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EDITORIAL NOTE

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Svetlana Berikashvili, Irina Lobzhanidze (Tbilisi)

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GREEK AND GEORGIAN IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

A lot of languages obtain different kind of idiomatic expressions; the area of their usage is very wide. However, unlike the other word-formations, the idiomatic expressions consisting of common words are 'frozen, stable, fixed' units. Usually, their meaning as a whole is not equal to the sum of their components.¹ Idiomatic expressions are generally considered as '... a group of words which have a different meaning when used together from the one it would have if the meaning of each word were taken individually.'²

Idiomatic expressions can be considered as an integral part of everyday linguistic reality. Any idiom expresses such kind of ideas, notions or conceptions which can not be expressed by a separate word or free word-combination. Some of idiomatic constructions are involved in compositional meanings,³ while the others can be considered as the aspect of structural semantics.⁴ Each language has its own semantics and stylistics, which determine heterogeneity of linguistic structure; so called heterogeneity provokes special difficulties during the translation and interpretation of investigated texts.

In general, the translation of phraseological units, particularly, idiomatic expressions, is very difficult. It can be explained by the fact that a lot of idiomatic units belong to the kind of world-views and national pecu-

¹ For details see Takaishvili A., *Issues on Georgian Phraseology*, Publ. Academy of Sciences of Georgian, Tbilisi 1961, 40 (in Georgian).

² Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms, Harper Collins Publishers 2000.

³ Nunberg G., Sag I. A., Wasow T., *Idioms*, in: *Language* 70, 1994, 491-538.

⁴ Riehemann S., *A Constructional Approach to Idioms and Word Formation*, in: Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford 2001.

liarities. So, the general peculiarities of idiomatic expressions are expressivity, ethnical and cultural aspects, which cause difficulties during the translation of idioms. Special attention shall be paid to the comparative context, where idiomatic expressions are used. Moreover, the most part of idiomatic expressions has a lot of different meanings, which complicate their transmission to the other language.

This paper can be considered as an attempt to compare Greek and Georgian phraseological systems. Unfortunately, the contemporary linguistic literature does not obtain any special research dedicated to this issue. In spite of a long history of the research of Georgian study of idioms and phraseological units, including the work of Arli Takaishvili *Issues on Georgian Phraseology* published in 1961, which describes not only the issues of phraseology, but also gives thoroughly study of theoretical basis and other practical purposes of idiomatic expressions, no one researcher tried to implement synchronous-comparative analysis of Modern Greek and Georgian Idioms.

The goal of this paper is to describe well-known Modern Greek idiomatic expressions and to find their equivalents in Georgian Language. We have to note that some idiomatic expressions have exact equivalents in Georgian Language, and some – not, and, in such case, their translation is possible by means of line-by-line translation or survey of partial phraseological units. So, we follow the commonly used rule for the division of phraseological units into two groups, especially, we will consider:

1. Phraseological units, which have exact equivalents in Georgian Language; and;

2. Phraseological units, which have not exact equivalents.

From the other side, the units possessing equivalents can be of two kinds:

a. exact equivalents, which do not change during the translation and do not depend on the context, and;

b. so called partial equivalents, which depend on the context during the translation.⁵

Of course, it is impossible to consider all idiomatic expressions peculiar to Modern Greek Language in this paper. So, we have decided to look

⁵ For details see Кунин А. В., О переводе английских фразеологизмов в англо-русском фразеологическом словаре, Москва.

http://belpaese2000.narod.ru/Trad/kunin_fra.htm. The author describes *time is money* – *время – деньги*, *burn one's boats* – *сжечь свои корабли*, *in the seventh heaven* – *на седьмом небе* etc. as an example of exact phraseological equivalents, and *kill the goose that lays the golden eggs* – *убить курицу, несущую золотые яйца*, *put by for a rainy day* – *отложить про черный день* etc. as an example of partial equivalents.

through only one group of idiomatic expressions, especially, verbal constructions. Generally, they can be considered as idiomatic expressions associated with one verbal construction, e.g. to the verbs as ανοίγω – open, βάζω – place, βγάζω – take, etc. On the basis of comparative analysis of Modern Greek and Georgian idioms, we want to reveal those psycholinguistic realities, which are associated with world-views of Greek and Georgian people, and to determine and assess their identity and differences. So, there will be taken into account a lot of factors, especially: a) emotional nuances of idioms; b) assessment of idioms; c) usage of idioms; d) interdependence between the parts of idioms; e) existence of loanwords in the idiomatic expression. All the above mentioned factors shall be taken into account during the study of lexical meanings of words.⁶ So, the similar criteria can be used for the description of idioms.

Thus, very often researchers consider the following three issues, especially:

- a. Study of idiomatic expressions in accordance with their different lexical levels in either language;
- b. Study of idiomatic expressions in either language, and their translations to the other languages, generally, Russian, English, German and French languages and compilation of dictionaries, and;
- c. Study of idiomatic and phraseological units as a part of intralinguistic elements, which allow us to compare different phraseological and idiomatic expressions in the works of different authors, and also, to explain linguistic phenomena of lexical and structural contents.

Our research has practical purpose, we want to implement comparative analysis of Modern Greek and Georgian idioms, especially, and our goal will reveal their psycholinguistic peculiarities.

We will represent the researched idiomatic expressions in the table.⁷ Expressions will be placed in alphabetical order including the idiomatic expressions from Α α till Β β. In some cases there will be given synonymous expressions as follows: *άδειασε μου τη γωνία* – *momSordi, Tvalidan dame-karge, χάσου από τα μάτια μου* – *momSordi, Cemma Tvalma ar daginaxos*.

⁶ For lexicological issues see Pochkhua B., *Lexicology of Georgian Language*, Tbilisi 1974, 15-21 (in Georgian).

⁷ The above mentioned expressions are given on the basis of the following book: Δεμίρη-Προδρομίδου Ε., Νικολαΐδου-Νέστορα Δ., Τρύφωνα-Αντωνοπούλου Ν., *Η γλώσσα των ιδιωτισμών και των εκφράσεων*, University Studio Press, Εκδόσεις Επιστημονικών Βιβλίων & Περιοδικών, Θεσσαλονίκη 1983, 13-31.

MODERN GREEK IDIOM	WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION	GEORGIAN IDIOM
1. ο σκοπός αγιάζει τα μέσα	mizani wmindas xdis saSualebebs	mizani amarTlebs saSualebas
2. άδειασε τη γωνία	kuTxe gaaTavisufle	momSordi
χάσου από τα μάτια μου	daikarge Cemi Tvalebidan	damekarge, Cemma Tvalma ar dagi- naxos
3. αλλάζει χρώμα, χάνει το χρώμα του	fers cvlvis, fers kargavs	feri misdis
4. ανάβει φωτιά	cecxls unTebbs	cecxls ukidebs
5. ν' ανοίξει η γη να με καταπεί	<i>dedamiwa gaixsnas da Camylapos</i>	<i>dedamiwam Camylapos</i>
6. ανοίγει την καρδιά του	<i>aRebs Tavis guls</i>	<i>guls uSlis</i>
7. του ανοίγει τα μάτια	<i>Tvals uxels</i>	<i>Tvali gauxilia</i>
8. ανοίγει πληγές	<i>Wrilobebs xsnis</i>	<i>Wrilobebis gaxsna</i>
9. ανοίγει το στόμα του	<i>pirs aRebs</i>	<i>iwyebis saubars, pirs aRebs</i>
10. απειλεί θεούς και δαίμονες	emuqreba RmerTebbs da demonebs	wyevlis Tavis gaCenas
11. απλώνει την αριδα του	fexebbs Wimavs	isvenebbs
12. του αρέσουν τα ξινά	sasiyvarulo urTierTobebi moswons	meqalTanea
κυνηγά το ποδόγυρο	kabis kaTaze nadirobs	qalebs dasdevs
13. τ' αρπάξει	itacebs, Zarcavs	qrTams iRebs [qaCavs]
14. τ' αρπάξει αμέσως	uceb itacebs	advilad iTvisebs
είναι διαβόλου κάλτσα	eSmakis windaa	eSmakia, eSmakis fexia, Sebertyilia
σε πουλά και	gagyidis da giyidis	gagyidis da giyidis, wyalze Cagiyvans

MODERN GREEK IDIOM	WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION	GEORGIAN IDIOM
σε αγοράζει		da uwylod amogiyvans
παιζει στα δάχτυλα	TiTebze TamaSobs	xuTi TiTiviT icis
τα μασά κάτι τέτοια	ReWavs aseT raRaceebs	erTi xelis mosmiT akeTebS
15. αστραφτει ένα χαστούκι	silas aelvebs	Tvalebidan naperwklebs ayrevinebs
16. αφήνει στο δρόμο	quCaSi tovebs	usaxkarod, upatronod tovebs; quCaSi tovebs
17. αφήνει εποχή	epoqas tovebs	kvals tovebs, TavS amaxsovrebs raRaciT, mTel epoqas qmnis
18. αφήνει στον τόπο	adgilze tovebs	adgilze tovebs, rCeba, SeSdeba
μένει στον τόπο	adgilze rCeba	adgilze rCeba
τα κακαρώνει	SeSdeba	SeSdeba, kvdeba
του πάει τριάντα μία	ocdaTerTmeti wavida	SiSisagan eleT-meleTi emarTeBa, Tma uTeTrdeba SiSisagan
19. βάζει στην άκρη	napirze debS	gadadeba
20. βάζει κατά μέρος	gverdze debS	gverdze gadadeba
21. βάζει τα γέλια	sicils debS	icinis, xarxarebs
22. βάζει λόγια	sityvebs debS	erTmaneTs akidebs, cils swamebs
23. βάζει ιδέες στο κεφάλι μου	ideebS debS TavSi	sisuleleebiT TavS iWedavs, cudi azrebi ebadeba
24. τα βάζει μαζί του	raRacas debS erTad	eCxubeba
25. βάζει νερό στο κρασί του	wyals umatebs Rvinos	midis daTmobaze, ukan ixevS
26. του βάζει νέφτι	skipidars vudeb	cecxils ukidebs
27. βάζει σε ρέγουλα	wesrigSi svams	rigSi svams, awesrigebs
28. βάζει φερμουάρ	elvas udebs	pirs ikeravs, xmas iwvyvets
29. βάζει φέσι	Tesas debS	yvelgan aqvs modebuli
30. βάζει τις	debS xmebs	yviris

MODERN GREEK IDIOM	WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION	GEORGIAN IDIOM
<i>φωνές</i>		
31. <i>βάζει χέρι</i>	<i>debs xels</i>	<i>jibeSi uZvrebA</i>
32. <i>βάζει ένα χέρι</i>	<i>debs raRac xels</i>	<i>xelis SeSveleba</i>
33. <i>βάζει το χεράκι του</i>	<i>debs Tavis xelukas</i>	<i>Tavis xels atyobs</i>
34. <i>από πού βαστάει η σκούφια της</i>	<i>saidan aris is qudi, romelic uWiravs</i>	<i>warmomavlobis dadgena, asaval-dasavali</i>
35. <i>του βγάζει το λάδι</i>	<i>zeTs gamoadens</i>	<i>suls amogaZrobs, qancs gagiwyvets, moTminebas dagakargvinebs</i>
<i>του κάνει το βιο αβιωτο</i>	<i>cxovrebas autanels xdis</i>	<i>cxovrebas jojoxeTad aqcevs, sicocxles umwarebs, sicocxlis xaliss akargvinebs, cxovrebas autanels xdis</i>
<i>βλέπει άσπρη μέρα</i>	<i>xedavs TeTr dRes</i>	<i>kargi cxovreba ar unaxavs, kargi dRe ar gasTenebia</i>
36. <i>βγάζει λεφτά με ουρά</i>	<i>iRebs fuls kudiT</i>	<i>bevr fuls Soulobs, fuls Wris</i>
37. <i>βγάζει από τη μέση</i>	<i>Suidan iRebs</i>	<i>moSoreba, motexa</i>
38. <i>τα βγάζει πέρα (I)</i> <i>τα βγάζει πέρα (II)</i>	<i>iqiT iRebs raRacas (I)</i> <i>iqiT iRebs raRacas (II)</i>	<i>Tavs arTmevs gaWirvebul mdgoma-reobas (I)</i> <i>aRwevs, laxavs (II)</i>
<i>φέρνει βόλτα</i>	<i>moaqvs seirnoba</i>	<i>gars uvlis, Tavis Wkuaze mohyavs</i>
39. <i>βγάζει στο σφυρί</i>	<i>CaquCze gaaqvs</i>	<i>Calis fasad yidis, auqcionze gaaqvs</i>
40. <i>βγάζει στη φόρα</i>	<i>Zalaze gaaqvs</i>	<i>saaSkaraoze gamoaqvs, gamoaaS-karavebs</i>

The samples given above reveal that in Georgian language exist as exact equivalents (e.g. *ανοίγω την καρδιά μου* – *gulis gadaSlə*), so partial ones (e.g. *ο σκοπός αγιάζει τα μέσα* – *mizani amarTlebs saSualebas*). Of course, there are such kinds of idioms, which can be considered as psychoform peculiar to Greek language only (e.g. *βάζω φέσι* – word-by-word means: *vdeb Tesas* (national Greek hat), is used in the meaning of: *yvelgan aqvs modebuli*, or *από πού βαστάει η σκούφια της* – *saidan aris is qudi, romelic xelSi uWiravs*). So, such kinds of expressions are used to reveal the origin of a human being. This can be explained as so called ‘National Idiomatic Expressions’. Such kind of idioms have not equivalents in other languages, they express realities peculiar to a concrete lan-

guage. But we have to be more careful, because the fact that some idiomatic expressions have not exact equivalents in other languages, does not mean that such kind of equivalents are not presented in the other ones. E.g. the researcher O. Migacheva in her paper *Greek and Russian Phraseology: Attempt of Comparative Analysis*⁸ carries out comparative analysis of Greek and Russian Phraseological units and considers the expression *είναι διαβόλου κάλτσα* – *eSmakis fexia*⁹ as nationally marked phraseological unit. It means that this expression shall not have equivalent in the other language, but Georgian language has partial equivalent of this expression (in Modern Greek *eSmakis windaa* (sock of the Devil) and not *fexi* (foot)).

Georgian language has such examples, which include similar idiomatic expressions in addition to the exact or partial ones. For example, *σε πουλά και σε αγοράζει* – *gagyidis da giyidis; wyalze Cagiyvans da uwylod amogiyvans*.

An idiomatic expression *απλώνω την αριδα μου* expressing ‘relaxation’ can be considered as a very interesting one, taking into account that its word-by-word translation means: *fexebi gafSika* and in Georgian language, the similar expression is used to express death, but not relaxation.

What kind of rules can be found on the basis of the material considered above? First of all, we have to mention that different words¹⁰ can be associated with a certain verb, for example, verbal idiomatic expressions as *ανοίγω* – *vaReb* (*open*), *αφήνω* – *vtoveb* (*leave*) have equivalents (exact or partial), but the other

⁸ Мигачева О. Ю., Греческая и русская фразеология: опыт компаративного исследования, Культура народов Причерноморья, №3, 1997.

⁹ 'Исследуя семантику греческой фразеологии, мы обратили внимание на существование в ней особой группы, обусловленной экстралингвистическими факторами. Эта группа обслуживает специфические явления жизни, факты материальной и духовной культуры. Подобные фразеологизмы по природе своей исключительны и безэквивалентны, т.е. отражают реалии настоящего и прошлого, не свойственные при своем рождении другим народам. В качестве примеров НМФ можно привести следующие:

- *ei/nai diabjo/lou ka/ltsa* – досл. быть носком дьявола, т.е. очень хитрым;
- *ana/yane ta ai/mata/mou* – я рассердился;
- *apo/pou basta/ei h skou/fia sou* – досл. откуда появилась твоя шапка – т.е. откуда ты родом;
- *mou bgai/nei apo/th mu/th* – досл. мне это выйдет через нос, т.е. выйдет боком;
- *ka/poiov fou/rnov gkremi/sthke* – досл. какая-то печь взорвалась, т.е. что-то произошло внезапно, как гром среди ясного неба;
- *denw/to gaidaro/mou* – досл. привязать своего осла, т.е. заранее все предусмотреть и обеспечить.'

¹⁰ Such verbs are represented in italics.

kind of verbal idiomatic expressions as *βάζω* – *vdeb* (*put*) and *βγάζω* – *viReb* (*take*) have not. Of course, the last kind of idioms allows us to find equivalents, but generally we can't find any. The above-mentioned can be associated with the polysemanticism of Modern Greek verbs. So, the exact equivalents can be found for the idiomatic expressions appeared on the basis of words with the semantics of body parts (heart, eye, hand, etc.), especially:

ανοίγω την καρδιά μου – *gulis gadaSla*
σου ανοίγω τα μάτια – *Tvali gauxila*
ανοίγω πληγές – *Wrilobebis gaxsna*
ανοίγω το στόμα μου – *saubris dawyeba, piris gaReba*
παιζω στα δάχτυλα – *xuTi TiTiViT vici*
βάζω χέρι – *xelis Cayofa, jibeSi CaZvroma*
βάζω ένα χέρι – *miSveleba, xelis SeSveleba*
βάζω το χεράκι μου – *Cemi xeli davatyve*

Also, there were distinguished the following lexical levels: 1. Lexical Level (similar lexical units in Greek and Georgian Languages); 2. Semi-Lexical Level (partially similar lexical units in Greek and Georgian Languages); 3. Post-Lexical Level (different lexical units).

The existence of Semi-Lexical Level shows that the world-view of Greek and Georgian people have similar historic, religious and traditional environment; to confirm the mentioned above we have to implement more careful psycholinguistic analysis. We have implemented an experiment, especially, we have delivered the above-mentioned expressions (given in the context of concrete situations) to the students of the Fourth Course of the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies (the knowledge of language is quiet high) and asked them to find similar Georgian expressions appropriate to Greek idioms. We tried to reveal the similarity between the linguistic situations in Georgian and Modern Greek languages. The majority of students have found equivalents to the above-mentioned 40 expressions, general difficulties were found during the translation of some special Modern Greek expressions, especially, so called 'National Idiomatic Expressions':

βάζω φέσι – *gvəlgan aqvs modebuli*
από πού βαστάει η σκούφια της – *warmomavlobis dadgena, asaval-dasavali*

and, idiomatic expressions associated with the verbs *βάζω* – *vdeb* (*put*) and *βγάζω* – *viReb* (*take*):

βάζω λόγια – *erTmaneTze gadakideba, ciliswameba*
τα βάζω μαζί του – *veCxubebi*

τα βγάζω πέρα (I) – *Tavi gaarTva gaWirvebul mdgomareobas*
 τα βγάζω πέρα (II) – *miRweva, gadalaxva*
 φέρνω βόλτα – *gars movla, Cems Wkuaze moyvana, moqceva, gadabi-*
reba

We have concluded the following:

1. Exact equivalents were found for the idiomatic expressions e.g. for those appeared on the basis of the words with the semantics of body parts (heart, eye, hand, etc.) confirm the traditional identity between Georgian and Greek psycholinguistic factors. But, as an exception we can consider idiomatic expressions formed on the basis of the verbs as βάζω – *vdeb* (*put*) and βγάζω – *viReb* (*take*), which have not equivalents in Georgian Language. The above-mentioned problem can be associated with the polysemantism of Modern Greek verbs;
2. The existence of Semi-Lexical Level shows that the world-view of Greek and Georgian people have similar historic, religious and traditional environment; to confirm the mentioned above we have to implement more careful psycholinguistic analysis.
3. Also, we have to look through the Post-Lexical Level, but we have to be more careful, because the fact that some idiomatic expressions have not exact equivalents in other languages, does not mean that such kind of equivalents are not presented in the other languages. E.g. as we have already mentioned above, the researcher O. Migacheva in her paper *Greek and Russian Phraseology: Attempt of Comparative Analysis* carries out comparative analysis of Greek and Russian phraseological units and considers the expression *είναι διαβόλου κάλτσα* – *eSmakis fexia* as ethnically marked phraseological unit. It means that this expression shall not have equivalent in any other language, but Georgian language has partial equivalent of this expression (in Modern Greek *eSmakis windaa* (sock of the Devil) and not *fexi* (foot).

We hope that the further researches will allow us to make more detailed study of this issue, and to use the obtained data for the implementation of semantic diachronic and psycholinguistic studies.

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FÜNF UNHOMERISCHE KOMPOSITA BEI APOLLONIOS RHODIOS

Der Einfluß der homerischen Sprache auf die Sprache des Epikers Apollonios und der differenzierte Umgang dieses Dichters mit ihr ist inzwischen gut untersucht.¹ Insbesondere haben die Arbeiten von Antonios Rengakos² das Verhältnis des Apollonios zur Homerphilologie umfassend geklärt und somit die Grundlage freigelegt, auf der sich Apollonios' dichterische Aneignung der homerischen Sprach- und Stilmuster vollzieht. Wie Apollonios der homerischen Sprache selbst neue Wendungen und Wörter abgewinnt, ist bereits von Marxer in der in Anmerkung 1 erwähnten Arbeit in Ansätzen gezeigt worden. Daß der Reichtum der Sprache dieses Dichters jedoch zugleich auf der Einbeziehung auch in seiner bisherigen geschichtlichen Ausprägung nicht-epischen Wortgutes beruht, ist bisher nicht systematisch herausgestellt worden, obwohl man selbstverständlich allenthalben – insbesondere in dem vorbildlichen Kommentar von Livrea zum 4. Buch³ – immer wieder einzelne treffende Bemerkungen zu vor Apollonios nicht episch belegten Wörtern finden.

* Für Rat und Hilfe bedanke ich mich herzlich bei meinem Betreuer, Prof. Dr. H.-C. Günther.

¹ Merkel R., *Apollonii Argonautica, emendavit apparatus criticum et prolegomena adiecit R. M. Scholia vetera e codice Laurentiano edidit H. Keil, Lipsiae 1854*; Boesch G., *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione*, Diss. Berlin 1908; Marxer G., *Die Sprache des Apollonius Rhodius in ihren Beziehungen zu Homer*, Diss. Zürich 1935; Herter H., in: *RE Suppl.* 13, München 1973, Sp. 48ff.

² Rengakos A., *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung, Zetemata 92*, München 1994; drs. *Der Homertext und die hellenistischen Dichter*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 64, Stuttgart 1993. Vgl. auch drs. in: Papanghelis Th., Rengakos A., (edd.) *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, 193ff., sowie Gleib, *ibid.* 20ff.

³ *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon Liber IV*, A cura di E. Livrea, Firenze 1973.

Um eine umfassende Würdigung des Wortschatzes des Apollonios und insbesondere seines Umgangs mit der Sprache anderer Dichtungsgattungen oder seiner Neubildungen zu kommen, ist noch ein langer Weg. Hier sollen einmal fünf zusammengehörige nicht-epische Bildungen im Einzelnen analysiert werden, um zu zeigen, welche Erträge von einer systematischen Untersuchung des Wortschatzes des Apollonios unter diesen Gesichtspunkten zu erwarten wären.

In Apollonios' *Argonautika* finden sich fünf auffällige, zum Teil bei Apollonios erstmalig belegte Komposita mit der Vorsilbe βου-, die bei Homer und überhaupt in der älteren epischen Sprache nicht belegt sind: βόαυλον im Plural (3.1290); βούπαις (1.760); βουπελάτης im Plural (4.1342); βουτύπος (2.91, 4.468); βοοκτασία (4.1724). Vier sind bei Apollonios nur je einmal belegt, nur βουτύπος kommt zweimal vor. Es lohnt sich, der Wortgeschichte dieser Wörter im Einzelnen nachzugehen, nach den stilistischen Konnotationen zu fragen und die Vorbilder für die eventuellen Neubildungen durch Apollonios zu untersuchen. Dies ist vor allem vor folgendem Hintergrund von Interesse: In einem Aufsatz zu dem Präfix βου- in der Komödie hat Richardson⁴ gezeigt, daß die dort belegte Verwendung von 'intensivierendem' βου- im Sinne von 'groß, gewaltig' auf ein Mißverständnis des homerischen *Hapax legomenon* βούβρωστις zurückgeht, wo βου- ursprünglich nicht intensivierend gemeint, jedoch leicht so mißverstanden werden konnte.⁵ Eine mißverständliche Interpretation eines homerischen *Hapax* hat hier somit eine sehr früh einsetzende einigermaßen umfangreiche Bedeutung in der Wortbildung gespielt, die sich auch bei Apollonios fortsetzt.

Doch kommen wir nun zunächst zu den beiden letztgenannten Komposita bei Apollonios, die jeweils im vierten Buch vorkommen. Da Livrea hier alles Wesentliche bereits gesagt hat, sollen sie hier am Anfang stehen:

1. βου-τύπος:

Das Wort βουτύπος kommt bei Apollonios zweimal (2.91; 4.468) vor.

ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἀμυκος μὲν ἐπὶ ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθεῖς,
βουτύπος οἶα, πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, κὰδ δὲ βαρεῖαν
χεῖρ' ἐπὶ οἱ πελέμειεν· (2.90-92)

'Da aber erhob sich Amykos wie ein Rinderschlächter auf die Zehenspitzen, streckte sich und ließ seine schwere Hand auf ihn niedersausen.'⁶

⁴ Richardson L.J.D., *Hermathena* XCV, 1961, 53-63.

⁵ Vgl. LfGrE s. v.

⁶ Die Übersetzung ist hier wie im Folgenden diejenige von Dräger P., *Apollonios von Rhodios, Die Fahrt der Argonauten*, Stuttgart 2002.

τὸν δ' ὄγε, βουτύπος ὥστε μέγαν καρεαλκέα ταῦρον,
πλήξεν ὀπιπέυσας νηοῦ σχεδόν... (4.468-469)

‘Und den schlug dieser, wie ein Rinderschlächter einen großen Stier mit starken Hörnern, nachdem er ihn erspäht hatte, nahe dem Tempel...’

Livrea bemerkt zu der zweiten Stelle: ‘βουτύπος era denominato soprattutto il sacerdote che compiva il sacrificio alle Διπολίεια di Atene, cfr. IG1. 839, 3.1163.2, Clidem. 17, Porph. *Abst.* 2, ed Ap. ha voluto accennarvi con νηοῦ σχεδόν 469. Il sacrificio di Absirto richiama, per la brutalità della descrizione, 1.427-8 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν ῥοπάλω μέσσον κάρη ἀμφὶ μέτωπα / πλήξεν, ὁ δ' ἄθροος αὐθι πεσῶν ἐνερείσατο γαίῃ. La similitudine rispecchia il punto di vista di Giasone, per cui Absirto era un pericolosissimo nemico da abbattere (μεγαν...ταῦρον), mentre il παῖς ἀταλός di 460 riflette, nella prima similitudine, il ben diverso stato d'animo di Medea: vd. Drögemüller, *Die Gleichnisse im hellenistischen Epos*, Diss., 1956, 47-8. Questi sottolinea l'influsso di modelli come P 520-3 ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἂν ὄξιν ἔχων πέλεκυν αἰζήϊος ἀνήρ, / κόφας ἐξόπιθεν κερᾶν βοῶς ἀγραύλοιο, / ἢνα τάμη διὰ πάσαν, ὁ δὲ προθορῶν ἐρίπρην, / ὡς ἄρ' ὅ γε προθορῶν πέσεν ἕπιπτος, δ 535 ὡς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτιν (= λ 411), ma né questo, né Euripides, *Electra*, 1142 richiamato da Stoessel, p. 113 valgono a spiegare l'assoluta novità apolloniana dell'accostamento delle due similitudini. vd. anche Faerber p. 43, Hübscher, p. 21.’

Apollonios übernimmt hier also somit ein spezifisches Wort der religiösen Fachsprache.⁷

2. βοο-κτασία:

... ὁ δὲ σφεας ὀππότε δαλοῖς
ὔδωρ αἰθομένοισιν ἐπιλλεῖβοντας ἴδοντο
Μηδείης διμωαὶ Φαιηκίδες, οὐκέτι ἔπειτα
ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι γέλω σθένον, οἶα θαμειαῖς
αἰέν ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο βοοκτασίας ὀρόωσαι (4.1720-1724)

‘Deshalb nun vermochten die phaiakischen Dienerinnen Medeias, als sie sahen, wie diese Wasser auf den flammenden Brand träufelten, darauf das

⁷ Das Wort wird bei Hesych und in der Suda glossiert (Suda: βουτύπος, βουθύτης – ὁ τοὺς βόας βάλλων πελέκει. Hesych.: βουτύπος ὁ βοῦν καταβάλλων. ἢ εἶδος ζώου καλουμένου ἐμπίς. ἐμπίς – κώωψ. ἢ εἶδος ζώου παρὰ τοῖς ὕδασι γενόμενον, ὅμοιον κώωπι, μεῖζον δέ); die Erklärung der Apolloniosscholien 2.90-93 (Wendel, 131) lautet: ἀερθεῖς βουτύπος οἶα πόδεσσι – ἐπαρθεῖς. ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ποδῶν, φησί, σταθεῖς καὶ ἐκτείνας ἑαυτὸν ὡς βουτύπος τὴν χεῖρα ἑαυτοῦ κατέφερον· ἐπιόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πολυδεύκης ὑπέστη καὶ παρακλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ ὄμω αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο τὸν πῆχυν. βουτύπος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τοὺς θυομένους βοῶς τῷ πελέκει τύπτων κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος· οὗτος δὲ ἐπὶ ἄκροις τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἴσταται μέλλων κρουεῖν. A.R. 4.468 (Wendel, 286): τὸν δ' ὄγε, βουτύπος ὥστε – τὸν δὲ Αἰφυρτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐπλήξεν ὡς τις βοῦν καταβάλλων.

Lachen nicht mehr in der Brust zurückzuhalten; denn im Hause des Alki-noos hatten sie immer haufenweise Rinderopfer gesehen.'

Livrea (ad loc.) bezeichnet das Wort als 'alexandrinische Neubildung' unter Verweis auf Leon. *AP* 6.263.6 = XLIX.2270 Gow-Page und Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.115.8 = XLVII. 489 Gow-Page. Bereits zu δολοκτασίη (v. 479) hatte er darauf hingewiesen, daß Apollonios beide Bildungen auf -κτασίη nach homerischem ἀνδροκτασίη selbst gebildet hat.

Zu unserer Stelle bemerkt er weiter: 'La 'Neubildung' alessandrina (... Il lettore dotto non poteva fare a meno di collegare qui βοο- a quel 19 Boe-dromione in cui aveva luogo la grande processione da Atene ad Eleusi, con i γεφυρισμοί per i quali vd. comm. ai vv. 1726-7) poggia però sull'omerico ἀνδροκτασίη (E 909, H 237, Λ 164, Ω 548, Ψ 86, λ 612; poi in Esiodo, Eschilo, etc.), che peraltro non ricorre mai in Ap. né in Callimaco. Ap. conia inoltre δολοκτασίη (vd. comm. al v. 479). La serie dei composti in -κτασία comprende solo συοκτασίη Mel. *AP* 7.421.12 = V.4019 Gow-Page, πατροκτασία *Pap. Masp.* 353.11, ἀρνοκτασία *Rhet.Gr.*3.607 Walz.'

Auch in diesem Falle einer Neubildung durch Apollonios klingt somit - entsprechend dem zuerst diskutierten Fall - kultisch-religiöse Terminologie an.

Kommen wir nun zu den übrigen drei Komposita auf βου-:

3. βούπαις:

Das Kompositum βούπαις kommt bei Apollonios nur einmal (1.760) vor, an einer Stelle, wo Apollonios das purpurne doppelte Gewand von Iason beschreibt, das er von Athene erhalten hat. Jede Kante dieses Gewandes war mit reichem Bildschmuck verziert. Eines der Bilder war die Szene, wo Apollon den Giganten Tityos wegen Frevels an seiner Mutter Leto tötet:

Εν καὶ Απόλλων Φοῖβος οἰστεύων ἐτέτυκτο,
βούπαις οὐπω πολλός, ἔην ἐρύοντα καλύπτρης
μητέρα θαρσαλέως Τιτυὸν μέγαν, ὃν ῥ' ἔτεκέν γε
δὴ Ἐλάρη, θρέψεν δὲ καὶ ἄψ' ἐλοχεύσατο Γαῖα (1.759-763)

'Darauf war auch Apollon Phoibos gebildet, als großer Junge, noch nicht erwachsen, wie er einen Pfeil schnellte auf den, der seine Mutter kühn am Schleier zog, den großen Tityos, den ja die göttliche Elare geboren, aber Gaia genährt und wieder zur Welt gebracht hatte.'

Hier haben wir nun eines der oben erwähnten, von Richardson diskutierten und zuerst in der Komödie belegten Beispiele für intensivierendes

βου- vor uns.⁸ βούπαις ist vor Apollonios in der Alten Komödie belegt. Pollux (2, 9) bezeugt das Wort für Eupolis (fr. 402 Kock; fr. 437 Kassel-Austin, Vol.V, ἔφηβος, ἄρτι ἐξ ἐφήβων· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἀφειμένον ὀνόμαζον, καὶ περυσινὸν ἔφηβον. ἄρτι ἠβάσκων. [τόσα] ἀφ' ἡβης γεγωνὸς ἔτη· [τὸ γὰρ πρωθήβης ποιητικόν (Hom Θ 518 saep.) μειράκιον], μειρακίσκος, μειρακύλλιον. καὶ βούπαις [παρ' Εὐπόλιδι]. [εἶτα] ἀγένειος, λειογένειος, ἰούλω νέον ὑπανθῶν παρὰ τὰ ὄψα καθέρποντι ἢ περὶ ὑπήμην ἀνέρποντι, ὑπνηήτης, ἐν ἡρι τῆς ὥρας, ἐν ἀκμῇ, ἐν ἄνθει. Ar. Byz. Λέξ. fr.1 p.88 N (fr.42-45 Sl.) παῖς ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων δυνάμενος ἰέναι. τὴν δὲ ἔχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν οἱ μὲν πάλλακα, οἱ δὲ βούπαιδα, οἱ δὲ ἀντιπαιδα, οἱ δὲ μελλέφιβον καλοῦσιν. Ein Kontext ist bei Aristophanes (V. 1206) überliefert: In einem Gespräch zwischen Philokleon und seinem Sohn Bdelykleon erinnert sich ersterer in einer mit Wortspielen gespickten Passage an Taten seiner jugendlichen Vergangenheit. Bdelykleon hatte ihn nach seinem ἐπὶ νεότητος ἔργον ἀνδρικώτατον (1199) gefragt. Philokleon nennt dieses ἔργον schließlich als νεανικώτατον und sagt:

ἐγὼδα τοῖνυν τόγε νεανικώτατον·
 ὅτε τὸν δρομέα Φάυλλον ὦν βούπαις ἔτι
 εἶλον διώκων λοιδορίας ψήφοιν δυοῖν (1205-8)

Philokleon spricht davon, wie er einen Phaullos erfolgreich wegen Belledigung belangte, einen bekannten Athleten, und drückt sich dabei so aus, als ob er ihn im Lauf eingeholt (εἶλον) hätte, indem er mit der Doppelbedeutung von διώκω 'laufen' und 'anklagen, verfolgen' spielt;⁹ Ebenso – im Rückgriff auf νεότης und ἀνδρικώτατον in 1199 – wie mit gesamten Bedeutungsspektrum von νεανικώτατον von 'jung' und 'stark', 'kühn' bis 'frech'.¹⁰ Sommerstein übersetzt βούπαις mit 'hulking lad' d. h. 'ungeschlachter junger Kerl' und Van Leeuwen charakterisiert es hier treffend: 'in dictione familiari adulescentulum cum contemptu quodam iocose significasse videtur.'¹¹

Apollonios konnte dieses farbige Wort aus der Sprache der Komödie leicht in seine epische Sprache integrieren, da er gewiß βου- in dem homerischen βούβρωστις als intensivierendes verstand.¹² Die gerade auch an

⁸ Weitere Belege für intensivierendes βου- und ἱππο- finden sich auch in den Kommentaren von Starkie W. J. M., *The Wasps of Aristophanes*, London 1897, Nachdruck Amsterdam 1968 und MacDowell D. M., *Aristophanes: Wasps*, Oxford 1971: zu Ar. V., 1206.

