buch sein sollte. Das Buch heisst *Bildung in der Antike*. Bildung war genau der Bereich, dem Professor Richard Klein sein ganzes Leben widmete: nach seinem Studium in Erlangen und München, wo er Latein, Griechisch, Geschichte und Archäologie studierte, legte er 1958 das wissenschaftliche Staatsexamen in Erlangen ab und blieb bis 1998 im Gymnasialdienst. Seit 1970 war er Lehrbeauftragter an der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, habilitierte sich 1977, war seit 1978 Privatdozent und war von 1983 bis 2006 apl. Professor. Professor Klein beschäftigte sich mit der gesamten Antike, Hauptarbeitsgebiet war jedoch das Frühe Christentum und allgemein die

Spätantike. Er galt als einer der besten Kenner auf dem Gebiet des Frühen Christentums. Seine Vorlesungen und Vorträge waren ein Feuerwerk der Sachkenntnisse und begeisterten Studenten. Deshalb war er bis Ende seiner Tage der beliebte Mentor an der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

Nach Tbilisi kam Professor Richard Klein zum ersten Mal um an der internationalen Konferenz aus Anlass des 100. Jahrgangs des Akademiemitglieds Simon Kauchtshischwili teilzunehmen. Sein umfassendes Wissen begeisterte Altphilologen und Historiker weltweit und auch in Tbilisi. In Georgien überraschte Professor Richard Klein mit seinem ersten Vortrag: Das Königreich Iberien während der römisch-persischen Auseinandersetzungen des 4. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts. Gleich bei seinem ersten Besuch bewunderte man seine Kenntnisse über die Dschwari-Kirche und Christianisierung Georgiens.

Professor Richard Klein gewan dank seines offenen Charakters schon während des ersten Besuchs viele Freunde, mit denen er bis zum Ende seines Lebens engen Kontakt pflegte und sie mit allen Mitteln unterstützte. Unsere Mitarbeiter können sich an schöne Tage bei Familie Klein in Wendelstein erinnern. Dank seiner Hilfe hat das Institut jahrelang Gymnasium-Bände bekommen, dessen Herausgeber er selbst war. In der Bibliothek gibt es dutzende von Büchern, die Professor Klein in diesen Jahren nach Georgien schickte. Er unterstützte junge Wissenschaftler aus unserem Institut, lud sie nach Erlangen in die Universität ein und gewährte jede Möglichkeit für die erfolgreiche Arbeit.

Das Institut für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neugrızistik erinnert sich dankbar an die Herzlichkeit und Freundschaft von Herrn Professor Richard Klein.

REVIEWS OF THE BOOKS

Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke, hrsg. v. Sebastian Kolditz und Ralf C. Müller. Leipzig 2005. Eudora. 542 S.; 49 Abb., 2 Karten, 16 Tafeln.

G. St. Henrich, Professor der byzantinischen und neugriechischen Philologie, sowie Kl.-P. Matschke, Professor der Geschichte des Mittelalters mit Schwerpunkt Byzanz, haben 2003 mit Erreichung der Altersgrenze ihre langjährige Tätigkeit an der Universität Leipzig beendet. Zu Ehren der beiden verdienten Gelehrten (vergl. "Kürschners Deutschen Gelehrtenkalender" 20[2005]) fand aus diesem Anlass ein Kolloquium statt. Die dort gehaltenen Vorträge (und einige andere) liegen jetzt in einer umfang- und inhaltsreichen Festschrift vor. Herausgegeben haben sie die (auch) auf dem Gebiet der byzantinischen Geschichte arbeitenden Wissenschaftler R. C. Müller (er leitet den Eudora-Verlag) und S. Kolditz.

Der Band enthält von 29 deutschen und ausländischen FachvertreterInnen Beiträge zu allgemein- und wirtschaftshistorischen, kirchenhistorischen, kunsthistorischen und archäologischen, schrift-, sprach- und literaturhistorischen Themen. Einige seien genannt: "Geschichtsdeutung und Herrscherbild in Zeiten des Niedergangs", "Mailand und das Despotat Morea nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel", "Ein Kaiser von Konstantinopel in Leipzig? Griechen in Mitteleuropa nach 1453"; "Bargeldloser Zahlungsverkehr italienischer Kaufleute im spätbyzantinischen Reich"; "Ein westlicher Besucher im orthodoxen Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im Jahr 1584", "Ein byzantinischer Asket im Kampf gegen die eigene Homosexualität"; "Geschriebenes neben Gemaltem" (zu einer Kirche auf der Peloponnes); "Wozu braucht man ein Perfekt? Aussterben und Wiedergeburt in byzantinischer Zeit". S. G. Stampoulou handelt unter der Überschrift "Warum schweigen auch sie, die alten heil'gen Theater?" über Hölderlin und Celan, der Rezensent unter der Überschrift: "We are all Greeks" über Philhellenen und Philhellenismus vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart.¹

Hingewiesen sei auf eine bemerkenswerte Feststellung, die R. Dostálová in ihrem Aufsatz über Vorworte zu Übertragungen byzantinischer Historiker zitiert: Wer gegen neue Übersetzungen griechischer Autoren sei, möge bedenken, "wie wenige gute, getreue und gelehrte Übersetzer es gebe und dass es in Zukunft wegen des niedrigen Niveaus der Gymnasien noch weniger geben werde"(die

¹ Vgl. J. W., Zum -ismus, Zeitschr. f. Phon. 33, 1980, 488-496. Darauf aufbauend: Gerhard Strauß u. a. Brisante Wörter von *Agitation* bis *Zeitgeist*, Berlin 1989, 188-208.

Hervorhebung vom Rez.) – dies im 16. Jahrhundert! – Reinsch, Reichsidee und Sprache nach der Halosis (dem Fall Konstantinopels 1543) spricht S. 332 von Sultan Mehmed II. "dem Eroberer"(von Byzanz) als vom "Kaiser der Romäer" und "Nachfolger des byzantinischen Kaisers". Das entspricht der Vorstellung einiger zeitgenössischer Griechen, vielleicht auch der Mehmeds. Interessant, dass in verschiedenen griechischen, Mehmed betreffenden Texten *Romaios* und *Hellen* nebeneinander verwendet werden; Reinsch 331 f. übersetzt hier "Kaiser der Griechen und Romäer", "Herrscher der Romäer, Herr der Hellenen". Das sollte im Zusammenhang mit der allgemeinen Bedeutungsgeschichte beider Lexeme erläutert werden (altgriech./byz. *Rhomaioi*: Römer > griechischsprachiger Byzantiner > Grieche [neugr. *Romiós*]; *Hellen*: Grieche > Nichtjude > Nichtchrist/Heide' > Grieche [neugr. *Éllinas*]²). – Voigts "Unauffhaltsamer Aufstieg eines unauffälligen Verbs im Neugriechischen" (Ersetzung von *airo* u. a. durch *sekono*) stammt aus seiner monumentalen, leider noch ungedruckten Untersuchung zum altgriechisch-neugriechischen Lexik-Wandel.³ – Koders Beitrag "Salz. Anmerkungen zu Wortbedeutung und Realie" ist um so wichtiger, als im einschlägigen Lemma des "Neuen Pauly"⁴, anders als in anderen Artikeln dort, nicht von der metaphorischen Verwendung die Rede ist ("Ihr seid das Salz der Welt. Wenn aber das Salz dumm wird..."); generell bleibt die Bibel (die Stellen bei: Bauer, 6. Aufl. 1988, Lampe 1961) unberücksichtigt, wiederum anders als in anderen NP-Artikeln; der übrige Alte Orient, Ägypten, Kelten und Germanen sind behandelt.

Auf das Register folgen die eindrucksvollen Verzeichnisse der Publikationen von Henrich und Matschke. Das exzellent gedruckte Werk des 2005 gegründeten Eudora-Verlags ist mit Unterstützung der Thyssen Stiftung entstanden. Man kann die Adressaten der Festschrift, ihre Herausgeber, den Verlag lebhaft dazu beglückwünschen.

Jürgen Werner, Berlin

² *Ellinikí dhimokratía* ist offizielle Bezeichnung des heutigen griechischen Staates; andererseits hat Jannis Ritsos eines seiner bedeutendsten Gedichte *Romiosini*, "Griechentum" genannt.

³ Bauers NT-Wörterbuch liegt übrigens seit 1988 in 6., völlig neubearbeiteter Auflage vor.

⁴ Zu den Bdn. 1, 2, 3-4, 5-12/1, 13, 14 s. meine Rez. im Anzeiger f. d. Alt. 50, 1997, 122-126; 51, 1998, 137 f.; 53, 2000, 249-254; 57, 2004, 115-122; 53, 2000, 242-254; 55, 2002, 107-111. Inzwischen folgten die Bdn. 13-16 und Suppl. 4. Eine englische Ausgabe, ohne inhaltliche Veränderungen, erscheint seit 2002 bei Brill ("Brill's New Pauly").

BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

SHORT VERSIONS

Zaza Khintibidze, *Homer and Rustaveli. Homeric Principles of Compositional Organization and the Epic Tradition, Logos*, Tbilisi 2005, 348.

Summary. Z. Khintibidze's book deals with both synchronic and diachronic aspects of the Homeric principles of compositional organization. Synchronicity implies the study of different principles of compositional organization of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and diachrony means the identification, according to these principles, of the typological relation of Homeric epic to medieval epic works, namely, Byzantine, West-European and Georgian heroic epics and romances of chivalry. Along with this, the question linked with the artistic reception of Homeric poems is studied. In particular, the undoubted trace of the knowledge and creative reception of Homeric poems, namely, the *Odyssey*, is found in Georgian epic poem *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (end of the 12th c. – beginning of the 13th c.) written by Rustaveli, which attests that the Homeric epic was one of Rustaveli's literary sources along with the Persian-Arabic epic tradition. Homeric poems and *The Man in the Panther's Skin* have not been specially compared with one another from the viewpoint of compositional organization before Z. Khintibidze's book. It is also noteworthy that in the book the compositions of Rustaveli and Homer are discussed in relation to the fairy tale structure discovered and established by V.I. Propp. Besides, in the book new arguments are given to substantiate the view of its author concerning the genesis of Homeric epic, expressed already in 1992 in the form of an assumption, which is quite different from the traditional view. Along with this, the aesthetic conceptions of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Rustaveli and partially Horace are juxtaposed, on the basis of which the tendencies of continuity and innovation at the initial and final stages of the European epic tradition are shown (in the epics of

Homer and Rustaveli respectively). And finally, a view substantially different from the traditional one is offered regarding the essence of the epic tradition in general. Namely, it is stressed that, taking into account peculiarities of various periods of mainly or partially oral communication, works formed within the epic tradition, both, orally and in written form, were mostly created for oral comprehension, i.e. targeted listening (rather than reading) audience. From the standpoint of the principles of compositional organization, this must have caused resemblance and in certain aspects even homogeneity of these compositions.

Preface (7-14). In the introductory part of the book attention is focused on the methods and aims of study. At the same time, bearing in mind the modern situation of the study of the "Homeric question", its two major aspects are singled out: 1) identification of probable ways (oral, written, or mixed, i.e. transitional) of forming the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; and 2) to what an extent Homer is innovative or, on the contrary, traditional from the viewpoint of the compositional organization of his poems. In particular, as is generally known, along with the identification of the degree of innovation of the Homeric poems (if they have any), the study of the genesis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and peculiarities of their formation remains to date one of the main directions of modern Homerology. The fact is that scholars answer in different ways, at the first glance, a simple question whether the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were created orally or in the process of writing. However, appreciable success has been achieved in the process of study of the compositional organization of Homeric poems from the 1950s to the present day. Here the structurality or a high degree of compositional ordering, whose main organizing artistic principles are repetition (i.e. literal repetition, or the so-called epic citation) and doubling (i.e. parallelism and symmetry), characteristic of Homeric epic, is implied, which have been brought to light and studied in researches of Unitarian Homerologists, among them in several articles published by the author of this book at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Some Homerologists associate quite correctly the parallelism and structural symmetry, so organic for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, to the artistic principles characteristic of Greece of the so-called Geometric period (the 9th-8th cc. B.C.). Still, scholars' opinions differ as to how Homer realized the principles definitely originating from Geometric art in the form of epic poetry: solely by word of mouth, only in the process of writing or both orally and in writing? The author of the book shares the latter view and hence studies in what a proportion the oral and written parts of composition are merged in Homeric poetry.

The preface of the book also deals with the most important problems of modern Rustvelology. It is noted that the identification of peculiarities of principles of compositional organization characteristic of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and their relevant consideration may become an argument of essential importance for the study of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The methodological appropriateness of the parallel consideration of Homer's and Rustaveli's poems is also argued. The point is that it is not difficult at the first glance to identify the oral trace in the process of the formation of Homeric epic, unlike the written trace. Therefore, in order to substantiate further the Unitarian and at the same time the "Written Homer" conception, in the author's opinion, two types of strategy should be used during research. The first one implies the so-called active method. Namely, such features should be sought for and demonstrated in the text of Homeric poems, characteristic only of them, which from the point of view of the *technical* realization could not have occurred in a composition formed only orally. However, similar features are not numerous in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As is known, *between epic poems created (within the Classical period and the Middle Ages) by word of mouth and in the process of writing it is impossible to trace essential well-defined differences* (R. Finnegan). That is why, during Homeric research, along with the first type, other type of strategy, or the so-called passive method is of especial importance as well: it must be illustrated that numerous features found in the Homeric poems, undoubtedly regarded by the absolute majority of Homerologists as features characteristic of compositions created orally, also occur in epic poems undoubtedly created in the process of writing, in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* of Rustaveli in particular. In the preface of the book it is also emphasized that, as is known, Aristotle in his *Poetics*, mostly in the process of the analysis of exactly Homeric poems, develops the universal principles necessary for philological analysis of an epic work. Accordingly, it is indicated that in the book Aristotle's viewpoint concerning the so-called "Homeric unity" is fully taken into account and interpreted sometimes in an untraditional way.

Chapter One. How Must the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* Have Been Created?! (15-56). The chapter is divided into two sub-chapters. **Sub-Chapter One (Conceptions of "Oral" and "Written Homer", 15-27)** analyses, with the consideration of the chronological principle, the main theses of the conceptions formulated in Homeric researches published since the time of F.A. Wolf to the present day, which are of landmark importance from the standpoint of study of the problem of the formation of Homeric epic and the principles of compositional organization characteristic of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Accordingly, the approaches of scholars supporting the

conceptions reflecting the basic Homeric trends, i.e. Analytical, Unitarian, Oral poetry or Parry-Lord and Neo-analytical, towards the problems of the genesis and compositional organization of Homeric poems are considered. The author of the book shares the Unitarian conception. Thus, one of the main objectives of the study is to substantiate with new arguments the view that the author of Homeric epic must have been a single poet (and not two, several or numerous) who created the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* not only in the process of improvisation, generally characteristic of oral poetry, and thus, by means of gradual extension, but using literacy as well. However, as is known, it is more natural to explain any feature found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* which may be typical of an epic work created both by word of mouth and in the process of writing, taking into account the oral poetic process and thus, on the basis of the conception concerning the oral creation, rather than written. The reason is that the final quarter of the 8th c. B.C. to which the Homeric epic belongs is regarded by the absolute majority of scholars (and the author of the book himself) as a period of entirely oral (rather than partially oral, or written) communication. Indeed, *although the Greek alphabet created according to Phoenician already existed at that time, the fact that the general public was not much versed in it and the lack of writing-materials hampered the formation of a stable literary situation* (G.S. Kirk). This, in the author's view, means that a poet, even if he created his works in writing, had listeners much more often than readers (it is clear that at that time reader in the modern sense did not exist at all).

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned, one of the main aims of the book, and the chief objective of **Sub-chapter Two of Chapter One (Homeric Principles of Compositional Organization and the Conception of "Written Homer", 27-56)** is, on the one hand, to demonstrate by means of searching for specific and typical examples, what elements can be found in the text of Homeric epic which are not so much (and only) alien and without function in oral poetry, as from the purely *technical* viewpoint even theoretically impossible to have been realized within the exclusively oral creative process. Thus, for their explanation we should assume the existence of the stage of actual writing, along with the oral stage and the stage of writing down of the orally created material in unchanged form. On the other hand, it is necessary to offer a clearer description of the likely process of the formation of Homeric epic in writing, in other words, to demonstrate what type of work Homer probably did at the final stage of the creation of his poems, i.e. the so-called stage of writing. The study in the given part of the book is carried out exactly in this direction, at the end of which the following generalized conclusion is drawn: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they have come down to us, must have been created in the process of piece-by-piece,

gradual, stage-by-stage extension of the short song formed at the oral stage, i.e. the so-called preliminary plan, and repeated parallel writing down of finally extended sections of the text by Homer himself. Taking into account the specificity of the period of entirely oral communication, the above-mentioned conjectural way of the formation of the epic work must be regarded as the real beginning of the transition to the process of factual writing, as it differed in principle from the creation of a song only orally, without the knowledge of the alphabet, i.e. literacy. Further, the author of the book expresses the view that at the final, the so-called written (in fact, mixed, i.e. written along with oral) stage of the formation of Homeric epic, the texts of the poems, created originally by word of mouth and later written down unchanged, must have been extended to the present monumental size by Homer himself mostly by means of the considerable extension of the so-called dramatic parts or the words (monologues and dialogues) spoken by characters, sometimes already existing in a brief form, and more seldom by means of their composition and insertion in the initial versions, and their immediate parallel writing down. In order to substantiate this assumption in the book, on the one hand, the views of supporters of the theory of Oral poetry and other relatively independent scholars (G.P. Goold, M. Mueller) are analyzed critically (thus, in the recent Homeric scholarship the opinion is still popular that in the initial short versions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at the final stage of the creation of the poems in writing, i.e. the final stage of formation, Homer must have inserted some self-contained songs, which seem in the present texts relatively detached from the central motifs of the wrath of Achilles and the return of Odysseus); and on the other hand, factual data of different kinds are analyzed in the relevant aspect, namely, scenes of Priam's visit and conversation with Achilles from song XXIV of the *Iliad*, the episode linked with blind poet Demodokos from song VIII of the *Odyssey*, Hesiod's poems, the so-called epic cycle, some fragments of Sappho's verses, dithyramb IV of Bacchylides (*Theseus*) and finally, separate sections from the *Poetics* of Aristotle. On the basis of the above mentioned, according to the generalized conclusion made by the author of the book at the end of Chapter One, the "insertion" of dramatic parts into the initial short, oral versions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and in this way their extension in written form to the monumental size known at present must have been linked to the creative innovativeness generally characteristic of Homer. But attention is focused on the fact that despite the above conclusions, two essential questions still remain unanswered: 1) Did Homer extend the poems himself, which must have occurred at the turn of the 8th-7th cc. B.C., or is the extension the result of the work of some other poet (or poets) of the time of Pisistratos (the 6th c. B.C.), as supporters of the theory of Oral poetry believe? 2) Did the gradual

extension of the texts of the poems through adding dialogues to it by Homer himself go on in written form, along with oral, or only orally, as supporters of the theory of Oral poetry think? It is noted that these questions will be answered in the subsequent and especially the final chapters of the book. To attain this, it is necessary to take into account the principles of compositional organization of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* by Rustaveli. Thus, the following several chapters of the book are devoted to the identification of regularities of compositional organization characteristic of Rustaveli's poem and their comparison with the respective principles of Homer.

Chapter Two. Homeric Principles of Compositional Organization, the Epic Tradition and the Structural Symmetry of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (57-87). The given chapter of the book discusses in brief the methodology already well approved in Homeric studies (of C.H. Whitman, S. Bertman, D. Lohmann, B. Fenik, R. Gordeziani and others) by means of which the Homeric principles of compositional organization have been studied. Using this methodology and at the same time taking into account relevant Rustavelological researches, the author of the book has identified in the text of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and studied numerous examples of structural symmetry, organic for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, along with the structural symmetry of the entire poem. After this, the conclusions of other scholars drawn from the same standpoint as a result of the study of *The Nibelungenlied* (B. Fenik) and Byzantine verse romance of chivalry *Belthandros and Chrysantza* of the 13th-15th cc. (A. Aleksidze) are analyzed. By means of the comparison of the above data, the author of the book arrives at the following conclusions at the end of Chapter Two: 1) In *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, as in the case of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the opening, namely, the first three episodes are symmetrically reflected in the final episodes of the poem (abc//c'b'a'). This principle of compositional organization used by Rustaveli for fixing the architectonic frame of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is above all organic for Homeric epic, and thus it should be referred to as "structural symmetry" – using the term coined in the branch of scholarship studying it, i.e. Homerology. 2) The same principle of compositional organization or structural symmetry underlies the entire composition of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (both the micro-structural and macro-structural levels and not only its opening and final episodes). Bearing in mind that the written creation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is beyond all doubt, this circumstance is regarded by the author of the book as one more argument of no small importance to support the Unitarian conception of "Written Homer".

Chapter Three. Contact Parallelism and its Function in European Epic Traditions (Ancient Greek Epic of the Archaic Period – Medieval West-European Heroic Epic – *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, 88-134). As a result of the study carried out in the first section of this chapter, the author of the book identifies in the text of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* numerous examples of contact parallelism (a/a'), discussing later their compositional, narrative, stylistic, i.e. stylizing and other functions. The second part of the given chapter is devoted to the analysis of what is the similarity or, on the contrary, difference, from the point of view of typology, between the analogous examples (ring composition, prolepsis, double representation) found in the Classical and Medieval European epic traditions and the examples of contact parallelism occurring in Rustaveli's poem. In the process of discussion directed in this way, the author of the book discovers the regular alternation of inactive (or told in brief) and active (or related in detail) periods of time throughout *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, regarded by him as one of the basic architectonic principles, on which the entire structure of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, its compositional organization and dramatic and structural unity are based. Then the opinion of supporters of the theory of Oral poetry concerning the question under study (reasons of the existence of numerous examples of literal repetition and doubling in epic works, Homeric epic in particular) is described in detail and analyzed critically, and the following preliminary conclusion is drawn: the principles of the study given in the publications of supporters of the Parry-Lord theory fail to allow the identification whether the examples of repetition and doubling found in one or another epic work are the result of the oral improvised modification of this work made for the purpose of its further extension and perfection, or the undoubtedly specific principles of compositional organization formed in the process of conscious or unconscious imitation of the oral style in written form. Thus, it is necessary, on the basis of some other criteria, different from those already offered in recent Homeric papers, to demarcate clearly, on the one hand, the so-called oral repetition or doubling, and on the other, the so-called written repetition (epic citation) and doubling (in the case of divisible forms of the latter – structural symmetry, and in the case of indivisible forms – parallelism). The author of the book regards the functionality of the poetic device under study as one of such criteria. In this respect he focuses attention on the narrative, stylistic and compositional functions. As is noted, the latter indicates that the work is indisputably created in written form. The examples of parallelism with the compositional function are always linked with distantness and are found in Homeric epic as well as *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. However, as the study made in this chapter shows, contact examples of repetition and doubling, carrying the narrative and stylistic

functions in Homeric epic, are frequently found in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* as well. Besides, only some of them have the compositional function in Rustaveli's poem. Others are used with the narrative and stylistic functions, as in Homeric epic. Taking this into consideration, the following generalized conclusion is made: the fact that *The Man in the Panther's Skin* belongs to *epic works undoubtedly created in writing* unequivocally indicates that in the case of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* too the interpretation of the extension of these poems as a written process should not be unfounded. Accordingly, the correctness of the contrary viewpoint advanced in studies of supporters of the theory of Oral poetry on this problem is called in question, in particular, the correctness of the opinion of the supporters of Parry-Lord theory, according to which, the existence of numerous examples of the so-called contact doublets in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is one of the most characteristic features of improvised oral poetry and respectively Homer's oral poetic technique, whereas similar thematic motifs found in adjacent passages of the texts of the poems, i.e. repetitions, show clear traces of the modification or extension of the song by the oral poet in the process of improvisation.

Chapter Four. Aristotle on Homeric Unity and Traditional and Innovative Aspects of the Dramatic and Structural Unity of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (135-144). The chapter discusses similar and at the same time specific principles of compositional organization by means of which the artistic unity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, on the one hand, and *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, on the other, is achieved. The study in this direction helped to single out five specific principles of compositional organization characteristic of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, which are not found either in Homeric epic or the Byzantine, West-European or Oriental epic traditions of the subsequent, i.e. post-Homeric periods. On this basis, the author of the book regards them as innovations introduced by Rustaveli.

Chapter Five. Aristotle's *Poetics* and Rustaveli's Theory of Shairoba (Minstrely) (145-161). In the given chapter the question of the interrelation of Aristotle's *Poetics* and Rustaveli's theory of shairoba (minstrely) is studied, and a view, essentially different from the traditional one found in Rustavelology concerning Rustaveli's aesthetic conception, is expressed. At the end of the chapter the author of the book arrives at the following generalized conclusion: Rustaveli's theory of shairoba includes all the basic components of Aristotle's conception formulated in the *Poetics*. These are: unity or ordering and perfection; magnitude or length; perspicuity; philosophicalness or wisdom; cathartic nature or heart-piercing nature and

(aesthetic) pleasure, given to readers / listeners by means of all these components.