⁹ Zu der Wendung εἶλον διώκων vgl. Starkie ad loc.

¹⁰ S. LSJ s. v. νεανικός und Starkie ad loc.

¹¹ Van Leeuwen J., *Aristophanis Vespae*, Lugduni-Batavorum 1893 ad loc.

¹² Auch in den homerischen Scholien wird das Wort so erklärt, s. LfgE s. v. βούβρωστις. Was βούπαις anbelangt, so findet sich im übrigen in einem Grabepigramm des Ery-

der soeben interpretierten Aristophanesstelle aufscheinende Konnotation 'kühn, frech' wird von Apollonios sozusagen in dem folgenden θαρσαλέως glossiert.

Apollonische Neubildungen sind die letzten beiden zu behandelnden Komposita:

4. βό-αυλα βόαυλον:

Bei Apollonios findet sich der Plural eines Neutrums βόαυλον 3.1290 (Iasons Kampf mit Stieren), d.h. βόαυλα substantivisch im Sinne von 'Rinderstall' verwendet:

... Οἱ δ' ἔκποθεν ἀφράστοιο
 κευθμῶνος χθονίου, ἵνα τέ σφισιν ἔσκε βόαυλα
 καρτερά λιγνυόεντι περίξ εἰλυμένα καπνῶ,
 ἄμῳ ὁμοῦ προγένοντο πυρὸς σέλας ἀμπνείοντες (3.1289-1292)

'...Die aber kamen beide zugleich aus einer von nirgends erkennbaren unterirdischen Höhle hervor, wo ihre gewaltigen Rinderställe waren, rings eingehüllt in qualmenden Rauch, und spien Feuerstrahlen aus.'

In der hellenistischen Dichtung kommt daneben in [Theokrit] 25.108 ein Maskulinum, βόαυλος, wiederum als Substantiv vor, das von den Rinderställen des Augias gesagt ist:

Αὐγείης δ' ἐπί πάντας ἰὼν θηεῖτο βοαύλους
 ἦντινά οἱ κτεάνων κομιδὴν ἐτίθειτο νομῆες,
 σὺν δ' υἴος τε βίῃ τε βαρύφρονος Ἡρακλῆος
 ἄμάρτευν βασιλῆι διερχομένῳ μέγαν ὄλβον (108-111)

'Augias ging zu allen Rinderställen und sah sich um, welche Sorgfalt die Hirten auf seine Besitzungen verwendet hatten, dabei begleiteten sein Sohn und der gewaltige tiefsinnende Herakles den König, der durch seinen gewaltigen Reichtum schritt.'

In der kaiserzeitlichen Epik begegnet uns dann ein Deminutivum βοαύλιον in den *Orphischen Argonautica* (438¹³) und einem Fragment aus anonymen *Dionysiaca* der hadrianischen Zeit (publiziert von Milne in *Arch. Pap.* 7 (1924), 3ff.¹⁴). Die Apolloniosscholien glossieren das Wort bei Apol-

cius (*AP* 7, 36) dieses Wort auch einmal im 'etymologischen' Wortsinne 'Kind eines Ochsen' (s. Page XI 3, II) und die alte Lexikographie kennt es ansonsten auch in der Bedeutung βούκολος, s. Suidas s.v.

¹³ Über den Kampf von Myniern mit Kentauern: οἰωνοί τι ἔκυκλοῦντο βοαύλια Κενταυροῦ παρσοῖς κεκμηῶσιν, ἐῆς δ' ἐλάθοντο καλιῆς.

¹⁴ Wilamowitz S., *ibid.* S. 16 datiert den Text frühestens in hadrianische Zeit; zu Fr. 6 (wo das betreffende Wort vorkommt) sagt er S. 14: 'Fr. 6 r. gibt den Schluss eines Buches oder Gedichtes; wir lesen von einer Landschaft, in der die Rinder friedlich auf

lonios mit βοόσταισις.¹⁵ Pollux glossiert das spätere Deminutivum entsprechend (1.249: μέρη δ' ἂν εἴη τῶν κατ' ἀγροῦς βουκολία, αἰπόλια, ποιμνία. καὶ ὅπου μὲν αἱ βόες ἴστανται, βούσταθμα, βοαύλια, [βουστασεις], ὅπου δὲ αἱ οἰες καὶ [αἰ] αἰγες, αὐλή καὶ σηκός).

All die aufgeführten Stellen dürften von Apollonios abhängig sein. Interessanterweise ist das Neutrum βόαυλον nach Apollonios nicht belegt.

Bei βόαυλα handelt es sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach um eine Neubildung durch Apollonios. Er verbindet die Vorsilbe βου-, bzw. hier bei vokalischem Anlaut βο-, mit dem Hinterglied -αυλος zu αυλή.¹⁶

Dieses Hinterglied ist in der Sprache des Epos und der Tragödie gut belegt; freilich finden sich -αυλος Komposita häufiger in der Tragödie als im Epos.

Bei Homer und Hesiod kommen folgende Bildungen auf -αυλος vor: Homer kennt ἄγραυλος, ἔπαυλος, ἔναυλος und μέσσαυλος, Hesiod nur ἔναυλος. Alle kommen auch in der Tragödie wieder vor. Apollonios benutzt ἄγραυλος 'ländlich' viermal (ἄγραύλοιο ... σημαντήρος (von einem Hirten) 1.575, ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι 4.317 und 4.1341, ἄγραύλοισιν ... περὶ βουσίν 4.551), alle anderen je einmal (ἐπαύλους 'die Gehöfte' 1.800, ἔναυλους 'die Gießbäche' 1.1226, μέσσαυλος 'Zwischentür' 3.235).

ἄγραυλος ist das bei Homer am häufigsten belegte Wort (*Il.*, 10.155, 17.521, 23.684, 780, 24.81; *Od.*, 12.253, 22.403, 10.410; *h. Merc.*, 67, 262, 272, 286, 412, 492). Das maskuline Substantivum ἔπαυλος wird bei Homer im Plural im Sinne von 'Stall für Schafe' verwendet (etwa *Od.*, 23.358); Sophokles verwendet es als Neutrum Plural.¹⁷ Apollonios (1, 799-801) übernimmt das homerische ἔπαυλος:

τηνίκα Θρηκίην οἷ τ' ἀντία ναιετάουσι
δήμου ἀπορνύμενοι λαοὶ πέρθεσκον ἐπαύλους
ἐκ νηῶν... (1.799-801)

'Da brachen die Männer des Volkes auf und zerstörten von Schiffen aus die Gehöfte derer, die gegenüber in Thrakien wohnen.'

der Wiese liegen und durch das Röhricht Nymphen wandeln, von denen verschiedene Gruppen genannt werden, Keulenträgerinnen ... V. 9 gesteht Herr Milne zu, dass ἐπὶ λωτῶι gelesen werden kann; ἄωτον konnte nicht wohl hier stehen, wo der nächste Vers auf ὑπὸ χρύσειον ἄωτον ausgeht. Das ist von Apollonios 4.175 entnommen, wo πάντη χρύσειον ἐφύπερθεν ἄωτον βεβρίθει λίμεσσιν ἐπηρεφές, nämlich am goldnem Vliess...)

¹⁵ βόαυλα - ὅπου ην αὐτοῖς ἡ βοόσταισις (Wendel, 256); die Form βοόσταισις auch Call. *Del.*, 102 (Βουρά τε Δεξαμενοῖο βοόσταισις Οἰκιάδαο, ἄψ δ' ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίην πόδας ἔτρεπε).

¹⁶ Es gibt auch Ableitungen mit dem Hinterglied -αυλο" zu 'Flöte' s. DÉLG s. v.

¹⁷ Soph., *OT.*, 1138 ebenfalls im Sinne von 'Stall', *OC.*, 669 ganz allgemein im Sinne von 'Aufenthaltort' (immerhin in ländlicher Umgebung).

Er verwendet es im Sinne von ‘Gehöft’, wie αὐλή auch menschliche Behausungen bezeichnen kann (s. etwa Mastronarde zu Eur., *Phoen.*, 1573; so auch ἔπαυλα bei Sophokles s. Anm.17), doch betont es den ländlichen Charakter der Behausungen im Gegensatz zur Stadt des Thoas.

Neben ἔπαυλος kennt Homer auch μέσσαυλος bzw. μέσσαυλον (das Wort kommt nur in nicht geschlechtsspezifischen Formen vor): LSJ s.v. bestimmen die Bedeutung als: ‘... is probably the after or inner court, behind or inside the αὐλή, where the cattle were put at night for greater safety’ (*Il.*, 2. 548, 17. 112, 17. 657, 24.29, *Od.*, 10.435).

In der Tragödie und der Komödie ist μετ-, bzw. μεσ-αυλος Femininum und wird elliptisch für μέσσαυλος θύρα ‘die Tür’, die die αὐλή vom inneren Teil des Hauses trennt, verwendet. So z. B. Euripides in *Alk.*, 549 (εὐ δὲ κλήσατε | θύρας μεταύλους). Apollonios (3.235) verwendet dann die epische Form μέσσαυλος im Femininum im Sinne von ‘Zwischentür’:

Εἴθα δὲ καὶ μέσσαυλος ἐλήλατο, τῆ δ' ἐπὶ πολλαὶ
δικλίδες εὐπηγεῖς θάλαμοί... (3.235-6)

‘Und dort war auch eine Zwischentür aus Metall getrieben, und neben ihr gab es viele gut gefügte Türen mit zwei Flügeln.’

ἔναυλος findet sich bei Hesiod vom Aufenthaltsort ländlicher Gottheiten (der Nymphen) οὖρα μακρὰ θεῶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους | Νυμφέων (*Th.*, 129; vgl. auch *Hymn. Hom.*, *Ven.*, 74, 124, Eur., *Bacch.*, 122 Διογενετορες ἔναυλοι, *H.F.*, 371 σύγχορτοί θ' Ομόλας ἔναυλοι; in der Tragödie (*Soph.*, *Phil.*, 158; Eur., *Phoen.*, 1573) ist es auch adjektivisch im Sinne von ‘drinnen, in der Behausung befindlich’ belegt.

Homer (*Il.*, 16.71, 21.283, 21.312) kennt ἔναυλος im übrigen in der Bedeutung ‘Flußbett, Gießbach’ als Ableitung von αὐλός ‘Röhre’ (s. DÉLG s.v.) und so kommt das Wort auch bei Apollonios (1.1226) vor:

Αἱ μὲν ὄσαι σκοπιᾶς ὄρέων λάχον ἢ καὶ ἐναύλους
αἱ γὰρ μὲν ὑληωροὶ ἀπόπροθεν ἐστιχώοντο· (1.1225-6)

‘All diese nun, die die Bergeshöhen oder auch die Gießbäche erlost hatten, und auch die, welche die Wälder behüteten, kamen der Reihe nach von ferne heran.’

Unter den Ableitungen von αὐλή übernahm somit Apollonios von Homer die Wörter ἔπαυλος und μέσσαυλος. Letzteres freilich in der Bedeutung ‘Zwischentür’, wie es in der Tragödie vorkommt. Ersteres verwendet Apollonios ganz allgemein im Sinne einer ländlichen Behausung ‘Gehöft’, wie dieses bei Homer in der Bedeutung ‘Schafestall’ verwendete Wort wiederum in der Tragödie im Sinne ‘ländliche Umgebung,

Weide' oder gar im Sinne von 'Behausung' allgemein verwendet wird. So setzt Apollonios vor das Hinterglied *-αυλος* an die Vorsilbe *βο(υ)-*, um es im Sinne von Rinderstall zu präzisieren. Vorbild ist dabei das tragisch belegte *βουστασις* (Aesch., *Pr.*, 653 (pl.) und *βούσταθμον* (Eur., *Hel.*, 29; *IA.*, 76); *βουστάθμος* (Eur., *Hel.*, 359), Adj. *βουστάθμου κάπης* (Soph., *Ichn.*, 8). D.h. Apollonios bildet sozusagen mit der episch in ähnlichem Zusammenhang belegten Hintersilbe *-αυλος* ein episches Pendant zu tragischen *βου-στασις*, bzw. *βου-σταθμον* 'Rinderstall'.

Das Wort scheint an der betreffenden Stelle, wo es um Jasons Kampf mit den wunderbaren Stieren geht, besonders gut zu passen, um das Gewaltige und Unheimliche Aufenthaltsort zu betonen, wenn man an die oben erwähnte intensivierende Bedeutung der Vorsilbe *βο-* im Sinne von 'groß' denkt.

3. *βουπελάτης*:

Das Wort stellt wiederum eine Neubildung durch Apollonios dar, die von ihm in die Sprache des späteren Epos (etwa Nik., *Alex.*, 40, Opp., *Cyn.*, 534) übernommen wurde:¹⁸

Ἡ καὶ ἀναΐξας ἐπάρους ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτεὶ
 αὐσταλέος κούρησι, λέων ὡς, ὅς ῥά τι ἀνὶ ἕλλην
 σύννομον ἦν μεθέπων ὠρύεται· αἱ δὲ βαρεῖη
 φθογγῇ ὑποβρομέουσιν ἀνὸ οὔρεα τηλόθι βῆσαι·
 δείματι δ' ἀγραυλοὶ τε βόες μέγα πεφρίκασι
βουπελάται τε βοῶν. Τοῖς δ' οὐ νύ τι γῆρως ἐτύχθη
 ῥιγεδανῆ ἐτάροιο φίλοις ἐπικεκλομένοιο·
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἠγερέθοντο κατηφέες. Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοὺς γε
 ἀχτυμένους ὄρμοιο πέλας μίγα θηλυτέρησιν
 ἰδρύσας, μυθεῖτο πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἕκαστα (4.1337-46)

'Sprach's, sprang auf und schrie laut nach seinen Gefährten, schmutzig vom Sand, wie ein Löwe, der seiner Jagdgenossin im Wald nachläuft und dabei brüllt. Und von seinem tiefen Organ hallen fern in den Bergen die Schluchten wider. Und aus Furcht erschauern gewaltig die ländlichen Rinder und die Rinderhirten der Rinder. – Aber für die war wohl die Stimme ihres Gefährten keineswegs Schrecken erregend, denn er rief ja seinen Freunden zu. Und dicht um ihn versammelten sie sich, niedergeschlagen. Der aber ließ die Verzagten nahe am Ankerplatz, auch unter den Frauen, sich niedersetzen und berichtete, wobei er alles im Einzelnen genau darlegte.'

¹⁸ Die alten Scholien erklären dieses Wort mit: *βουπελάται* - οἱ βουκόλοι. εἶρηται ἦτοι τοῦ π̄ περισσεύοντος - βουελάται γὰρ εἰσιν - ἢ παρὰ τὸ πέλας τῶν βοῶν εἶναι, ὃ καὶ βέλτιον (Wendel, 314).

Das Verbum $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ist schon bei Homer sehr häufig belegt, eine nominale Ableitung $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ immerhin bei Hesiod (*Th.*, 153).¹⁹

Das Substantiv $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ findet sich in der Tragödie (Aesch., *Pers.*, 49, *Soph.*, *Phil.*, 1164, 677) in der allgemeinen Bedeutung 'der in die Nähe Kommende, in der Nähe Befindliche, Nachbar'. Platon (*Euthphr.*, 4c) und Aristoteles in der (*Ath.*, 2.2) verwenden $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ im Sinne von Tagelöhner.²⁰

Angesichts der Tatsache, daß $\beta\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ neben Theopomps $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ das einzige uns belegte Kompositum mit dem ohnehin nicht allzu häufigen $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ist, stellt $\beta\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ eine höchst markante Bildung dar.

Apollonios verwendet das Hinterglied $-\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ sozusagen anstelle des in der epischen Sprache gut belegten $-\pi\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ²¹, das er nur wenig weiter oben (4.1322) in $\omicron\iota\omicron-\pi\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\iota$ im Sinne von 'Schafe hütend' verwendet hatte:

$\omicron\iota\omicron\pi\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\iota \delta\iota \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu \chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\alpha\iota \theta\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota} \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\eta}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota,$
 $\acute{\eta}\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota \text{Li}\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma \tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\iota \acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon \theta\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ (4.1322-3)

'Wir aber sind die einsamen schafhütenden Landesgöttinnen, mit Sprache begabt, die schützenden Heroinnen und Töchter der Lybie.'

So bildet er entsprechend aus $\beta\omicron\upsilon-$ und $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'Rinderhüter, Rinderhirte'. Daß das Wort seit der bei Platon belegte Bedeutung des Wortes 'Tagelöhner' die Konnotation 'Diener' hat, war dabei gewiß hilfreich. Freilich 'glossiert' Apollonios seine ungewöhnliche Neubildung selbst durch $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon$ (4.1344) und weiter unten (4.1345) direkt durch $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ als 'der sich bei den Rindern Befindliche'. Mehr noch als in den anderen im Vorigen behandelten Wörtern ist hier die stilistisch-semantiche Polyvalenz des Wortes bemerkenswert. Einerseits empfindet man es aufgrund der Seltenheit des Hintergliedes (in Komposition insbesondere) und der hauptsächlich poetischen Bezeugung gewiß als sehr gewählt und poetisch, andererseits fügt sich gut in die insgesamt stilistisch höchst markante, mit Wortspielen, Wortwiederholungen, Polyphton und Assonanzen mit $\beta/\pi/\phi$ überladene Stelle, die das Echo der Stimme in den Bergen lautmalrisch umsetzt.

¹⁹ Vgl. West ad loc.

²⁰ Chambers M., Aristoteles, Staat der Athener, Darmstadt 1990, 143. Plutarch verwendet das Wort für das lateinische *cliens* (*Romulus*, 13, 7); ebenso *prospelavth̄s* bei Theopomp nach dem Zeugnis von Atheneus VI.271e.

²¹ Die Tatsache, daß keine etymologische Verwandtschaft besteht, ist für Apollonios natürlich irrelevant; $-\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ hat nach Chantraine, DÉLG s. v. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, eine Affinität zu landwirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

**FOR THE INTERRELATION OF PLATO'S *PHAEDO*
AND ANCIENT GREEK TRAGEDY**

The interrelation of Plato and the Greek tragedy is rather complex, heterogeneous, and even contradictory issue, but to my mind, some aspects of ancient tragedy can be observed in *Phaedo*. On the one hand, the philosopher is shown as an opponent of poetry generally and namely, of drama, but on the other hand, in Plato's works there are some details that are characteristic of the genre unacceptable to him. The complex and dilemmatic side of the problem is the ambivalence of the material found in Plato's dialogues.

One should note that some paradoxes are familiar to Plato's works. 'Plato is seen as the maker of paradoxes: he condemns writing but composes written works of supreme sophistication and suggestiveness; he condemns art and rhetoric, yet he himself is a supreme artist and the ultimate rhetorician; he expounds the plan for an ideal state, yet admits it can never be brought in practice; he declares that the soul, or the maker of the universe, are inaccessible to the human mind, and can only be described in similes or images, and yet his images are so compelling and memorable as to have influenced generations of subsequent thinkers.'¹

The dramatic qualities of Plato's works were noticed even in ancient times. Plutarch wrote: 'The simplest dialogues of Plato were studied by children; they even recited them and performed the characters, voices and poses of the parsonages.'²

¹ Rutherford R. B., *The Art of Plato, Ten Essays in Platonic Interpretation*, Harvard, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1995, 25.

² Миллер Т. А., Мефодий Олимпийский и традиция платоновского диалога, в кн.: *Античность и Византия*, Москва 1975, 194.

The contradictory relation of Plato to drama is inexplicable because the researchers either have ignored it or have not explained it convincingly.

J. Arieti, one of the researchers, tries to illustrate the interrelation of Plato's dialogues with drama in a little exaggerated form but vividly. He says: 'If we like to classify Plato's dialogues we will be able to see *Protagoras* as a comedy, *Euthidemos* and *Cratylus* as a farce. *Phaedo* is a tragedy and the Greek poets could create nothing more heart-rending. *Republic* more resembles the philosophic novels of our times, for example, Tomas Mann's *Magic Mountain* and Goethe's *Faustus* (92.127).³ L. Cooper evaluates *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo* as a tragic trilogy.⁴

What can be said more specifically and seriously about the interrelation between *Phaedo* and tragedy? By what external (formal) and internal (ideological) features are they connected and contradicted?

I have tried to determine the features of tragedy in *Phaedo* on the bases of other researchers' opinions and our observations as well, proceeding from the principles given in Aristotle's *Poetics*.

L. Cooper singles out four elements that poetry, drama and Plato's philosophical dialogue have in common. They are: 1) plot; 2) character; 3) reasoning; 4) method. We can see that L. Cooper's criterion of research is the four basic elements of tragedy singled out by Aristotle (μυθος, ηθος, διανοία, λέξις) (*Poetics*, 6).⁵

L. Cooper explains that one of the constituents of drama, i.e. mythos (μῦθος) or plot, which is the soul of a play according to Aristotle, corresponds to logos (λόγος) of the philosophical dialogue.⁶ It means that the function of *mythos* in drama and epic literature is the same as the function of *logos* in the philosophical dialogue. In fact, it conditions the action (judgment) in the work.

L. Cooper formally explains the interrelation between Plato and the Greek drama. The four elements named by the researcher can be found not only in *Phaedo* but in any other Plato's dialogues as well. Thus, the question is: Why is *Phaedo* a tragedy?

Some researchers have tried to find the elements of tragedy in *Phaedo* by means of singling out some specific details of similarity. Here, we

³ Arieti J. A., *Interpreting Plato, The Dialogues as a Drama*, Rowman, Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1991, 127.

⁴ Cooper L., *Plato, On the Trial and Death of Socrates*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 12.

⁵ Cooper L., *op. cit.*, 4.

⁶ Cooper L., *op. cit.*, 7.

should mention that tragedians as well as the author of *Phaedo* do not participate in their works. 'In this respect a dialogue of Plato is like a drama; the author does not appear in it as a speaker.'⁷

The only explanation of such artistic peculiarity is the author's desire. 'He prefers to remain behind the scenes, a dramatist rather than a character or even a commentator.'⁸ The author's stepping aside and almost visual-scenic picture of Socrates' death arouses sympathy of everybody who takes an interest in *Phaedo*.⁹

Phaedo resembles tragedy because of some other elements too.

In Socrates' words and actions one can notice all the signs that Aristotle thinks the tragic character must have. He is a very generous, consistent and brave person. At the same time such bravery 'is a match' for him because he is a philosopher (comp. *Poetics*, 15). Plato gives the description of Socrates' personality a little hyperbolized and it also matches up Aristotle's requirements. 'Since tragedy is the representation of the better people than we are, we must imitate good portraitists; they give each of them their own form, depict them as they are in reality, but at the same time give more beautiful picture of them' (*Poetics*, 15).

In *Phaedo* besides the main character (so-called protagonist), some minor personages take part in action (and reasoning). Several of them are so called deuteragonists (e.g. Simmias, Cebes) and the rest have the function of chorus (e.g. Phaedo, Echecrates...).

When we read *Phaedo* the scene of Socrates' last hours without fail appears in front of our eyes. The first dialogue between Phaedo and Echecrates can be compared with Parodos – appearance of chorus and the first song. The philosophical dialogue of Socrates and his friends can be imagined as Episodions; twice entry of Phaedo and Echecrates (or chorus) can be seen as Stasimons. In one of the Episodions there is a dialogue between the main character (Socrates) and the so-called coryphaeus of chorus (Phaedo). The episode of Socrates' death can be compared with Eksoodos, where a kind of Komos, the mourning of Socrates' friends over his impending death, is included (comp. *Poetics*, 12).

From the structural point of view, we can see, there is an evident typological similarity between *Phaedo* and tragedy.

⁷ Cooper L., op. cit., 3.

⁸ Rutherford R. B., op. cit., 7; see also Rowe C. J. (ed.), Plato, *Phaedo*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, 2-3; Лосев А. Ф., Тахо-Годи А. А., Платон, Жизнеописание, Москва 1977, 127.

⁹ Лосев А. Ф., Тахо-Годи А. А., op. cit., 127.

C. Rowe notes that 'there are indeed features which the dialogue shares with tragedy, for example the chorus-like presence of Phaedo and Echecrates, and an Aristotelian-type περιπέτεια or reversal of fortune.'¹⁰

According to C. Rowe, the introduction of the theory *soul as a harmony* by Simmias and Cebes, contrary to the argumentation of Socrates, can be regarded as the culmination point of reasoning. The researcher explains that at the beginning Socrates' friends had been competing with him from the position of the ordinary man (see esp. *Phaedo*, 70a; 77c-e), but later 'they posed a more philosophical, and accordingly more serious, challenge – the equivalent of a reversal of fortune, or peripeteia' (comp. *Poetics*, 6).¹¹

It is worth attention that in tragedy peripeteia is an unexpected reversal of fortune, the act of transforming from happiness into unhappiness (comp. *Poetics*, 13), but in *Phaedo* it is a kind of a sudden change in the process of reasoning. Since reasoning, not action, is determinative in the work, it is natural that peripeteia as well shows up in the process of discussion.

Let us remember again the features of tragedy that are found in *Phaedo* too.

The author is not a character of the work.

The work is based on the dialogues among the characters.

Here we can observe four main elements of tragedy: μῦθος, ἦθος, διανοία, λέξις.

The main character is generous, consistent and brave.

The protagonist is hyperbolized.

The composition consists of Parodos, Episodions, Stasimons, Eksodos and Comos.

In the plot (more precisely, in the process of reasoning) one can observe peripeteia, i.e. the culmination of discussion.

When we study the interrelation between *Phaedo* and tragedy we have to take into consideration the features of the latter that do not exist in the dialogue.

In *Phaedo* one cannot find any artistic devices characteristic of tragedy: (comp. *Poetics*, 6, 11, 16).

It is very interesting to see how much the elements of tragic action δέσις and λύσις are given in *Phaedo* (*Poetics*, 18). Plato does not tell us about the facts that called forth a sudden change of the main character's fate, i.e. how Socrates went to law and was put in prison. He only describes the

¹⁰ Rowe C. J., op. cit., 1.

¹¹ Rowe C. J., op. cit., 200.

actions proceeded from the conflict up to their end. He only gives the pictures of Socrates' last hours as the result of certain, non-concretized events. The plot is implied; it does not exist in the work. Correspondingly, the whole work is the denouement of the implied plot.

We can see that there are not all characteristic features of tragedy in *Phaedo* and it is quite natural; it is impossible for a philosophical dialogue, whatever associations it produces, to have the typical scheme of tragedy.

When we discuss the interrelation between *Phaedo* and tragedy we should take into consideration not only some formal features, but some internal relation as well. It is rather interesting to see how much tragic the inspiration of the dialogue is.

Phaedo was considered as one of the exciting and moving works of literature. On the face of it *Phaedo* is thought to be a tragedy because it is an extremely emotional story of the unjust death of the generous hero.

Though, having the features named above, *Phaedo* produces the impression of tragedy we think that the dialogue by its essence is only to a degree a tragedy.

A small note made by H. Kuhn incited me to make such interpretation. He says that *Phaedo* is a Platonic anti-tragedy... something that gives rise to fear in a tragedy loses its meaning in philosophy.¹²

Such observation seems rather acceptable to me, but at the same time, it contradicts another suggestion that *Phaedo* by its some features has something in common with tragedy. These two differing, but at the same time, remarkable ideas gave me an opportunity to notice that the interrelation between *Phaedo* and tragedy, as well as Plato and drama, is heterogeneous; it cannot be interpreted straightforwardly and must be analyzed carefully.

Aristotle singles out three types of the tragic conflict derived from three kinds of relations of the heroes: hostile, friendly and indifferent (see *Poetics*, 14). The conflict existing in *Phaedo* is conditioned not by the relations of the characters but by the disagreement between the main character and the society. Is such conflict tragic or not?

Aristotle explains that one of the factors that conditions tragedy is the 'transition' of a kind and just person 'from happiness into unhappiness' (*Poetics*, 13). One can ask whether Socrates punishment is a misfortune, and whether his life is tragic.

¹² Kuhn H., *The True Tragedy, On the Relationship between Greek Tragedy and Plato*, in: H. S. C., vol. VI, 1941, 25-26.

Phaedo cannot give the straightforward answer because Socrates' and the rest characters' attitudes are not homogeneous in this connection.

From the empiric point of view Socrates' fate is tragic but his supreme goal is to stand above physical reality and gain infinity. Hence in the light of eternity the end of Socrates can not be considered as tragic.

As Shelling explains: 'the essence of tragedy is in the struggle between the freedom of a person and the objective necessity',¹³ but in *Phaedo* Socrates does not struggle against the objective necessity. Cherishing hopes for the future life he is not afraid of the impending death. It is not a tragedy for him. Contrary to Socrates, the disposition of his spouse and friends is dramatic (see *Phaedo*, 59a1-9, 60a3-b1, 116d1-2, 117c7-d6).

The dual attitude, tragic and anti-tragic, towards death is better seen in Socrates' words to his friends: 'What a way to behave, my strange friends! Why, it was mainly for this reason that I sent the woman away, so that they shouldn't make this sort of trouble' ('οῖα ποιεῖτε, ὦ θαυμάσιοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐχ ἤκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέπεμψα, ἵνα μὴ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῖεν' *Phaedo*, 117d7-9).

Death means tragedy for Xanthippe and Socrates' friends, but it is the guarantee of the future happiness for Socrates. He says: 'I don't regard my present lot as a misfortune' ('ὡς οὐ συμφαρὰν ἠγοῦμαι τὴν παρούσαν τυχῆν', *Phaedo*, 84e1-2).

Thus, there is not one of the essential elements of tragedy in *Phaedo*; it is the πάθος ('suffering') (comp. *Poetics*, 11) of the main character without which a real tragedy is impossible.

Socrates' image personifies the anti-tragic ideal of Plato. The author describes the objective reality seen by the mortal people as tragedy, and his ideal, Socrates, is an anti-tragic hero. On the one hand, *Phaedo* is close to tragedy, but on the other hand, it struggles against the tragic enthusiasm and esthetics. The anti-tragedy is introduced into the tragedy. The tragedy loses against itself.

The anti-tragic enthusiasm of *Phaedo* is conditioned by Plato's and tragedians' different outlook but, how can be explained the existence of the features of tragedy in the dialogue? Does Plato apply them consciously or unconsciously? Is it accidental or is it the author's intention?

To my mind, it is less likely that the features of tragedy could have appeared accidentally in such a systematic way. It must have been the result of Plato's infrequent gift for writing.

¹³ Шеллинг Ф. В., *Философия Искусства*, Москва 1966, 400.

In one of the final passages of *Phaedo* Socrates, the anti-tragic image, ironically calls himself the hero of a tragedy and appeals to his friends with the words taken from the tragedy: 'but for myself, 'e'en now', as a tragic hero might say, 'destiny doth summon me'; and it's just about time I made for the bath' (ἔμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἄν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, ἢ εἰμαρμένη, καὶ - σχεδόντι μοι ὦρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν', *Phaedo*, 115a5-6).¹⁴ The theme of a tragic hero is 'run' by Plato once again in the same passage. Before taking the poison he addresses Crito with the reminiscences of Homer whom he thinks to be a tragedian poet:¹⁵ 'ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ὦ Κρίτων, πειθόμεθα αὐτῷ' ('But come on, Crito, let's obey him', *Phaedo*, 116d7-8).

To my mind, the same irony is used by Plato in the whole dialogue. He borrows a number of formal features of tragedy and embodies by them the anti-tragic ideals. The accent is put on anti-tragic by means of tragic.

Phaedo is the dramatization of the philosophical dialogue. The action is localized in prison. The external static character is compensated by the current of ideas and emotions, therefore, by internal dynamism. Simmias and Cebes stay physically in prison but they spiritually are on their way to Truth. *Phaedo* is an Odyssey of soul and mind of Socrates' listeners, his friends and, at the same time, of us, Plato's present readers.

On the one hand, the formal, and partially, inner features of tragedy found in *Phaedo*, and on the other hand, the anti-tragic enthusiasm of the work once more illuminated Plato's philosophical and literary peculiarities, paradoxicality and large range that in the present case are conditioned by the ambiguous vision of the world. An event is interpreted both as passing and as eternal; thus, it obtains double image.

¹⁴ Com. Sophocles, *Ajax*, 654-6.

¹⁵ See *Republic*, 595b-c.

Riccardo Di Donato (Pisa)

**L'HOMME DE LA PAROLE.
JEAN-PIERRE VERNANT ENTRE PASSÉ ET PRÉSENT**

Jean-Pierre Vernant a conclu, à Sèvres le 9 janvier 2007, une vie longue (il était né à Provins, le 4 janvier 1914) active et fertile. Homme d'études, d'enseignement, d'engagement politique et civil, de la parole publique – dans la période finale de sa vie- exaltée par la multimédialité-, il est mort comme il a vécu – François Hartog l'a très bien écrit- en philosophe. Il laisse à ceux et à celles qui l'ont connu et aimé le souvenir d'une humanité souriante, capable de transmettre des grandes valeurs, dans les domaines de la connaissance et de la vie, dans tous leurs aspects. Sa mémoire est gardée par une oeuvre vaste et importante, qui se compose de phases bien distinctes, caractérisées par des choix thématiques très nets, et traversées avec une cohérence naturelle, dépourvue de toute rigidité, enrichie par l'acceptation de l'autre et par le plaisir de communiquer –en une forme qui a paru extraordinaire à tout le monde- les produits de sa pensée.

Qui voudra s'approcher à la quasi-totalité de ses écrits parus en volume, pourra utiliser les deux tomes des *Oeuvres. Religions, Rationalités, Politique* (Paris: Seuil 2007). Ces volumes ne respectent aucune séquence diachronique mais un ordre qui exprime –ainsi apparaît-il, au moins- la finale subjectivité de l'auteur, qui a voulu, outre à des nombreuses altérations dans l'ordre chronologique ou thématique- que les récits grecs des origines, racontés –ce verbe est nécessaire- dans *L'Univers, Les Dieux, Les Hommes* (Paris: Seuil 1999) précèdent les oeuvres consacrées à la pensée des Grecs. Les livres qui ont défini la figure scientifique de Vernant sont tous dans ce recueil, sauf la partie à deux mains de *Les Ruses de l'intelligence. La Métis des Grecs*, écrit en 1974 avec Marcel Detienne, et les pages vernantiennes de *Dans l'Oeil du miroir*, publié en 1997 avec Françoise Frontisi.

Pour l'oeuvre critique, constituée par quelques deux cent comptes-rendus, et pour une partie des articles non compris dans des recueils on pourra continuer à se référer à *Passé et Présent. Contributions à une psychologie historique* réunies par Riccardo Di Donato (Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura 1995) où l'on peut trouver en tout cas une bibliographie qui s'arrête en 1994 et qui contient 578 entrées.

Homme d'amitiés longues et profondes, Jean-Pierre Vernant a connu et aimé la Géorgie et les Géorgiens, parmi lesquels il a pu compter des amis sincères. Le pays qu'il a connu c'était une extrémité du grand empire soviétique, qu'il traversait avec sa femme, la russe Lida Naimovitch, visitant et réconfortant ses correspondants qui se rangeaient dans la dissidence. Le portrait qu'il a tracé en 1991 du Socrate géorgien, le philosophe Merab Memardashvili, ne concerne pas seulement *La Pensée empêchée*, le petit livre-entretien publié à la mort du philosophe. Il élève une figure singulière à représentant d'un besoin particulier et universel de liberté. Les mots du philosophe, qu'il cita alors, méritent ici une répétition: 'Mon combat n'est pas pour la langue géorgienne mais pour ce qui se dit dans cette langue. Je ne veux pas de la foi, je veux la liberté de conscience.'

La couverture originale de *L'Univers, Les Dieux, Les Hommes* montre Vernant qui parle, la main levée, devant une inscription d'un sanctuaire grec, qui est maintenant en Turquie. En plein soleil il parle, arborant son petit chapeau rond caucasien en feutre pressé, souvenir amical et sérieux de sa Géorgie personnelle.

Comme hommage à l'ami disparu, je publie ici, pour la première fois, les discours échangés entre nous deux, à Pise le 18 mai 1996, à l'occasion de la présentation de son recueil *Passé et Présent*.

Le ragioni di una raccolta di Riccardo Di Donato

Chi cura una raccolta spera che contenuto e struttura rendano autoevidenti le ragioni che hanno motivato l'impresa. Questa è naturalmente anche la mia speranza riguardo ai due volumi di Vernant che qui presentiamo. La speranza si fonda sul modo scelto dall'autore per presentare nelle pagine della prefazione le sue proprie ragioni e per lasciare alla partizione del volume il compito di chiarirne il senso.

Quando ho pensato a *Passé et Présent* sono partito dal titolo, la cui risonanza legata all'opera del marxista italiano Antonio Gramsci è -per autore e curatore- assolutamente volontaria, e ho cercato di costruire uno schema tale da mettere in evidenza non uno ma diversi percorsi, che s'intrecciano nel lavoro intellettuale di Vernant. Avevo bisogno di un asse su cui costruire la mia struttura e ho pensato che fosse meglio cercarlo nella psicologia storica, da cui è partito, piuttosto che proporlo nella antropologia

storica, alla quale è pervenuto con sempre maggiore chiarezza nel corso del suo cammino.

Questo primo asse non può mai tuttavia dirsi mai esclusivo. Neanche quando Vernant ha seguito il magistero di Ignace Meyerson (1888-1983) con fedeltà e rigore, il suo lavoro può dirsi chiuso ad altri interessi e influenze. Così è, nel periodo dalla fine della guerra ai primi anni Sessanta, per quel che riguarda l'influenza del marxismo. E, nella diacronia del periodo che ho indicato ma anche nel periodo successivo, è possibile osservare, anche a questo riguardo, continuità e discontinuità, accentuazioni e ripulse. Così è dagli anni Sessanta fino alla fine dei Settanta per la pratica di un certo strutturalismo in cui si manifestano influenze plurime, non necessariamente tra loro coerenti: due nomi per tutti, Georges Dumézil e Claude Lévi-Strauss. Contro ogni rischio di fissismo strutturalistico Meyerson vigilava dal ponte di comando del *Journal de Psychologie*.

Pur adottando, come a tutti è evidente, il modello dei contributi di Arnaldo Momigliano, non mi sono proposto di comporre un libro togato. Ho cercato di costruire un libro vero, capace di indicare un rapporto interattivo tra passato e presente senza alcuna confusione tra le due dimensioni temporali e il modo necessario per operare in ciascuna. Personalmente trovo necessaria e perfino ovvia la presenza di molti testi di carattere orale –in particolare interviste- che rendono assai bene una caratteristica di Vernant, uomo della parola.

Anche le distinzioni tra i contributi alla formazione della teoria – storiografici o teoretici- e quelli che ne mostrano l'applicazione finalizzata alla comprensione di quelle che ho indicato come categorie piuttosto che come funzioni psicologiche hanno, per me, mero valore indicativo. Non credo di avere il diritto di dare altre indicazioni ai futuri lettori ma credo che, per capire veramente, non sia male partire dal secondo volume e verificare, nel modo in cui Vernant ha reso conto delle sue letture –per una parte significativa a lui proposte da Meyerson- quello che ciascuno degli studiosi studiati poteva apportare alla scienza nuova che il *Journal de Psychologie normale et pathologique* voleva contribuire a fondare ed ha fondato. C'è in questa esperienza qualcosa di molto simile allo spirito con cui una generazione precedente ha lavorato alla *Année Sociologique* ma senza la rigidità che la direzione di Emile Durkheim aveva impresso a quella straordinaria impresa.

Non nascondo in nessun modo il valore soggettivo che questi volumi assumono per la mia propria esperienza intellettuale, per i debiti contratti nei ventisei anni della mia amicizia con Vernant e per la forza dei senti-

menti che una serie di contatti e di esperienze comuni hanno ormai stabilito. Non ho conosciuto personalmente Louis Gernet (1882-1963) ma ho potuto seguire, seduto a fianco di Jipé, gli ultimi seminari di Ignace Meyerson e vedere direttamente che cosa vuole dire il rigore di una scuola. Credevo di avere avuto un maestro severo ma ho potuto verificare che la scuola del fondatore della psicologia storica era –nelle forme almeno– perfino più austera. In questo l'umanità di Vernant è servita di contrappeso ed ha ripagato in sovrabbondanza le piccole e le grandi fatiche delle ricerche d'archivio e di biblioteca, le giornate grigie della difficile trascrizione dei manoscritti, i giorni neri dell'incertezza e dello sconforto. Di questo desidero ancora una volta ringraziarlo mentre mi auguro che *Passé et Présent* possa contribuire, con il passo lento che la sua mole impone, ad una migliore conoscenza del ruolo essenziale che la coscienza del presente e della sua trasformabilità ha nella costituzione di una reale possibilità di comprensione del passato.

Io mi trovo nella condizione di un uomo che abbia fatto un sogno o piuttosto una serie di sogni e li veda ad uno ad uno realizzarsi. Non c'è ragione per cui neghi o nasconda la mia felicità. Con questo credo ragionevole esporre solo pochi pensieri di gratitudine. Chi rifletta alla struttura dei volumi che presentiamo e anche consideri le modalità seminariali dell'incontro, comprende subito che il curatore dei volumi e organizzatore del seminario si è limitato –per quello che gli è riuscito– a restare fedele alla parte muta dell'insegnamento che ha ricevuto. Aggiungo tuttavia che il mio debito verso Arnaldo Momigliano non si limita in questo caso alla forma della ricerca ma ne coinvolge la sostanza. Molti ricordano uno scritto momigliano che ha avuto una grande importanza, con il titolo di *Prospettiva 1967 della storia greca*. Io ebbi la fortuna di ascoltare quel testo come lezione alla Scuola Normale Superiore e di sentirmene ripetere la sostanza in una serie di conversazioni private. Diceva Momigliano trent'anni fa che un giovane italiano di buona formazione antichistica doveva lasciare quel che aveva e partire per Parigi per studiare con Vernant e doveva poi partire per Cambridge per studiare con Finley, se voleva capire la Grecia antica. Quello che neanche Momigliano poteva prevedere è che dopo il 1967 e la sua prospettiva ci sarebbe stato un anno (il cui numerale io evoco sempre con un qualche ritegno, preferendo ricordarlo come 'anno inominabile') che avrebbe confermato una intera generazione nella convinzione della necessità dell'impegno politico, in forme anche umili, quotidiane e modeste ma tali comunque da dover far rinviare –almeno nel mio caso– di un decennio, i viaggi d'istruzione e d'esperienza.

Quei viaggi si sono poi svolti nel segno di un contatto globale – intendo, senza la distinzione tra la dimensione culturale e quella che diciamo politica- perché, in entrambi i casi, con Moses e con Jipé, non è mai stato in questione solo il passato ma anche il presente. E quando parlo di questi due studiosi non li isolo in una dimensione astratta, che li identifica con la loro opera intellettuale, ma li vedo concreti e attuali, con le loro mogli al fianco: vedo Lida Vernant, che non si occupava di Grecia antica ma di cultura russa, spiegare a me a Sèvres –attraverso la sua lettura di romanzi e novelle sovietici- gli aspetti terribili e contraddittori di quella società o vedo Mary Finley spedire cartoline di sostegno per lo sciopero dei minatori inglesi, prima di partire –con il breviario d'educazione di Dewey nella sua borsa- per la scuola di campagna in cui insegnava.

Dico questo soprattutto per i più giovani perché comprendano che quella qui riunita intorno a Vernant e alla sua opera non è una generica compagnia di canto che, finita la recita, prosegue il viaggio o addirittura si scioglie e ognuno se ne va per la sua strada. Coloro che hanno parlato al seminario praticano e professano distinte discipline, storia della filosofia, antropologia culturale, filosofia morale, letteratura greca, filosofia antica, letteratura latina, filologia greco-latina, storia delle religioni, storia della medicina antica. Non è un caso che una simile articolazione disciplinare si sia ritrovata intorno all'opera di Jean-Pierre Vernant, intorno alla psicologia storica che egli ha costruito nel corso del cammino che *Passé et Présent* contribuisce a far comprendere. E non è un caso che ciascuno dei relatori abbia –per una distinta e peculiare via- stabilito un rapporto con il presente e con la sua continua trasformabilità che lo lega a tutti gli altri, senza uniformarlo ma trasmettendo ragioni e conoscenza ed anche passioni e sentimenti. Io ci vedo una conferma di quel che credo di aver imparato dai maestri e dagli amici che ho ricordato intorno alla totalità dell'uomo che, nel passato come nel presente, è al centro del nostro interesse.

Discours de reception de Jean-Pierre Vernant

Riccardo m'a baptisé en homme de parole, mais il y a des cas où les hommes de parole se taisent. Pas forcément parce qu'ils n'ont rien à dire. Quelquefois parce qu'ils ont beaucoup à dire et aussi parce que, dans le cas présent, ce qu'a dit en terminant Riccardo sur cet équilibre entre la raison et le sentiment c'est ce que je ressents.

D'abord, à l'égard, je voudrais vous remercier tous, étudiants et maîtres. Pour moi, vu mon âge, vous êtes tous des jeunots, mais enfin, il y a encore des plus jeunes que les jeunots. Je veux remercier aussi, tout spécialement –je le dis ici- Riccardo. Ça fait longtemps que nous navi-

guons ensemble. Il a dit l'essentiel. Et pour moi, ce livre qui s'appelle J.-P. Vernant, *Passé et Présent* c'est le livre de Riccardo. Il n'aurait jamais eu lieu s'il ne s'en était occupé. Ça représentait sûrement un énorme travail pour lui sans –comment dirais-je- bénéfice autre que celui d'avoir fait quelque chose à quoi il rattachait de l'importance. Et quand j'ai vu la bibliographie, où il y a –je crois- 580 items, je me suis dit: mon vieux Jipé, il est temps de quitter la scène. Bien sûr. Et je me suis aussi, avec ce livre, posé les questions qu'on se pose en général, en fin de parcours, en fin de course: qu'est-ce que j'ai fait? Quel a été mon itinéraire?

Et c'est des problèmes qu'il ne sont pas faciles à résoudre, parce que...

Quand j'étais très jeune homme, tout volontiers je proclamais comme un programme de ma vie: un grand amour, une grande tâche, un grand espoir. Je ne dis rien de l'amour. Grande tâche, grand espoir: on s'aperçoit que ce beau programme, au four et à mesure que le temps passe, qu'on avance, qu'on est mobilisé, qu'on est changé –c'est le temps qui vous pousse- est enfoncé par morceaux. Après il est très difficile –on arrive là où l'on ne croyait pas, là où l'on n'avait pas prévu et on est mis en bloc, on est compliqué, on est fait de plans divers et, par conséquent, en regardant ce livre, je me suis interrogé sur tout mon itinéraire.

Je crois qu'après ces confidences, plus ou moins mal venues –mais c'est parce que je suis un peu ému et alors je me laisse aller, peut-être- j'en viens au problème de fond que pose ce livre. Entre passé et présent, Riccardo a très bien dit, entre le passé et le présent il y a des oppositions tout à fait claires. Entre la Grèce et nous, il y a des distances, mais, en même temps, à chaque moment et de l'histoire et de l'étude, le monde ancien et passé a été lu par rapport au présent et les –comment dirais-je- stratégies d'interprétation, les stratégies d'intelligibilité que les historiens, les philosophes ont projetées sur le passé, ces stratégies étaient toujours, dans une large mesure, déterminées par la situation présente. Et, par conséquent, le passé n'est pas un objet, une chose qui serait là prêt, muet. Le passé, il fait partie d'une culture, il fait partie d'une société. Et le regard que cette culture et cette société portent sur ce passé est toujours en même temps un élément propre de cette culture. Le contemporain est présent dans le regard qu'on porte sur le passé éloigné.

Deuxièmement. Combien de fois, relisant des textes, en réfléchissant sur l'antiquité grecque, j'ai été renvoyé à notre monde contemporain et à ses problèmes et j'ai pensé, peut-être à tort, pouvoir y trouver sinon des réponses du moins des indications d'interprétations possibles. Le fait d'être plongé dans le passé nous donne par rapport au présent aussi une certaine hauteur de vue. On n'est pas le nez sur les choses. On voit com-

ment s'est bougé ce qui s'est passé. Donc passé et présent s'opposent et sont indissolublement liés. De la même façon, le métier d'intellectuel, le métier de savant s'oppose à bien des égards –détachement, objectivité – Julien Benda, les clercs...-à l'engagement dans tous les événements du présent. Et pourtant, là encore, je crois qu'on se tromperait beaucoup si, essayant de comprendre quelqu'un comme moi ou comme beaucoup d'autres, on disait: il a une face, il a une figure qui est celle du chercheur, dans son cabinet, isolé, et puis, à d'autres moments, il est un type qui s'est engagé à la guerre, avant déjà, et après la guerre aussi, qui, dans les grands débats et combats du monde contemporain, en France et ailleurs, s'est cru obligé de mettre son grain de sel. Comme s'il y avait deux faces. Si on croit que c'est comme ça, on se trompe complètement et on ne comprends ni le savant ni l'homme d'action, engagé. Il faut voir que, là aussi, il y a opposition et on doit être... C'est à dire, si on croit que, quand on a fait de la politique, quand on est chef d'état, on applique la science, c'est une catastrophe, parce que la science n'est pas faite pour cela. Mais, si on croit que c'est indépendant, on se trompe aussi.

La Grèce: là j'ai beaucoup dit. Il ne faut pas projeter sur la Grèce nos propres catégories de pensée, de sentiment, d'expérience, de rapport avec autrui, de présence humaine, de nous hommes et même de citoyens engagés dans la politique. Pourquoi j'ai fait ça? Parce que, à ce moment là, la tendance était plutôt de présenter une Grèce éternelle, immuable, comme un modèle à imiter et de croire que ce modèle était immédiatement transparent. Mais, à plusieurs reprises, et en particulier m'interrogeant sur les raisons pour lesquelles la jeunesse aujourd'hui est tellement intéressée par les tragédies anciennes, pourquoi, quand on monte ces spectacles en France -et il y a un grand nombre d'hommes de théâtre qui ont monté des tragédies grecques- les gens se précipitent. Je crois qu'ils se précipitent -j'ai dit- à la fois parce qu'ils sont désorientés par ces spectacles et la mise en scène, quelquefois, insiste sur cette espèce d'étrangeté du théâtre grec. En même temps, dans cette désorientation, dans cette altérité, ils ont le sentiment qu'ils trouvent leurs racines, du point de vue culturel. Sentiment qu'ils n'ont pas quand il voient une pièce japonaise ou indienne, différentes. Donc, il y a les deux: proximité et distance et là encore le proche et le lointain s'opposent mais ils ne peuvent pas se penser l'un sans l'autre.

Ensuite, je viens au problème du comparatisme et de l'exception grecque. Je dois raconter comment est né le Centre que j'ai fondé, que j'ai dirigé, que Vidal-Naquet dirige actuellement et qui s'appelle maintenant

Centre Louis Gernet de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes. Voilà comme ça s'est fait. C'est vers les années soixante, soixante un, soixante deux –je suis moins vieux que maintenant, les gens de ma génération aussi- ça bouge comme ça, sans blague. Il y avait là donc un helléniste puis Brisson qui s'occupait de Rome, des gens qui s'occupaient de la Chine, Jacques Gernet, des indianistes, Malamoud, Madeleine Billardot et d'autres encore, des gens qui s'occupaient du Proche Orient, de l'Égypte, Yoyotte, qui est maintenant au Collège de France, du monde assyriobabylonien, suméro-accadien, Bottéro, Elena Cassin, Garelli, qui est aussi au Collège de France, des Africanistes, Godelier et tous ensemble on se posait des questions dans le cadre d'une recherche marxiste. Nous ayons le sentiment qu'il existait un Centre d'Études et de Recherches Marxistes officiel et qu'il était –comment dirais-je- dans un frigidaire, c'était une ère une glacière encore. Alors on essayait comment ouvrir ça et nous ayons le sentiment –je l'ai toujours- qu'en ouvrant les fenêtres à l'intérieur de la tradition marxiste nous étions dans le droit fil de cette tradition, que c'était nous qui représentions ce qu'il y a de vivant dans le marxisme et non pas les autres. Et alors, on s'est réunis et on a mis à l'ordre du jour des grands faits sociaux et humains généraux: la guerre, le pouvoir, la hiérarchie sociale, la religion. Chacun à son tour faisait un exposé, et quel était l'intérêt de cela? L'intérêt de cela n'est pas seulement que chaque spécialiste d'une civilisation comprenait un peu mieux comment ça se passait ailleurs. Il comprenait mieux l'exception de son propre domaine d'études, mais que cette exception, loin d'être un miracle, s'inscrivait dans un champ de possibles, dont on pouvait dessiner la typologie. C'est à dire que ce qui apparaissait, c'est que dans une culture, comme dans une langue, comme dans d'autres secteurs, il y a des écarts significatifs et que ces écarts, à l'intérieur d'une culture ne se produisent pas au hasard. S'il y a un écart là, il ne peut pas y avoir en même temps d'un autre côté un autre trait: il y a un ensemble de traits qui font système. Et c'est de cette confrontation que sortit notre Centre de Recherches Comparées qui a changé un peu de caractère parce qu'il est devenu, lorsqu'il s'est institutionnalisé, essentiellement un centre de gens qui travaillent sur l'antiquité grecque.

Deuxième point: dans ce Centre il y avait un peu ce qui s'est fait ici et qui a été souligné à plusieurs reprises. C'est à dire: des philologues, des historiens, des philosophes et, par conséquent, dans ce centre il y avait du comparatisme de la même façon. J'ai dit dans ma leçon inaugurale que le comparatisme sur le plan des religions ou des civilisations est l'affaire de spécialistes. Ce sont des spécialistes des différents domaines qui doivent discuter. Et de la même façon: moi, je ne peux pas devenir un philologue

véritable, ni un véritable historien. Il faut une formation technique, il faut un certain esprit. Il faut donc qu'il y ait des philologues, des historiens, des anthropologues professionnels et que ce soit dans le travail commun – autrement dit- entre les spécialités et une vue de société comme un tout. Il y a des oppositions et en même temps on ne peut pas essayer de comprendre si on n'essaye pas, avec les spécialistes, de dépasser le domaine des spécialités. Alors –vous direz- sa conclusion est toujours que tout est dans tout? Non, tout n'est pas dans tout mais ce qui est vrai c'est que chacun de nous est dans une société et dans une culture –comme Eraclite l'a dit- il y a toujours... Je prends l'exemple de nos Grecs: ils sont convaincus qu'ils sont véritablement ceux qu'ont fait de mieux au point de vue des hommes. Et, bien entendu, il faut maintenir cette identité, la transmettre à travers des institutions, à travers des formes de rapport avec autrui, à travers la culture. Et, en même temps, quand on regarde comment ça fonctionne, on voit que cette société de l'identique, du même, de la permanence de certaines choses, fait une place à l'Autre, à commencer par Dionysos et pas seulement, Artémis aussi. De la même façon, on pourrait montrer que cette société tellement masculine, tellement macho, d'une certaine façon, elle ne peut pas fonctionner si les femmes n'ont pas une certaine place et que cette place leur est reconnue sur une série de plans. Ça s'oppose mais ça ne peut pas marcher si ça ne tient pas en même temps. Je dis 'chacun de nous', parce que je crois que nous sommes, nous aussi, faits de cette façon. Riccardo disait 'raisons et sentiments'. Ce qu'il vous a dit quand il a dit qu'il fallait voir des totalités, que, dans les rapports qui nous unissent –mais dans les rapports qui font qu'il y ait des groupes qui travaillent et qui produisent de la science et même de la théorie- il y a forcément du sentiment qui intervient. Il y a de la *philia* et là encore: il y a de la *philia* mais ce n'est jamais simple. Dans la cité grecque – elle repose sur la *philia*, elle repose sur l'égalité de parole, elle repose sur l'idée qui peut y avoir un accord, une harmonie. Et, en même temps, cet idéal implique son contraire, parce que, s'il y a démocratie, s'il y a droit égal de parole –ça veut dire que sur chaque question, qui au lieu d'être imposée d'en haut, est discutée, débattue ensemble, il va y avoir deux opinions et deux parties. Et, par conséquent, la *stasis*, la division, la guerre civile, la lutte est inscrite dans les systèmes qui, en quelque sorte, ont de l'harmonie sociale et de l'accord. Nous ne sommes pas le bon Dieu: nous ne sommes pas ni parfaits, ni absolus, ni infinis. Nous sommes faits de pièces et de morceaux. Les sociétés aussi. l'histoire aussi, Et c'est toujours à trav-

ers des tensions polaires, des contradictions que les innovations, pour le meilleur ou pour le pire, se font jour.

Tedo Dundua (Tbilisi)

MITHRIDATES THE JUNIOR – WAS HE ROME’S ALLY?

Mithridatic Wars are of special concern for the Georgian historians – thus Colchis and Iberia had been involved in the full-scale European war for the first time.

Eupator selected different patterns for those countries – that of satrapy for Colchis, and *symmachia* – for Iberia.

In 85 BC being in a great despair, with his armies and fleet totally destroyed by the Romans, Mithridates had to satisfy demand of the Colchian rebels – they needed their own kingdom to be restored with Eupator’s son as a king. His name was Mithridates Philopator Philadelphos (App. Mithr. 64).

We do not know much about him: he was left in a charge of Bosphorus, Colchis and Pontus itself as his father marched Westwards to face the Romans. Then he fought Fimbria bravely, but unsuccessfully. As king of Colchis, Philopator issued the coins, both silver and copper, with Pontic dynastic eight-pointed star on reverse, and rather strange for his new country lotus – on obverse. Even more strange it seems the way he manifested his regalia – that is in no way, the coins are unepigraphic. Was he afraid of his father? Then why? For conspiring against him, having Colchians as friends?! We shall never know. Yet, Mithridates was to be feared much. Indeed, with Rome obsessed with heavy civil war, and the Greeks having had no final choice to whom they could entrust the Greek affair, Colchis felt itself hopelessly isolated. Eupator’s reaction was quick and brutal, as usually. First capture, then golden chains and death was bad epilogue for Philopator (84 BC).¹ But he is not to be blamed. Junior, per-

¹ Dundua T., Mithridates the Junior and the Colchian Rebellion, Proceedings of Tbilisi State University, Series (History...) (in Georgian, with English summary), Tbilisi 1988, 18-28; Dundua T., Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus according to the Nu-

haps, did the best he could to gain efficient support of the Republic; but in vain.

Epigraphics can provide some information for Philopator looking for strong ally. N375 from OGIS could be about him:² [Βασιλεὺς Μιθραδάτης Φιλ]οπάτωρ καὶ Φιλάδελφος/[υἱὸς βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου, τὸν δῆμον τὸν/Ρωμαίων, τὸν φίλον καὶ] σύμμαχον αὐτοῦ, [εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας] ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτόν.// [[πρεσβευσάντων Ναιμ]άνους τοῦ Ναιμάνους/[καὶ Μάου τοῦ Μάου].

There are two Mithridates with the same cognomen – Philopator and Philadelphos. One of them ruled Pontus after war-like Pharnakes I and was actually his brother, son of Mithridates III, who bore no cognomens, like those Mithridates in the inscription. The length of the reign is well shown on the Attic tetradrachms having the legend as follows – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; very naturalistic head is getting elder.³ Then it is him mentioned in the inscription, because next Philopator and Philadelphos has Eupator, as father. But there could be no βασιλεὺς at all. Nobody knows for sure. Now it is much easier to discuss the Junior’s case. Ruling over totally new kingdom and not the ancestral one, he could label himself as ‘son of Mithridates’, and not – ‘of king Mithridates’. Besides, some scholars made an attempt to identify those ambassadors with Eupator’s contemporary political figures (App. Mitr. 19).

One can really feel sorry for Junior. He could even had become Rome’s formal ally in order to secure the safety of the country, much more depended on his Pontic garrisons. Indeed, he needed his copper issues just to pay them since the Colchians totally ignored the small change. But that was pocket-money. With, perhaps, no banking-system in West Georgia, those soldiers were thought to keep most of their salaries at home – in trapezas of Sinope, or Amisus. Then lotus-type silver issues used to be transferred there. Thus they could be brought upon Eupator’s suspicious eyes. Philadelphos did his best for his coins to look like old Pontic satrapal issues. He did his best to secure his headquarters; as the lotus-type copper

mismatic Material (in Georgian with Russian and English summaries), Tbilisi 1994, 50-68.

² *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae: supplementum sylloges inscriptionum Graecorum*, edidit W. Dittenberger, Volumen Prius, Lipsiae MDCCCCIII, 580-582.

³ Waddington W. H., Babelon E., Reinach Th., *Recueil général les monnaies Grecques d’Asie Mineure*, Tome Premier, Premier fascicule (2^e édition), Paris 1925, New York 1976, 12.

is mostly grouped in the hinterland town of Surion/Vani, it is thought to be his capital.

Alas, Philopator was granted no time. Appian narrates about his punishment – he had been brought by forth. And archaeology reveals the traces of heavy clashes and fire in the early 1st c. BC layers of Eshera, suburb site of Dioscurias at the coastal strip, and Vani itself.⁴

70 BC saw a great treachery performed by Makhares, Philopator's brother. He generously sent all supplies to the Roman general Lucullus, besieging Sinope, the capital. And a ground for his high-treason was again Colchis, Makhares was there. We know for sure that he had other province too – that of Bosphorus. If it could happen as follows: leading a sea-borne expedition to Colchis in 84 BC, he was the person, who captured Philopator. Thus Makhares had been allotted with a satrapy – namely Colchis, having in abundance every supply for naval power. Then he could march victoriously against also mutinous Bosphorus, thus unifying the two provinces.

Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysios was fortunate in children, but – not their behavior. And Colchis seems to be a certain kind of stimulus for their political misbehavior.

⁴ Dundua T., Colchis, Iberia ..., 49-50.

Ketevan Gardaphkadze (Tbilisi)

GALAKTION TABIDZE ABOUT ARCHAIC GREEK LYRIC POETRY

G. Tabidze's (1891-1959) works hold a special place in the 20th century Georgian literature. It is no exaggeration to say that he laid the foundation for the new Georgian verse, the 20th century Georgian poetry. The principle factor that makes his verse unique is that it cannot be assigned to the frames of any particular literary trend. Several mainstream trends are conventionally distinguished in Tabidze's poetry: Symbolism, Georgian literary tradition, Georgian folkloristic tradition and realism. However, this is a mechanical division of Tabidze's poetry, who 'explored his own relationship, as well as that of the whole Georgian culture, to 'the colossal world harp'- G.T. ... Hence, G. Tabidze could most smoothly join in a dialogue (or even a dispute) with antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the 19th-20th century world culture.¹ Consequently, his poetry is extensively reflective of world civilization, starting with ancient Mesopotamia and going up to modern days. However, antiquity is the major source for his inspiration. Galaktion Tabidze's works hold a special place in the 20th century Georgian literature in terms of the intensity and depth that are characteristic of their reference to ancient Greek and Roman cultural traditions. The poet mentions 142 symbolic images 300 times at different levels: a. ancient image being a part of the poetic symbol, of the minor verse structure; b. ancient image being a part of the major verse structure. Tabidze's use of ancient symbolic images is distinguished by plurality of functions. Besides, the poet presents anew the well-known traditional images, giving them a different artistic value. It should also be admitted

¹ Tvaradze R., Galaktioni, Tbilisi 1972, 124 (in Georgian).

that the poet is chronology-wise coherent when introducing ancient images into his poetry.²

In this article, I would like to highlight one less studied aspect of Galaktion Tabidze's literary work. This is his quasi-theoretical poetic treatise *Talking about Lyrics* (1940), which presents the main essence of lyric poetry – a verse should first of all render the heartbeat of the society, should serve national interests:

‘So, let us serve / again our country, / its call.’³

The previously written prose version of the treatise, which can be regarded as a scholarly prooimion to the poem,⁴ testifies how seriously Galaktion Tabidze was preparing to compose the poem. I will come back to this comment later, in the end of the article. Now I will briefly consider the structure of the poem. It consists of 176 lines and can be divided into the following thematic units:

Lines 1-6 are the introduction, devoted to the poet's recollections and to picturing the scenes of his homeland.

Lines 7-40 are poetic reasoning over the purpose of poetry and its reference to the society.

Lines 41-61 are a systemic overview of archaic Greek lyric poetry.

Lines 62-176 are a non-systemic outline of the development of poetry, to a certain degree incorporating poet's political views. This part of the poem is mainly associative, where one theme evokes associations and thus introduces another, marking a shift from Georgian poetry to the world poetic facts.

Consequently, the only part of the poem structured to the logic of systemic presentation of thought is the one dealing with archaic ancient lyric poetry. In this way, Galaktion Tabidze accentuates the fact that the archaic period was distinguished in world literature by its coherence and the most organic links with the social and political context.

In my opinion, Galaktion Tabidze's reasoning about archaic Greek lyric poetry is remarkable in two ways:

² Gardaphkadze K., *Ancient Terms and Notions in Galaktion's Poetic Language*, Tbilisi 1995, 131-136 (in Georgian).

³ Tabidze G., *Complete Collection of Works in 12 volumes*, Tbilisi 1971, vol. 9, 148 (in Georgian).

⁴ Tabidze G., *Complete Collection of Works in 12 volumes*, Tbilisi 1975, vol. 12, 148 (in Georgian).

What is the poet's idea about the development of archaic lyric poetry? What does he find most important in the process and which archaic Greek poets does he focus on?

How laconic and interesting are the formulations that Galaktion Tabidze uses to describe the works by each poet?

As mentioned above, the principle point for Tabidze is to highlight the civil, belligerent spirit. According to the poet, archaic Greek verse, which fascinates with its 'national mood and simplicity', is matchless in this respect.⁵ Therefore, Tabidze focuses on the poets who are distinguished by adequate representation of public mood. Hence, it is not difficult to account for the absence of such names as Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, i.e. the poetry that can be described as 'lyrics for the sake of lyrics'.⁶

Galaktion Tabidze starts his reasoning over the functional power of lyric poetry with Orpheus. The mythic poet is presented through the following sings: people ascribe to him magic power, his songs can move unanimated objects and even 'the heartless and powerful gods', can tame beasts. The poem reflects to the full the signs of Orpheus' poetic dignity, existing in mythological tradition.⁷

According to Galaktion, the forefather of lyric poetry was Archilochus of Paros:

*'The forefather / of lyric poetry itself / was Archiloch.'*⁸

In this case, Tabidze is conscious of two facts: first, Archilochus was the first poet in the history of European literature whose lifetime has been dated more or less precisely, and second, he is the first poet to be called the true lyrist, as his poetry is the first endeavor to give such a dynamic picture of the individualism of a lyric poet.⁹ Galaktion Tabidze puts emphasis on three most important traits connected with Archilochus: iambic verse, inability to endure humiliation and pungent lyrics, which Tabidze rendered through a very capacious formula 'the poison of lyrics'. In this way, Tabidze offered the main clues to the originality of Archilochus - a poet and a citizen.

Among ancient poets, Galaktion Tabidze also mentions Tyrtaeus and the wars between the Spartans and Messenians; how a handful of Spartans, inspired with the poet's fervency and belligerent stamina and with

⁵ Tabidze G., 1971, vol. 9, 154.

⁶ Gordeziani R., Ancient Civilization, I, Tbilisi 1988, 201-232 (in Georgian).

⁷ Ziegler K., RE XVIII, 1, 1200-1316.

⁸ Tabidze G., 1971, vol. 9, 150.

⁹ Gordeziani R., Greek Literature, I, Epos, Lyric and Drama of Hellenic Epoch, Tbilisi 2002, vol. 1, 175-183 (in Georgian).

the verses fostering resistance, overpowered the enemy. Tyrtaeus was truly among the forefathers of lyric poetry.¹⁰ This is what Tabidze found most important. As admitted in the history of literature, Tyrtaeus was not distinguished solely with belligerent elegies; he was the first poet who praised political organization of his own polis. Greek poets called the like verses 'eunomy' ('a well-adjusted constitution of government').¹¹ Regrettably, Tabidze, did not accentuate this point.

Three lines of the poem (47-50) are devoted to Solon. Tabidze refers to the well-known story of recapturing Salamis, emphasizing the decisive role of Solon's battle songs in retrieving the island. Besides, to describe Solon's poetry, Tabidze highlights the following aspects: elegiac poetry, presentation of philosophical points and social issues, associating poetry with his own laws and political slogans.¹² As a politician and poet, Solon took interest in the life of the polis and the logic of its existence, relationship between the individual and the society (relationship between the divine and human spheres)¹³, which is most laconically and precisely manifested in Tabidze's poem.

Another most interesting portrait of an ancient poet presented in Tabidze's work is that of Simonides of Ceos. Remarkably, the only aspect of Simonides' poetry highlighted in Tabidze's poem is the Greek-Persian relationship. It is common knowledge that Simonides devoted wonderful lines to the Spartan heroes fallen at Thermopyles.¹⁴ The passage from Tabidze's poem can even be regarded as the first attempt to translate the well-known epitaph ascribed to Simonides of Ceos:

*'To the Lacedemonians / carry the message, traveler, /
and tell them: / all devoted / to the homeland, / we have fallen here.'*

We can learn from the comments that the translation must have been done from Russian as it has in brackets a Russian collocation (loyal to the laws of homeland – верные закону родины).¹⁵

Galaktion Tabidze does not touch other aspects of Simonides' poetry (professional poet, intellectual poet), as he associates the main virtue of

¹⁰ Gordeziani R., 2002, vol. 1, 186-188.

¹¹ Aristoteles, *Politica*, 5, 6, 2; Strabo, *Geographica*, 8, 362.

¹² Tabidze G., 1971, vol. 9, 152-153.

¹³ Latacz J., *Die griechische Literatur in Text und Darstellung, I Archaische Periode*, Stuttgart 1998².

¹⁴ Ярхо В., *Древнегреческая литература*, Лабиринт 2001, 74.

¹⁵ Tabidze G., 1975, vol. 12.

Simonides' poems with his love for his homeland and his willingness to praise its glory.

Among the lyrists, the most credited in Tabidze's poem is Pindar. According to the Georgian poet, the properties best describing Pindar are 'singing in a wonderful voice', praising his homeland, being an author to odes and hymns, praising the winners of Olympic and Pythian sport games, abundance of strophic forms, splendor of images, 'eloquence and expressiveness of refrains'. Tabidze offers the following description:

*'The very first / among the first is Pindar -
/ the sharpness and pledge / of the Hellenic lyre.'*¹⁶

For Galaktion Tabidze, the principal asset of Pindar's poetry is its Panhellenic nature. The heroes praised by Pindar took part in Panhellenic games and embodied public faith, pride, the height of gene and immortality.