Chapter Six. Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Rustaveli on Why Poetry Pleases (162-212). In this chapter the aesthetic conceptions of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Rustaveli and partially Horace on why or how poetry gives human beings aesthetic pleasure are discussed. In the process of discussion in this direction and taking into account relevant conclusions drawn in the studies of other scholars, various similarities and some essential differences are shown between the poetic conceptions of Homer, Plato, Aristotle and Rustaveli. Along with this, unlike the previous, fifth chapter, Rustaveli's aesthetic conception is analyzed more thoroughly and with more detailed discussion of factual material. To summarize the research in this direction, the author of the book draws the following generalized conclusion: like Aristotle, Rustaveli mentions two types of pleasure, one of which is connected with both content and form of a poetic work (*The Man in the Panther's Skin*, 12-14). Pleasure of the other type derives from the aesthetic side proper or only the form of a poetic work (17, 3). Furthermore, similarly to Aristotle, who stresses repeatedly in the *Poetics* that not any kind of pleasure can be regarded valuable, Rustaveli too attaches greater importance to the first type (12-14) in comparison with the second one (17,3). But unlike Aristotle, Rustaveli does not substantiate the thesis of the unity of content and form only on the basis of the factor of (aesthetic) pleasure, but manifests this thesis by the cancellation of the universal philosophical opposition – useful and pleasant – by means of the harmony, synthesis of the components of this opposition (at the same time it is also evident that for Rustaveli the supporting main component of the opposition is "useful", on which the other component "pleasant" is based). Thus, *unlike Aristotle*, he does not link the familiarization of the listener with the essence of the poetic work (wisdom) with immediate gratification, but with usefulness. Therefore, according to Rustaveli, "it is good" that shairi (minstrelsy), being useful ("long word", i.e. story), pleases as well ("is told briefly") (12,4). It can be assumed that for the author of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* the literary-philosophical source in this respect must have been *The Republic* of Plato (unlike Aristotle, Plato in *The Republic* demands from poetry to be not only pleasant but useful as well). However, it is also beyond doubt that the author of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in the process of discussing the essence of poetry offers a view, quite different from that of Plato. Furthermore, unlike the latter, he does not doubt the "usefulness of poetry" and substantiates the contrary thesis with relevant and clear arguments. However, Rustaveli does not confine to this either, and in the process of discussion reveals another, equally significant feature of

shairi: its ability to give listener/reader (aesthetic) pleasure, which, in his view, does not harm or contradict the main feature and purpose of poetry – its usefulness. Thus, the analysis of the theory of poetry given in the prologue of the poem demonstrates once again the well-argued thesis of recent Rustvelology that *similarly to the great Italian, Dante, Rustaveli is standing at the crossroad of two great philosophies, two great aesthetics, medieval and renaissance* (E.G. Khintibidze).

To summarize the discussion in this chapter, the author of the book draws one more generalized conclusion: unlike the view current to date in Rustvelology (especially, in the studies of foreign Rustvelologists [C.M. Bowra, R. Steverson and others]), the aesthetics of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is not oriented only on oriental, in particular Persian, poetics. It is first of all based on the Classical, hence, European aesthetic tradition (Homer, Plato, Aristotle). This view is also supported by the fact that the aesthetic systems of Rustaveli and Horace *formed as a result of the reception of aesthetic thought of Plato and Aristotle*, despite certain substantial differences between them, manifest evident resemblance in terms of typology: and as is known, the treatise of Horace *Ars Poetica* is regarded as the fundamental work of modern West-European aesthetics.

Chapter Seven. Circe and Patmani (An Example of the Artistic Reception of Homeric Epic in *The Man in the Panther's Skin*) (213-233). In this chapter the undoubted similarity of the images of Homer's Circe and Rustaveli's Patmani is demonstrated. Based on it, the author of the book expresses the view, according to which, the scenes reflecting the stay of one of the protagonists of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Avtandili, in Gulansharo i.e. with Patmani indicate that Rustaveli knew the *Odyssey*, namely the so-called Circe episode, and made it conscious and at the same time creative reception, generally characteristic of the artistic thinking of the (pre-)Renaissance period. The image of Circe has been the source of inspiration for numerous artists from the Classical times to the present day. As becomes clear, the author of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is not an exception either.

At the end of the chapter, along with the above opinion, the author of the book expresses the view that the artistic reception of Homeric epic by Rustaveli could have been realized only on the level of narrative (which implies giving by the author of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* similar functions to similar characters), whereas its realization in the form of the interpretation of Homeric principles of compositional organization with their unchanged borrowing is ruled out entirely. The point is that Homerologists succeeded in the identification of Homeric principles of compositional

organization only after thorough studies carried on over decades (their majority remained unnoticed for even such an expert in Homeric epic as Aristotle). Thus, the author of the book thinks that the supposed similarity of Homer's and Rustaveli's principles of compositional organization, the demonstration of which is one of the main objectives of the present book, must be explained by the homogeneity which is generally characteristic of literature created within the epic tradition.

Chapter Eight. "The Telemachy", Compositional Organization of the *Odyssey* and the Conception of Single Authorship of "Written Homer" (Structure of Fairy Tale and Byzantine, Late Medieval Georgian and Early Greek Epic Traditions) (234-324). During the discussion of the question of the dramatic and structural unity of the *Odyssey*, scholars, sharing either the Analytical or the Unitarian positions, in fact are unanimous and agree that this poem cannot be analyzed with exactly the same criteria which are used for the *Iliad*. However, they explain such an obvious dissimilarity between the poems differently: some of them share the analytical position, i.e. reject the view of the single authorship of Homeric poems, whereas others rely on the Unitarian conception. *If we regard the Odyssey as a poem of Homer, then we will have to admit that with the idea of the development of the epic conflict and the symmetry of the poem, the Odyssey must be related to the Iliad...Similarly to the Iliad, the plan of the Odyssey is quite orderly and now it is difficult to discuss the separation of The Telemachy, Nekuia or other parts from it. The most important is to find out how organic each of these parts is for the poem* (R. Gordeziani). One of the main arguments on the basis of which a lot of Homerologists are sceptical about the unity of the *Odyssey* is that, as they argue, the first four songs of the poem (i.e. *The Telemachy*) are entirely isolated from the development of the story line in the *Odyssey*, as they fail to contribute in any way to the artistic reflection of the main motif of the poem (the return of Odysseus to his homeland). Another, equally essential difference between the Analytical and the Unitarian approaches may be formulated as follows: supporters of the view that the *Odyssey* is a multi-layered work are trying to demonstrate the folkloric origin of the entire poem as well as the narrative structure of *The Telemachy*. Scholars sharing the view of the single authorship of the *Odyssey* are trying to prove the contrary. In particular, the aim of the Unitarians is to show the individuality of Homer's style. On the basis of the above-mentioned, the author of the book stresses that it is impossible to substantiate the Unitarian conception with new arguments unless it is proved that *The Telemachy* is linked organically with the rest of the poem and the compositional technique of its creator is Homeric.

Taking this into account, the author of the book considers the entire composition of the *Odyssey* in relation to the fairy tale structure discovered by V.I. Propp, in order to find out which of the 31 functions characteristic of the fairy tale structure are more productive for romantic novels, verse romances of chivalry and the epic tradition, in general. This aim is achieved in the book on the basis of the consideration of the results of study of Byzantine novel *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe* in relation to V.I. Propp's structure of fairy tale made by A. Aleksidze. It is noted that if the process of discussion in this direction demonstrates that in the *Odyssey*, on the one hand, numerous functions characteristic of the fairy tale structure are found (in this case the correctness of views of other scholars concerning the folkloric origin of the story line of this poem will be proved once again), but, on the other hand, the sequence of functions is violated and this violation is due to certain regularities, the situation may be explained only if we suppose that the poet did not borrow the ready narrative structure from folklore, i.e. the oral tradition, but modified it creatively bearing in mind the specificity of the principles of compositional organization of his poem. Along with this, if the modifications of this type in every particular case reveal one and the same compositional manner (characteristic of the poet who created the *Iliad*), it will be possible to draw an even more far-reaching conclusion. In particular, the author of all the sections of the *Odyssey* which have a folkloric origin and are modified in an artistic way, is one and the same poet, i.e. Homer. Afterwards, attention is focused on the circumstance that on the basis of the analysis of *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe* in relation to V.I. Propp's structure of fairy tale offered by A. Aleksidze, the following law may be formulated: the main deviation from the fairy tale structure in verse romances of chivalry is connected with magic helpers and magic means (their "incorrect" giving as a present and that the hero factually does not use them). At the same time, as the author of the book believes, unlike fairy tale, in epic poems the pairs of the so-called auxiliary, preparatory functions (prohibition and its violation, making enquiries and betraying, perfidy and assistance) necessary for the beginning of the collision do not exist. As becomes clear, they, due to their specific character, are typical only for the fairy tale structure, hence being obviously without function and unproductive for epic poems. Thus, in them the collision characteristic of the fairy tale structure begins without the auxiliary preparatory functions, directly on the basis of the so-called initial situation, and the denouement of epic story line in every particular case occurs by the choice of an individual artist, again differently from the fairy tale structure.

As a result of the study in this direction, the author of the book advances the viewpoint that similarly to the story of *Callimachos*, the stories of both

protagonists of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Avtandili and Tarieli, consist of two parts. The author of the book at first considers them separately, according to their component functions, and only after this he demonstrates how Rustaveli unites them in a single composition in *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Along with citing relevant passages from V.I. Propp's study, the author of the book pays attention to the fact that triplication characteristic of fairy tale does not always imply the realization / repetition of one and the same function, motif, etc. necessarily three times. In particular, triplication may also be found in the form of repetition of "something" two times, i.e. doubling. It is pointed out that the components of recurrent doubling may be in contact (directly following one another) or distant (with some other function or linking element between them) relation.