Here Galaktion Tabidze provides the so-called theoretical basis for what his poem is structured to. For him, the point of departure is the thesis that lyric poetry is the energy 'that breathes eternal vitality and develops along with the evolutionary pace of humankind.'¹⁷ According to Tabidze, in ancient Greece, harmonious relationship of lyric poetry with social and political life was manifested to the greatest extent in the 7th-6th centuries BC and became one of the driving forces of the society. Galaktion presents his own translation of a summary of a scolion ascribed to Callistratus. The scolion praises Harmodius and Aristogiton, the assassins of tyrant.

After reading the poem, it becomes clear that none of Georgian poets went so far as Galaktion Tabidze in terms of referring to ancient literature. His poem 'Talking about Lyrics' can be regarded as the most competent and exquisite praise to Greek poetry ever composed in the history of Georgian poetry.

¹⁶ Tabidze G., 1971, vol. 9, 156.

¹⁷ Tabidze G., 1975, vol. 12, 570-571.

Marina Giorgadze (Batumi)

RECEPTION OF II CENTURY GREEK APOLOGETICS IN OLD GEORGIAN LITERATURE

Apologetics as a genre of Christian Literature originated in the 2nd century. Literally it means 'defending oneself', 'justification', 'defensive speech'. Its main purpose was to defend Christianity from various accusations, justification of Christians (atheism, cannibalism, incest), as well as dissemination of Christianity and showing its priorities.¹ Consequently, the apologetic works can conventionally be divided into 2 parts: the first is negative, polemics with the opponents, mostly with pagans and Judaists; the second is positive – delivering Christian teachings and proving its priorities. It is the second part that distinguishes apologetics from the polemic literature as such. The genre model of apologetics can be found as early as the Ancient epoch in Hellenic as well as Judaic traditions.²

The structure of the apologetic works is mainly as follows (with more or less deviations): Addressing the addressee: the emperor (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Lucius), Romans and the Roman senate, a friend (Autolicus, Diognetus), opponent (the Barbarians, pagans, Hellenes, etc.); critics of paganism (faiths of the Barbarians and Hellenes) and Judaism; depicting the moral and ways of life of the Christians, proving the priority of the Christian doctrine.

The literary sources of the apologetics are: The books of Old and New Testament, mythology, Classical (Ancient) literature, Judaic literature, philosophers of the Classical period (Platonism, Aristotelians, Pithagorism, Epicureism, Stoicism). This is an incomplete list of the sources used

¹ The Encyclopedia of Religion, London 1987, 349; DTC, I, 1931, 1511.

² Altaner B., Stuiber A., Patrologie, Freiburg, Bazel, Wien 1966, 43-57.

by the apologists. It is revealed in their judgments, argumentations, abundant citations so often met in their works.

The main apologetic themes are: apologists and polytheism, apologists and Judaism, apologists and philosophy, apologists and the Empire, apologists and the Christian doctrine.

Ancient Greek apologetic literature directly follows the apostles' written heritage. The first Christians surrounded by the pagan and Jewish environment often had to defend themselves from various accusations. That was the reason that the apologists broke the 'saeculi silentium' (Silence of the Century) and publicly acknowledged themselves as the followers of Christianity.³ They appealed to the contemporaries, as a rule, authorities, emperors, kings, and tried to convince them the advantages of Christianity as the true faith. The origin of apologetics as an early Christian literary genre is not only of literary but of historical and political significance as well which reflected the epochal change - severe repressions of the Christians, persecution and physical destruction was changed by verbal confrontations, disputes, polemics. This is an epoch called 'the epoch of martyrs and apologists'.⁴

Among the Greek apologists Aristides of Athens was one of the first whose apology was written for the Emperor Hadrian (117-138). Biographical facts about him are rather scarce and are based on Eusebius of Caesarea's *From the Church History* (HE, IV, 3, 3) and *Chronicles* (Chron. Ad ann., 124-125).⁵

The Aristides' text at hand cannot be considered the original. It is a reconstruction of the text according to the Syrian translation, Armenian fragments and the Greek revised metaphorical edition. The reconstructed text consists of 17 chapters and structured as follows: Chapter I - confirmation of God's existence; Chapters II-XIII - critique of various pagan religions (Chaldeans, Greeks, Egyptians); Chapter XIV - critique of Judaism; Chapters XV-XVI - apology of Christianity; Chapter XVII - Conclusion.

The Georgian translation of Aristides' *Apology* does not exist in Old Georgian Literature but the study of the Georgian Christian texts makes it clear that Georgian authors, especially hagiographers, were acquainted with the author and his work as well as generally they were aware of the

³ Lepelley Cl., *L'empire Romain et le christianisme*, Paris 1969, 28-30.

⁴ Nouvelle Histoire de l'église, I, Paris, Seuil 1963, 119; Lietzmann H., *Histoire de l'église ancienne*, Paris 1963, 174.

⁵ Aristide, *Apologie*, Sch. 470, Paris 2003, 25-26.

ancient Greek apologetic literature. Apologetic themes and motifs frequently appear in a number of hagiographic texts.

The ancient tradition of the Georgian hagiographic monuments, martyrdoms, though the texts might have reached us in later editions or manuscripts (*St. Nino's Life, Martyrdom of St. Shushanik, Razhden the first-martyr, Evstati Mtskheteli, Abibos Nekreseli*) reflect the Georgians' religious struggle against the Persians (4th-6th cc.). The first saints of the Georgian Church, in accordance with the epochal political context, declare religious war with Mazdeism (Zoroastrianism), the ancient faith of the Persians. The hagiographic texts on this epoch contain polemics against paganism in general and in particular – against Astrolatry and Pirolatry, the constituent parts of Zoroastrianism. It is a well-known fact that the dissemination of Zoroastrianism in Georgia has a long-time history and is connected with the epoch of the Achaemenids (6th c. BC) when Mazdeism co-existed together with local pagan cults. Georgian paganism knows various manifestations of idolatry including Astrolatry and Pirolatry the traces of which can be found not only in material (archaeology) but spiritual cultural monuments as well (folklore, ethnography, literature). It is through the archaeological and historical sources that the existence of Persian magi communities is proved in Mtskheta, Kartli, at the beginning of the Christian period. They used to have their ritual places there during the reign of king Vakhtang. The previous tolerant religious co-existence was changed into sharp confrontation in the Sassanid period. This is the period since which the Georgian Church gains its saints.

In *Martyrdom of St. Shushanik*, the oldest Georgian hagiographic monument, in queen Shushanik's words to her husband – 'You rejected the true God and worshiped the fire'⁶ – we already hear a famous apologetic motif ('Fire is not God') which is reiterated in almost all Greek apologetic works (Aristides, Athenagoras, Iustinus, Tatianus, etc.).⁷

Saint Razhden is mentioned in Georgian Christian tradition as the first martyr⁸. This noble Persian arrived in Kartli during the King Vakhtang's reign. He became the follower of the Christian faith that caused his arrest and trial. As a reply to the Persian king Peroz's question '...why did you

⁶ *Martyrdom of St. Shushanik* (IV, 9-11) in: *Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature*, I, Tbilisi 1963, 15.

⁷ See Aristides, *Apologia*, V, 3; Athenagoras, VI, 4; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum*, II, 5; St. Iustinus, *I Apologia*, 10, 2; 13, 1; *II Apologia*, 4, 2; 5, 2.

⁸ *Martyrdom of Razhden the first-martyr* in: *Reader in Old Georgian Literature*, I, Tbilisi, 240-246.

reject your own faith, and instead of the bright sun, the fire, and other celestial you serve the crucified man...?' (*Martyrdom*, 243, 28-32), he pronounces his famous speech against the Zoroastrianism, with again reiterating the famous apologetic theme: 'It is truly as you said, my lord, for I have become Christian, rejected godlessness and never any more serve either the burning fire or the sun, created to be served by men, but I believe in the living God who created heaven and earth, all creatures visible and invisible, that are eternally immortal...'. (*Martyrdom*, 243, 33-37).

The polemics of Abibos Nekreseli (6th c.),⁹ one of the 13 Syrian fathers, is also addressed against Zoroastrianism and consequently, reveals the proximity towards the apologetic themes. He rejects 'this habit of the Babylonians' and to the Marzpan's question why he killed their god he gives the answer in a long citation similar to Evstati's speech. It can easily be noted that Abibos's speech abides in apologetic motifs that confirms that the author was well aware of the apologetic literature: 'You should understand that I did not kill the God but extinguished the fire, for it is not a god but a piece of one matter from which God created this world' (*Martyrdom*, II, 245, 5-23). On the ground of the analysis of the above mentioned text Korneli Kekelidze made a supposition that here we can find the influence of George Amartol's chronicle.¹⁰ In our opinion it is more logical to assume that both of these works had one common source of influence – apologetic literature.¹¹ It is a well known fact that while creating his work Giorgi Amartoli had the works of 'the spiritual fathers' at hand. As early as the first centuries Aristides' *Apology* became a classical work making influence on other apologists (Athenagoras, Iustinus, Theophilus, etc.) as well as on the Christian authors of the following centuries. A number of themes from Aristides' *Apology*, especially the differentiation between various pagan cults – Chaldean and Babylonian astrology and pyrolatry, Egyptian's zoology and Greek's idolatry – became the so called 'loci communes' of the church literature.

The above fragments clarify that the impact of the apologetic texts are greatly significant in the monuments of old Georgian literature. The influence is the greatest on one of the oldest hagiographic monument – *The Martyrdom of Evstati Mtskheteli* (6th c.). The fact that the anonymous author is perfectly well acquainted with the monuments of early Christian litera-

⁹ *Martyrdom of Abibos Nekreseli*, Monuments..., I, 240-248.

¹⁰ Kekelidze K., *Studies from the History of Old Georgian Literature*, III, Tbilisi 1955, 55.

¹¹ See Aristides, *Apologia*, III, 2; IV, 2; Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*, VI, 4; VI, 1; XII, 2; XIII, 2 etc; St. Iustinus, *I Apologia*, 9, 2; 9, 3; Tatianus, *Oratio*, 8, 2-5; 21, 3; Hermias, *Irrisio*, II, IV, 7-18; *Ad Diognetum*, II, 2; II, 7; II, 4; VIII, 4, etc.

ture (Old and New Testaments, Didache, old martyrdoms, Greek apologists – Aristides' *Apology*, Tatiane's *Diatessaron*, etc.) was not once noted in the scientific literature (A. Harnac, I. Javakhishvili, K. Kekelidze and others). The above mentioned work is interesting in many ways. The main conflict of the period between Christianity and Zoroastrianism in the 6th century Georgia found its expression in this very monument.

Evstati's martyrdom is important for us exactly from the viewpoint of Aristides' influence. The impact is so significant that enables us to speak about the existence of a Georgian fragment of Aristides inserted into the Georgian hagiographic text. Evstati, brought in front of the Marzpan for questioning pronounces his famous speech on defense of Christianity in which he denounces Zoroastrianism. It can be said that here Evstati is represented as a traditional character of old apologies, a person seeking the truth who gets acquainted with different religions and cults, magus beliefs, Hebrew religion, Christianity... Evstati's speech (*Martyrdom*, IV-VII) mainly delivers Archdeacon Samuel's teachings. In the second part of the speech (*Martyrdom*, VII) Evstati rejects pagans' idolatry and fire worship. In his polemics he reiterates Aristides' argumentations against pagan cults, astrolatry and especially pirolatry that were especially urgent issues for him. Here Evstati abruptly interrupts his speech and begins praying. The last part of the fragment does not correspond with the critics of pilolatry. As K. Kekelidze remarked, the manuscript can be incomplete.¹² In my opinion, this passage once again proves that the author of the Martyrdom follows Aristides' apologetic text. He takes from the text the above mentioned fragment about incest which seems out of context for Evstati but this theme appears in Aristides' text (Syrian version) where it is generally directed against pagan religions. The above presented arguments suffice to prove that the anonymous author of Martyrdom was well acquainted with the apologetic literature, their argumentation 'adversus paganos' that was widely spread in early Christian literature. And the situation is typical as well: just as the second century apologist, the first Christians appealed to the Roman emperors while trying to protect the Christian faith from the pagan accusations. Likewise, Evstati, newly converted to the Christian faith, pronounces his speech in front of the higher authorities and asserts the priority of the Christian religion (*Martyrdom*, II, 31, 29; III, 33, 3).

¹² Kekelidze K., *History of Old Georgian Literature*, I, Tbilisi, 1980, 514.

Similarly interesting is the passage from the *Martyrdom* where the author makes Samuel speak on different religions of humanity. This is also a popular theme of the apologetic literature. Georgian author, like the apologists, distinguishes between 3 races of man. However, instead of various worships he only distinguishes 'the religion of the Persians' as it was most actual and urgent for him.

As for the popular statement of the apologists that God created the world 'for the need of men' (χρησις), it is also frequently repeated by the author of the *Martyrdom*. It should be noted that the enumeration of the Creation is more detailed with the *Martyrdom* author where instead of the apologetic words 'και τα λοιπα' ('and so on') he enumerates different elements in detail: 'God who created heaven and earth, the sun and the moon and the stars, water and land, rivers and oceans, mountains and hills, fields and forests, wood and fire, animals and beasts, reptiles and birds, after this God created man and made him master of all the rest, He made everything subordinate to man and how should we all abandon God and serve thing created by Him? Never should it be done this way!' (*Martyrdom*, VII, 42, 27-32).

Similar to Aristides, the *Martyrdom* author thinks that the main mistake of the pagans was the confusion of the Creator with the created. Among all the elements created by God and 'are themselves not gods' he distinguishes on one hand, celestial bodies (sun, moon, stars), and on the other hand – fire on which he pays particular attention as it is urgent issue for him in polemics against Zoroastrianism: 'The sun, the moon and the stars are not gods, rather God commanded the sun to light the day and the moon and the stars – light the night. To the cloud God commanded to cover the shining sun and moon. For this reason the sun and the moon cannot be gods. Besides, neither is the fire god. Wherever he spreads, if it meets a man, it extinguishes. Also the water can extinguish the fire and put out its power. For this reason it is not god, but we serve it as the one.' (*Martyrdom*, VII, 42, 34-35; VII, 43, 1-14).

The author's argumentation partially differs from the one of Aristides but it corresponds to the Aristidean pathos that the Creator is mightier than the things created by Him, and that the substances subjected to disintegration, decrease, reduction, disappearance – cannot be gods. As for the Aristides' argumentation on fire, here the *Martyrdom* author literally follows Aristides' apologetic text¹³.

¹³ See Aristides, *Apologia*, I, 2; III, 2; IV, 2; VII, 1-3. Compare: Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*, VI, 1-4; XII, 2; XIII, 2-9; XVI, 4-5; XVII, 5; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum*, II, 5; II, 5-6; St.

The fact that the anonymous author follows both – Greek (on 3 races) and Syrian (incest theme) texts points to the fact that the anonymous author had at his hand not the Syrian or later Greek metaphrastic version (inserted into the text of *Varlaam and Josaphat*) but the old text, the original, from which these versions might be produced.

Though the illustrating passages from the *Martyrdom* are relatively short and few, they undoubtedly contain the fragments from Aristides' *Apology*. The anonymous author knows the apologetic text very well, borrows passages, arguments and masterfully uses them in his polemics. He treats Aristides' text with liberty, displaces the passages, abridges or expands them, partially changes the text but nevertheless he is close to the Aristides' text, sometimes it is also possible to speak about textual coincidences. It is not surprising as this method is quite popular in hagiographic literature. Protagonists of *Martyrdoms* are often made speak with the passages borrowed from the apologetic literature (H.-I. Marrou calls it the 'apologetic nucleus' of Byzantine hagiographic literature)¹⁴.

The fact that *Martyrdom of Evstati Mtskheteli* is a 6th century text is significant in other context as well, namely, in connection to the attribution of the Greek Christian romance *Varlaam and Josaphat*. We know the history of Aristides' apologetic text: it was discovered as the insertion into the Greek Christian romance *Varlaam and Josaphat*. The Georgian version of the romance does not contain Aristides' apologetic text. As it is considered the Greek version is three times longer than the Georgian one and contains numerous theological passages. According to the scholars, the apologetic text might have been added to the Greek version by Ekvtime Iberieli, supposedly the author of the Greek version. In our opinion, the fact that the tradition of inserting Aristides' apologetic fragments is confirmed in old Georgian literature since 6th century supports the argumentation in Ekvtime's favor.

Apologetic works, in most cases, are similar and repeat one another in terms of structure, themes, motifs, argumentations. However, each author and work is distinguished by style, author's temper, pathos; they put different accents and pay attention to different themes. Apologetic themes became the so called 'Loci communes' for the Christian literature. During the centuries of the development of the Christian literature apologetic discourses can be met in completely different works of various authors, espe-

Iustinus, *I Apologia*, 9, 2-3; Tatianus, *Oratio*, 21, 1; *Ad Diognetum*, II, 5; Hermias, *Irrisio*, II; IV, 7-18; XII, etc.

¹⁴ Marrou H. I. (éd.), *Diognète A.*, SC, 33, Paris 1965, 27-28.

cially in hagiography. The Greek Christian literature makes great impact on the literary traditions of other countries including Georgian literature. Old Georgian authors are well acquainted with Greek apologists (Aristides, Iustinus, Melito, Pseudo-Sextus), mention their names, make citations from their apologetic works using them in the necessary contexts in an original way.

The inter-textual study of hagiographic works reveals that it is possible to speak generally about the influence of the apologetic literature on the old Georgian literature.

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SOME ASPECTS OF STRUCTURAL SYMMETRY IN THE *ILIAD*

The question of structural symmetry in Homeric epics has been treated in many scholarly works.¹ As early as 1974, I tried to present in my dissertation my vision of the structural integrity of Homeric epics. The approval of my viewpoint on the part of renowned scholars A. F. Losev, V. N. Yarkho, E.G. Schmidt, I. M. Tronski and others encouraged me to publish its elaborated version as a monograph in Russian language.² At that point, the main pathos of my work was aimed at providing proofs in favour of the unity of Homeric epics, and I pointed to the structural symmetry as one of the principle arguments in favour of the idea. In the monograph published in German in 1986, I referred to the principle of structural integrity in order to present Homeric poems as carefully organized texts, i.e. texts developed in written form.³ Several tendencies can be distinguished in recent Homeric studies concerning the relevance of structural symmetry in Homeric epics. According to the supporters of the idea of oral poetry, the symmetric principle underlying the architecture of the poems suggests the use of the patterns of compositional organization; however, they are skeptical about the systemic application of the principle in sizeable poetic structures not intended for single recital. E.g., G. S. Kirk notes in connection with C. H. Whitman's schemes of structural symmetry: 'the reverse order of themes is surely so abstruse that it could only occur to a pen-and-

¹ The problem is reviewed in Гордзезиани Р., Проблемы гомеровского эпоса, Тбилиси 1978, 38 ff.; 102 ff.

² Гордзезиани Р., Проблемы ...

³ Gordesiani R., Kriterien der Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im homerischen Epos, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York 1986, 26 ff.

paper composer. The oral poet, if he needs such compositional aids, chooses simpler and more obvious correspondences.⁴

Part of modern analysts is very sceptical about the idea of structural symmetry as well as about any scholarly effort to trace it. E.g., L. S. Klein argues: 'The symmetry, which many unitarists are eager to detect ..., cannot bring together all of the *Iliad's* parts, as the symmetry is mostly fictitious.'⁵ Another analyst, K. Stanley, who distinguished between several stages of the formation of the *Iliad* and speaks about the modification of its latest fixed version to fit the Panathenaic festivals, on the contrary, finds the role of structural symmetry in the *Iliad* very important. According to K. Stanley, the so-called principle of ring composition can be traced in the structure of individual parts as well as groups of songs.⁶

The majority of unitarists believe that the evidence of structural symmetry in Homeric epics is an infallible proof in favour of their integrity, as none of the possible alternatives of multiple authorship will allow integration of detached parts of brilliant poetic pieces through the principles of symmetry.

Consequently, the question of structural symmetry in the *Iliad* still remains relevant. In the present paper, I will attempt to consider some of its aspects. Naturally, it would be appropriate to begin with answering the following principal question: is it justified and possible to analyze the narrative structure of the *Iliad*?

Whether we agree or not with ideas cultivated in Homeric studies regarding the evidence of the principles of structural symmetry in Homeric poems, it appears out of question that the poem, as well as its parts, is a structure. Out of the numerous definitions of structure, I find the most adequate and acceptable in terms of literary studies the following one: structure is a system of elements which are so distinctly interrelated that a change in one of them entails a change in all the rest.⁷ Depending on the type of the structure to be analyzed and the goal of the analysis, the structure can be broken down into entirely different sets of elements. Various hierarchic levels can be traced in a structure.

If we take interest in revealing the principles of compositional organization of a sizeable piece of poetry, viewed as a structure – the *Iliad* in our case – it will be reasonable to distinguish between three hierarchical levels:

⁴ Kirk G. S., *Homer and the Epic*, Cambridge 1965, 186.

⁵ Клейн Л. С., *Анатомия Илиады*, Петербург 1998, 10.

⁶ Stanley K., *The Shield of Homer. Narrative Structure in the Iliad*, Princeton 1993.

⁷ Лотман И. М., *Анализ поэтического текста*, Ленинград 1972, 12.

a. Microstructures – the smallest constituents of the poem. They can be defined as autonomous units that are obviously structured to certain rules of compositional organization. In our case, the best object for observation would be, for example, the words by the characters of the poem.

b. Megastructure – parts of the poem which in terms of size and component structure can be placed between micro – and macrostructures. Here belong sizeable catalogues (e.g. *The Catalogue of Ships*), extensive descriptions (e.g. *The Shield of Achilles*), individual scenes (e.g. *The Encounter of Hector and Andromache*) or groups of scenes, individual songs or groups of songs (e.g. Song I or a groups of songs), etc.

c. Macrostructure or the whole poem, viewed as an extensive and complex system of elements.

a. The most profound analysis of microstructures, in my opinion, was undertaken by D. Lohmann.⁸ He focused on the characters' words. Analyzing each of the microstructures, the scholar singled out sentences as their constituent elements, which is quite natural, and juxtaposes them in terms of similarity or polarity of meaning. According to D. Lohmann, two principles prevail in the composition of words: ring composition *abcb'a'* and parallel division *a, b, c ... a', b', c'*. However, the third, so-called free sequence principle can also be traced. The analysis of Diomedes' well-known address to Glaucus (6, 123-143) can show to what extent it is possible to identify the principle of compositional organization underlying a particular microstructure.

123-126 opening, identity query.

a. 127. Threat: Unhappy are they whose children face my might

b. 128 But and if thou art one of immortals...

c. 129 than will I not fight with the heavenly gods

d. 130/131 Nay, for even the son of Dryas, mighty Lycurgus, lived not long, seeing that he strove with heavenly gods

e. 132-139^a citing an example (reference to a paradigm)

d'. 139^b-140 and he lived not for long, seeing that he was hated of all the immortal gods

c'. 141 So would not I be minded to fight against the blessed gods

b'. 142 But if thou art of men...

a'. 143 Threat: draw nigh, that thou mayest the sooner enter the toils of destruction.

⁸ Lohmann D., *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias*, Berlin 1970.

In this case, the use of the principle of ring composition is obvious.⁹ Naturally, the principle of compositional organization may not be fully observed, which according to D. Lohmann is to be attributed to interpolation as well as to the poet's own choice to give priority to logical necessity over structural consistency.

b. In fact, the analysis at the level of megastructures also reveals the poet's loyalty to the same principles of compositional organization. E.g. as I pointed out on several occasions¹⁰, *The Shield of Achilles* (XVIII, 483-608) is structured to the principle of ring composition. The constituents of megastructure in this particular case are the images depicted on the shield. In my opinion, the elements of the shield make up the following composition:

A 483-489 The sky – the earth – the sea and natural phenomena

B 490-508 Two cities: the first city – peaceful scenes

C 509-540 Two cities: the second city – bloody battles

D 541-549 The scene of peaceful work in the field

E 550-560 The realm of the king holding a scepter in his hand

D' 561-572 Garden; peaceful work; circular dance

C' 573-586 The bloody attack of lions on a flock of sheep

587-589 Peaceful flock

B' 590-606 Joyful song and round dance

A' 607-608 The power of Oceanus

Independently from my observation, K. Stanley came to the same conclusion through the detailed analysis of the Shield.¹¹ Similar principles of compositional organization especially that of ring composition can be traced in other megastructures.¹² Naturally, the use of the principles of compositional organization is not imperative – structural anomalies come across where required by the logic of the development of a scene or a song.

c. The elements for macrostructural analysis, i.e. the analysis at the level of the whole poem, are, in my opinion, the so-called action blocks, which at the same times can be treated as megastructures and the constituents of which, on their part, appear as the so-called action lines or action scenes. The analysis re-

⁹ Lohmann D., op. cit., 13 ff.

¹⁰ Гордезиани Р., Проблемы композиционной организации в раннегреческом эпосе (А. Ф. Лосеву к 90-летию со дня рождения, Тбилиси 1983, 74 ff. = *Lekta*, 156 ff.); Gordesiani R., *Kriterien...*, 126 ff.

¹¹ Stanley K., op. cit., 13 ff.

¹² Khintibidze Z., *The Principles of Structural Symmetry in the Composition of the Songs of the Iliad*, synopsis of the thesis for the Degree of the Candidate of Philological Sciences, Tbilisi 1988.

vealed that action blocks are interlinked through the principle of ring composition, while the principle binding their constituent action units is that of parallel division. Consequently, scenes in each block are arranged according to the free sequence principle so that the scenes of a particular block could balance the scenes of the corresponding block structurally connected to them through the principle of parallel division. The only exception is the central block, where scenes are structured to the principle of ring composition. This is quite natural as the central block is not balanced by any other block.¹³ If we attempt to present in the maximally schematic way the arrangement principle of blocks and scenes with respect to the central block, we will receive the following table:

Block	Song	Succession of Scenes
A	1	a b c d e f
B	1	a b c
C	2	a b c d
D	3	a b c d e f
E	4-5	a b c d e f g h i j k l m
F	6	a b c d e f g h
G	7	a b c d e f
H	7	intermezzo – funeral, wall
I	8	a b c d
J	9	a b c d e
K	11	a b c d e f g
L	12	a b c b' a'
K'	13	a' b' c' d' e' f' g'
J'	14	a' b' c' d' e'
I'	14-15	a' b' c' d'
H'	16	intermezzo – catalogue of Myrmidons
G'	16	a' b' c' f' d' e' f'
F'	17-18	a' b' c' d' e' f' g' h'
E'	18-21	a' b' c' d' e' f' g' h' i' j' k' l' m'
D'	22	a' b' c' d' e' f'
C'	23	a' b' c' d'
B'	24	a' b' c'
A'	24	a' b' c' d' e' f'

¹³ Cf. Гордезиани Р., Проблемы гомеровского эпоса, 45ff.; Gordesiani R., Kriterien..., 26 ff.

L. S. Klein questions the existence of the like symmetry. To corroborate his skepsis, he refers to the parallelism between Songs I and XXIV, i.e. between A and A' blocks as presented in my book.¹⁴

I

- a. Chryses goes to Agamemnon with a ransom to bring back her daughter.
- b. Agamemnon refuses to allow her father to ransom her
- c. An argument between Achilles and Agamemnon (Achilles drops out of fighting for a while)
- d. Achilles and Briseis (abduction of Briseis)
- e. Chryseis is taken to her town (Chryseis's delight)
- f. The Achaean's destruction and the funerals are over. The ritual. The feast

XXIV

- a' Priam goes to Achilles to ransom his dead son's body
- b' Achilles accepts the ransom and returns Hector's body
- c' A dispute between Achilles and Priam (Achilles drops out of fighting for a while)
- d' Achilles and Briseis (Achilles goes to bed with Briseis, who has come back)
- e' Priam takes his son's body to his city (The laments of the Trojans)
- f' The burial of Hector and mourning over him. The ritual. The feast

Klein pays attention to the fact that the juxtaposed scenes are not always counterparts in terms of their importance. Although he does not deny either abundance of parallels between them, he argues that this can be put down to many different reasons but not to structural symmetry. Eventually, as an analyst, he admits that both songs could have been composed and elaborated by the same aoidus.¹⁵ In my opinion, several points should be taken into account when considering structural symmetry: elements should be compared not in terms of their importance for the story development, but in terms of their ability to balance each other through polarity or similarity. Naturally, the argument between Achilles and Agamemnon in Song I is more important to the story development than the dispute between Achilles and Priam in Song XXIV; however, in structural terms they are counterparts. Let us recall that many homerologists find quite unnatural Achilles' anger in this episode of Song XXIV; however, at

¹⁴ Клейн Л. С., *op. cit.*, 219ff.

¹⁵ Клейн Л. С., *op. cit.*, 220.

the level of structural parallelism, this unexpected tension is essential to maintain balance between the episodes. Besides, again in the terms of story development, the impressive scene of taking Briseis away from Achilles from Song I and a couple of lines from Song XXIV (675-6), which only mention that Achilles went to bed with Briseis, may at first sight seem rather unequal in terms of their importance. It is no incidence that some philologists find Briseis' brief reappearance in this highly dramatic episode somewhat strange. However, again in terms of structural symmetry, the element is indispensable in the final Song of the poem.¹⁶

b) Naturally, if we focus only on the parallelisms between Songs I and XXIV, it may prove difficult to argue with those who find the parallels incidental or otherwise motivated. On the other hand, the like correlations make up a fully developed system in the poem and embrace the whole of it. Let us assume that Songs I and XXIV are typologically similar and therefore show parallelism of scenes. However, the absolute majority of structurally interlinked scenes cannot be regarded as the unity of story segments (action segments) whose parallelism can be due to typological similarity – e.g. G and G' blocks, which link the story segments in Songs VII and XVI.

G VII

- a. Hector joins the fighting again
- b. The battles where the Trojans have an advantage
- c. Athena is concerned with the positions of the Achaeans. Apollo advises her not to interfere. Athena follows Apollo's advice
- d. Helenus calls on Hector to challenge to single combat the most gallant of the Achaean heroes. The call is accepted
- e. The anxiety of the Achaean heroes. Nestor brings shame upon the Achaean heroes
- f. Single combat between Hector and Aias. Aided by Apollo, Hector fights against Aias with dignity

G' XVI

- a' Patroclus joins the fighting
- b' The battle where the Achaeans have an advantage
- c' Zeus is worried about the possibility of having his son killed. Hera advises him not to interfere. Zeus follows Hera's advice
- f' Single combat between Sarpedon and Glaucus
- d' Glaucus appeals to Hector and the Trojan heroes to fight around

¹⁶ For more details cf. R. Gordesiani, *Kriterien...*, 55 ff.

Sarpedon's body. The appeal is accepted.

e' Zeus inspires Hector with fear. Apollo puts him to shame.

f' Single combat between Hector and Patroclus. Aided by Apollo, Hector kills Patroclus.

In G', the poet skillfully doubles the motivation for Patroclus' combat. He shifts the main accent on Patroclus' and Sarpedon's combat, almost avoiding Hector's duel with Patroclus as Apollo's intervention determined its outcome. All what Hector has to do is to finish Apollo's deed and stab a lance into wounded Patroclus. The motivation for Patroclus' combat is obviously doubled. This episode clearly shows how a poet can allow a slight deviation from the principle of structural symmetry if this is dictated by the inner logic of the episode.¹⁷

c) The blocks of the poem, as well as their elements, are structured to a particular logic and follow the rules of symmetry and balance. Therefore, no matter how hard we try, the like parallelism cannot be traced between other, for instance, A and G' or A' and G blocks.

What can account for such symmetry at any compositional level of the poem: coincidence or poetic design? In my opinion, at the microstructural level the symmetry is due to an unconscious adherence to the tendency of applying some particular forms of compositional organization – in our case, structural symmetry – characteristic of the artistic culture of a particular period.¹⁸ The degree of awareness obviously increases with mega-structures, while at the level of macrostructures, i.e. the overall structure of the poem, the awareness becomes almost dominant. Naturally, this does not mean that the poem knowingly matches the schemes from different parts of the poem; it would be more realistic to believe that structuring the general compositional layout of the poem, the author had in mind the principles of composition that were closer to him, while the degree of symmetry that can be traced throughout the poem can be explained by the impulse for self-organization, which may exist within the poet at the level of the unconscious.

Is it possible to ascribe the above-presented symmetrical arrangement to the efforts of the 6th century BC redactors, who used to the Homeric text for official holidays or for didactic purposes? The principles of structural symmetry in the Homeric epics are distinguished by their universality. They are found at any level of compositional organization. Although indi-

¹⁷ Gordesiani R., *Kriterien...*, 45 ff.

¹⁸ Gordesiani R., *Die Strukturellen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Aufstiegs – und Niedergangsperioden in der altgriechischen Kultur*, Phasis, 1, 1999, 49 ff. = *Lekta*, 283 ff.

vidual elements of ring composition and parallel division can be found in the artistic culture of many various periods, their use in those cultures is not universal and all-embracing. It suffices to compare the text of *The Shield of Achilles* with the text of *The Shield of Heracles*, obviously influenced by the former, to notice that the principle of compositional organization found in *The Shield of Achilles* is missing in *The Shield of Heracles*. The same is true about the Hymn to Aphrodite by Homer and other so-called Homeric hymns. The first is clearly marked by the above-considered Homeric principles of compositional organization, while in the rest of the hymns no such principles can be traced.¹⁹ The same principal difference can be found between the Homeric epics and the poems by his junior contemporary, Hesiod. Moreover, comparison of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reveals the certain variability of the compositional principles. This may suggest that corresponding modification of the vision of compositional structure taking place within the same period (e.g. the Geometric Age) could have been reflected on the works of one poet. It appears obvious that the above-considered principles of compositional organization, as well as the extent of their application, fully fit within the context of the Geometric Age.²⁰ It is not likely that the use of the principles could have been likewise markedly characteristic of the Greek poets and 'editors' of the post-Geometric Age.

The question of structural symmetry is closely related to the question of integrity of the *Iliad*. If we accept the thesis of its structural integrity, we should certainly admit that the poem is a strictly organized single structure based on the intercorrelation of symmetrically arranged blocks, i.e. A O A', B O B', etc. Naturally, the high degree of organization suggests that it could have been composed as a written piece.²¹

¹⁹ Gordesiani R., *Kriterien...*, 126 ff.

²⁰ Gordesiani R., *Kriterien...*, 125 ff.

²¹ For more details, cf. Gordesiani R., *Kriterien...*

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THE LOST WORK OF THEODORET OF CYRUS
AD QUAESITA MAGORUM PERSARUM

In the 4th-5th cc., during the struggle of Christian and Pagan worlds, each apologetic treatise on defense of the true faith had an exceptional importance. The blessed Theodoret of Cyrus, the most eminent Syrian bishop of the 5th c., had been in a constant opposition to various kinds of the heresies and composed few works against them. It became a reason for the Monophysites to condemn some of his writings in the council *Latrocinium Ephesinum* (449). The decision of the *Latrocinium* repeated 5th Ecumenical Council, forced by the emperor Justinian who wished to return Monophysites to the Orthodox Church by this step. The condemnation provoked the loss of Theodoret's some writings, and of the *Ad Quaesita Magorum Persarum* among them.

Theodoret mentions the work in his *Commentaries on Octateuch* (Πρὸς τοὺς μάγους, *Commentaries on Leviticus*, 1) and epistles (Πρὸς τὰς πεύσεις τῶν μαγῶν, epistle 82; Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Περσίδι μαγούς, epistle 113) and refers to it also in the *Church History*, explaining what the work concerns: 'Magi is the name given by the Persians to the worshippers of the sun and moon, but I have exposed their fabulous system in another treatise and have adduced solutions of their difficulties' (5.39).¹ In the epistles 82 and 113 Theodoret indicates this work as written before the Ephesus Council, that is, before 431 (epistle 82), more precisely, 'twenty years ago', that is before 429 (20 years before 449, when epistle 113 had been composed).