By means of the comparison of the story of Odysseus with the structure of fairy tale discovered by V.I. Propp, the following conclusion is made in the book: the narrative and compositional specificity of the fairy tale structure is that another character, namely the princess, is to recognize the hero by the difficult task carried out by him. After this she is to unmask the false hero, i.e. the antagonist or enemy. Then the hero changes his appearance thanks to his magic helper, and only after this the king punishes the false hero, which is naturally followed by the hero's wedding and enthronement. Taking this into account, the author of the book expresses the view that, unlike fairy tale, it is a Homeric innovation, based on the tendency of gradual increase of the epic hero's functions, the range of his deeds and the degree of independence in relation to other characters in epic, that the poet purposefully changes the traditional paradigm of the sequence of functions or events, i.e. the model established by the oral epic tradition. In particular, the story line with Homer develops by the dramatic, rather than fairy tale principle: in different, thematically self-contained compositional parts of the *Odyssey* the function of the final scene is not the punishment of the false hero, but the recognition of the hero. Using exactly the same device, and not the traditional compositional technique characteristic of fairy tale, at the end of the *Odyssey* Homer as an individual artist offers the denouement of the story line of the entire poem as well. Thus, from the viewpoint of compositional organization the text of songs V-XXIV of the *Odyssey* consists of seven thematically self-contained structural parts, i.e. doubled units of functions, which reveal the specific creative manner characteristic of one and the same individual artist, i.e. Homer.

In the case of one of the protagonists of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* – Avtandili, as well as Odysseus, the repeated units of functions are in fact the triplication of the hero's so-called functions of trial, characteristic of fairy tale, which is realized in the form of recurrent doubling. And finally, the most

essential is that numerous examples of the use of various principles of compositional organization typical of the fairy tale structure (e.g. paradigmatic sequence of functions, device of triplication) are found in poems created in actual writing within the epic tradition, such as *The Man in the Panther's Skin* of Rustaveli and *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe* of Andronicos Comnenos Ducas. Thus, numerous cases of the use of analogous principles in the *Odyssey* cannot at all serve as an argument to be taken into account for substantiation of the view that this poem was formed only orally (and not in writing, along with it).

As regards *The Telemachy*, the author of the book notes that in this opening, first part of the *Odyssey* the beginning of the collision of the poem must be found, on the one hand, and on the other, by means of any principle of compositional organization characteristic of Homer, the departure of the hero from Ithaca must be reflected. This naturally leads to the question whether the story of the departure of Odysseus from Ithaca is hinted at in *The Telemachy* along with the expression of functions of the first part of Odysseus' story and hence the beginning of the collision of the entire poem. If so, by means of which principles of compositional organization the poet succeeds in the solution of such a difficult architectonic problem without the violation of the dramatic (and structural) unity of the work? (As is generally known, in the *Iliad* Homer does not describe the Trojan War from beginning to end, but only one episode [the wrath of Achilles], owing to which he achieves the effect of the dramatic unity of the work. Thus, the poet does not relate the events by the chronographic [chronological] principle but in the dramatic form [to this end, the artistic device of the remembrance of past events, on the one hand, and prophecy of future events, on the other, is used]. And by means of the compositional device of intensification of main motifs linked with the Trojan War, the impression of the structural unity of the poem is achieved. E.g. in the *Iliad* the death of Achilles is not described, but the killing of his Alter ego or Patroklos by Hektor on the battlefield evokes the association of Achilles' death). And finally, the most important question emerges: is this poet (the creator of *The Telemachy*) Homer, i.e. the author of the *Iliad*? In order to answer this question, after the discussion of the first four songs of the *Odyssey*, the author of the book arrives at the following conclusion: Homer succeeded in the solution of a double compositional task. On the one hand, he fixed the beginning of the collision of the entire poem and, on the other, demonstrated the special importance of Odysseus as the protagonist in relation to the events to be described in the poem even before his first appearance. In particular, he indicated unequivocally that only Odysseus is able to put an end to the initial misfortune. The poet achieved this

goal by the intensification of the image of Telemachus. Thus, in *The Telemachy* the compositional technique characteristic of Homer, i.e. the author of the *Iliad*, is manifested: the substitution of the main character, who is temporarily inactive, with another character of a lower social status, helping the author to describe the events linked with the protagonist, which should necessarily be told in order to attain the structural unity of the work. That is why, in the first four songs of the poem Telemachus acts instead of his father, Odysseus. The point is that to avoid the violation of the dramatic unity of the poem, the poet could not reflect directly in the *Odyssey* the departure of Odysseus from Ithaca for Troy, which happened twenty years before the events described in the poem. As becomes clear, it is substituted by the departure of Telemachus, the son of the protagonist, from Ithaca in search of his father. This compositional technique characteristic of the poet of the *Odyssey*, identified in the book (indirect reflection of one part of the story of Odysseus, namely, his departure from the homeland twenty years before by means of intensification of the image of Telemachus as well as the showing of the destruction of Troy by the hero on the basis of remembrance by different characters of various events linked with the protagonist), is identical with the creative manner of the author of the *Iliad*, i.e. Homer. This must be regarded as another new argument to substantiate the Unitarian conception of the single authorship of the Homeric epic.

The author of the book thinks that of the poems discussed by him (*Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, the *Odyssey*), the *Iliad* is the most removed from the fairy tale structure. The so-called happy end, characteristic of fairy tale, in general, is not observed in it even at the thematic level. Hence, it is not expectable that the composition based on the sequence of functions organic for the fairy tale structure will be found in it. Indeed, the analysis of the story of Achilles in the *Iliad*, as compared with fairy tale, shows that, unlike the story of Odysseus, it must be based on folkloric material of different type, in particular, the so-called heroic-type tale. Even the motif of the wrath, the central theme of the *Iliad*, cannot be associated with the fairy tale structure at all. Furthermore, the fact that Briseis is not returned to Achilles in a battle, and the hero remains inactive succeeding only through Zeus' "lobbying", indicates clearly that even the tale of heroic type, to which the story of Achilles bears more resemblance, is modified considerably by Homer according to his original artistic plan, i.e. conception. So, if the story of Odysseus may be regarded as belonging to the so-called traditional narratives, the story of Achilles seems to be for the most part the result of Homer's poetic vision and hence innovation. And still, the consideration of the story line of the *Iliad* from this viewpoint shows that, similarly to the stories of Callimachos, Avtandili, Tarieli and Odysseus, the

ancient folkloric-literary motif of "obtaining, losing, searching, obtaining again (i.e. finding)" occurs in it as well. The existence of the similar narrative structure in the story of Achilles has repeatedly been studied in the Homeric scholarship. However, according to the opinion expressed by the author of the book, this traditional motif is found in the form characteristic of the fairy tale structure in the story of another character of the *Iliad* as well (the fact is usually overlooked in Homeric researches.) This character is the priest of Apollo, Chryses. As is known, in the first song of the *Iliad* the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles or the beginning of the collision of the entire poem is caused by the story (based on the fairy tale structure) of capturing Chryseis, daughter of Chryses, and sending her back to her father later, told in summarized form. The detailed description of this story would have certainly resulted in a quite long, independent poem. The initial source of the story line of the *Iliad*, still existing in a short, oral form, might have been an analogical *mythos tale* (V.I. Propp) presumably reflecting in a "contracted" form, similarly to the story of Chryseis, the story of taking Briseis away from Achilles under Agamemnon's order and returning her later. At the initial, purely oral stage of the extension of the *Iliad*, Homer must have inserted in it most of the episodes found in the present-day poem before the activation of the plan of Zeus, i.e. in the songs II-VII of the present *Iliad*, on the one hand, and on the other hand the episodes that relate about the death of Patroklos, about how Achilles killed Hektor and afterwards granted his body to Priam (in this way Homer must have created the initial, short, oral version of the *Iliad*, which he must have extended to the present-day monumental size "in actual writing" during many years [see Chapter One of the book]). So, the author of the book thinks that the story line of the initial poem must have ended with the visit of Odysseus (the protagonist of the legend on the Trojan War, according to the mythological tradition) to Achilles and the persuasion of Achilles to become reconciled with Agamemnon (the indisputable thematic and structural similarities between songs I and IX are emphasized in a number of Homeric researches. This analogy must have been reflected in a more transparent way by means of structural symmetry before the extension of the text of the poem). Similarly to Chryses, Achilles too evidently accepted countless gifts and agreed to take Briseis back. Thus, it may be assumed that within the episode of the return of Chryseis Homer created a new conflict: Agamemnon opposes Achilles and takes away Briseis from him in return for Chryseis. This scene of conflict between the heroes, in the view of the author of the book, is composed by Homer himself, for, unlike other scenes or functions of the Chryseis episode, it is completely isolated from the sequence of functions typical of the fairy tale structure, i.e. the traditional paradigmatic order. Homer must have "inserted" the cause of a new conflict (between

Achilles and Hektor) in the initial motif reflecting the return of Briseis in the same way. As is known, the refusal of Achilles to take Briseis back, during the embassy of Odysseus, leads to Patroklos' death in man-to-man combat with Hektor. In fact, Achilles agrees to take back Briseis from Agamemnon only after this. Thus, Homer purposefully extends the initial, presumably short story of the return of Briseis to Achilles, which must have had the paradigmatic-type structure characteristic of mythos tale, by means of inserting the episode of Patroklos' death in it. Accordingly, the story of capturing Cryseis and later returning her to her father must have served as the actual narrative source of the story of taking Briseis away from Achilles and afterwards returning her to him.

At the end of this chapter the author of the book focuses attention on the regularity discovered by D.B. Monro at the beginning of the last century, which is known in Homeric researches as the Monro's Law: *the Odyssey never repeats or refers to any incident related in the Iliad*. After a critical analysis of the views of D. Page and G. Nagy, offered by these scholars in their well-known monographs in the process of interpretation of the Monro's Law, and taking into account the viewpoint of R. Gordeziani, the author of the book draws the following generalized conclusion: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must have been formed under such circumstances that even in the period of oral communication the detailed juxtaposition and hence actual consideration of their story lines were possible. It is beyond all doubt that this might have been realized only if both poems had belonged to the same author. Furthermore, in the period of oral communication one and the same author would have succeeded in the total demarcation of the story lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, only if the initial poems had been much smaller as compared with their present size. However, the subsequent processes of extension of the initial two versions of the poems to the monumental size must have occurred simultaneously, by means of recurrent parallel recording, i.e. writing down of the already extended parts of their texts. Only if we suppose this, it is possible to explain how Homer managed to "distribute" in his poems two or more episodes making up a mythological story linked with one or another hero so that to avoid the undesirable narrative and compositional "tautology". Thus, as becomes clear, on the basis of the Monro's Law it is not only possible to substantiate the viewpoint of the single authorship of the poems, but also to argue the conception that they were formed in the process of actual writing.

Conclusions (What is the Epic Tradition) (325-339).

1) The study of epic works of different periods taking into account the Homeric principles of compositional organization demonstrates that from the architectonic point of view the situation in them is analogous to that of

Homeric epic. In particular, the story line of these poems is as a rule characterized by structurality or architectonic ordering, which is always achieved by the literal or partial reflection of one or another (relatively small or larger) section (a key word, line, part of a scene, entire scene, motif / theme, entire episode, a larger part of composition – its 1/10 ... 1/3 or 1/2) of the text, more or less completed in itself as to the meaning, in other part or parts of the text, having analogous characteristics. Repetition should be regarded as epic repetition or a kind of epic citation if it is literal, and – as doubling if it is partial. In the case of the doubling of a textual section which is indivisible from the viewpoint of theme, i.e. cannot be divided into component parts, we are dealing with parallelism (a/a'), and in the case of the doubling of a divisible textual section, i.e. the partible structure – with (structural) symmetry: ($a b...//a' b'...$) or ($a b...//...b' a'$). Parts $a(...)$ and $(...)a'(...)$ are reflected in one another on the basis of the thematic identity or similarity (positive parallelism and symmetry) or diametrical difference (negative parallelism and symmetry). In the case of difference, if it is not diametrical in at least one feature, mutual reflection will not be found. Between parts $a(...)$ and $(...)a'(...)$ there may or may not be the so-called central element or the axis of symmetry / parallelism, which in its turn will or will not be thematically linked with the elements around it, i.e. ($a.../(/) ...a'...$). In the case of structural symmetry, part $ab...$ may be repeated in the same sequence, i.e. as $ab...$ (the compositional principle of parallel division), or in the inverted sequence, i.e. as $...b'a'$ (ring-compositional principle or the so-called mirroring). According to the spatial relation, parts $a(...)$ and $(...)a'(...)$ may be: 1. adjacent or contact, i.e. directly connected to one another, or 2. very removed from one another, i.e. distant. In the case of the literal (or slightly different) repetition of a key word, group of words, entire line and group of lines the so-called traditional, epic (but not necessarily oral) formula is found. In the case of the complete or incomplete repetition (with the omission of separate component parts, but always in the unchanged sequence of the remaining parts) of a scene or group of scenes, i.e. episode, reflecting some particular (traditional) motif / theme, on the one hand, and of the unity of episodes, on the other, a typical scene with the paradigmatic structure, and epic pattern i.e. narrative model is found respectively. The structural and synchronic analysis of the principles of compositional organization of Homeric poems, on the one hand, and the study of structures of the epic story lines in general from the typological, i.e. comparative and diachronic standpoint, on the other, and at the same time the consideration of the results of research carried out in a similar direction in publications of other scholars demonstrate that the artistic principle of repetition and doubling (or to use a common term, "balancing") prevails in Homeric epic as

well as in *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Byzantine verse romance of chivalry and medieval West-European heroic epic. Furthermore, it is observed in the Biblical books of the Old Testament and, to a lesser degree, of the New Testament (the so-called Biblical parallelism), in the speeches of orators of the Classical period and sermons of the later Christian period and polemic works (the latter are known as the so-called rhetorical style).

2) The main question posed in connection with the above principles of compositional organization is the following: is it possible on the basis of the number (many or few) and the quality or character (type / function) of repetitions (citations) and doublings (parallelism and symmetry) in a particular epic work to identify the variety from the viewpoint of its formation? In other words, is it possible to find out whether it is of the folkloric origin, i.e. created by word of mouth and written down later on, or of the literary origin proper, i.e. formed solely in actual writing? This question should be answered negatively. The point is that the representatives of the theory of Oral poetry are trying to substantiate that the repeated style is characteristic of works of the folkloric origin. Thus, as Homeric epic is abundant in examples of repetition-doubling, it was formed exclusively orally and the orally created material was written down in unchanged form in the poet's lifetime or several centuries later. However, the quite large proportion of similar examples (especially, of contact type) in works undoubtedly created in written form, such as *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and Byzantine verse romances of chivalry, points to the contrary. The supporters of the "Written Homer" conception are, on the contrary, trying to prove that the same peculiarity of epic poems indicates their written creation. But as the discussion in the present book has demonstrated, the structural principles of repetition (unchanged paradigmatic order of the sequence of functions) and doubling (triplication) are used quite often and with no less important compositional function in such a narrative genre of the certainly folkloric origin, as (fairy) tale. Accordingly, these compositional principles cannot be regarded as the crucial argument proving that the work was indisputably and exclusively created in the process of actual writing.

3) Thus, taking into account the above-mentioned, the following question emerges: what causes the more or less regular repetitions and doublings of a certain kind of thematic information in a work created within the epic tradition? I.e. what purpose do they serve? Bearing in mind the peculiarities of one or another particular period of completely or partially oral communication, the purpose may be of two kinds: the so-called technical (useful) and artistic, i.e. aesthetic (pleasant). There are also two subjects for whom such a purpose may exist: the poet or author himself and those for whom he creates his work, i.e. a listening (and not reading) audience of the

oral communication period. Poets usually may use the contact-type devices of compositional organization (citation, parallelism and symmetry) for only one purpose and it is technical: to make the process of the creation of the song easier. Evidently, the devices of this kind may fulfill the above function only in the process of oral composing. The fact is that repetition of an already created passage or even saying it slightly differently, i.e. doubling, requires minimum effort from a professional poet, and in addition he gains time and can think in a more or less detailed way over the next passage to say or merely relax. Thus, the existence of contact examples of repetition-doubling in a work, at the first glance, confirms the trace of an oral creative process. However, this is not the case. Contact examples of parallelism occur quite frequently in works composed for certain in writing (e.g. *The Man in the Panther's Skin*). Only some of them have the compositional function. Others fulfill the so-called narrative or other non-compositional functions. So, their existence in the work created undoubtedly in the process of writing may be accounted for by the poet's conscious or unconscious wish to imitate the so-called oral style, i.e. certain stylization (realization of the stylistic function [H. Erbse]) or by some other similar reason. Thus, numerous examples of contact-type repetitions and doublings in Homeric epic cannot be an argument supporting the view that they were created orally. However, is there another technical reason, in addition to the above-mentioned, which explains the existence of numerous contact-type devices (repetitions and doublings) in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and other epic works? This question should be answered taking into account the factor of the other participant of the creative process in the period of oral communication – the listening audience: contact examples of repetition-doubling should be considered as auxiliary or technical means not only in relation to the poet, but the listeners as well. These devices were making the process of composing easier for the poet of the Homeric age, and also were giving the listeners' mind an opportunity to relax periodically and to concentrate in order to listen further. The existence of numerous examples of contact parallelism and symmetry in works created in the process of actual writing yet in the period of oral communication must be explained exactly by this. The fact is that they must have been perceived (mostly) in the process of listening (and not reading), when in relation to the audience these devices would have in fact fulfilled the auxiliary, technical function. It is not controversial either that, unlike contact, distant-type devices cannot fulfill the so-called auxiliary function, i.e. making the task easier for the poet or the listeners. Accordingly, they might have had the only function of the compositional or aesthetic (giving pleasure) nature. But what does the actual fulfillment of the compositional function mean? This is the demonstration by

a poet of the thematic identity-similarity or diametrical difference of certain sections of the poem found at quite a large distance from one another. In this way, for the listener the author's artistic intention or conception becomes clearer and thus, easier to understand, and therefore, gives him more aesthetic pleasure (even thematically irrelevant parallelism, symmetry and sometimes, literal repetition as well, usually please aesthetically the listening audience).