The only extant fragment that had been considered to preserve from the work is a fragment from Greek catenae of the Kings, under the title:

¹ μάγους δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ Πέρσαι τοὺς τὰ στοιχεῖα θεοποιούντας· τὴν δὲ τούτων μυθολογίαν ἐν ἑτέρῳ συγγράμματι δεδηλώκαμεν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν λύσιν ταῖς τούτων πεύσεσι προσηνέγαμεν (PG 82, col. 1272C).

θεοδω(ρήτου) ἐκ τοῦ γ' λόγου τοῦ κατὰ Μανιχαίων.² Karo and Lietzmann, Opitz and Bardy indicated to it in the *Coislin. gr.* 8 (115v).³ The fragment in the manuscript is anonymous. It was published under the name of Procopius of Gaza in the Catena Collection of Nicephorus (Nicephorus himself added the name 'Procopius' to the fragment)⁴ and in the PG 80, col. 741-2, n. 71. Brok indicated also 6 manuscripts that preserve same fragment, and the PG edition (PG 87/1, col. 1086), that relies on one of them (*Monacensis* 358).⁵ Brok doubted its authenticity and stated that the fragment does not represent the work of Theodoret, but that of anonymous author, written against Manicheans.⁶

The fragment begins with the refutation of the 3King. 22.20: 'And the Lord said: Who shall persuade Ahab?', and has not a polemical, but exegetical maintenance. The fragment concerns with Lord's revelations, his invisible nature, and concerns with the devil, the God's creature being under God's πρόθεσις and disobedient to the Lord. The magi in the fragment are not mentioned and, according to its maintenance, to connect it with the magi and their 'mythology' is absolutely groundless. Scholars doubt its authenticity and admit that it is uncertain, the excerpt of which work it represents.⁷

No work against Manicheans written by Theodoret and no indication concerning them are known. In the *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium* (453) he researches in detail this heresy and names the Church fathers who composed the writings against Manicheans and does not mention his own.⁸ Consequently, Brok's statement that fragment does not belong to Theodoret seems to be veritable and, since it has no concern with any

² Brok M., *Le Livre contre les Mages de Théodoret de Cyr, Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, 10, 1953, 181.

³ Karo G., Lietzmann J., *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus, Nachrichten Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, heft I, Göttingen 1902*, 18; Opitz H.G., *Theodoretos*, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, Reihe, 5A:2 (1934), 1798; Bardy G., *Theodoret Evêque de Cyr, Dictionnaire Theologique Catholique* 15, 1946, 307; Brok, 181; Théodoret de Cyr, *Thérapeutique des Maladies Helléniques*, ed. P. Canivet, SC 57, vol. I, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 1958, 27, n. 4.

⁴ Brok, 181-182.

⁵ Brok, 181.

⁶ Brok, 181.

⁷ *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, t. III, Brepols-Turnhout: Fabrieken Brepols 1979, 205.

⁸ PG 81, col. 381.

question related to magi, it can not represent the excerpt of Theodoret's work against them.

Photius lists Theodoret's few works and does not mention Theodoret's *Ad Quaesita Magorum Persarum*. However he had read the work under similar title. Photius summarizes:

'Read three short treatises by Theodore *On Persian Magic* (*περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς*) and wherein it differs from Christianity, dedicated to Mastubius, an Armenian and suffragan bishop.⁹ In the first book the accursed doctrine of the Persians, introduced by Zarades, concerning Zuruam, whom he makes the beginning of all things and calls Fortune, is expounded; how that, having offered a libation to beget Hormisdas, he begot both him and Satan. Of the mixing of blood. Having set forth this impious and disgraceful doctrine in plain words he refutes it in the first book. In the other two books he discusses the Christian faith, beginning from the creation of the world and at the same time rapidly going down to the law of grace. This Theodore is believed to be Theodore of Mopsuestia, since he mentions with approval (*κρατύνων*) the heresy of Nestorius, especially in the third book. He also foolishly talks of the restoration of sinners to their former condition (*ἀποκατάστασις*)' (*Bibliotheca* 81, PG 103, col. 281AB).¹⁰

It is well-known that similarity of Theodore's and Theodoret's names (cf. *Qeod*) frequently caused the confusion of their catenae.¹¹ Besides, the

⁹ Among the correspondence of Theodoret appear two epistles to the bishops of Persian Armenia, Eulalius (epistle 77) and Eusebius (epistle 78).

¹⁰ The English translation of the passage is cited from: Fresse J.H., *The Library of Photius*, vol. I, London: SPCK 1920. *Ανεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Θεοδώρου περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορά ἐν λόγοις τρισί. Προσφωνεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς Μαστούβιον ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ὁρμώμενον χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ τυγχάνοντα. Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ προτιθεται τὸ μαρὸν Περσῶν δόγμα ὃ Ζαράδης εἰσηγήσατο ἧτοι περὶ τοῦ Ζουρουάμ ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει ὃν καὶ τύχην καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτι σπένδων ἵνα τέκη τὸν Ὀρμισδαν ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Σατανάν· καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν αἰμομιξίας. Καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ δυσσεβὲς καὶ ὑπέρασχρον δόγμα κατὰ λέξιν ἐκθεῖς ἀνασκευάζει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς δυοῖ λόγοις τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διέρχεται πίστευς ἀπὸ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἀρξάμενος καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χάριτος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπιτροχάδην διελθών. Οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μοψουεστίας εἶναι δοκεῖ· τὴν τε γὰρ Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ κρατύνων προαναφώνει ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀποκατάστασιν τερατεύεται (*Bibliotheca* 81, PG 103, col. 281AB). Theodoret used in his writings the term *ἀποκατάστασις*, cf. his *Commentaries on Jeremiah* (27.7, PG 81, col. 645) and *Commentaries on Ezekiel* (16. 55, PG 81, col. 953).*

¹¹ Fernández Marcos N., Busto Saiz J. R., *Theodreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena, Textos y Estudios Cardenal Cisneros*, 32. Madrid: Instituto *Arias Montano* Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984, 237; cf. also, Devreesse

mention of Nestorius' heresy with approval, while Theodore died before Nestorius was ordained as a patriarch of Constantinople¹² and reveal himself as a heretic, Theodore's writings against Origen, that indicates that Theodore could not have confessed the doctrine of apocatastasis, Theodoret's favorable mentions of Origen¹³ and listing him among other blessed fathers,¹⁴ allows to assume that the work described by Photius could belong in fact to Theodoret and not to Theodore, though Photius knew the book under the former's name (it means that at Photius' time there had been formed already a tradition ascribing this work to the great Interpreter, Theodore of Mopsuestia). This statement does not rule out that Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote his own work on Persian Magicians: Mar Abd Yeshua ascribes to Theodore of Mopsuestia the book against magicians written in two parts,¹⁵ Theodore's book against magicians is mentioned also by the *Seert Chronicle*,¹⁶ and in the treatise *Against Nestorians and Euty-chians* by Leontius of Byzance.¹⁷

Relying on Photius's description, it can be stated that two fragments from the book dedicated to Mastubius, published under the name of

R., *Les Anciens Commentateurs Grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois* (Fragments tires des Chaines), Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959, 182.

¹² cf. Theodoret's *Church History*, 5.40: 'When the divine Theodorus was the ruler of the church of Antioch, Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia... ended this life.' The name of former Theodorus is mentioned by mistake, the author means Theodotus of Antioch (419-428), as for Theodore of Mopsuestia, he died in 428.

¹³ Cf. 'Ωριγένην τὸν ἡμέτερον' (*Graecarum Affectionem Curatio*, 6.60, PG 83, col. 977B), 'Ωριγένης, ὁ πολυμάθειαν ἀσκήσας' (*Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG 83, col. 345), 'ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς Εκκλησίας διδασκάλων... καὶ Ὁριγένους' (ibid, col. 340), '... καὶ Ὁριγένης, τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερμαχοῦντες' (ibid, col. 349). Scholars indicate to the usage of Origen's writings and origenistic literature by Theodoret (Venables E., Theodoretus, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, during the First Eight Centuries*, ed. W. Smith, H. Wace, t. IV, London 1887, 916; Welsersheimb L., *Das Kirchenbild der Griechischen Väterkommentare zum Hohen Liede*, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 70/4, 1948, 440, 441; Griffith S., *Asceticism in the Church of Syria: the Hermeneutics of Early Syrian Monasticism*, in: *Asceticism*, ed. V. L. Wimbush, R. Valantasis, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995, 222).

¹⁴ *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG 81, col. 32.

¹⁵ 'and two against the Magicians', 'Index of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Writings drawn up by Mar Abd Yeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, AD 1298', in: G.Badger. *The Nestorians and Their Rituals*, London 1852, t. II, 365.

¹⁶ 'another in which he refutes those who practice magic', cf. Yildiz E., *The Literary Activity and Biblical Exegesis of Mar Theodorus the Interpreter*, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 12/2, 1998, 7.

¹⁷ τὰ τε κατὰ Μαγουσαίων αὐτῶν συγγραφέντα (PG 86/1, 1384C).

Theodore of Mopsuestia in the 2nd half of the 20th century, belong to Theodoret. In 1968 W. Strothmann edited German translation of the fragment found in *Vat.gr.* 496 among commentaries written by Dadišo Qatraya on the writings of Abba Isaïe.¹⁸ After 4 years, in 1972 R. Draguet published the Syrian text of the commentaries of Dadišo, the same fragment with its French translation (15.16).¹⁹ There was mentioned in the fragment ‘the Blessed Interpreter’ (ἸΝΘΞΙΠΙΜ ἸΝΒΘ+) and his ‘book composed against magicians (ἸΞΘ8ΓΜ λΒΘΘΛ), that is called *Mstoubyo* (ἸΨΒΘ+γΜ) after the name of a person, who demanded it from him’, to reveal that the souls of just people, after they exit their corps, enter the Paradise.²⁰ It is said in the fragment:

‘Quand dans cette espérance nous aurons subi les misères de ce monde, c’est dans la jouissance de grands biens (ἸΜΣΘΒΒ, cf. ἀπολαυσις)²¹ que nous ferons notre sortie d’ici-bas; en [nous en allant] quant à nos âmes, nous serons en repos (ἸΝΨΞΨΝττΜ), par notre entrée au Paradis avant de recevoir l’état futur (ἸΝΘωτ, ἀποκατάστασις?) qui nous est promis; comme *notre Seigneur fit entrer aussi avec lui le larron*,²² ainsi tous ceux qui seront décédés dans la *bonne espérance* recevront la jouissance de (biens) pareils à ceux-la’.²³ Et voulant montrer qu’il ne parle pas de la jouissance parfaite en ce monde parfait-là, mais de certaines arrhes au Paradis, il dit: ‘C’est n’est pas la perfection future, disons-nous, que reçoivent les âmes des justes et des saints au Paradis, pas plus qu’elles ne subissent le travail et le combat (ἸΝΘΓ), cf. ἀγῶν) pour la justice, mais, selon le dessein (ἸτΨ(ρτ, cf. πρόθεσις) ineffable de Dieu, elles sont là comme en sommeil et en repos (ἸΞΨΝ)

¹⁸ Scheinhardt H., *Zitate aus drei verlorenen Schriften des Theodor von Mopsuestia, Paul de Lagarde und die Syrische Kirchengeschichte*, Göttingen 1968, 188, 192-194; Cf. also Reinink G. J., *A New Fragment of Theodore of Mopsuestia’s Contra Magos*, *Le Muséon* 110/1-2, 1997, 63.

¹⁹ Draguet R., *Commentaire du Livre d’Abba Isaïe (logoi I-XV) par Dadišo Qatraya*, CSCO 326, *Scriptores Syri* 144, Louvain 1972, 15.16 (Syrian text: 270₂₁-271₁ and 271₃₋₈); Draguet R., *Commentaire du Livre d’Abba Isaïe (logoi I-XV) par Dadišo Qatraya*, CSCO 327, *Scriptores Syri* 145, Louvain 1972, 15.16 (English translation: 208₂₈₋₃₄ and 209₂₋₇).

²⁰ Draguet, 15.16, 270₉₋₁₄/208₁₈₋₂₂; Cf. also Reinink, 63.

²¹ The probable Greek equivalents to the fragments are mainly added after the *Lexicon Syriacum* of C. Brockelmann, Halis Saxonom 1928.

²² *Luke*, 23.43.

²³ Draguet, 270₂₁-271₁/208₂₈₋₃₄.

jusqu'au temps de la résurrection ()τΜΨΘ) où elles revêtiront leurs corps (νΨηΨρ*ΓΠ νΞΒ*Λ) et monteront au ciel avec eux'.²⁴

There is an indication before the citation that the quotation is made from the last part of the book.

In the same discourse (15.18) the book *Mstoubyo* ()ΨΒΘ+ΣΜ) of 'the Interpreter' ()ΝΘΞΠΙΜ) is mentioned once more on account of the term 'bliss' ()ΜΣΩΒ),²⁵ however the work is not cited.

In 1997 Reinink published the Syrian text of another fragment of the work (p. 68) with its English translation (pp. 69-70) relying on the Christological work written at 12-13th cc. by Simon the Persecuted ()ΠΨδρ νω(ΜΞ), *On the Union* ()τωΨδΞ λι), preserved in two Syrian manuscripts: *Mingana Syr.* 544 (XIII c.) and *Cambridge Or.* 1317 (XIX c.).²⁶ Simon quoted the fragment, as the citation from the book *Mastubiya* ()ΨΒΘ+ΣΜ) written by the blessed Interpreter ()ΝΘΞΠΙΜ) and Teacher ()ΝΠΙΑΜ).²⁷ It is cited as a testimony that 'the conjunction ()τωΠΨΘΝ, cf. σὺνἀφελια) of the Word God and Man in Christ made the Man participate in the glory and Sovereignty of the Word to such a degree, that there is not longer any difference between the Word and his 'temple' Christ, except for the properties of the divine nature and the human nature, which remain distinct and without confusion'.²⁸ The fragment is as follows:

'He (= the Word God) gave him (= to the human nature) the conjunction ()τωΠΨΘΝ, cf. σὺνἀφελια),²⁹ with himself to such a degree, that he made him the treasure ()τΜΨΣ, θησαυρός)³⁰ of all 'thoughts' ()τΒΞΞ*Μ, cf. λογισμός), by which the (divine) economy ()τωΝρΒδΜ, cf. οὐκονομία) of the whole creation is wrought, (a treasure) which cannot suffer diminution nor be spoiled, and (also) that he no longer uses human 'thoughts', but has only, through him, divine 'reflections' ()τΨ(ρ*τ, cf. πρόθεσις), namely those (divine 'reflections') by which he unceasingly and in an inexpressible way works the (divine) economy of all things. For this happened for a short time also to those who received divine revelations ()ΝΨΑΓ, cf. ἐπιφάνεια) - i.e. either the blessed

²⁴ Draguet, 271₃₋₈/209₂₋₇.

²⁵ Draguet, 15.18, 275₂₇₋₂₇₆₅/212₃₁₋₃₆.

²⁶ Reinink, 63-64, 66-67.

²⁷ Reinink, 68_{1,3}, 69₂₈.

²⁸ *Mingana Syr.* 544, 96_{r14-24}; Reinink, 66.

²⁹ The probable Greek equivalents to the fragments are added after the *Lexicon Syriacum* and after the scholia of Reinink's English translation (69-70).

³⁰ *Col.* 2.3.

prophets or against the holy apostles – as it is also happened to the blessed Peter, when he saw that vessel of linen cloth descending from heaven, filled with all kinds of beasts.³¹ And since he was in divine trance (νηΜτ, cf. ἔκστασις), as also the Lord's Scripture says,³² there was not even the sense of hunger in his soul, although he, being hungry, went up upon the housetop to pray; but he was completely occupied by the seeing of the things which were revealed to him. At that time then there was nothing in his mind (ητψ(ρτβ)) but only those things which appeared to him in the revelation. However, to our Lord, Christ according to the flesh (ρσββδ)εψεμ, cf. ὁ Σωτήρ ἔνσαρκος),³³ he who was assumed (βσντ), cf. ἔλαβον) for the sake of these and such good things, this happens unceasingly and in an inexpressible way, because such a seeing departs not at all from his mind, since all things that happened to him exceed and surpass all human comprehension. For he is completely the treasure of divine 'reflections' and 'thoughts', and those 'thoughts' (ιβεω*ε) are unceasingly and always in him, which are in the divine nature working the (divine) economy of all things'.³⁴

In whole, at the present date 3 fragments on account of Theodoret's *Ad Quaesita Magorum Persarum* can be indicated. The first one has an exegetical maintenance and its provenance from aforementioned work and its authenticity is highly doubtful, the second and the third fragments were known and published under the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia, however their author seems to be Theodoret of Cyrus.

³¹ Acts, 10.9-12.

³² Acts, 10.10.

³³ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἔνσαρκον παρουσίαν (Athanasius of Alexandria, *Against Arians*, PG 26, col. 381); th;n tou' Qeou' fhmi kai; Swth'ros hJmw'n e[nsarkon oijkonomivan (Theodoret, *Commentaries on Ezekiel*, PG 81, col. 836A. Cf. *Rom.* 9.5).

³⁴ Reinink, 68 (Syrian text) / 69-70 (English translation).

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TYRRHENIAN PIRATES

Notwithstanding the diversity in modern theories of myth research, almost every theory agrees that often metaphorisation of the event, having taken place realistically, is characteristic to mythological thinking. In other words, concrete historical reality gives an impulse to each myth, whatever abstract and fantastic its plot might seem.

Therefore it is quite possible to talk about chronological frames of myth development, which, naturally, serves as an important factor for scientific research of a myth.

It is interesting that share of historical reality might be higher in the plot, full of fantastic elements, rather than in a story with concrete geographic names, because the latter might describe mythological reality and mythological peoples.

Interesting synthesis of reality and fantasy can be observed in the myth about Dionysus and Tyrrhenian pirates – the scene of transforming pirates into dolphins co-exists with the concrete ethnonym – ‘Tyrrhenian’.

The myth about Dionysus and Tyrrhenian Pirates is quite a popular plot in Ancient literature, as well as in fine arts.

This episode is mentioned in Homeric Hymns at the first time, namely in the eighth dithyramb, which is fully dedicated to the meeting of Dionysus and Tyrrhenian Pirates:¹

*Presently there came swiftly over the sparkling sea
Tyrrhenian pirates on a well-decked ship - a miserable doom led them on.*
(8, 49-51)²

¹ ‘... ταχα δ’ ἄνδρες εὐσσελίου ἀπο νηὸς/ληΐσται προγένοντο θοῶς ἐπι οἴνοπα πόντον,
/Τυρσηνοὶ τοὺς δ’ ἦγε κακὸς μορος’

² Hesiod, *Homeric Hymns and Homeric*, trans. by H. G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library 1914.

Thus the first allusion of this myth in belles-lettres belongs to the second half of VI c. and the first half of V c. BC.³

Who are Tyrrhenian Pirates? What does the word 'Tyrrhenian' mean? Does it describe historically existing people or it represents mythological ethnonym like 'Phaeacs' and 'Hyperboreans'?

In Ancient sources the term 'Tyrrhenian' is first mentioned in Hesiod's works. It is pointed out at the end of *Theogony*:

'And Circe the daughter of Helius, Hyperion's son, loved steadfast Odysseus and bare Agrius and Latinus who was faultless and strong: also she brought forth Telegonus by the will of golden Aphrodite. And they ruled over the famous Tyrenians, very far off in a recess of the holy islands.'⁴

Some modern scholars regard that these lines were attached to *Theogony* in VI c. or V c. B.C, because the information given here is the justification of myth about Aeneas, although there are some opposite assumptions as well.⁵

We dedicated a special article to proving of originality of mentioned lines in *Theogony* by Hesiod.⁶

Having discussed mythology of the peoples of ancient Italy (Latins, Marsi, Ausonians, Etruscans) we became confident that so called 'Italic pre-conditions' really existed for this version of the myth, given in Hesiod's poem. Hesiod meant Italy's native Etruscans under the term: 'Glorious Tyrrhenians', as it is obvious from the given excerpt, which Greeks called Tyrsenoi/Tyrsanoi (Tyrrhanoi/Tyrrhenoi from V c. BC) (Besides literature sources, Tyrrhenians as Etruscans are mentioned in inscriptions in Delphi and in Olympos – V c. BC). And concrete creators of this variant of the legend (As known, Homer, in difference with Hesiod, thought that island Aia was situated in the Far East) might have been Eubeians – founders of the first colony in Italy. The myth might have been composed in the beginning of VIII c. BC, which is clearly confirmed in archeological materials reflecting active contexts between Greek Cumian Colonists and Etruscans.⁷

³ Homer's this particular hymn is created in this very period, scientists regard. Refer to Wecklein N., *Die Homerischen Hymnen und die griechischen Tragiker*, München 1920, 15.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 1011-1016.

⁵ Refer to Attilio Mastrocinque, *Ricerche sulle religione italiche*, SE, vol. LXI-MSMXCV, Serie III, 1996, 141.

⁶ Кобахидзе Е., Кирка и Италия, *Caucasica*. The Journal of Caucasian Studies, 5, 2002, 70-79.

⁷ Cristofani M., *Cuma*, in: *Dizionario illustrato della Civiltà Etrusca*, Firenze 1999, 83.

Thus Etruscans and Greeks are already familiar with each other by the period of creation of this myth by Homer. Eubeians attempt to 'put' 'Tyrrhenians' in Hellenic genealogical myths, which are reflected in the conclusive passage of Hesiod's *Theogony*.

Although, if the term 'Tyrrhenians', if proceed from geographic concrete terms (mentioning them with Latins), can be undoubtedly linked with Etruscans, the Antiquity has contradictory assumptions regarding 'Tyrrhenians', being mentioned in the myth reflecting the meeting of Dionysus and pirates.

Namely, Thucydides notes, that other tribes, living in Adriatic Sea, were named as Tyrrhenians too. Thucydides indicates that these tribes had Pelasgian origin and before being settled in Khalkidia, they lived in Athens and island Lesbos. The Greek historian considers that these very people were involved in kidnapping of Dionysus.⁸

It is significant that there was non-Indo-European culture on island Lemnos that used western variation of Greek alphabet.⁹ It seems that so called 'Lemnosian Stella, dated by VI c. BC, is composed on the local dialect.¹⁰

This dialect has certain reference to Etruscan language (Considering phonetic, as well as lexical similarities).¹¹

As regarded, it is possible to restore common linguistic phase between Lemnosian and Etruscan, though, considering the archeological data, it is early to speak about unanimity of these cultures.

We think that this kinship stipulated the common ethnonym of Etruscans and Lemnos natives, both were given these names by Greeks.

Notwithstanding this fact, as mentioned above, 'Lemnosians' and 'Etruscans' were not of same ethnos, consequently, different people, being geographically far away from each other, could serve as a stimulating factor for a concrete myth.

Because of the fact that, there are no geographic concrete terms at the very first mention of the myth, namely, in Homeric Hymn, (which could specify the area of location of 'Tyrrhenian'), it is worthwhile to take into

⁸ Thucydides, vol. I, History of the Peloponnesian War, I, books 1-2, edited by J. Henderson, translated by C. F. Smith, Loeb Classical Library 2003, II, 57.

⁹ Malzahn M., Das Lemnische Alphabet: Eine Eigenständigl Entwicklung, SE, vol.V, 1999, 259-279.

¹⁰ Hewrgon J., A propos de l'inscription Tyrrhenienne de Lemnos, Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco, Firenze, 26 V-2, VI, atti I, 1985, 93-103.

¹¹ Cristofani M., Lemno, Dizionario Illustrato, 153. C. de Simone, I Tirreni a Lemnos, Firenze 1996; Woudhuissou F.G., Linguistica Tyrrhenica, Amsterdam 1992.

consideration the information about piracy of 'Tyrrhenians'; in other words, information about piracy activities of these two people.

Presumably, the appearance of Dionysus and Tyrrhenian pirates in world of letters should be regarded as starting point VI-V cc. BC.

There is nothing known about the piracy activities of Tyrrhenians pirates, living in Adriatic Sea, on the other hand, much is said about Etruscans in Ancient sources (Not to count Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* which says, that the descendents of Argonaut Euphemus were kicked out from the island Lemnos by Tyrrhenians (IV, 1760) - Λήμαου τ' ἔξελαθευτες ὑπ' ἀνδρασι Τυρσηνοῖσιν). This fact confirms the warrior features of this tribe.

For instance, Diodorus the Sicilian points out, that because of Etruscan pirates' attacks, from the period of Knidan colony (580 c. BC), half of population was busy with agriculture in Lipari, and the other half defended the island from Etruscan pirates (V, 9, 4).

Strabo says that Etruscans were wide famous by piracy, which, according to the author, served as main reason for Etruria's decentralization:¹²

'Their united government was dissolved, and the Tyrrheni, yielding to the violence of their neighbours, were broken up into separate cities; for otherwise they would not have given up a happy land and taken to the sea as pirates, different bands turning to different parts of the high seas; indeed, in all cases where they acted in concert, they were able, not only to defend themselves against those who attacked them, but also to attack in turn and to make long expeditions' (It should be explained here, that all seaside countries were engaged in piracy and this activity was not regarded shameful until the establishment of political-institutional essence of a country, co-existing with commerce).¹³

Thus, in accordance with the above-mentioned, by the period of appearing legend about Tyrrhenian pirates in ancient literature and arts, Italian native Tyrrhenians, based on Ancient data, were more eligible for the concept of the myth, than so-called Lemnosian Tyrrhenians, living in Adriatic Sea, which, after moving to Kalkidia, were not regarded as controlling forces of the sea.

¹² Τοτε μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἐνὶ ἡγεμόνι ταπτόμενοι μέγα ἴσχυον, χρόνιος δ' ὕστερον δι-αλυθῆναι τὸ σόστημα εἰκὸς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διασπασθῆναι βία τῶν πλησιοχώρων εἶξαντος· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὰς χώραν εὐδαίμονα ἀφέντες τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ ληστείαν ἐπέθεντο ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλα τραπόμενοι πελάγε, ἐπεὶ ὅποιον γε συμπεύσαιεν, ἕκαστοι ἴσαν οὐκ ἀμύνασθαι μόνον τοῦς ἐπιχειροῦντας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπιχειρεῖν καὶ μακρὰς στρατείας ποιῆσθαι (V, II, 2).

¹³ Camporeale G., La vocazione marittima degli Etruschi, in: Gli Etruschi, Milano 1998, 36.

Ethnonym 'Tyrrhenian pirates' in Ancient literature is motivated by the etymology, mentioned by Herodotus, according to which Tyrrhenians were leaded by their king Tyrsenos, having taken them from Lydia to Italy. Afterwards these people were named after the name of the King.¹⁴

The presumable date of myth creation might be V-VI cc. BC, when establishment of Greek colony – Cumae caused familiarization of Helens with Etruscans.

Mentioning Tyrrhenians by Hesiod in the context of Greek myths, as it was already pointed out, might be the variant of the legend, developed by Eubians.

Development of the latter, presumably, might be the impression, received from Tyrsenians' military strength and high level of civilization.

To our mind, the Dionysus and Tyrrhenian pirates' story is chronologically followed by the myth of dominion of Circe's sons' over famous Tyrrhenians.

This can be observed in mood of the myth. The relationship is already tensed between Greek colonists and Etruscans in VI c. BC. The reason for this might be Etruscans attacks against Cumae colonists, the earliest of which is dated by 524 BC. In 524 the united army of Etruscans, Umbrians and Dauni attacked Cumae (Although they were defeated by Cumae cavalry). Later, in 474 BC Tyrrhenians again attacked Cumaens and came off second-best (The story is narrated in one of odes by Pindar, which is dedicated to Hieron of Syracuse and Tyrrhenian failure is described there).¹⁵

Thus, Dionysus, Greek divinity, gains victory and severely punishes Tyrrhenian, which fail to identify him as a divinity and do not worship him. Only one Tyrrhenian Aketos acknowledges the power of the son of Zeus and is given mercy and respect by Dionysus.

A couple of words about the existence of Dionysus' cult in Etruria (It can be assumed, that his settlement in Etruria, as in other episodes of Dionysus' adventure, was not easy and painless).¹⁶

In V c. BC Etruscan Chthonian deity Fufluns, the cult of which was popular in Vay-city, preserved its name, but became a character of Hellenic myths and occupied Dionysus' place in Etruscan pieces of art.

¹⁴ Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 94. Other assumptions on Etruscan origin are not provided here, because it goes beyond limits of the topic in question.

¹⁵ Pindar, I, *Etna*, 72, 102; *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*, Edited by J. Henderson, Translated by W. H. Race, Loeb 2002.

¹⁶ Livius, for instance, points out, that Dionysus cult emerged to Rome exactly from Etruria, which was forbidden by the Senate in 186 BC.

In parallel with popularization of Dionysus Cult in Italy (It seems that Etruscans got acquainted with him in Coumae),¹⁷ the myth about Dionysus and Tyrrhenian pirates, which might be created by Eubians in VII-VI cc. BC, reflects attitude of the Greek towards Tyrrhenians and piracy as well, which is narrated by allegoric language of this fantastic metamorphosis.

Therefore, the myth about Dionysus and Tyrsenian pirates, which is metaphorically based on opposition of the Good and the Evil, might be reflecting several historical events:

1. War between Greeks and Etruscans (Tyrrhenians) for the supremacy on sea.
2. History of establishment of Greek culture (Namely, Cult of Dionysus) in the Basin of Tyrrhenian Sea and the Apennines (VIII-IX cc. BC).

It is significant that Tyrrhenian pirates, being the personification of negative forces, gain additional features in Ancient literature and turn into hyperbolized Evil.¹⁸

Consequently, it seems quite realistic to consider orientation date of creating Dionysus-related myth VI-V cc. BC.

It is important that this assumption is justified by archeological data- so far there is no reflection of a specific myth in pieces of art earlier, than VI-V cc. BC.¹⁹

¹⁷ Mario Cristofani, *Fufluns*, 118.

¹⁸ Kobakhidze E., *Tyrrhenian Pirates*, in: Kobakhidze E., *Etruscans in Ancient Literature*, Logos, Tbilisi 2007, 280- 281.

¹⁹ The earliest: Hydria from Taledo (510-500 cc. BC. Ohio. Fine Arts Museum: Bowl Exekias (540-530 c. BC), Munich, Antikensammlungen.

Vakhtang Licheli (Tbilisi)

GRAKLIANI HILL - 2008 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

The Grakliani settlement site and burial ground are located in Caspi region, on the territory of Samtavisi village, on a hill on the right bank of the river Lekhura, very near to Tbilisi-Senaki-Leselidze highway. It extends on the most part of the territory and lies between two little rivers – Lekhura and Tortla (pl. I. Grakliani Hill. Aerial photo). In connection with the expansion of the highway (Igoeti-Sveneti Section), rescue excavations were carried out on the southern slope of the hill. The excavations revealed the traces of a multi-layer settlement as well as graves of various periods.

Stratigraphy of the Settlement

Layer 1

It is an affected layer of grey ground with admixtures – pieces of plaster, tile, which had slid down from the upper terrace, and foundation stones. Material dated to various periods has also been found in this layer, namely:

Chalcolitic:

1. Retouched flint lamellas inserted in a sickle;
2. Flint javelin;
3. Small axe.

Late Bronze - Early Iron Age:

Fragments of black-burned jugs and jars with grey lining and band-like and zoomorphic handles;

Neck and shoulder fragments of small black-burned cooking pots. The neck is encircled with incised lines;

Fragments of black-burned pots.

6th-4th cc. BC

A fragment of a bowl with a concaved flank (an imitation of Achaemenid bowls).

Early Hellenistic Period

Red-painted fragments of jugs burned to straw colour (chevrons, net patterns).

The 3rd-2nd centuries BC

Fragments of wine vessels and craters of the Samadlo type;
Red-painted tiles.

The 2nd century – first half of the 1st century BC

Fragments of jars with profiled rim edge.

Layer 2

The upper part of this layer has been partly damaged because of construction works. However, here and there parts of isolated structures can be found. These are simple structures: a wattle and daub wall erected on a foundation made of the mixture of clay and rubble-stone. The structures have survived mainly as a mass of amorphic clay. Several structures are quite well preserved – they are placed up to the half in a space cut in the ground, i.e. they are semi-underground structures with completely preserved interior arrangement (a stove for baking bread, an altar, central pillar) (pl. V. Oven (bakery), 5th c. BC). Remarkably, fragments of a public altar have also been found in the same layer. This fact is particularly important as the like diversity of altars is very rare in other sites dated to the same period (Khovle, Narekvavi, Mtskheta, Treli Gorebi).

According to the materials so far available, their majority belongs to the 8th-7th BC (pl. IV. Representation of the 'God of Fertility', 8th-7th c. BC); however, some of them were apparently destroyed as early as the 5th century BC.

Layer 3

This layer is located at 1.7 meter below the zero point and presumably dates to the early Hellenistic period (ceramic ware burned to straw colour have been found). So far, traces of buildings have not been detected.

Layer 4

The layer has been singled out tentatively. It does not offer a clear picture. The layer is located at the depth of 2 meters from the zero point. It contains shapeless black-burned fragments. So far, there is no evidence of the fragments of structures.

Archaeological materials uncovered in the central terrace of the southern slope of the settlement

The uncovered materials mostly include ceramic ware of the following types:

Structural ceramics

Two types of tiles have been traced – solen and kalipter. Almost all of the pieces are painted with red ochre. Along with ordinary kalipters, several fragments of barrel-tiles have been found. Presumably, the tiles uncovered in the layer belonged to the structures on the top of the hill. They have been partly unearthened and it can be assumed that they used to be towers dated to the 2nd century BC- 1st century AD (Mirianashvili, 2003: 53).

Pottery

Wine vessels. The numerous fragments of wine jars are of Samadlo type and date generally to the 4th-2nd centuries BC.

Crater

Several painted fragments have been found – rectangular lines are drawn on the rim edge. They are exact copies of the 3rd century BC and the start of the 2nd century BC Samadlo craters. It should be noted that the like craters are very rare among Georgian ceramics (Narimanishvili, 1998).

Jars

Mainly grey-burned, with profiled rim edge. Some of them have an incised ornament all around their shoulders.

Pots

Most of them are burned to black, which is mainly due to their frequent use. Ornaments are infrequent (they are mostly found on the Late Bronze-Early Iron materials).

Jugs

The jugs are mostly pear-shaped. Especially noteworthy is the one with distinct red chevrons, presumably dating to the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Likewise noteworthy are red-painted fragments of an Urartian oinochoe and bowl, unearthened in the 7th-6th century layers.

Bowls

Among the numerous fragments, noteworthy are those of a concave bowl, which is analogical of the one recovered from the Kamarakhevi burial ground and dating to the 5th century BC – the start of the 4th century BC.

Phials

Especially remarkable are black-burned fragments bearing an incised image of traditional Greek ornament – palmette (Licheli, 1991: 53-62).

The imitation, which is very rare for Kartli, dates to the 2nd-1st centuries BC. Before that, an analogical piece was found in Mtskheta.

Utensils

The finds belonging to this category are made of stone and can be divided into three groups: navicular handmills, mortars and whetstones.

Apart from these commonplace finds, due attention should be paid to the above-mentioned altars. They are of several types: round, shelved, domed, monumental and double-protome.

The round altar is a small bisectonal structure arranged in the central part of a specially designed chamber. The main part of the round altar is a 0.7 meter high small semispherical clay structure, its diameter being 0.9 meter. From the front, it is sided by a 0.9 meter diameter semispherical cinder pit. The chamber, presumably intended for praying, was open to the south. To the west from the altar, there was a special site for placing offering vessels, mainly trays. Especially noteworthy is that unlike other altars, the floor of this particular one is wooden, which, in my opinion, is suggestive of its significance. The altar dates to the 8th-7th centuries BC.