4) However, taking into account the above-mentioned, it is necessary to discover one more aspect of the problem: if two or more mutually reflected sections of the text in the process of its extension had been so removed from one another that their perception became already impossible for the listeners (due to the inevitable and supposedly long interruption of the listening process [M.L. West]), the distant examples of parallelism and symmetry in the period of oral communication naturally would have failed to fulfill the compositional / aesthetic function of any kind given to them by the poet. On the basis of the consideration of this circumstance, it is clear that poems of monumental size (e.g. the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), containing examples of distant symmetry and parallelism with the compositional function, apparently were not initially so long that it was impossible to listen to them during one performance, i.e. without pauses. Hence, they must have assumed the final monumental size (known at present) in the process of gradual extension (it is quite another matter that, as the identification and taking into account of the peculiarities of this extension process show, it could not have been realized without the knowledge and actual use of literacy). It is not doubtful either that the extension to the monumental scale obscures the initial composition (structural symmetry) of the poems to such an extent that they cannot be perceived as a whole in the process of listening (unlike reading). Opinions may differ as to why Homer extended his poems. However, this question cannot be regarded to be of fundamental importance bearing in mind the context of the present discussion. It is more essential to establish at least at the hypothetical level how after their extension the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* continued to fulfill their initial compositional / aesthetic function. Or, in other words, when could the audience have listened to a monumental poem from beginning to end during one performance? (The point is that without uninterrupted listening the audience could not have understood Homer's central artistic conception conveyed e.g. by means of the mutual reflection of the opening and final scenes in both poems: the conflict originated by the will of god, i.e. Zeus, ends also by his will). This question may be answered most convincingly by advancing the following hypothesis: Homer, similarly to Demodokos, blind oral poet from song VIII of the *Odyssey*, may have sung the entire poem in a summarized form and rendered only its some separate, more or less extensive and thematically self-contained part, already in an

extended, i.e. present-day form (taking into account the specific expectations of a particular audience, in the process of recitation the poet would perform in detail only one of its sections). The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were evidently extended to the present monumental size exactly in this way or in half-improvised performances, and the poet himself must have written down the newly extended section after the completion of similar performances. By means of reading and hence complete recollection and consideration of the previously recorded text before each new performance, Homer would have extended "without any trouble" more and more sections of the text.

5) Taking into account the above-mentioned, the following question arises: what is the epic tradition *in its wide sense*? Myth and tale, the books of the Old and the New Testaments, ancient oriental and Classical epics (probably with some rare exceptions [e.g. *Aeneid* of Virgil]), including Homeric poems, speeches of well-known orators of the pre-Christian period and medieval Christian sermons, Byzantine and West-European heroic epics, romantic novels and verse romances of chivalry and finally, *The Man in the Panther's Skin* have the only "point of contact": each of them, composed whether orally or written by means of special writing-materials, were created with the sole purpose of being listened to (not read) in the process of a half-improvised performance, characteristic of the oral communication period (it may be supposed that even *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was seldom read from the manuscript. More often it must have been performed orally, i.e. from memory). Accordingly, each author seemed to have been aware that his work would have had exclusively or mostly listeners rather than readers. The (much) greater i.e. epic length, as compared with the lyrical-dramatic work, narrative character, i.e. the absence or a small proportion of dialogues in the present-day form in the text, the regular delays (retardation) of the development of the story line, along with parallel improvisation of different degrees and finally, the more or less organized structure, important for architectonic ordering, and at the same time having paradigmatic nature, are the specific features characteristic, from the viewpoint of compositional organization, of poetic as well as prose works of artistic and non-artistic purpose composed within the epic tradition. Thus, taking into account the above-mentioned, their unambiguous demarcation as concerns the type of the conception of their formation (necessarily oral or exclusively written) is not expectable at all (the fact is that as to their essence they do not differ markedly from one another). Mainly it is due to this reason that despite the intensive studies carried on for decades, so far the general criteria have not been established once and for all, which would help to demarcate clearly and unambiguously (in every particular case) works created within the epic tradition on the basis of the oral conception from artistic works formed within

the same tradition according to the written conception. Therefore, the work composed even in the period of partially (and not entirely) oral communication and, what is more, in the process of actual writing, taking into account the factor of the epic tradition, is oral, rather than an epic product created according to so-called modern or written conception. Thus, as becomes clear, the criterion differentiating artistic works from one another is not to be sought for in the direction as to how they are formed (orally or in writing), but for which form of perception they are created, listening or reading. Works composed within the epic tradition were from the outset intended to be perceived only orally, as the epic tradition itself is a product of the oral communication period. One more essential tendency also points to the above circumstance: the typical and paradigmatic nature of the plots of works created within the epic tradition, although during different historical and cultural periods. In the epic poems discussed in this book the situation is analogous. Their plot is, as a rule, based on the structure of tale, and in a wider sense on the so-called happy end principle (in other words, the epic motif or model of "losing, searching and finding"). Nevertheless, Homer and Rustaveli (as well as other epic poets) were more or less successful in the creation of entirely different story lines by means of one and the same principles of compositional organization (often used with an innovative function) and on the basis of the typical plot, i.e. narrative models. E.g. Achilles, embodying the so-called heroic ideology, according to Homer, succeeds in having Briseis back through inactivity or wrath, whereas in Rustaveli's poem the stranger, unknown knight (enemy, antagonist), killing King Rostevani's servants, i.e. Tarieli, by means of ignoring completely the traditional motif of the wrath and revenge turns into a friend of the same king's military commander-in-chief, i.e. Avtandili, etc. The secret of vitality of the epic tradition is exactly in this (i.e. in compositional [in the broad sense] or conceptional specificity of the development of the story line in every particular case). The beginning of the process of the gradual change of this situation (or the end of the epic tradition) must have been due to the invention of the printing-press by I. Gutenberg in Europe of the mid-15th century. However, its results were clearly observable only after several centuries, when in parallel with the development and perfection of the technology of book-printing, the total number of readers gradually, but greatly exceeded that of listeners.

6) Finally, taking into account the above-mentioned, the following question arises: how can be the importance of the Homeric principles of compositional organization interpreted in the context of the epic tradition? As it turned out, from the typological, i.e. comparative standpoint they are similar and often even identical to the principles of compositional

organization underlying other (artistic or non-artistic) works composed within the epic tradition in general. Hence, Homeric artistic devices of compositional organization are nowadays regarded as the fundamental architectonic principles of the epic tradition. This situation is not only the result of the consideration of the circumstance by scholars that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are actually the most ancient specimens of the epic tradition that have come down to us, in fact, in their original form, but also of the indisputable fact that the principles of compositional organization generally characteristic of the epic tradition, analyzed in the present book, are represented in a most perfect and comprehensive way in these poems. This in its turn should be explained not only by the genius of their author, Homer, but on the basis of the circumstance that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the works created in the Geometric Renaissance period of centuries-old Greek culture. Thus, the epic tradition raised by Homer to a new, unprecedented level from the quantitative as well as qualitative viewpoint at the end of the 8th century B.C. is supposed to have originated many centuries before and it survives even to the present day in a substantially modified form (the so-called monumental television serials). The study of the (Homeric) principles of compositional organization characteristic of the epic tradition demonstrates that within the above-mentioned centuries-old creative and intellectual process after Homeric epic (and along with it) one of the highest summits is exactly *The Man in the Panther's Skin* of Rustaveli – the masterpiece of the 16-centuries-old Georgian literature, which unfortunately as before remains unknown to the general readership outside Georgia.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Lewan Gordesiani, Die letzte Königin von Pylos (in georgisch mit deutscher Zusammenfassung), Logos, Tbilisi 2006, 39.

Ein Versuch in den Linear B Texten die Spuren einer Königin zu finden. Eine Königin, wenn sie in den mykenischen Texten überhaupt erwähnt ist, kann nur durch po-ti-ni-ja (potnia) bezeichnet sein. In einigen Fällen ist unter diesem Terminus eine Göttin gemeint, aber bei Potnia ohne Eigennamen oder Epitheta könnte es (besonders im Pylos) um eine Königin mit kultischen Funktionen handeln.

Die Stellung der Potnia in den pylyischen Texten wird im Vergleich der Potnia-Kontexte mit den Erscheinungskontexten von zwei grossen Herren – des Königs (Wanax) und des Hauptgottes Poseidon untersucht. Die Potnia stand dem König viel näher als dem Hauptgott. Im Fall des Königs könnte man in den pylyischen Texten folgende Besonderheit bemerken: wenn er in seiner königlichen Funktion gezeigt wird, steht im Text sein Titel wa-na-ka, wenn er als Privatperson fungiert, dann sein Eigennamen e-ke-ra₂-wo. Vielleicht gilt das gleiche auch für die Königin: als Königin wird sie Potnia genannt, als Privatperson – e-ri-ta oder i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-ni-ja.