The shelved altar is a small open structure consisting of two parts – a circular clay edging with a large ‘wall’ inbuilt in its northern part. The ‘wall’ is 0.6 meter high and 1.2 meter wide, 0.20-0.25 meter thick, while the shelf is 0.3 meter wide. The shelf is fixed to the northern part of the altar, while in the southern part the edging is narrower in diameter – or more precisely, from the south the ‘wall’ is sided by a small circle, its diameter being 0.7-0.8 meter. Offering vessels are laced in this circle.

The shelved altar dates to the 5th-4th cc. BC.

The domed altar is an open structure. The central element of its design is an E-W wall made from vertically set poles plastered with clay. In the southern part of the wall there are clay domes. The altar is strongly damaged, which makes its complete restoration difficult. Two surviving domes can be certainly identified. In front of the central (?) dome, there is a small 0.2m diameter pit where small offering vessels were placed. Among the offerings there was also a jar placed in the western part of the wall. Only a fragment of the jar has survived. A small biconical single-handled drinking vessel had the same function. Drinking vessels of similar shape were found in Colchis (e.g. those recovered from Burial chamber 1 of Ergeta burial ground III, dated to the end of the 7th century BC or the beginning of the 6th century BC). In Kartli, however, the like shapes are found in the sites dated to 1100-900 BC (e.g. grave #51 of Samtavro, Zemo Avchala grave). However, the items analogical with the ones found in Samtavro and Zemo Avchala have been recovered from much later sites, which suggest that the dates mentioned in the present article will be modified in the future. I pay special attention to this ceramic ware because they are con-

nected to another type of altar, the monumental one (pl. VIII. Monumental Altar, 1100-900 c. BC), which will be dealt with below. In view of possible parallels with Colchis, another noteworthy item is a fragment of terracotta figurine found in the 7th century BC layer - a protome, in particular, an animal's head. Although it is difficult to identify precisely the animal, in my opinion it is a somewhat stylized version of a horse's head. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the figurine is exactly identical with one of the small sculptural pieces found in the common burial site in Tsaishi, Colchis. The figurine in question is an equestrian statuette of a female goddess (Mikeladse, 1995: 20). The sculptures of horses are similar not only in terms of style, but also owing to the rings over the animals' snouts resembling a bridle. In my opinion, this very item suggests that the statuette is a horse figurine.

According to the present operating chronological scale, the vaulted altar dates to the 12th-10th centuries BC.

A monumental altar was uncovered in the western part of the settlement site. Only northern part survived from the building where it was arranged. The building was a log structure. The impressions reveal closely set horizontal massive logs plastered with a thick clay layer. The floor was also leveled with a thick clay layer. No other case of the like working of floor has been discovered. The altar was arranged on the north-western part of the building. From the east it sided with a cinder pit, which on its part borders with a platform along the northern wall. It was a site for placing offerings. Among the vessels of various size burned to light colour and placed on the platform were the ones resembling by shape the above-described drinking vessels with one handle. In one of the offering vessels a cylinder seal (pl. IX. Mesopotamian Seal, 4th millennium BC) was found, which deserves special attention. It is a cylinder item made from well precipitated light clay, with slightly conical bottom surface. Its surface was meticulously decorated with neatly incised lines. On the impression the lines make up a schematic image of a tree with down turn branches all in one row. In the lower register there are distinct chevrons. There is an image of a cross on the top of the seal. The bottom surface is slightly concave. A hole was made in the center of the seal obviously after the image was applied, which contradicts to the rules of manufacturing seals. The seal is 5.2 cm high, the bottom surface diameter is 2.8 cm, while the upper surface diameter is 1.6 cm. Professor N. Samsonia finds direct parallels between its décor and that of Jemdet-Nasr Group IV seals. The like chevrons are characteristic of the first part of seals belonging to this group (Samsonia, 2008: 37; Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals; pl. 35. Collon, 1987: 13-22). Hence, the Me-

sopotamian origin and the early date (3000-2800 BC; according to Domenic Collon – 3000-2334 BC) of the seal may seem to be out of doubt. However, it requires further special study. On the other hand, the fact that it was found in the temple of the later period, dating to 1100-900 BC can be easily accounted for as the like fact, i.e. finding a seal of earlier times in a temple erected later is quite typical of the period in question. Naturally, it is very important to find out when the Mesopotamian seal was brought to the territory of modern Kartli – at the turn of the 4th-3rd millennium BC (or later, by the end of the 2nd millennium?). At the present stage of research, it is very difficult to give a definite answer; however, the high degree of expansion of the Kura-Arax culture, which was almost simultaneous with the mentioned period, allows of any kind of assumptions. In this respect, special attention should be paid to another seal with a round loop rising on a rectangular plate (pl. X. Mesopotamian Seal, 4th millennium BC with the representation of the 'House of God'). The item is made from a light-color whitish sandstone with highly refined technique. The painting surface is so skillfully filled that the consummate mastery of the craftsman is out of question. The incisions are deep, the impression presents itself an emanating 'House of God' (Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals; pl. 22-25; Amiet, 1980: 386-390). The seal is 3.2 cm high, the loop is 2.2 cm high, while the decorated surface is 3.6X3.4 cm. The seal was recovered in an affected layer, and therefore, can be dated only according to the analogical seals. Since the latter were found among the material of Jemdet-Nasr period, the seal in question is to be dated to 3000-2800 BC (or earlier). However, it should be noted that the item must be studied separately. Remarkably, among the finds discovered in the settlement site, there are a number of local late Bronze Age seals with various images depicted on their painting surface.

Another unique altar was unearthed in the same eastern part of the settlement – this is a circle made from baked clay with around 10 cm high borders; the diameter of the circle is approximately 40 cm; from the west it borders with a double-protome ram sculpture, sided from the west by three bulges. An altar with bulges has been unearthed at various sites (Samtavro, Narekvavi); however, none of the altars has a double-protome ram sculpture. The altar was arranged in the western corner of a small temple, which is oriented to the east, and thus the altar also faces east. There was a row of offered vessels in front of the altar. It should be noted in brief that the 8th-7th century double-protome sculptures invite several diametrically different ideas and the question of their origin remains disputable (cf. Lordkipanidze, 2002, 188-191) for the simple reason that it is related to very difficult ethnicity - and culture - related questions and embraces such an extensive region as Luristan, the Aegean world and the Caucasus.

In the western part of the a 1st millennium BC structural complex was unearthed (pl. VI-VII. Western Temple, 5th c. BC. Excavations; Western Temple, 5th c. BC. Excavations. Plan.). The four structures of the complex follow the same design.

Preliminary Interpretation of the Settlement Site

The majority of the structures unearthed at the site in 2008 are the terraced part of the 8th-6th BC protourban settlement built on a hill slope. Some of the finds belong to the upper temple complex, located on the top of the hill, while another part had slid down from the terraces above the excavated ones because of the sloping landscape. The unearthed finds are marked by abundance of temples and altars irrespective of the period, which distinguishes the settlement in question from other sites of the same period. This may point to its cult function, which evidently started to shape in that period and by the 4th-3rd centuries BC must have logically yielded such cult centres as Uplistsikhe, Tskhia-Gora and Samadlo, as well as Grakliani Hill itself by the end of the Hellenistic period. Another noteworthy point is the comparative abundance of imported ceramic – in particular, Urartian jugs and bowls. As concerns the recovered seals, the appreciation of their significance can not be called exaggerated.

The Burial Ground

The burial ground is located on a slope west to the settlement. Its chronological boundaries are quite broad ranging from the 4th millennium BC. (pl. II. Grave. 4th millenium BC.) to the 2nd-1st millennium (pl. III. Bronze from the grave of 11th -10th BC) with apparently prevailing 8th-7th pit graves.

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Lucia Marrucci (Pisa)

**MYTHOLOGY AND RITUALS AROUND THE STONE:
APPLYING LOUIS GERNET'S *POLYVALENCE DES IMAGES*
TO GREEK DEATH**

1. The stone as 'image'

In archaic and classical Greece, stones play an important role, both as a material object around which we can observe a lot of ritual practices and as an 'image' in Greek mythology. Such ritual practices and such mythical images involving a stone are for the most part – but not only – connected with death and with the tomb as a place of cult and imagination.

The relationship between the stone, the tomb and the death among the Greeks is well illustrated, for example, by the idea of *sema* and that of *mnema*: the first (*sema*) stands for the tomb both as a material and as a symbolic place; the second (*mnema*) puts emphasis on the symbolic side of this relationship, considering the tomb, first of all, as a memory place. However, the symbolic and material link between stone, death, tomb and funeral practices is transmitted not only by notions like *sema* and *mnema*, but also by different means.

I would like to analyse one of these various means using the idea of *Polyvalence des images*, shaped by the founder of the Historical Anthropology of the Ancient World, Louis Gernet (1882-1962), whose intellectual biography and work have been reconstructed by R. Di Donato.¹ The Ger-

* I have read this text at the University of Erfurt on 13th March 2008, during the seminar *Tombs as a Place of Cult and Imagination*. I am grateful to J. Ruepke, R. Gordon and J. Mylonopoulos for their commentaries and suggestions. My warm thanks to R. Di Donato for having read and enriched this paper with many useful suggestions. All errors are my own.

¹ See Di Donato R., *Per una antropologia storica del mondo antico*, Firenze 1990, 13-130.

net's wording *Polyvalence des images* means an original method to read Greek Myths based on the plastic and polysemic nature of mythical 'images'. 'Image' – we have to be more specific about that – is a kind of 'mental image' that can take a concrete form as an iconographical image, but also as a textual one.

In Louis Gernet's works the polysemic function of an 'image' can be described as a 'phenomenon of social memory'. The expression 'social memory' reveals an influence of the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. I'm obviously thinking to M. Halbwachs' studies on memory (*Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, 1925 and *La mémoire collective*, posthumously published in 1950). As Di Donato has reconstructed, Halbwachs and Gernet shared the same experience – together with some important sociologists (M. Mauss, H. Lévy-Bruhl, F. Simiand, E. Lévy, A. Bianconi) – at the club of *Cahiers du socialiste*, a group that continued to exist until the war.²

'Ce que nous appelons polyvalence des images – in the words of L. Gernet – est donc un phénomène de mémoire sociale: elle consiste en ce que des représentations plus ou moins dominatrices et capables de servir de pôles d'attraction ont correspondu à des objets divers de préoccupation ou d'intérêt dans des milieux successifs.'³

Therefore, an image conserves the multiplicity of senses that it has been assuming during its history as an embedded part of mythological language: each time the same image recurs, in a mythical story, it takes and gives back this complexity of sense. This complexity, or more precisely, this 'polyvalence', can be observed on a synchronic level (that is, many senses for the same 'image' in a similar context) or on a diachronic one (that is, many senses for the same 'image' in different and also successive contexts).

According to this method, Greek myth bears a close resemblance to a real language. Consequently, reading the Greek mythology is similar to reading a language, in which the basic part (the 'image') is the issue of the fusion between a *signifier* and a *signified* – that is between *signifiant* and *signifié* in the words of Ferdinand de Saussure⁴ – connected one another on

² See Di Donato R., *Une oeuvre, un itinéraire*, in: L. Gernet, *Les Grecs sans miracle*, testes réunis et présentés par R. Di Donato, préface de J.-P. Vernant, postface de R. Di Donato, Paris 1983, 403-420.

³ See Gernet L., *Polyvalence des images*. Testi e frammenti sulla leggenda greca, edited by A. Soldani, foreword by R. Di Donato.

⁴ On the relationship with the chapter of the *Cours de linguistique générale* about syntagmatic and associative links, see Di Donato R., *Per una antropologia*, 126-127.

a basis which is *arbitrary* and that changes according to different contexts or different ages.

Occurring in different contexts, mythical images acquire their own polysemy: each mythical image is thus *polyvalente* on a synchronic level and on a diachronic one, according to its own way and to its own history. Moreover, the *polyvalence* of a certain image crosses the paths and histories of other images.

The analysis of the Greek myth is in fact based also on the multiplicity of mutual relationships among mythical images. We can see an *association* between an image and others recalled according to an analogical link (that is, the same image occurring in different histories); and we can see, at the same time, a *connection* between an image and other images connected according to a link of contiguity (that is, different images occurring in the same history). It is impossible to read a single and isolated image: synchronic and diachronic polysemy with associations and connections makes it possible to move on the only ground that can be travelled over: a real chain, a would be never-ending series of images.

Using such a method of analysis one can go back to the contexts in which these 'images' were born, reconstructing mental attitudes and social forms which are reflected by them. In this sense, the Greek myth, or rather 'the Greek legend', can be read – once more in the words of L. Gernet – 'as a document of archaic Greece's social proto-history'.⁵

Since we haven't any certainty about the contexts, we just can't start from the contexts to read an image. Conversely, we have to make the opposite effort: we must start from reading an image in order to reconstruct some aspects of its context, that is of the context that has produced such an image. So, just in order to try to reconstruct some contexts, it is useful to analyze and interpret their 'polyvalence' and the mechanism of associations and connections starting from them.

Accordingly, the method based on *polyvalence des images* can assist in the attempt to point out some aspects of the stone as a mythical image, and of its function and symbolic values with regard to the death.

2. Stone, tomb and death

With regard to the complex question of the close relationships between stone and tomb, Jean Pierre Vernant has investigated, in a famous essay first published in 1962 and then reprinted in *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*

⁵ On Gernet's work on Greek legend as a document of archaic Greece's social proto-history, see Di Donato R., *Per una antropologia*, 119-130.

in 1965, the idea of *kolossos*⁶. Immovable by its very nature, the *kolossos* can be a standing erect stone, a kind of 'statue-menhir', driven into the ground, or a stone buried in the ground. Even though the *kolossos* replaces the dead in the tomb, it doesn't reproduce the dead's physical image, but it is, in a very specific sense, a 'double' of the deceased, 'just as the dead himself is a double of the living', to quote J.-P. Vernant; the *kolossos* represents the psychological idea of 'double'.

But the particular relationship between tomb, stone and dead illustrated by the *kolossos* is just a partial aspect of a bigger topic. In addition, it is an aspect that quite soon exhausts his own productivity among the Greeks.⁷ The Greeks have soon forgotten the immediate affinity between the gravestone and the dead, and the stone soon became a simple *mnema*: its first task was to recall the memory of the dead. Its first aim was to consolidate the collective identity of a social group – familial or connected with the *polis* in a different way – rather than to have a direct contact with the dead himself.

Similarly, proceeding from Vernant's remarks, we can indeed observe also a different Greek attitude toward the stone, consisting in the search for an immediate communication – and not a simple memory relationship – with the dead himself and with the afterworld.

The aspect I would like to focus on is not the symbolic, evocative, nor the remembering function of the gravestone. I'm rather trying to deepen our understanding of the role played by the stone as a real medium of communication with the afterworld. In such a communication, the stone plays indeed a very important role, both on the side of ritual practices and on the side of *mythopoiesis*.

Let's, then, see how the method based on *polyvalence des images* can help us to investigate on this particular symbolic meaning of the stone.

The image of the stone has a very rich – almost inexhaustible – *polyvalence*. Consequently, we face a wide range of connections and we must narrow down our field of enquiry, defining more accurately the kind of images we are interested to.

Using the idea of image in the sense described above, I'm not concentrating on the image of stone itself (as it were: 'of the stone, as a stone'), but on the images of some specific actions being performed around the stone:

⁶ See Vernant J.-P., *Figuration de l'invisible et catégorie psychologique du double: le kolossos in Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, Paris 1965, 165-78.

⁷ See Vernant J.-P., *Figuration de l'invisible*, 173.

lifting up the stone and sitting on the stone.⁸ I'll focus on both images, devoting a section of my paper to each one of these mythical and ritual actions, namely: lifting up the stone and sitting on the stone. In addition, I'll then briefly dwell upon the image of somebody throwing a stone, not only in order to illustrate another value of the stone, but also – above all – to clearly demonstrate an aspect of the method of analysis described above.

Proceeding in this way, I aim to enlighten a specific aspect among those that characterize the relationship between the stone and the death: that is, the particular association between stone and communication with the underworld.

Such a special link starts, obviously, from the tomb and from the gravestone, where the contact with the dead is – in a sense – more direct, but we can find this association also in cases where there is not a specific tomb: also when the stone is physically far from a tomb, and not directly connected with a tomb. Furthermore, such an association is so strong that it occurs also within some contexts apparently having nothing to do with tomb and death: I'm thinking to some mythical episodes of taking power, when the power is based, as we will see, on a privileged relationship with the dead and the underworld.

3. Lifting up the stone

The first example that I analyze is an image not strictly connected with tombs or death, but – focussing on the stone – it can draw our attention to the relationship with the underworld.

My first issue concerns with the act of lifting up the stone, and I am going to talk about an episode of the well known Athenian myth of Theseus. In particular, I'm referring to the first moments of this saga that takes place at Troezen in Argolis.⁹

In the troezenian section of this myth, when the king Aegeus suspects that Aethra is going to bear his child Theseus, he puts a sword and a pair of sandals hidden under a stone, and he says that if his future son – once become adult – would be able to lift up this stone and take up these to-

⁸ Some of these images belong also to different literatures: see Thompson S., *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, Helsinki 1936 (= MIFL, see below).

⁹ L. Gernet focuses on the troezenian part of the Theseus' myth in some inedited writings (see now Gernet L., *Polyvalence des images*, 102-111) included in *Archives Louis Gernet*, set up and organised by R. Di Donato. The *Archives Louis Gernet* are nowadays maintained in Pisa at the Dipartimento di Filologia Classica (on Archives Louis Gernet see Di Donato R., *per una antropologia*, 79-130).

kens, then he should go to Athens, bringing to him these specific tokens. At the age of sixteen, Theseus, following his mother's instructions, easily raises up the stone, takes the sword and the sandals (that is the identification marks to be recognized by his father Aegeus) and, after being recognized, succeed him in the throne.

The myth of Theseus is extensively narrated by Plutarch (Plutarchus, *Theseus*, 3, 6-7; 6, 2-3), Pausanias (I 27, 8; II 32, 7; II 34, 6), Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, III 15, 7; III 16, 1) and in some fragments of Callimachus' *Hecale* (235-6). It is remarkable that these four authors isolate this image (that is the image of Theseus lifting up the stone and taking sword and sandals) as a very important turning point in the story. Moreover, they use very similar expressions in describing such image. There are some expressions indicating the specific act of lifting up (*anisthemi*, *anairo*, *anotheo*) or indicating, in any case, the presence of some objects hidden under a stone that must be lifted up (*hypo petran megalen*, *hypo petrai*, *hypo tina petran*, and so on).

A first image has been isolated.¹⁰ Now, we can try to follow the connections involving this image according to a contiguity link within the same story, in order to see how this image works in Theseus' myth. Which is, then, the image preceding the image of Theseus lifting up the stone? And which image follows it? In this sense, we can see an interesting analogy between the different sources attesting such an image. In every source, the image at issue follows the adulthood achievement by Theseus and it precedes, at the same time, the image of the recognition by Aegeus, and the ensuing succession to the throne.

The fact that the image of somebody lifting up the stone is the link between the adulthood achievement and the change of social position is not an accidental connection. The close analogy between Apollodorus, Plutarchus and Pausanias texts proves that it is not an accident. Each author seems in fact to be 'forced', as it were, to specify the age of Theseus at the moment in which he raises the stone (*labon andros helikian; epei de meirakion on; hos hekton kai dekatan etos egegonei; hos egeneto teleios*). In addition, in the same authors, the frequent references to the ability requested to Theseus, goes in the very same direction: one can find in the texts some expressions like *dynatos ei; hama tei tou somatos rhomei diephainen alken kai phronema meta nou kai syneseos bebaion; dynetai; arkios ei*; and see also in Pausanias, II 32, 7 and in Pausanias, II 34, 6 the reference to the *bomos* of *Zeus Sthenios*. Such expressions show that the act performed by Theseus is a test that he has to

¹⁰ This image has been isolated by L. Gernet himself in his analysis of Theseus' myth (see Gernet L., *Polyvalence des images*, 102-111).

overcome using specific abilities, according to specific instructions and in a specific moment; it is a real 'initiation' that marks the passage from a status to another.

Lifting up the stone has therefore a quite clear link with an initiation¹¹ and with a succession or a power taking.

Therefore, the image of a stone is involved in a mythical tale, when somebody has to take the power. This remark gives us the opportunity to further clarify not only the rich *polyvalence* of such an image, but also how the method I have been describing works.

The Theseus' history is just an example: in a lot of different myths, the stone actually occurs in contexts of taking power, and, more precisely, in contexts of contesting power¹². Consider, for example, the image of somebody throwing a stone. In several Greek texts, a stone that is thrown against someone becomes a real instrument of contesting power. This is a case in which we can observe many associations starting from this mythical image.

Let's have a quick look to some examples:

In Hesiod' *Theogony* the stones are the weapon used by the Centaurs in their fight against the Titans: one upon another, they launch three hundred *petrai* with their strong hands and overshadowed their enemies.¹³

In Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, Perieres – Menoeceus' charioteer – struck Clymenus, king of the Minyans, with a stone (*lithoi balon*) in a sacred grove of Poseidon at Onchestus.¹⁴

In Plutarchus' *Quaestiones Graecae*, 13, Phemios kills Hyperochos with a stone, and the Greek expression is exactly the same: *lithoi ballein*. We have a *lithobolia*, as it were, deciding the *monomachia* between the two kings: throwing a stone Phemios kills Hyperochos, the Ainians conquer the region and they begin to honour (and sacrifice to) that specific stone.

The term *lithobolia* has a number of senses. It suggests different practices in different contexts: from the simple and concrete act of throwing a stone (as it literally means) to the festival (*Lithobolia*) celebrated at Troezen in honour of Lamia and Auxesia. In epic poems, throwing a stone (*ballein petroi* or *lithoi*) is a frequent way of killing the enemy¹⁵; Furthermore, it is

¹¹ See MIFL H ('Tests') n. 1562.2: stone as a test to overcome (test of strength).

¹² See MIFL K ('Deceptions') n. 18.3: Throwing contest: bird substituted for stone: the ogre throws a stone; the hero a bird which flies out of sight.

¹³ Hesiodus, *Theogonia*, 713-717.

¹⁴ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II 4, 11.

¹⁵ *Ilias*, VII 263-272; XXI 400-406; XVI 410-414; XX 288-291; VIII 324-329.

the way Periclymenus killed Parthenopaeus¹⁶, or Achilles killed Cycnus¹⁷. But a *lithobolia* is also a re-generation process: I'm thinking to the well-known Deucalion and Phyrre's story. In this case, the *lithobolia* has a link with the re-generation of human beings, and with the autochthony problem: Deucalion and Phyrre repopulate the earth by casting stones over their shoulders (*hyper kephales eballen airon lithous*) from which people springs¹⁸. Then, at Troezen *Lithobolia* becomes a real ritual and festival, an *heorte*, as Pausanias says¹⁹, and in classical Athens the *lithobolia* is a ritual of purification almost 'institutionalised': all magistrates (*archai*) have to *ballein* a *lithos* on the victims of certain murders, in the name of the *polis* and according to the *nomos*, in order to purify the whole city.²⁰

But it is impossible – and it is not my aim – to investigate the whole *polyvalence* of the stone. Which then is the sense of this digression?

Our attention is turned in fact only to a specific aspect of the *lithobolia*, in order to tackle a little question of method.

In the *lithoboliai* I have been mentioning above (the examples of Centaurs against Titans and the *monomachia* between the two kings) as well as in Theseus myth, the stone plays an essential role in taking power. However, we have to specify that, for the reading based on *polyvalence*, this kind of analogy is not enough to work, because the action involving the stone is different in different cases, and the image is different, too. Such a specification clarifies an essential aspect: the *polyvalence*, with its associations and connections doesn't work whatever direction it takes.

According to Gernet's method, I am working on textual images, not on iconographical sources (that would however be very fruitful and, first of all, much less problematic to be clearly and distinctly isolated). But also when the image, as an embedded part of mythological language, takes a concrete form as a textual image rather than as an iconological one, it has to be rigorously and distinctly defined, in order to be properly isolated as 'image'.

Thus, we are isolating, as 'image' in such a sense, the image of a stone lifted up, only in the event that a substantive indicating the stone is near a verb signifying the act of lifting up, or the event that we find a clear ex-

¹⁶ Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1156-1162.

¹⁷ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, Ep., 3, 31. See also Poimandros that rushed to cast at Polykrithos a big stone (Plutarchus, *Questiones convivales*, 37).

¹⁸ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, I 7, 2.

¹⁹ Pausanias, II 32, 2.

²⁰ Plato, *Leges*, IX 873a4-c2.

pression representing something hidden under a stone, which can be taken only if that specific stone is lifted up. All in all, we can talk of an 'image' whenever there is such a complex but specific nexus, rather than when we can see a generic presence of a stone.

Let's now go back to the image of Theseus' stone. We have seen the *connections* related to this image, according to *contiguity* links in the same story. Let's now see the *associations*, according to *analogy* links in different stories. Following this way, we'll be able to see that the image of somebody lifting up the stone is associated to a quite special power taking, not to a generic one. But, in order to observe such a privileged relationship, we have to read a lot of stories, in searching for other stones lifted up.

As I have already pointed out, in Theseus' initiation and in the process to take the power, the stone is lifted up, because it hides the tokens about which we have been talking.²¹ But this is not an isolated case.

We can read, for example, another story about the Naiad Nymph Hercyna, a childhood companion of Kore and a daughter of Trophonius, who used to live underground as an oracular god. The Hercyna's story, narrated by Pausanias (IX 39, 2-3), takes place at Lebadeia, in Boeotia, in the grove of Trophonius.

Playing with Kore, Hercyna let loose a goose that she held in her hand. The bird flew into a hollow cave and hid under a stone (*hypo lithoi apokrypsantos*), producing for us in this way the same image of something hidden under a stone (see in the text the expression: *hypo toi lithoi katakeimenon*). At this point, Kore entered the hollow and took the bird.

According to Pausanias, the inhabitants of Lebadeia used to say that the water flowed from the place where Kore (the daughter of Demeter) took up the stone²², and that the river thereby received the name of Hercyna. The Greek text says, at the line 7: '*hothen aneileto he Kore ton lithon*', where we can observe the same verb *anairo* that we have found in the text about Theseus.

But let's go further on with the associations.

There is another association that is still more meaningful. This new association directly concerns the cult of Demeter, or more precisely, Demeter Kidaria, a cult – as Pausanias reports – of a sanctuary at Pheneos in Arcadia. Here, Demeter has not only a minor role, subordinated to her daughter Kore, as she has in the myth mentioned above.

²¹ The stone was great and it had a hollow just large enough to receive these objects. See Plutarchus, *Theseus*, 3, 6-7.

²² See MIFL F ('Marvels') 933.2: dry spring restored by removal of certain stones.

Let's read and comment this important text (Pausanias, VIII 15, 1-3): 'beside the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinian has been set up *Petroma*, as it is called, consisting of two large stones (*lithoi dyo ... megaloi*) fitted one to the other. When every other year they (the Pheneatians) celebrate what they call the Greater Rites (*teleten meizona*), they open these stones (*tous lithous ... anoigousi*). They take from out them writings that refer to the rites (*es ten teleten*), read them in the hearing of the initiated (*es epekoon ton myston*), and return them on the same night. Most Pheneatians, too, I know, take an oath by the *Petroma* in the most important affairs. On the top is a sphere, with a mask inside (*echon entos*) of Demeter Kidaria' (see in Plutarchus, *Theseus*, 3, 6-7 the similar expression *entos echousan* about the Theseus' stone). Let's now go back to the Pausanias' text: 'This mask is put on by the priest (*ho hierous*) at the Greater Rites (*en tei meizoni...teletei*), who for some reason or other beats with rods the Folk Underground (*tous hypochthonious*).'

In this case, the Demeter Kidaria's priest, like Theseus, must lift up a stone to take some instruments: a mask to celebrate a kind of mystery cult and some rods to smite the underground folk. We can point out two analogies between the Demeter Kidaria's priest and Theseus: first, both of them must lift a stone to take some objects, and, second, these objects hidden under the stone are, in both cases, the instruments of their power.

So, from the level of a formal analogy, we can now move to the content. In the case of Demeter Kidaria's priest is remarkably clear that the image of somebody lifting up the stone marks, of course, the passage to a prestigious and power position, but not in a generic sense.

In fact, under the stone, the priest finds the instruments to beat the folk underground. The act of lifting up a stone takes him to a special position that owes its prestige to playing a special role in the communication between the living and the dead. In the context of a cult of Demeter, and hence somehow connected with the underworld, by lifting up a stone and taking in this way his instruments, he can establish a direct contact with *hoi hypochthonioi*.

4. Sitting on the stone

Leaving aside this issue, it is appropriate, at this point, to recall that Theseus himself has his own relationship with the afterworld, and that also the image of a stone occurs once more in his story. What is quite interesting to be noted is that the relationship with the afterworld and the image of the stone that I have mentioned above are both connected with an image of a real descent to the underworld.

Like many other heroes and mythical kings, e.g. Odysseus and Heracles, Theseus descends into the kingdom of Hades. Owing to his friendship with Pirithous, Theseus attempts to carry off Kore, the Demeter's daughter, from the underworld, in order to give her to his friend as a wife, in return for his service in the matter of Helen. They had in fact made an agreement: the one of them who, drawing lots, would have Helen, should be obliged to assist his friend in procuring another wife.

The lot fell upon Theseus and consequently he helped Pirithous in the descent to the underworld in order to get Kore.²³ What is surprisingly important for us is the image that precedes the Theseus and Pirithous' descent to the underworld: the image of Theseus sitting on a stone. A *scholium* in Aristophanes' *Knights* (Schol. Aristophanes, *Equites*, 785) makes an explicit reference to this image: there is a stone called *Agelastos* by the Athenians (*Agelastos petra*) on which they say that Theseus was sitting (*hopou kathisai*) just before descending to Hade with Pirithous (*Thesea mellonta katabainein eis Aidou meta Peirithou*).

In addition, the same *scholium* gives also another explication for the name of this stone. And also this second explication concerns another episode of somebody sitting on a stone: it is Demeter, in this case, who is sitting on the stone (*en tautei kathisai ten Demetran*), crying and searching for her daughter Kore who had disappeared in Hades (*hote ten Koren ezetei*).²⁴

As it seems, when somebody attempts to descent or to have some contacts with the afterworld he has to sit on a stone²⁵. In other words, such a mythical image has an absolutely special link with the communication between the world of the living and the afterworld. But the associations starting from the image of somebody sitting on a stone don't stop. We find the same stone in another story narrated, once again, by Pausanias.

In the first book of the *Periegesis* (Pausanias, I 43, 2), he reports an episode of Demeter's myth in order to explain a ritual practised by the megarian women. The episode has to do, again, with the rape and Demeter's quest of Kore. When Demeter is searching for her daughter, she attempts to call her near a *petra*. Consequently, at Megara, 'near the Town-hall is a stone named *Anaklethris* (*Anaklethrida ten petran onomazousin*), because Demeter (if the story is credible – Pausanias cautiously specifies –) here too called her daughter back (*entautha anakalesen auten*) when she was wander-

²³ Plutarchus, *Theseus*, 31.

²⁴ For another image of a sitting Demeter, see also *Hymn. Dem.* 184-201, where the goddess' sitting position is related, again, with mystery cults and with the mother's attempt to recall her daughter Kore from the underworld.

²⁵ See MIFL G ('Ogres') 303.9.9.1 Devil prevents moving of little stones by sitting on it.

ing in search of her (*hote ten paida zetousa*).¹ And the megarian women, in the age of Pausanias, perform a ritual repeating the Demeter's lament in the same place, characterized by the presence of a stone. Very often in the *aitiologiai* – the accounts whose aim is to explain the origin of a ritual practice – the stones play a central role. But, in the case of the Pausanias' tale, the *aitiologia* concerning the stone doesn't exhaust its function once the origin of the megarian ritual has been clarified. If we read the same tale following the ways of the mythological language, according to the associations pointed out above, the sense of the *Anaklethris petra* of Megara becomes more complex. According to this viewpoint, the image of the *Anaklethris petra* shows in fact that Demeter needs a stone just when she tries to communicate with her daughter in the afterworld. *Anaklethris petra* is a special name: *Anaklethris*, that is 'recall' (*anakaleo*), immediately clarifies the function of the stone, that is to establish a contact so direct and so strong with the afterworld that the search for a simple contact becomes a real attempt to recall someone from the underworld.

In the path drawn by the associations concerning the image examined above, there is a recurring feature, an analogy that we can't just neglect. All tales have to do with Demeter, and, more precisely, with a specific episode of her myth: the rape of Kore, the pain of the goddess for her daughter's descent to Hades and the attempts of the mother to communicate with Kore and to recall her back from the underworld. As the previous images, also the last image of the chthonian Goddess near the *Anaklethris petra* clearly illustrates the tenacity of a special relationship between the stone, as a privileged medium of communication with the underworld, on the one hand, and Demeter – the mystery cults' Demeter in the first place – on the other hand.

In fact, the presence of Demeter is not merely the recurrence of the same mythical character from a narrative viewpoint; our attention is turned to the contexts and the ways of thinking (and the ways of thinking the death, first of all) that the presence of Demeter implies. We can't summarize here the aspects of the complex and heterogeneous kind of personal religion denoted by the term 'mystery religion', but we can make reference to the individual aspiration to an intense relationship with the divinity and to an afterworld life; and we can try to understand some aspects of these contexts by reading the 'image' of the stone.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, I'd like to point out that we find such a role of the stone as a real medium – symbolic as well as material – with the afterworld throughout Greek literature, starting from Homer.

In fact, the stone as a privileged medium between the world of the living and the afterworld doesn't start with the mystery religion; rather, by the cult of Demeter, more ancient ideas, and consequently images, are re-functionalised.

Some Homeric passages, for example, give already evidence to the role played by stone as an entrance, as a fixed route to the underworld. In the *Odyssey* book Circe gives to Odysseus specific instructions about what must be done at the entrance to Hades. Just in the context of these instructions, given to establish a real contact with the underworld, describing the immediate surroundings of the entrance to Hades (*Odyssey*, X, 508-520), Circe makes reference to a stone and to the confluence of the two rivers (Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus) probably converging shortly before they discharge into Acheron as a waterfall over the stone (v. 515, *petre te xynesis te dyo potamon eridoupon*).

Moreover, the stone mentioned by the magician is probably the same stone occurring in the *Odyssey* (XXIV, 9-14). I'm referring to the second *Nekyia*, in which we have to do with a real descent to Hades, this time: the communication with the underworld is, therefore, more direct. What is remarkable is that, among the details of the route to Hades, we find here – again – a stone, the *Leukas petre* (v. 11, *par d'isan Okeanou te rhoas kai Leukada petren*).

To summarize, the relationship between stone, tomb and death is extremely complex. It involves several aspects, each one of them has a different value according to different contexts or different phases in Greek history.

As we have observed above (quoting J.-P. Vernant), the gravestone gradually weakens his immediate and almost identifying link with the dead, and became, first of all, a *sema* or a *mnema*.

On the other hand, the stone's peculiarity as special medium of communication between the world of the living and the afterworld results quite steady and fruitful, also in relatively late sources and, chiefly, in a very special kind of sources.

Reading some mythical images, we have examined, in particular, this last aspect of the stone that is the stone like a link between the living and the afterworld.

We have analysed more accurately the chains of associations and connections starting from two specific images: the image of somebody lifting up a stone and that of somebody sitting on a stone. By reading these 'chains' of images, we have reached the same result. Both practices, (1) lifting up the stone, by its relationship with an initiation finalized to inte-

ract with *hypochthonioi*, and (2) sitting on the stone, by its special link with communication or descent to Hades, seem to have to do with Demeter and Demeter's mystery.

For the most part, as it seems, when the image of a stone playing a central role in the communication with the underworld occurs, we can note at the same time the presence of demetriad contexts or, more precisely, of mystic contexts.

The centrality of the idea and practice of initiation in mystery religion and cults, as well as their interest toward the afterworld's life, are well-known, and the results of our enquiry about the stone is not in contrast to this important fact; on the contrary, these results contribute, by a different way, to point out the great interest – almost an urgent need – of Demeter's mystery in afterworld life.

The *polyvalence* of the image of the stone is still more rich and complex, and the associations and connections could obviously go further on, through different sources, establishing much more analogy and contiguity links. For example, the image of the stone plays an important role in several kingship myths, and its link with the underworld and with a religious prestige is strictly connected with a social power. Besides, it would be fruitful to focus on the role played by the stone into the *polis* and on the place – symbolic or concrete – that it takes in the institutional, social or religious contexts in classical Athens. But with regard to the tomb like place of cult and imagination other features symbolised by the stone, as we have seen, are perhaps more useful to understand some aspects of the Greek attitude toward the death.

Features and functions of the stone as mythical 'image' change according to different ages and contexts, and such a plasticity is nonetheless its force. Following this plasticity, we can try to understand some aspects of the Greek attitude to death.

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AESHYLUS' 'MYSOGYNISM' IN *ORESTEIA*

Aeschylus' attitude towards women has been one of the controversial issues among classics. The famous scholar of Aeschylean tragedy Gustav Grossman in his book *Promethie und Orestie* considered, that Aeschylus' heroines were mainly characterized by the negative traits: 'In Aeschylus' tragedies women and Orientals are similarly lacking in self-control both in good fortune and misfortune, in joy and sorrow; slavishly, cowardly, or despotically criminal; voluptuous; under the spell of the immediate; lacking in dependability and common sense... In marriage as in the state, the woman in Aeschylus' eyes needs the firm hand and sensible guidance of the man.'¹ On the other hand, G.-J.-M.-J. Te Riele assumed that Aeschylus' women characters were characterized in terms of such feminine traits as 'tenacité', 'curiosité', goût du détail and exaggerations.'² According to A. Podlecki, Aeschylus was not a crypto-misogynist and in his stimulating paper 'Aeschylus' Women' tried to re-examine the female characters of the dramatist by analyzing both his survived plays as well as the fragments. Was Aeschylus a misogynist or not? Some awkwardness, that arose while calling him a misogynist may partly be caused by placing Aeschylus in a rank with Semonides and Hesiodes, the authors who were famous in antiquity for their hostility to women. These writers attributed to women almost entirely negative traits and condemned them as a punishment of the male race and a reason for the ending of the golden age.³

¹ Grossman G., *Promethie und Orestie*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter 1970, 228.

² Riele Te G.-J.-M.-J., *Les Femmes chez Eschyle*, Groningen, Djakarta 1955.

³ According to M. Arthur women's sexuality from the point of view of the class Hesiod represented, emerged as a threat, which required regulation. Apart from their sexuality, hostility to woman was a product of the perception, that women had not concrete stake neither in any particular social milieu, nor in any particular family. In Semo-

To perceive Aeschylus as a misogynist or not we have to consider Aeschylus' conception of woman. The conception then must be studied in the broader context of the writer's new world vision as this and only this was the main issue of Aeschylus' tragic theatre. For the proper functioning of this new model, according to Aeschylus' viewpoint, the subordination and the control of women by men was undeniable prerequisite. But why woman must be subordinated to male? What is the force she represents? These and other questions can be answered after the detailed investigation of Aeschylus' model of the world-order. And if after this study we shall still continue to perceive Aeschylus' conception about the necessity of sex hierarchization as a misogyny, then alongside with F. Zeitlin we can claim, that Aeschylus' attitude towards women 'Stands squarely within the misogynistic tradition which pervades Greek thought'.⁴

In this paper we shall restrict ourselves with the brief consideration of Aeschylus *Oresteia*, as the trilogy is the most important cultural document in any exploration of the social status, the role and the functions of women presented in Greek literature.

In the trilogy the dramatist is busy with the building of the new model of the world, where the new principle of justice based on the persuasion and logic is to be achieved. For the proper functioning of this new world-order the new ideology concerning sexes must be established, the ideology, that affirms the superiority of the male over the female. For Aeschylus the control of women by men is the cornerstone of this new model as the female and the female principle in general being basically unruly appears to be potentially threatening for the stability of a society. The polarizing imagination, which characterizes Greek mythic thought and establishes a strong dichotomy between male and female, posits a predictable response from both – the female and the male side. According to it female self-assertion on her own behalf is expressed only at the cost of annihilation

nides' famous diatribe on women the prominent complaints against women are their sexuality and laziness. M. Arthur suggests that by the VI century misogyny was established as a topos of Greek poetry... The misogyny of Hesiod, Semonides or Phocylides reflect thought which assimilated the differentiation of the roles of male and female to the polarities whose opposition defined the world-order. Arthur M. B., *Early Greece: The Origins of Western Attitude Toward Women*, *Women in the Ancient World*, ed. by J. Peradotto and J. P. Sullivan, State University of New York Press 1984, 7-58, 24, 48.

⁴ Zeitlin F., *The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the Oresteia*, *Women in the Ancient World*, *The Arethusa Papers*, edited by J. Peradotto and J.P Sullivan, State University of New York Press, Albany 1984, 159-194.

the other, the male, annihilation being total enslavement or murder of men and total domination of women – gynecocracy.

Aeschylus presents the new model of sex hierarchization in the *Oresteia* through the dramatic enactment of the monumental human characters – both female and male. Here the paradigmatic gynecocratic mythos is presented according to the laws of tragedy, though in the trilogy this mythos acquires an absolutely different ending. It doesn't end in a total annihilation of the male race; instead of it the author offers a new solution for the agreement of previously hostile male and female sides.

But to achieve the final harmony the way is quite long and full of obstacles. For the acceptance of this ideology and to regard it as the only right solution, Aeschylus had to resolve certain problems. One of the main prerequisite for the new ideology was extremely negative portrayal of the female character and the female phenomenon in general in order to justify her future subordination. Secondly, Aeschylus had to present the male force as a positive one in general to justify her future domination over the female. And finally, the dramatist had to solve the conflict between two institutions of the family – the kinship and matrimonial bonds, each associated with the separate sex forces. Giving priority to one of these institutions meant declaring of the superiority of one of sex forces, what automatically would entail acceptance of the principle of sex hierarchization.

The female perspective of the trilogy is represented by Clytemnestra and Erinyes, her incarnations. The very first mentioning of Clytemnestra in Greek literature in *Odyssey* is entirely negative. In Delcourt's mind according to the rules of the misogynic tradition the accusation of one concrete woman is immediately extended to the whole female sex – a single sinned heroine becomes the paradigmatic image of all woman and as a rule the recommendation is given to husbands to keep eye on their wives.⁵ In Aeschylus' tragedy, though, Clytemnestra is not presented from the start as an altogether negative woman. She is an intelligent woman, as we see her in the first episode, who invented the scheme of the beacon signals to learn earlier than others the news of Troy's capture.⁶ Her superiority over her partners – both Agamemnon and Aegisthus in this aspect is also obvious. The queen is more powerful and more intelligent than any man altogether in the play. She most convincingly demonstrates her abilities in

⁵ Delcourt M., *Oreste et Alcéméon*, Paris 1959, 84.

⁶ The watchman speaks about Clytemnestra's 'male-plotting heart' (*Agamemnon*, 11). She fully acknowledges her cleverness and is angry, when others don't accept her intelligence, as in case of Argos old men (*Agamemnon*, 1401).

the brief dispute with Agamemnon about his walking on the tapestries (*Agamemnon*, 931-43). Clytemnestra accepts the male role with her another partner – Aegisthus, who is denounced as a woman ‘woman... house-keeper’, who kept Clytemnestra’s bed warm while Agamemnon was out of his house leading a war against Troy (*Agamemnon*, 1625-26). And again, the chorus in *The Libation Bearers* call Clytemnestra and Aegisthus ‘two women’ and refer to his ‘female mind’ (*Choephoroi*, 304-5). It was Clytemnestra, not he, who planned Agamemnon’s murder and who accomplished it. He was only an adjunct to this plot (*Agamemnon*, 1633-37; 1643-45). All these prove, that she insisted on being the dominant partner until after Agamemnon’s death. This not womanly intelligence of Clytemnestra was one of the reasons of the dispute among the classics on her character – how to regard the queen, as an androgynous female or as a woman different from ordinary ones, as she knows much more than they do and can check her emotions. The majority of scholars consider her as a masculine female, what is caused by her masculine intellectual abilities and by her activities: a) neglecting her husband; b) choosing the sex partner on her own; c) plotting and accomplishing her husband’s murder; d) usurping the power. Abovementioned acceptance of the masculine role in the intercourse with the partners serves to create such an impression as well.⁷

On the other hand, the queen’s values are chiefly female – she perceives the war, the public space from the female perspective. When she describes the situation at Troy on the night of the Argive victory, the queen simply states the victory and then speaks about the woes of the Trojan survivors, who are now slaves (*Agamemnon*, 326-29). She warns the Argives, that in case they don’t behave properly, they will have many troubles on their return (*Agamemnon*, 338-470). Agamemnon’s wife is insistent while explaining how greatly matrimonial relations suffer, on the one hand, from the war and its requirements (sacrificing Iphigenia) and on the

⁷ Clytemnestra’s masculinity is declared by Zeitlin, 1984; Pomeroy S. B., *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves, Women in Classical Antiquity*, New York 1975; Humphreys S. C., *The Family, Women and Death*, London 1983; Foley H. P., *The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama* in (ed.) Foley H. P., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, New York 1986³, 127-168; Blundell S., *Women in Ancient Greece*, London 1995. For the different approach see Lefkowitz M. R., *Die Töchter des Zeus, Frauen in alten Griechenland*, München 1995, 146. According to Gagarin the references to Clytemnestra’s masculinity are made by the male characters in the play, who consider it abnormal for any women to display qualities that they (and many modern critics) feel to belong more properly to man. Gagarin M., *Aeschylean Drama*, Berkeley, University of California Press 1976, 93.

other hand, from the husband's abandonment of the family space. These female values of Clytemnestra are, of course, a good argument for the scholars, who assume, that the queen is mainly presented as a woman, though not an ordinary one.

To a certain extent Clytemnestra, as mentioned above, doesn't appear to be an entirely negative person. She can be regarded as a 'shrewd political rebel' (in Zeitlin's term), who fights against the masculine regime. Clytemnestra doesn't initiate hostilities. It was Agamemnon, who abandoned her first by sacrificing her daughter. And we have to bear in our mind that the main male character Agamemnon as well as Argive army are not depicted positively in the play. According to Gagarin, the reason of this criticism is their behavior – they went to an extreme of male military domination. But the picture changes drastically after Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon.⁸ As a rule, the answer of the masculine female over her abusement is much more strong than the initial provocation from men's side. Through this terrible deed Clytemnestra rushes into the public space – usurps the political power. A personal Vendetta is transformed into a gynococratic issue.⁹ She becomes a political tyrant and establishes the rule of two women (with her lover and then coregent Aegisthus) – namely, the gynocracy. The transformation of Clytemnestra is gradually prepared on a mythopoetic level of the tragedy. Cassandra connects her with the dark, monstrous female forces – Scylla, amphibaena, and the mother of Hades: 'What odious monster shall I fitly call her? An Amphibaena? Or a Scylla, tenanted the rocks, a pest to mariners, [1235] a raging, devil's mother, breathing relentless war against her husband?' (*Agamemnon*, 1233-36). Clytemnestra is also associated with Omphale. When the queen urges Cassandra to accept her fate of slavery, she mentions the mythological precedent of Heracles' enslavement by the Lydian queen Omphale. This mythological allusion is by no means accidental, as Omphale everywhere in tradition is associated with the rule of women – while being his slave Heracles had to accomplish the role of female: wear women's dresses, do woman's work, serve as the male sexual object.¹⁰

⁸ In the light of male x female opposition the way Agamemnon died is also remarkable. The chorus lament, that Agamemnon, who suffered much 'on account of a woman', died 'at the hands of a woman' (*Agamemnon*, 1453-54). Clytemnestra used deceit, women's weapon (*Agamemnon*, 1636). This was especially disgraceful for a military man, who ought to die in the battle.

⁹ Zeitlin, 1984, 163.

¹⁰ Zeitlin, 1984, 166.

Clytemnestra's negative portrayal is continued in *The Libation Bearers*. Here it takes even more negative form. The queen is presented as the mother-tyrant, who neglects not only matrimonial relations, but also those between mother and her children. She makes her children's life unbearable and poses obstacles to their future.¹¹ Besides, Clytemnestra is a dangerous force at the public level as well. According to Zeitlin, her action in the beginning of the second play creates a 'ritual impasse'.¹² She sends the slave woman and Electra to Agamemnon's tomb to appease his soul by libations. It is her, as wife's duty to husband, but her case is unique, as she is murderer at the same time (*Choephoroi*, 84-100). So the murderer can not appease her victim, her action proves invalid. 'This impasse is emblematic of the dysfunction of the social order under her regime'.¹³

Clytemnestra in this tragedy is much more connected with wild, barbaric female forces on the mythopoetic level. The chorus of the slave women sing one of the most vehemently antifeminine odes in Greek tragedy (*Choephoroi*, 585-651), in which they relate the stories of three well-known crimes committed by women (Althea, Scylla and the women of Lemnos), all of which are attributed to the 'unloving love, that overpowers women' (*Choephoroi*, 600).¹⁴ Notwithstanding the fact, that Clytemnestra isn't mentioned here by name, it is obvious, that the lines about a wife's adultery are directed to her: 'But since I have recalled tales of pitiless afflictions, it is the right time to tell of a marriage void of love, an abomination to the house, and the plots devised by a wife's cunning against her warrior lord, against her lord revered with reason by his foes. But I honor the hearths of homes not heated by passion's fires, and in woman a spirit that shrinks from audacious deeds' (*Choephoroi*, 623-30).

Among these terrible deeds Clytemnestra's action resembles mostly the crime of the Lemnian women. This crime is considered to be a paradigmatic pattern for the female evil. 'The Lemnian allusion completes the misogynistic progression by moving from one to all, from individual transgression to a collective menace, that wipes out an entire race' and placing Clytemnestra's offence straight after this deed works to create an

¹¹ Electra unwed, arrested in maidenhood is bound to the paternal hearth. Vernant J.-P., Hestia-Hermès: Sur l'expression religieuse de l'espace et du mouvement chez les Grecs, in: *Mythe et pensée chez les grecs*, Paris 1969, 97-143. Orestes is an exile and can not cross the boundary into adulthood.

¹² Zeitlin, 1984, 166.

¹³ Zeitlin, 1984, 166.

¹⁴ Gagarin, 1976, 97.

impression, that Clytemnestra's act is also directed to annihilate the male race. It is by no means accidental, that the choral ode is placed just before Clytemnestra's murder by Orestes.

Clytemnestra's murder is not an end in itself. The negative female force doesn't cease its existence. The murder of mother evokes a renewed female power. The Erinyes, the incarnations of Clytemnestra are conceived as even more negative force: 'But these are wingless in appearance, black, altogether disgusting; they snore with repulsive breaths, they drip from their eyes hateful drops; their attire is not fit to bring either before the statues of the gods or into the homes of men' (*Eumenides*, 53-54).

Pithia fails to identify them: 'I have never seen the tribe that produced this company, nor the land that boasts of rearing this brood with impunity and does not grieve for its labor afterwards' (*Eumenides*, 56-59).

Beside their appearance the Erinyes are perceived as a negative force mainly because they champion a justice, which is judged as primitive, barbaric, archaic and regressive.

As we have already mentioned above for accepting Aeschylean ideology of sex hierarchization and for justifying the subordination of male by female, the male force should be presented as a positive one. Thus the male force of *The Libation Bearers* and *Eumenides* should differ from the male force depicted in *Agamemnon*. It should no more be the subject for criticism – such as was Agamemnon in the previous play. The new male character – Orestes is presented as a positive force in *The Libation Bearers*. Aeschylus succeeds to offer such an image of Orestes by means of uniting several factors: Firstly, Orestes is the person, who fulfills the god's order, and who gradually acknowledges, that the murder of Clytemnestra – the killer of her husband, the mother, who rejected her children, the tyrant of Argos – is his duty. Secondly, Orestes is well aware of the fact, that the task is very hard to accomplish. He regards the murder of his mother as an unholy act, a blasphemy, and feels the necessity for purgation. Thirdly, Orestes fights for the interests of both spaces – for the restoration of oikos as well as for the liberation of polis. Such a presentation of a male force gives ground to suspect, that some sort of compromise is now closer.

Finally, Aeschylus had to solve the conflict between blood relationship and marital ties. In case this conflict between two institutions of family is not solved, the renewed and redoubled power of uncontrolled, barbaric female force, female principle of justice will return and threaten the universe again and again. Orestes' trial takes place in Areopagus, where the goddess Athena presides over the new court composed of picked Athenians. The court is in dilemma – it has either to acquit Orestes as the avenger for the father's murder and thus give pre-

ference to matrimonial bonds, or it has to blame Orestes and by this act value more highly blood ties represented here by the Erinyes. Attaching preference to either of the institutions automatically means giving preference to one of the sex forces. Apollo advocates Orestes, whom in past he had commanded to kill his mother. Apollo's argument for Orestes' acquittal consists in the statement that killing a noble and honored man is much disgrace, then killing a woman, while the Erinyes declare that shedding of kindred blood brings pollution (*Eumenides*, 653-656). When both sides return once again to these arguments it seems, that the situation reaches a deadlock. It is then, that Apollo resorts to the new, biological argument. He states, that father is the only parent, mother merely an incubator (*Eumenides*, 657-66). Athena is an evidence of it, claims he, since she was born directly from Zeus and has no mother. This is Apollo's final argument. In reply to this the Erinyes have nothing to say and upon it Athena bases her vote for Orestes' acquittal.¹⁵ Though we can't see here the same male dominance unlike previous play. The votes of juries are equal and Orestes is acquitted by Athena's sole vote. At the same time the admission of the superiority of the male parent meant acknowledging the superiority of the male principle over the female one. After all this for the establishment of the new hierarchical principle of sex relations one final act is necessary – the limited restoration of the female power. And indeed, the Erinyes are transformed into the Eumenides – the benevolent female forces. According to Zeitlin, this last act completes the transference of the political power, which Clytemnestra had brazenly claim in *Agamemnon* to the ritual power of the female exemplified by the role assigned to the Erinyes in Athens.¹⁶

Therefore in the new model of the world-order, according to Aeschylus, as we see, the hierarchization of sex forces is absolutely necessary. The dramatist believed, that Clytemnestra and in general, the uncontrolled female force impeded the functioning of society, and on the broader scale, prevented the progress of the world-order.

The Aeschylean conception of woman implies the necessity to subdue, tame, curb this uncontrolled force, which in fact is accomplished through the transformation of the Erinyes at the end of the tragedy. The dramatist's conception of woman echoes traditional suggestions about the female nature. At the same time, the playwright himself introduces new cultural clichés, which to a remarkable extent determined the tendencies of the approach towards women.

¹⁵ Gagarin, 1976, 103.

¹⁶ Zeitlin, 1984, 183.

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**EPHREM MTSIRE AND COMMENTARIES
ON GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS' LITURGICAL SERMONS**

In the Georgian literary tradition the translation of commentaries on 4th century Cappadocian father Gregory of Nazianzus' writings are closely connected with the rendering of these writings themselves. Almost every translator, who worked on Gregory of Nazianzus' sermons, simultaneously translated the commentaries on these sermons as well. These translators are: Grigol Oshkeli (X c.), Euthymius the Athonite (X c.), David Tbeli (XI c.), Ephrem Mtsire (XI c.) and anonymous representative of Gelati translation school (XII c.).

Of the Georgian translations of the commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' writings, Ephrem Mtsire's translation of the explanations on sixteen liturgical sermons stands out especially. The commentaries were written by a tenth-century Byzantine scholar, Bishop of Caesaria-Cappadocia, Basilius Minimus (known in Georgian sources as Basili Undo). According to the preamble of the *Commentaries - Basilius' Epistle* addressed to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos - he compiled the previous commentaries on Gregory's works, reduced their volume, made them more clear and easy to understand, appended his own explanations to these commentaries and submitted them to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine the Porphyrogennetos.¹ Basilius' commentaries concern Gregory's 42 sermons. In this vast compilation work, besides theological explanations by the earlier commentators on Gregory' works, for example, Max-

¹ The Greek and the Georgian versions of the *Epistle* are published; see Schmidt Th. S., *Basili Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 46. Corpus Nazianzenum, 13), Turnhout - Leuven 2001; Otkhmezuri Th., *From the History of Commenting of Gregory of Nazianzus' Writings*, Mravaltavi, Philological and Historical Researches, XV, 1989, 18-31.

imus the Confessor, the explanations of philological and rhetorical nature are also attested. The influence of the grammarians and philologists of Hellenistic epoch, alongside with the rhetoric art theoreticians of the so called 'second sophistic' can be felt in these commentaries.

Manuscripts.

The Georgian translation of Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries* has come down to us in 4 manuscripts: *Jer.Iber.* 43-XII-XIII saec.; *Jer.Iber* 15-XII saec.; *Jer.Iber.* 13 – XIII saec. and *A-109-XIII saec.* (The text of this manuscript was written by the scribes of three different epochs: XIII c., XIV-XV cc., and XVIII c.).² In three manuscripts – *Jer.* 43, *Jer.* 15 and *A-109* commentaries are included in the margins. In manuscript *Jer.13* commentaries are given at the end of the text. All the additions to the collection of Gregory's sermons-*Gregory of Nazianzus' Vita* by Gregory Presbyter, *Iambic Verses*, the *Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentaries* and Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries*, as well as each detail – stichometry, marginal signs and marginal notes, have their equivalents in Gregory's Greek manuscripts. All these additions are compiled and decorated with a deep knowledge of Gregory of Nazianzus' Greek manuscripts.

While studying the texts of Basilius' *Commentaries*, available in Georgian manuscripts, attention should be drawn to two different aspects:

(1) *Correlation of the texts in regard to their structure, i. e. the number of explanations in each Commentary.* Manuscripts *Jer.* 15 and *Jer.* 13 contain equal number of *explanations* to the *Commentaries*; *Commentaries* in manuscript *Jer.* 43 have much fewer *explanations*. In manuscript *A-109*, the volume of the *explanations* by the thirteenth century scribe coincides with the volume of *explanations* in manuscript *Jer.* 43, which is the abridged version of the translation of Basilius' work. After the text of *A-109* was expanded by scribes in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries and its damaged layers were reconstructed in the eighteenth century, the content of the manuscript became identical with the texts of *Jer.* 15 and *Jer.* 13.



(2) *Variant readings of the texts:* the texts of *Jer.* 43 and *A-109* coincide with each other in variant readings as well. However, certain differences among these texts exclude us to think that *A-109* derives directly from *Jer.* 43. Manuscripts *Jer.* 43 and *A-109* differ from *Jer.15* and *Jer.13* in variant readings. Some differences in variant readings can be noticed between

² Bregadzé T., Répertoire des manuscrits de la version géorgienne des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze, in *Versions orientales, repertorium ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, ed. B. Coulie (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 20; Corpus Nazianzenum, 1, Brepols-Turnhout 1988, 79-82.

Jer.15 and *Jer.13* as well. In some cases variant readings of *Jer.13* are not attested in any other manuscript. The same interrelation can be observed also in the central texts of the manuscripts – Ephrem's translations of Gregory's sermons.³

Marginal Signs in the Collections of Liturgical Sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus.

In the manuscripts *A-109*, *Jer. 15*, *Jer. 43* and *Jer. 13*, in addition to Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries* and marginal notes of Georgian scholars, four

marginal signs are attested – heliacal sign:  (ἡλιακόν-Georgian equivalent – 'მზისთუგლო'), asterix: * (ἀστέρiscos-Georgian equivalent – 'ვარსკვლავი'), *beautiful*:  (ὠραῖον-Georgian equivalent 'შეგობიერი') and *attention*: CHM (σημεῖον – Georgian equivalent – 'შესწავი'). The functions of these signs are explained in *Jer. 43*, in one of the notes, which is the translation of a commentary by the sixth century anonymous Byzantine author.⁴

According to the note, the heliacal sign has to mark those passages, in which Gregory of Nazianzus discusses theological issues, because in the Bible the God is named as the *Sun of the Truth* (*Malach.*, 4, 2). Asterix is used to mark those passages in Gregory's sermons where the author talks about the human nature of Christ, as the birth of Christ was announced to the Magi by a star. The sign *შეგობიერი* (*beautiful*) marks the particularly artistic and elaborate passages in the text, while the sign *შესწავი* (*atten-*

³ Melikishvili N., Ephrem Mtsire's Translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' 16 Liturgical Sermons in Old Georgian Manuscripts, *Mravaltavi*, Philological and Historical Researches, XVIII, 1999, 195-204.

⁴ On this subject see Sakkellion J., Πατριακή Βιβλιοθήκη, Athens 1890, 19. cod. Patm. Gr. 43 (X s.); Lambros S., Τὰ παλαιογραφικὰ σημεῖα ἡλοακόν, ὠραῖον καὶ σημεῖον καὶ ὁ Καισαρείας' Ἀρέθας. Νέος Ἐλληνομνήμων, 11, 1914, 256; Бенешевич В. Н., Описание греческих рукописей монастыря Святой Екатерины на Синае, С.-Петербург 1911, 210; Otkhmezouri Th., Les signes marginaux dans les manuscrits géorgiens de Grégoire de Nazianze, Le Muséon, T. 104 – Fasc. 3-4, 1991. Ch. Astruc, Remarque sur les signes marginaux de certains manuscrits de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, *Analecta Bollandiana* 92, 1974, 290; Mossay J., Le signe héliaque. Notes sur quelques manuscrits de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à Ch. Delvoye*, Bruxelles 1982, 275; Noret J., Les manuscrits sinaïtiques de Grégoire de Nazianze (I^{re} partie), *Byzantion*, 48, 1978; Otkhmezouri Th., Bezarashvili K., *Codices Bulgariae* (Serdicensis) in: *Repertorium Nazianzenum, Orationes, Textus Graecus*. 3. *Codices Belgii, Bulgariae, Constantinopolis, Germaniae, Graeciae (pars prior), Helvetiae, Hiberniae, Hollandiae, Poloniae, Russiarum, Scandinaviae, Ucrainae et Codex Uagug*, recensuit J. Mossay, Paderborn, Munchen, Wien, Zurich 1993, 47-54; 242-249.

tion) is used to denote the passages, outstanding in their importance. Therefore, marginal signs themselves serve as some kind of commentaries to Gregory's works, designed to help the reader navigate through his vast and comprehensive writings. The signs შიგობწავე and შუგნობი have the same function in manuscripts containing the works of other Byzantine authors. However, according to the note, the heliacal sign and asterix acquired a completely distinctive function in Gregory's Greek manuscripts.

It is noteworthy, that the heliacal sign and asterix can be found in Georgian manuscripts as well. In most cases they are used as footnote marks, while asterix is also often used to decorate the capital letters. Besides, asterix is used as a technical sign by a well-known scholar Ioanne Zosime in his liturgical collection *Sin. Iber.* 34 (seac. X).⁵

In the margins of manuscripts, containing Ephrem's translation of Gregory's writings, the heliacal sign and the asterix are used according to the rule stated in the sixth century colophon. Manuscript *Jer.* 15 contains nine heliacal signs and four asterixes; *Jer.* 43 and *Jer.* 13 contain only one heliacal sign each. Unlike the similar signs in Greek manuscripts, the heliacal signs and asterixes in the manuscripts *A-109* and *Jer.* 15 are very expressive and ornamented.⁶

The Date of Translation of Liturgical Sermons and Basiliius Minimus' Commentaries.

The study of marginal notes and signs in manuscripts containing Gregory of Nazianzus' sermons with commentaries enables us to determine with relative accuracy the date of translation of Gregory's 16 liturgical sermons and Basiliius Minimus' *Commentaries* on these writings.

The marginal heliacal sign and asterix, attested in Ephrem's translations of Gregory's writings, can also be found in the manuscript *S-1276* – the collection of homiletical and hagiographical writings by Byzantine authors. The major part of the manuscript is considered to be Ephrem's autograph.⁷ There is no doubt, that Ephrem would use these marginal signs in his autograph only after he had already translated Gregory's liturgical sermons and had acquainted himself with the peculiarities of Gregory of Nazianzus' Greek manuscripts. Therefore, these two works –

⁵ The Description of Georgian Manuscripts. Sinaï Collection. I, H. Metreveli, Ts. Chankiev, L. Khevsuriani, L. Djgamaia eds., Tbilisi 1978, 132-133.

⁶ Otkhmezuri Th., Marginal Signs and Their Decoration in Byzantine and Georgian Manuscripts, *Literature and Arts*, 5-6, 1992, 94-103.

⁷ Otkhmezuri Th., About One Peculiarity of the Manuscripts of Ephrem Mtsire's Translation, *Philological Researches II*, 1995, 144-149.

the translation of Gregory's sixteen liturgical sermons with Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries* and Ephrem's autograph – must have been accomplished in the same period.

In one of the marginal notes to S-1276 Ephrem mentions the Patriarch of Antioch John, who had clarified for Ephrem a difficult passage from John of Damascus' writing. In the collection of his translation of Gregory's sixteen sermons, namely, in his epistle, addressed to his contemporary scholar Kvirike of Alexandria, Ephrem again mentions the Patriarch of Antioch '*the most highly educated Father,*' who had helped him to determine the exact meaning of some Greek words. In the second case the name of the Patriarch is not provided, however, we consider it out of question that this is the same as Patriarch John, mentioned in Ephrem's autograph. Indeed, according to historical sources, during the second half of the eleventh century, the period of Ephrem's scholarly activities on the Black Mountain, the Patriarch of Antioch was a person named John V Oxites. He was the Patriarch of Antioch in 1089-1100. The fact that the historical figure of the last decade of the eleventh century is mentioned in the translation of Gregory's sixteen sermons with Basilius' commentaries and Ephrem's autograph, enables us to attribute these works to the period between 1089-1100.⁸

In the Georgian scholarly tradition, based on stylistic and terminological analysis, Ephrem's translation of sixteen sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus is attributed to the final period of Ephrem's scholarly activities, when he had fully formed his translational concept as a hellenophile scholar.⁹ Analysis of colophons and marginal notes in Ephrem's writings supports this attribution.

Relation of the Georgian Translation with the Greek Text.

Interrelation between the Georgian and Greek versions of Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries* is analyzed in three major aspects:

(1) Interrelation of Georgian manuscripts of the *Commentaries* with Greek manuscripts in regard to the structure (placement of *Commentaries* in the collection). Two types of Basilius Minimus' collections are attested in Greek tradition: the first type contains Gregory's homilies with *Commentaries* in the margins; the second type belongs to the so called lemmatized manuscripts, in which phrases from homilies are followed by Basi-

⁸ Otkhmezuri Th., On One of the Explanatory Notes of Ephrem Mtsire's Autograph cod. S-1276, Historical and Philological Collection dedicated to I. Djavakhishvili's 120th Jubilee, Tbilisi 1997, 78-80.

⁹ Chelidze E., Old Georgian Theological Terminology, I, Tbilisi 1996, 545-559.

lius' *explanations*.¹⁰ Manuscripts *Jer. 43*, *Jer. 15* and *A-109* belong to the first type. *Jer. 13*, in which the *Commentaries* are attached at the end of the homilies, does not belong to the Greek tradition.

In our opinion *Jer. 13* must reflect the first stage of Georgian translator's work on the *Commentaries*. The shift towards appending *Commentaries* in the margins of the collection of sixteen liturgical sermons must have occurred at a later period, obviously based on deep knowledge and understanding of Greek manuscript tradition. The collection of Gregory's sixteen liturgical sermons with Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries* in the margins (*Jer. 43*, *Jer. 15*, *A-109*) must have been compiled in Ephrem's scholarly circle, with his initiative and under his direct supervision. These collections obviously bear the trace of Ephrem's scholarly style.

(2) Interrelation of the Georgian version with the Greek version in regard to its composition (number of *explanations* in *Commentaries*). The study of the Greek manuscript and textual tradition of Basilius' *Commentary* on Gregory's *Oratio 38* has identified three different versions of the *Commentary*: the long version, consisting of 188 *explanations*, the abridged version, consisting of 93 *explanations* and the compilation version, the so called *Sylloge* (a compilation collection of commentaries by Basilius Minimus and George Mokenos), consisting of 342 *explanations*, out of which 195 *explanations* are ascribed to Basilius Minimus. It has been considered that the *Sylloge* version fully derives from the long version, which, on the other hand, is the original work of Basilius Minimus. The abridged Greek version derives from the long version.¹¹ Correlation of the Georgian translation with the Greek tradition is the following: the Greek long version was used by Ephrem Mtsire as a source for the Georgian translation of Basilius' *Commentary on Oratio 38*; the Georgian abridged version-the text preserved in *Jer. 43* and *A-109* (the part copied by a thirteenth-century scribe) does not correspond to the abridged Greek version and it has been compiled through reduction of the Georgian long version – the text preserved in *Jer. 15* and *Jer. 13*.

(3) Interrelation of the Georgian translation with the Greek textual tradition. While studying the textual tradition of *Commentary on Oratio 38*, two criteria were used to classify the manuscripts¹²:

¹⁰ Sajdak J., *Historia Critica Scholiastarum et Commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni. Meletemata Patristica I*, Cracoviae 1914, Pars I, 37-59; Cantarella R., *Basilio Minimo. I. Scolii inediti con introduzione e note*. BZ 25, 1925, 295-297.

¹¹ Schmidt Th. S., *Basilii Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii*, xxxviii-xxxix.

¹² Schmidt Th. S., *Basilii Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii*, xxx-xxxii.

External criterion – specific characteristics of text, such as: (a) title of the *Commentary*, (b) *Epistle* addressed to the Emperor Constantine and its title, (c) the last phrase of the *Commentary* (τέλος τοῦ εἰς τὰ γενέθλια), (d) configuration of the text (existence of the following elements in the text: the title of the *Commentary*, the last phrase, the *Epistle* addressed to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the *Prologue* to the *Commentary on Oratio* 38, implications about the authorship of various interpolations). Two out of four external components are attested in Georgian translation: the *Epistle* and the *Prologue*. This relates the Georgian version to a particular manuscript of the long Greek version-cod. *Paris. Coisl. 236* (saec. X).

Internal criterion – variant readings. Several variant readings in the Georgian translation, namely, several variants of lexical character coincide with a group of Greek manuscripts, among them the manuscript *Paris. Coisl. 236*.

Character of the Translation.