Irene Tatišvili, Hethitisch-georgisches Wörterbuch, Lieferung 1, A, Hrsg. L. Gordesiani, Logos, Tbilisi 2006, 72.

Mit der ersten Lieferung (Einleitung, Bibliographie, Apparat und Buchstabe A) beginnt die Publikation des Hethitisch-georgischen Wörterbuches. In drei Jahren planen wir folgende Lieferungen zu veröffentlichen:

2. E-I, 3. K-N, 4. P-S, 5. T-Z, 6. Sumerische und akkadische Wörter und Formen, 7. Georgisch-hethitisches Wörterverzeichnis.

Tamara Cheishvili

Roman Miminoshvili, Georgian Versions of John of Damaskus' "Expositio Fidei", Logos, Tbilisi 2006, 377.

The Publishing House 'Logos' released *Georgian Versions of John of Damaskus' 'Expositio Fidei'* by Roman Miminoshvili. The book represents the analysis of Ephrem Mtsire's and Arsen of Iqalto's Georgian translations of the *Expositio Fidei*. The research was first published in 1966 and was edited by Simon Kaukhchishvili. However, the monograph was not attached with Ephrem's and Arsen's translations, which the scholar had prepared as a manuscript.

Through drawing parallels between the Georgian versions of the *Expositio Fidei* and comparing them to the original text, Roman Miminoshvili studied the works in terms of history, literary studies and philology. The researcher's efforts were directed at finding out how philosophical and theological thoughts developed and how Georgian translators tried to find Georgian equivalents for Greek terms. Particularly remarkable is the comparison of the Georgian versions, which in the scholar's belief needed to be illustrated through parallel publication of Ephrem's and Arsen's versions. However, it was not accomplished in his lifetime.

The present book is the second completed edition of *Georgian Versions of John of Damaskus' 'Expositio Fidei'* by Roman Miminoshvili. The monograph itself is not revised; it is supplemented with Ephrem's and Arsen's translated versions in parallel arrangement. Among the editorial staff of the second completed edition are Professor Valeri Asatiani, Doctor of Philology, Tea Dularidze and Tamar Tarkhnishvili. The research opens with a preface followed by Chapter 1, *Expositio Fidei by John Damaskus*, which describes the life and activities of the Holy Father, provides a review of the Greek original, mentions the referred texts and makes comments on its place in the Georgian literature. Chapter 2 presents a comparative analysis of the Greek and Georgian versions. In Chapter 3, *Peculiarities of the Georgian Translations*, the author pays particular attention to the notes to the Georgian versions and dwells on Georgian terms and translating methods as well as on the significance of the Georgian versions of the *Expositio Fidei*. Interestingly, one of the surviving Georgian editions dates back almost a century earlier than its Roman translation.

The study is supplemented with parallel texts of Ephrem Mtsire's and Arsen of Iqalto's translations. It consists of ten chapters. The translations have a double set of page numbers – that of the Georgian manuscript and of the Greek original. The book closes with an afterword by Roman Mimi-

noshvili. The edition is attached with a summary in Russian and English and the index of names.

The present book will certainly serve as the best guide for Georgian readers who take interest in theological literature.

Tea Dularidze

Georgian-Byzantine Documented Lexicon

Editor-in-chief – S. Kauhchishvili, Executive Editor – L. Kvirikashvili, Logos, Tbilisi 2002-2007, vol. I-IV.

The Georgian-Byzantine Documented Lexicon, initiated and started by S. Kauhchishvili in 1918, was developed and completed by the researchers of the G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies. Four of its volumes have already published. The complete version will appear by the end of 2007. The Documented Lexicon represents a comprehensive work including old Georgian texts. It is attached with photos of manuscripts and contains the lexical units found only in Georgian texts, which have not been included in any other work of this kind. Consequently, it pictures most accurately the development of the semantic structure of each word. The team of authors has worked on the biblical, hagiographic, homographic, philosophical and exegetic texts. As result, the Georgian-Byzantine Documented Lexicon will be of remarkable importance and help for the specialists in Byzantine studies as well as for translators and learners.

Tamara Cheishvili

Valeri Asatiani, *The Byzantine Civilization*, Logos, Tbilisi 2006, 562.

This book is the first Georgian edition of the important research by Prof. Valeri Asatiani, which present diverse aspects of the Byzantine Civilization. The book covers the whole history of the Byzantine Empire starting with Constantine's times and including the fall of Constantinople in 1453. This well-written piece of academic work comprises the following chapters: **Historical Panorama:** *Byzantium and Byzantines, Missionaries, Diplomacy, Law, Trade, The Decline of the Empire*; **The New Artistic Ideal:** *Literature, Art*; **Byzantine Phenomenon; Byzantine Humanism; Byzantium and Georgia; Notes About Important Events; Byzantine Emperors; Patriarchs of Constantinople.**

In the introductory chapter, the author presents an overview of the existing researches and highlights the objectives to be targeted in the main part of the book. The latter is based on a comprehensive study and includes a detailed examination of Byzantine literature and art at each stage of its history. A search into the Byzantine art supplied with spectacular illustrations is among the chief merits of the book. A separate chapter is devoted to peculiar properties of individual Byzantine writers.

The book is significant in terms of Georgian-Byzantine relations as well. Corresponding observations and analyses are presented in a special chapter that dwells on the theme. The work accentuates close relations between Byzantium and Georgia and their importance to the Georgian culture. Literary activities and interaction are the primary focus. The chapter highlights the impacts of the Byzantine renaissance, which stimulated the development of the 11th century Georgian literature. The points discussed in this connection include: the work performed at the Georgian monastery on Mt Olympus in the 9th century; the activities of the Georgian philosophical and literary school on Mt. Athos in the 10th century; the activities of Georgian fathers from the same monastery which resulted in translating and rewriting invaluable pieces of literature, as well as in developing new methods of translation, and founding a special school in literature, grammar and calligraphy in the period of the Byzantine renaissance.

The last three chapters include a very detailed and useful list of the most important events of Byzantium, of Byzantine Emperors with short stories of their lives and a catalogue of patriarchs of Constantinople, all arranged chronologically. The book also contains a complete glossary, an extensive bibliography, an index of proper names, and a summary in English.

Tamara Cheishvili

Ann Chikovani, The Interpretation and Function of Ritual in the Literary Works of Stratis Myrivilis, Logos, Tbilisi 2005, 192.

The present monograph of Ann Chikovani, *The Interpretation and Function of Ritual in the Literary Works of Stratis Myrivilis* examines in detail the ways in which Greek Writer of 20th century, Stratis Myrivilis has drawn themes, motifs and details of the universal rituals into the fabric of his prose. Differences are made in nature and function between an anthropological/ethnographic description of a ritual and the representation of a ritual in literature. Such an examination of ritual – inspired mythic perspectives and literary strategies reveals the inexhaustible vitality and resourcefulness of the modern mytho-poetic imagination.

The book aims to study the function of rituals in Stratis Myrivilis' works, systemize the materials and provide their comparative analysis. While considering Myrivilis' literary texts, the author is chiefly concerned with the way the relations between ancient Greek religion and modern Greek tradition are reflected in the literary works by the XX century writer, and how mythic elements and ancient universal rituals work in the modern Greek community.

The research considers separately the rain-invoking, sacrificial and mourning rituals in the Novels *The Mermaid Madonna* and *Vassilis Arvanitis*. In the research there are drawn parallels with other nations' rituals and is made special emphasis on the ancient Greek people's customs. The research methods consist of interpreting and comparing primary sources. The author investigates cultural contexts of the novels she deals with, and the effect on the reader of including descriptions of rituals in fictional works.

The book also dwells on the properties of rituals in the universal and Greek environments and their functional-symbolic implications. The research is based on the accepted conceptions of scholars and the episodes from Stratis Myrivilis' works that include the rituals. There are pointed also the similar or identical rituals that exist among Georgian folk customs or are described in the Georgian literature. As typological comparisons go beyond the immediate goals of the present research, the like parallels are given as footnotes.

In the course of the present research, the author took into consideration that Georgian reader is not acquainted with Stratis Myrivilis' literary heritage – neither of his works has ever been translated into Georgian. Therefore, she translated the episodes that include descriptions of rituals, which are presented as an appendix to the book.

The present research will give an opportunity to individuals interested in the Modern Greek religious conceptions to build an impression on the beliefs and rituals typical of the XX century Greece. The results of the research will

contribute to the comprehensive study of Stratis Myrivilis' works. The conclusions provided in the thesis can be included in the educational course of the history of the Greek literature, and can be referred to in the course of discussions initiated in literary and cultural studies. Addressing underexplored aspects of Greek ritual and society, this research will prove significant for anthropologists, neohellenists and comparatists interested in literature and in the interaction between ritual, aesthetics, and cultural communicative systems.

Medea Abulashvili