Ephrem has translated Basiliius Minimus' *Commentaries* with a combination of literal and free translation techniques. Selection of such a complex translation method in rendering the *Commentaries* into Georgian must have been conditioned by the genre of Basiliius' writing. In order to preserve the expositional function of Basiliius' text, it required certain adaptation in regard to the composition and content, as well as from linguistic point. For this purpose Ephrem used a very specific translation method which can be briefly described in the following way: in the Georgian translation of the *Commentary on Oratio* 38 some of the *explanations* of the Greek version are omitted, while others are compiled into one *explanation*; interpolations of expositional character are inserted into some *explanations*; the Georgian translation of certain *explanations* corresponds to the underlying Greek text only according to its content; a few *explanations* are translated into Georgian almost word-for-word, using the literal translation method. In our opinion these peculiarities of Georgian translation are closely connected with the nature of the *explanations* of Basiliius' *Commentaries*. The *explanations* are divided into the following categories: (a) *explanations* of various lexical units, as well as Gregory's reduced or allusive phrases; (b) *explanations* on the syntactical structure of Gregory's texts; (c) philosophical-theological *explanations* on Gregory's thoughts (Basiliius Minimus uses early theological commentaries to Gregory's writings, mostly the *Ambigua* by Maximus the Confessor); (d) *explanations* about the style and rhetorical art of Gregory (in these *explanations* Basiliius mostly uses Classical manuals about rhetoric, namely, the writings of Hermogenes as a source; (e) *explanations* about punctuation (in Gregory's sermons Basiliius

introduces a punctuation system, consisting of eight signs, initiated by the II century AD grammarian Nikanor).¹³

Ephrem Mtsire translates the theological explanations of the *Commentary* with particular precision. In these parts the Georgian translation is a complete equivalent of the underlying text. *Explanations* about lexical units, also *explanations* of Gregory's short, allusive phrases and paraphrases are rendered into Georgian in free translation method – they only follow the content of Greek text. Basilus' *explanations* on Gregory's rhetoric art and style, also about punctuation system and syntax are also translated into Georgian in free translation method, sometimes with the Georgian translation deviating significantly from the content of the underlying text, some *explanations* of this character are completely omitted.

The Language of the Translation.

Those parts of the translation, which closely follow the Greek text of Basilus' *Commentaries* are hellenized linguistically as well. Special attention should be paid in this regard to Georgian translation of Basilus' *Epistle* addressed to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos. The elaborate style of the *Epistle*, which is achieved with the help of various linguistic tools, such as comparative degrees of adjectives and adverbs, frequent use of composites, is adequately rendered into Georgian. The syntax of Greek text has an influence on Georgian translation (copying of specific syntactic sequences of Greek sentence, omitting of a member of sentence, etc..

The translation of the theological *explanations* is also characterized by closeness to underlying text and hellenized language. Those *explanations*, which are rendered into Georgian with free translation method, also *explanations* which are not attested in Basilus' compilation and can be ascribed to Ephrem, are written in accordance with the linguistic norms of Georgian language. However, some tendency towards hellenization of Georgian language is felt even in this case. This can probably be explained by the fact, that Basilus' *Commentaries* were translated by Ephrem during the later period of his scholarly activities, after, or maybe simultaneously with *verbum e verbo* translation of sixteen liturgical sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus. The work of such a huge volume would undoubtedly have a considerable influence on the formation of Ephrem's style and language. The hellenization of the translation language is also determined by the lexis of Basilus' *Commentaries*: the philosophical-theological, as well as

¹³ Schmidt Th. S., *Basili Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii*, xvii-xxiv.

rhetorical *explanations* on Gregory's work contained specific terminology and while rendering rhetorical, philosophical and grammatical terms into Georgian, Ephrem significantly depends on the Greek original.

The Influence of Basiliius Minimus' Commentaries on Georgian Translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' Sermons.

In his translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' liturgical sermons Ephrem often refers to *Commentaries* and uses Basiliius' explanations while translating Gregory's homilies. The comparison of Ephrem's and Euthymius' translations of Gregory's sermons has revealed that in his translation Ephrem replaces certain words of Euthymius' translation with different lexical units. In some cases these changes are based on the *Commentaries* by Basiliius Minimus. It is noteworthy, that Ephrem himself mentions this in his colophon to the translation of sixteen liturgical sermons: 'when I want to change a certain word [in my translation], I use the commentary in the first instance' ('რამეთუ რაჲმს ცვალებად მინდის სიტყვსად, პირველად თარგმნითა გავჰმართი', Jer. 43, 2v.).¹⁴ For example, in Gregory's *Oratio 15 (In Maccabaeos)*, the author mentions Eliazar as προσήμιον ἀθλήσεως δεξιόν (PG 35, col. 913 C 7). Euthymius has rendered this phrase in the following way: *the nice beginning of martyrdom* ('დაწვეება წამებისად კეთილად'). While Ephrem has replaced all lexical units: *the fortunate prologue of deeds* ('წინაშესავალი ღუაწლისად მარჯუენე').¹⁵ A commentary by Basiliius Minimus, explaining two out of these three words must have served as a source for this translation: *under 'fortunate' [the author] means 'nice' and 'good', while [he] uses the word 'prologue' as [Eliazar] became the martyr before the young fellows* ('მარჯუენეობად' კეთილისა და სახიერისა წილ უთქუამს, ხოლო 'წინაშესავალობად' – რამეთუ პირველ ერმათადსა იწამა'). Based on Basiliius' *explanations*, Ephrem replaces Euthymius' expositional translation with the closer equivalent of the underlying Greek text. The scholars have noted that Gregory often uses common words in uncommon context: the word προσήμιον-წინაშესავალი (*prologue*) itself is a term, common in literary studies. It is

¹⁴ S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera. Versio Iberica, I, Orationes I, XLV, XLIV, XLI, editae a H. Metreveli et K. Bezarchvili, T. Kourtsikidze, N. Melikichvili, T. Othkhmezouri, M. Rapava, M. Chanidze (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 36. Corpus Nazianzenum, 5), Turnhout 1998, xxxiii.

¹⁵ Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio iberica, II, Orationes XV, XXIV, XIX. Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 42, Corpus Nazianzenum, 9. Editae a Helene Metreveli et K. Bezarchvili, M. Dolakidze, T. Kourtsikidze, M. Matchavariani, N. Melikichvili, M. Raphava, M. Chanidze, Turnhout 2000, 9.

often used by Basilus Minimus in his *Commentaries* to discuss the composition of Gregory's homilies. Gregory uses this word in a rather uncommon context, to denote 'the beginning of martyrdom'. Usage of commentaries to convey the exact meaning of Greek lexical units is one more interesting method employed by Ephrem.

In his translation of liturgical sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus Ephrem also uses Basilus Minimus' *Commentaries*, in which Basilus provides explanations on Gregory's literary images, rhetorical passages and his oratorical skills.

Ephrem was trying not only to provide an adequate translation of Gregory's homilies, but also to preserve his specific literary style in his translation. Obviously, a word-for-word translation of Greek text may not always convey the style of the underlying text. For example, the word-for-word translation of Gregory's writings into Armenian does not at all give the reader any idea about the author's style.¹⁶ While, on the other hand, Ephrem's translation carries the specific features, characteristic of Gregory's literary style. Basilus' commentaries have contributed to this to some extent as well. For example, Ephrem uses Basilus' *explanation* to provide an adequate translation of the beginning of *Oratio* 38. The sermon starts with a passage, consisting of short, laconic phrases, the so called komma. This particular technique makes the passage an impressive example of rhetoric art: Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε, Χριστὸς ἔξ οὐρανῶν, ἀντήσατε, Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε, Χριστὸς ἐν σαρκί ... Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου (PG 36, col. 312 A 3- 313 A 1). According to the *explanation* on this passage, the missing verbs, which are implied compositionally in each komma, are replaced with a pause. Ephrem's word-for-word translation of the passage is in accordance with the *explanation* – the verbs are omitted in Georgian as well. Due to Basilus' *explanation* the dynamics of the original text is preserved in the Georgian translation: 'ქრისტე იშვების, ადიდებდით! ქრისტე ზეცით, მიეგებოდით! ქრისტე ქუეყნასა ზედა, ამადლდით! ქრისტე ჳორციითა! ... ქრისტე ქაღწულისაგან!¹⁷

According to Basilus' *explanation*, one of the passages in Gregory's *Oratio* 19 (*Ad Iulianum exaequatorem*) should be read with 'interrogative in-

¹⁶ Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Armeniaca, I. Orationes II, XII, IX, editae a B. Coulie, cum prooemio a J. Mossay (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 28. Corpus Nazianzenum, 3), Turnhout 1994, xxxv-xxxvii.

¹⁷ S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera. Versio Iberica, III. Oratio XXXVIII, editae a H. Metreveli et K. Bezarchvili, T. Kourtsikidze, N. Melikichvili, T. Otkhmezouri, M. Rapava (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 45. Corpus Nazianzenum, 12), Turnhout 2001, 51.

tonation.' This place of sermon is rendered by Ephrem with interrogative sentences. Due to this, both the intonation and the stylistic effect of this passage are reflected in the translation: 'არა აღვიხილნეთ-ა ზეცად ზე? არა განვიფრთხოთ-ა, არა მოვიძარცვიოთ-ა კამში თუაღთად? ... არა შევემეცნნეთ-ა წმიდათა მოწამეთა? ... რადსოვს წყელულებანი და კრულებანი და მიმოქცევანი? ქადაგებად და ლესულობად მასკლთა?'¹⁸ This detail is missing in Euthymius' translation, as he rendered the text only with affirmative sentences.

Georgian Commentaries on the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus.

The work on the commentaries of Gregory of Nazianzus' writings – translation, copying, editing – has encouraged the creation of original commentarial writings in the Georgian hellenophile scholarly circles. Ephrem Mtsire's translations of Gregory's liturgical sermons contain marginal notes, belonging to Georgian scholars and scribes. The marginal notes can mostly be found in the margins of the passages with difficult or uncommon expressions, e.g. when a Georgian word is given in the feminine gender (მასა, მანამან, ქალწულად), a new, uncommon lexical unit is used (ზოგ-არიოზ, თაეთნმდე, ჟამისმეორედად), central text is changed in quoting the *Bible* (მიიღე სწავლა – იმჯული სწავლა, *Psalms*, XXXIX, 179), Greek lexical unit is used (პიტკ), orthographically complex word is attested (e.g. a word with seven consonants – განვბრძნდეთა, a word with five consonants – ვმხნდებოდით), specific punctuation marks are used (სრულწერტილი, დიდმოქცევი), different variant readings, attested in Greek manuscripts are presented, etc. The marginal notes in the manuscript serve practical purposes. They are included in the margins of those parts of the central text, which could be misunderstood and changed by the scribes while copying the text. One marginal note even mentions its target reader-the scribe: *don't change the words, scribe* (ამისოვს ნუ განკრევე სახელთა, მწერალო *Kutais*. 9, 338r).

The majority of marginal notes of the collections of Gregory's sermons must have been composed by Ephrem, however, it is still possible that parts of the marginal notes were inserted in the manuscripts by some scribe or editor who perfectly understood the importance of such notes. From the current viewpoint these comments refer to the translation process. They describe the difficulties, which the translator encountered while rendering the text into Georgian and how he overcame these difficulties. The marginal notes enable us to reconstruct the process of adapt-

¹⁸ Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio iberica, II, Orationes XV, XXIV, XIX, 169-171.

ing Gregory's writings to Georgian language, also forms and ways of this adaptation. In fact, these are philological commentaries, which in some way serve as scientific footnotes to the critical edition of the medieval text.¹⁹

The lexis of the marginal notes in the collections of Gregory of Nazianzus' liturgical sermons deserves special attention. Part of the lexemes in the notes are scholarly terms, mainly of grammatical character. Some of them are well familiar from previous Georgian sources, while another part is an innovation: თარგმანი (1) *commentary*, (2) *translation*; მამალი, დედალი, მამალ-დედლობისა სიტყუანი - *gender-related terms*; მზასიტყუაობა - *etymology*; მწერალი - *scribe*; უკმოი ასოი - *consonant*; მოკუეთა - *reduction of vowel*; შედგმა/შედგმულნი სიტყუანი - *word-composition / composite word*; შესაკრავი - *part of a composite*; ახალი სიტყუა - *neologism*; დიდმოქცევი - *interrogative mark*; წურიღმოქცევი - *punctuation mark for a short pause*; ზიარი სახელი - *species*.

Thus, working on the commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' writings gave an impulse to the development of the eleventh-twelfth century Georgian scholarly thought. It was while translating these commentaries that Georgian scholars' new, scientific mindset was formed: literary-theoretical concepts were elaborated and respectively, scientific-grammatical and literary terms were formed.

¹⁹ Otkhmezuri Th., *Marginal Notes in the Georgian Collections of the Sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus*, Korneli Kekelidze 125, 2004, 194-206.

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FOR THE SPECIFIC USE OF ANCIENT QUOTATIONS AND PARAPHRASES IN SEFERIS' POEMS

Antiquity holds a special place in Seferis' works. He lavishly uses ancient symbols, images and popular plots. Especially interesting is the way Seferis quotes ancient authors. According to their usage, ancient quotations found in Seferis' works fall into the following three categories: epigraphs, quotations inserted intact into the body of a poem and paraphrases. Below I will try to present various cases of quotation use in Seferis' poetry and comment on their function in each particular poem.

Quotation first occurs in the poem *The Companions in Hades*.¹ It is a grotesque account of what happened to the imprudent companions of Odysseus after they ate Helios' bulls. The poem is introduced with a two-line epigraph quoting the *Odyssey*: ἠήπιοι, οἱ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο ἦσθιον αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἡμαρ' (a 8-9). The poem is a first-person account, which means that Odysseus' companions themselves narrate about their adventure in Hades and appear fairly self-critical: 'Since we still had some hardtack / how stupid of us / to go ashore and eat / the Sun's slow cattle... / ...On the earth's back we hungered / but when we'd eaten well / we fell to this lower regions / mindless and satisfied.' The epigraph serves as a direct and unambiguous clue to the purpose of the poem, to its content as well as its source.

The next poem to consider is *Mythistorema*, which is mainly fostered exactly by antiquity. Out of the four epigraphs found in the poem, three are borrowed from ancient texts (Μέμνησο λουτρῶν οἷς ἐνοσφίσθης, *Quid πλατανῶν opacissimus?*, ὄνομα δ' Ορέστης). As concerns quotations, the

¹ Seferis G., *Complete Poems*, translated, edited and introduced by Ed. Keeley and Ph. Sherrard, Great Britain 1995, 236.

poem quotes Plato's *Alcibiades* (133b) and one line from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (958), which is presented in free Modern Greek translation.² Let us consider each case separately.

The third poem³ of *Mythistorema* is introduced by a quotation from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*: Μέμνησο λουτρῶν οἷς ἐνοσφίσθης (491). The epigraph is intrinsically linked to the text of the poem. It renders the feelings of the poet as he holds the 'marble head' in his hands. 'I look at the eyes: neither open not closed / I speak to the mouth which keeps trying to speak.' The quotation, which is not distinguished for particular significance in either ancient or the subsequent literature, acquires symbolic meaning with Seferis. It may allude to the tragic lot of both – Agamemnon in particular and his homeland in general. Apart from the epigraph, the body text also implies a number of allusions to Aeschylus' tragedy. The phrases evoke associations of what ruthlessly slaughtered Agamemnon could have gone through: his mouth will no more say what he might have wished to say, his eyes will not see his children, who have come together to revenge his death. And the narrator, witnessing this scene, is unable to change anything. 'That's all I'm able to do. Let us recall how Electra addresses her dead father in the *Libation Bearers*: ἀρῶρθόν αἶρες φίλτατον τὸ σὸν κάρα (496). Besides, like 439 of the tragedy contains information about how Agamemnon was hacked to death: 'έμασχαλίσθη'. The tragedian uses the verb 'μασχαλίζω', the direct meaning of which is to put under one's arm. However, its semantics is much broader: 'I cut off the extremes of the killed and put them under my arm so as to evade revenge.'⁴ These lines are believed to be reflected in the final line: 'My hands disappear and come to me mutilated.'⁵

The poem called *The Argonauts*⁶ marks the truly vigorous influx of the ancient spirit. In the very first lines we come across the poet's innovative attempt to insert intact into the structure of his poem Plato's prose text, applying quite an interesting principle of breaking down Plato's sentences into verse lines. It is common knowledge that the lines belong to Plato's *Alcibiades* (133b), devoted to the discussion on how to interpret

² This phrase by Aeschylus is translated or paraphrased in several of Seferis' poems.

³ Complete Poems, 5.

⁴ In this sense, the verb is also used in: Sophocles, *Electra*, 445; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, IV, 447.

⁵ Cf. Benedeti E., *Poesia pensiero della grecia classica nell'opera di Giorgio Seferis*, Omaggio a Seferis, Studi Bizantini e Neogreci diretti da F. M. Pontani, Padova 1970, 75 ff.

⁶ Complete Poems, 6.

the well-known aphorism 'Know yourself' from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Plato has Socrates say the following words: 'καὶ ψυχὴ εἰ μέλλει γυῶσεσθαι αὐτὴν εἰς ψυχὴν αὐτῇ βλεπτόν ...' This is the key phrase of the whole poem as the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Argonautica* (and the poem is evidently based on these two cycles) is a voyage undertaken for the sake of knowing oneself. In the case of Seferis' poem, the words may refer to the specific (the Argonauts, Odysseus, the poet himself), more general (the Greek nation) and the most general (humankind). Starting the poem with this phrase unequivocally points to the main pathos of the *Mythistorema*. The poem ends with the same phrase by Plato.

The epigraph for *Mythistorema's* next poem⁷ is 'Quid πλατανῶν opacisimus?', a phrase found in one of the letters of Pliny the Younger (1.3) addressed to his friend. In the letter, Pliny inquires about the places that are dear to him. Seferis borrows one of the questions: 'how is the shady plane tree lane?' However, he makes one very interesting change: the Latin word *platanon*, which is a Greek borrowing, is used in its initial Greek form 'πλατανῶν'. The poet seems to be pointing to its Greek origin, which was rarely used even in Greek. The more widespread form was 'πλάτανος' or 'πλατάνιστος.'⁸ How is epigraph associated with the poem? The latter, which may at first sight remind us of a love poem, in my opinion, conveys much more than a mere passion for an imaginary love interest. As no other suggestions are known to me on the point, I will bring forth some of my own observations. The most conspicuous element that cannot be ignored is the plane-tree, which is recurrent and hence becomes a key concept of the poem (epigraph, 8, 17). If we go back to Pliny's letter, we will see that Pliny calls on his friend to give up all of his daily concerns, hand them down to others and create something that will render his name immortal. Seferis accentuates two points: a) stillness brought by sleep, some kind of uncertainly and b) transience, oblivion and inviability of dreams. The poem renders the feeling of discontent not of a particular individual but of whole generations of mortals. It may even be consonant of the opposition set out in Pliny's letter between daily concerns and the artistic creations of humans, which determines their immortality and which Pliny's addressee was unable to fulfill. The quotation, which had no other significance in the letter apart from serving as a greeting phrase, in Seferis poem acquires a symbolic meaning, more so that Latin 'platanon' is replaced by Greek 'πλατανῶν'. It can be assumed that Seferis associates 'shady plane-trees'

⁷ Complete Poems, 19.

⁸ Δημητράκος Δ., Μέγα Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, Αθήνα 1964, 5857.

with the symbolic implication of plane-tree in ancient Greek world, where it was seen as the tree of sorrow.

In the seventeenth⁹ poem of *Mythistorema* there is an attempt of complete transformation of Sophocles' passages. It is common knowledge that Paedagogus tells Electra the invented story of Orestes' death, which he starts with the description of Orestes' brilliant victory in the Delphic games: 'Ἀργεῖος μὲν ἀνακαλουμενος, ὄνομα δ' Ὀρέστης, τοῦ τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος Ἀγαμέμνονος στρατευμα' ἀγείραντός ποτε' (693-696). Seferis uses the formula 'ὄνομα δ' Ὀρέστης' as an epigraph to this poem, which is presented Orestes' monologue: Orestes describes the challenges of the game. However, unlike Sophocles' passage, the pathos of the poem is not to show the joy of being the winner, the first, but to reveal the helplessness, the torture and pain of the 'first'. Interestingly, what Sophocles presents an invented story - Orestes' participation in the games - Seferis pictures as real, turning Orestes into his contemporary character.

In the poem *Andromeda*¹⁰ the image of Andromeda, related to the myth of Perseus, whom the hero rescued from a horrible torture, is introduced without being named. The poem includes a phrase: 'The sea, the sea, who will be able to drain it dry?', borrowed from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (958). The quotation has quite an interesting function. In the *Agamemnon*, the image of the sea with 'a mighty store' as presented by Clytemnestra stands for the riches of the king's palace, 'a store that cannot fail': 'Ἔστιν Θάλασσα - τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;' As concerns Seferis' poem, in my opinion, the quotation is two-dimensional. On the one hand, it could be reflective of the emotions of a person bound to a sea-washed rock, who can watch the unabated waves ahead (according to the tradition, Andromeda's sacrifice is associated with Poseidon's wrath); on the other hand, the quotation may serve to generalize the idea of inexhaustibility of pain, sorrow and mishap. In my opinion, Seferis remarkably modifies the direction of Aeschylus' quotation: if in Aeschylus the sea is the general image of inexhaustibility, Seferis fitted this image to the specific situation featured in the *Andromeda*. The poet retained the meaning of inexhaustibility of sea, but deprived it of its allusion to countless riches. Seferis extended the general meaning of the image and at the same time anchored it in a specific context.

⁹ Complete Poems, 16.

¹⁰ Complete Poems, 24. Seferis gave the name to the poem later.

In 1936, Seferis wrote a poem *In the Manner of G. S.*¹¹ According to the information available, the poem was written in a port as the poet was waiting for a ship, and consequently, it can be assigned to the group of 'random' poems. In it Seferis sums up his literary works, which by that time were not quite numerous, and presents two dimensions: on the one hand, he cites some passages from his earlier poems (probably, the ones he found the most important), while through the second dimension he presents the actual environment in which the poems were composed. In view of the purpose of the present paper, my attention was attracted by a quotation from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 'ὄρωμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαίου νεκροῖς' (659). This seemingly simple quote conveys a comprehensive message as it acquires a generalized meaning when placed in a fairly specific context.

In the poem *Monday*¹² from the cycle *Notes for a 'Week'*, the symbol borrowed from antiquity is the kingdom of the dead although the poet has the sensation that they are sleeping: 'Among the bending asphodels the blind are sleeping'. In this case, the key term is 'Asphodels'. There are two interesting cases of quoting: the poet uses a quotation from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* to make up his own phrase and he paraphrases another passage from the same tragedy. In the first case, in the passage connected with the plant 'παφλοπαΐδιλα', Seferis uses the phrase 'Ἀρκείτω βίος' (1314) from the *Agamemnon* evidently to put emphasis on the process of fading, while in the second case, stating that 'the river doesn't roll, it has forgotten the sea', the poet draws our attention to the sea, and describing it, paraphrases the well-known Aeschylean phrase 'Ἔστιν θάλασσα τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσεις' (958) 'and yet there is the sea and who will drain it dry?' The sea serves as the symbol of inexhaustibility. We will come across this phrase of Aeschylus several times in Seferis' works.

The poem *Saturday*¹³ of the same cycle is especially interesting. Here the past and the present are linked against the background of modern theatre. An ancient quotation is one of the links in the chain of symbols threaded in the poem: '...What the hero of the drama / recalls in the fifth act, / at the peak of mischance',¹⁴ 'the masks for the three main emotions',¹⁵ 'Medea's slaughtered

¹¹ Complete Poems, 52.

¹² Complete Poems, 76.

¹³ Complete Poems, 84.

¹⁴ 'The fifth act' denotes in Seferis the climax, the final part. It is noteworthy that in his *Art of Poetry* Horace dwells on the five-act structure of tragedy. Seneca also speaks of the division of tragedy into acts. Cf. Wörterbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, Hrsg. C. C. Träger, Leipzig 1986, 18.

children¹⁶ / the poison and the knife',¹⁷ 'In that box there's life when it starts getting unbearable'¹⁸ which 'make sure you don't open it before the Furies whistle', 'Nessu's shirt', a phrase from *Agamemnon* ' Ἀρκείτω βίος! Ἰώ! Ἰώ!' (1314), 'Here's the trumpet that destroys the palace revealing the queen in her iniquity', two shores - one, where there is the body and the other, where there is only the kingdom of souls. As we see, the poem describes the world of drama - stage property (the poet confines himself only to their mentioning: 'the masks for three main emotions' and so on), episodes from various plays ('the trumpet that destroys the palace revealing the queen in her iniquity'¹⁹ and even the text of the play (the fifth act, the third Scene); / you remember the speech that begins: / Enough of life! Io! Io!).

Another poem inspired with the *Odyssey* is *Stratis Thalassinos among the Agapanthi*.²⁰ The poem presents several hints from the *Odyssey* and quotes a phrase from the Homeric epic 'παρὰ δῆμον ὀνειρώων' (XXIV, 12) 'past the region of dreams'.

Among the most noteworthy patterns suggesting an ancient concept within the poetic thought is the poem *An Old Man on the River Bank*.²¹ The poem can be broken down into three parts: the first one renders the poet's attitude to the fact that everything flows, all is transient; then follows the so-called ancient part, which can be considered the conceptual basis of the poem and which can be reduced to Heraclites' well-known quote 'πάντα ῥεῖν'; the third part contains guesses on whether what flows is good or bad. 'The long river that emerges from the great lakes enclosed / deep in Africa, / that was once a god and then became a road and a / benefactor, a judge and a delta; / this is never the same, as the ancient wise men taught, / and yet always remains the same body, the same bad, and / the same Sign, / the same orientation'. It has been noted that this part reflects the following passage from Plato's *Cratylus*: 'λέγει που Ἡράκλειτος ὅτι πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, καὶ ποταμοῦ ροῆ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα, ὡς δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης' (402a), which renders the essence of Heraclites' dialectics. However, in my opinion, Seferis goes even farther

¹⁵ The masks for the three dramatic genres are implied.

¹⁶ Cf. ...πέκνα γὰρ κατακτενῶ τῷ (Euripides, *Medea*, 792-793).

¹⁷ Cf. ...φαρμάκους αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν (Euripides, *Medea*, 385).

¹⁸ In my opinion, the poet alludes to Pandora's box.

¹⁹ In my opinion, the phrase alludes to the scene from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, where Clytemnestra and Aegisthus are informed that Agamemnon is back, while the queen mentioned in Seferis' poem must allude to Clytemnestra.

²⁰ Complete Poems, 144.

²¹ Complete Poems, 146.

as concerns the poetic interpretation of the ideas in Plato's *Cratylus*. Seferis illustrates the statement 'everything changes' through mentioning the Nile: 'that was once a god and than became a road and a / benefactor, a judge and a delta; / this is never the same, as the ancient wise men taught, / and yet always remains the same body, the same bad, and / the same Sign, / the same orientation'. He enumerates the signs which point that the Nile nevertheless remains the same: 'and yet always remains the same body, the same bad, and / the same Sign, / the same orientation'. To make my opinion clearer, I will quote the lines in Greek: 'καὶ ἦτανε κάποτε θεὸς κι ἔπειτα γένηκε **δρόμος** καὶ **δωρητῆς** καὶ **δικαστῆς** καὶ **δέλτα** ποὺ δὲν εἶναι ποτέσ του τὸ ἴδιο... κι ὡστόσο μένει πάντα τὸ ἴδιο **σῶμα**, τὸ ἴδιο **στρῶμα**, καὶ τὸ ἴδιο **σημεῖο**.' It suffices to pay attention to the initial letters of word-concepts of the first idea to notice that all the words start with d, and with s in the second case. This, I believe, is reflects of one of the aspects of the so-called linguistic discussion found in Plato's *Cratylus* - in particular, the opposition of arguments: a. the letters included in names cannot correspond to the essence of the designated objects and b. the letters included in names correspond to the essence of the designated objects.²² Researchers pay attention to another line: '... the traveller who is used / to gauging his way by the stars', which is believed to allude to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, line 795.²³

Last Stop,²⁴ written in 1944 and imbued with the terror of the World War II, at first sight contains only several allusions to antiquity. However, a closer analysis of the poem reveals its obvious links with the Chorus in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (160-183). This fairly modern poem is surprisingly consonant with one of the central motifs of Chorus. In view of this, it is no coincidence that the poem is closed with a contracted quotation of two lines from the part. What is the main pathos of Seferis' poem? It is total transience, the highlighting of universal ephemerality, whether a large state and civilization or a human or generations of humans. It is common knowledge that interpretation of the above-mentions passage from Aeschylus' tragedy is the object of disputes among scholars.²⁵ The playwright shows the essence of tragic perception -

²² For more details Cf. Dolidze N., Chief Linguistic Tendencies in Ancient Literature and Plato's *Cratylus*, Tbilisi 1998, 51 ff. (in Georgian).

²³ Cf. καθὼς ὁ στρατοκόπος ποὺ συνήθισε ν' ἀναμετρᾶ τὸ δρόμο του μὲ τ' ἄστρα (Seferis), ἄστροις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκμετρούμενος (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 795). Cf. E. Benedeti, 82.

²⁴ Complete Poems, 154.

²⁵ Apropos this question, Cf. Gordeziani R., Greek Civilisation, vol. 2, Tbilisi 1997, 187 ff. (in Georgian).

learning through suffering: *στάζει δι' ἔνθ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδιάς μνησιπήμων πόνος*' (179). As mentioned above, Seferis quotes them contracted: 'Στάζει τὴ μέρα στάζει στὸν ὕπνο μνησιπήμων πόνος.'

The next piece to discuss in the paper is *Thrush*. It is a quite sizeable poem consisting of three parts. I will avoid analyzing it and will focus only on those passages that include an ancient quotation or a paraphrase. The part of the poem where the first quotation is used carries an allusion to *νέκυια* from the *Odyssey*. Like the *Odyssey*, it also features an old man (here, an old man's voice), who is to prophesy to Odysseus. However, the assumed Tiresias of Seferis utters the words that paraphrase Socrates: 'And if you condemn me to drink poison, I thank you. / Your law will be my law; how can I go wandering from one foreign country to another. A rolling stone. / I prefer death. / Who will come out best only god knows.' Apart from the well-known phrase from the *Apology* - 'Ὅπότεροι δὲ ἡμῶν ἔρχονται ἐπὶ ἄμεινον πρᾶγμα, ἄδηλον παντὶ πλὴν εἰ τῷ θεῷ' (42), it is also the repercussion of Socrates' choice between punishment and its evasion through finding a shelter in a foreign land, as presented in Plato's *Crito*. Transformation of Tiresias into Socrates implies that in this poem Seferis disregards chronological boundaries, making transition from one temporal dimension into another completely free.²⁶

The last part of the poem, *Light*, conveys the pathos of returning as, according to Seferis, he uses 'light' as synonymous of Odysseus' home. The poem, whose essence seems very difficult to explore, presents thoughts and visions of a long-suffering and life-hardened man who has attained communion with the Supreme Truth in the Kingdom of Souls. I will dwell only on the passages associated with antiquity. First, let us consider quotations from ancient writings. Remarkably, mere five lines of the poem (57-61) includes translations from three different works: line 57 'laughter of waves' is the paraphrase of 'ποντίων τε κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα' (89) from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, 'tear-stained laughter' in line 58 is the translation of a phrase from the *Iliad*: 'δακρῦόεν γέλασσα...', while lines 59-60 allude to a passage from Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* (1679-82): 'the old suppliant sees you / as he moves to cross the invisible fields.'²⁷ The poem also has the translation of 'Cras amet qui numquam amavit' from *Pervigilium Veneris*: 'whoever has never loved, will love, / in the light.'

²⁶ Tyresias' transformation into Socrates is difficult to explain even for Seferis. Among its possible reasons he mentions the great impact the *Apology* had on him. Σεφέρης Γ., *Δοκιμές*, Β, Αθήνα 1981, 52 ff.

²⁷ Cf. 'ajskopoi de; plavke" (Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1681).

The very first poem, *Agianapa I*,²⁸ of the collection called *Logbook III*, carries on Seferis' favorite *νέκυνια* motif, however, the reference is much more fragmentary and is confined to allusions as compared with other above-considered poems. It does not mention any name directly associated with antiquity. However, the reader is under the impression that the poem is saturated with the information from ancient Greek myths and classical literature. Admittedly, its very first line carries allusion to the *Iliad*. 'And you see the light of the sun, as the ancients used to say. 'το φως του ήλιου' can be related to Homeric 'φάος ήελίοιο'.²⁹ In my opinion, the function of the vision of sunlight in Seferis' poem is somewhat different from the one it has in the *Iliad*, where the phrase stands for staying alive ('here I see the light of the sun').

The epigraph of poem *Helen*,³⁰ which includes three passages from Euripides' *Helen*, is very original. The references function as three emphases of the poem, three highlighted points. The first passage is Teucer's words about how he was going to reach Cyprus, where, in compliance with Apollo's prophesy, he was to found a city that would substitute his homeland (148-150). The second passage is Helen's words that it was not she who went to Troy but her shadow (582). The third one is the question of the messenger - 'What? You mean it was only for a cloud that we struggled so much?' (706-707). The epigraph makes it clear that Euripides' *Helen* is among the main sources for Seferis poem and the information conveyed by the above-mention three passages is very important. They suggest that a. Teucer went to Cyprus upon Apollo's (i.e. divine) will, which means that Greek settlement on Cyprus was the implementation of Apollo's will; b. Helen did not go to Troy, and consequently, the cause of war was her shadow; c. It is surprising that people take up such labour because of a 'cloud', a 'shadow'. The poem is lavishly threaded with translations and paraphrases of Euripides' tragedy: ἀηδόνι ποιητάρη..., ἀηδόνι ντροπαλο..., δακρυσμένο πουλί...,³¹ ἔτσι τὸ θέλαν οἱ θεοί..., τὸν παλιὸ δόλο τῶν

²⁸ Complete Poems, 173.

²⁹ Cf. ὄφρα δέ μοι ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ήελίοιο (*Ilias*, XVIII, 61); εἶ που ἔτι ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ήελίοιο (*Odyssey*, XIV, 44). Regarding the reference of the text to Homer, see E. Benedeti, 46.

³⁰ Complete Poems, 177.

³¹ Cf. σὲ τὸν αἰδοτάταν ὄρνιθα μελῳδὸν / ἀηδόνα δακρῦέσσαν (*Helena*, 1109-1110).

θεῶν...³² τὸ πούπουλο ἐνὸς Κύκνου...³³ τί εἶναι θεός; τί μὴ θεός; καὶ τί τί ἀνάμεσό τους...³⁴, ἓνα Σκάμαντρο νὰ ξεχειλάει κουφάρια...³⁵

The poem *Memory II*³⁶ gives an account of the narrator's memories of his encounter with some man and their talk, which is presented as a dialogue, although its greater part is uttered by the narrator's interlocutor. The man's first word ends with the translation of the phrase 'ὤντος δὲ' Αἴδης καὶ Διόνυσος' from Heraclites' fragment 15: 'Hades and Dionysus are the same.'³⁷ In view of the accents that follow, the function of the phrase can be quite far-reaching. So far, the central theme has been the comprehensive nature of poem and the main focus fell on poetry, which, embodied in Greek drama, resounded in the theatres of Ionia, and drama is associated with Dionysus. Consequently, from Heraclites' fragment, which conveys a completely different message, Seferis borrows only the phrase that alludes to the possible relationship between the essence of Dionysus and Hades. Thus, the poet offers an exquisite metaphor of the death of poetry at this place (and consequently, the death of this very place, i.e. of Ephesus).

The poem *Salamis in Cyprus*³⁸ presents another interesting convergence of the poet's contemporary dimension with the classical tradition. The title refers to the myth rendered in the above-mentioned poem *Helen* about Teucer's founding a city on Cyprus and calling it Salamis in honor of his homeland. The epigraph of the poem is a phrase from Chorus' words in Aeschylus' *Persians*: '... Σαλαμῖνά τε τᾶς νῦν ματρόπολις πῶνδ' αἰτία στεναγμών' (894-896). In order to understand the function of the phrase more clearly, let us recall its immediate context in the choral part (852-908). A messenger comes to Susa, the capital of Persia, to report about the dismal defeat of the Persians at Salamis. Chorus mentions all the locations under the Persian authority, including Cyprus with its cities Paphos, Solos and Salamis. According to Chorus, this is the very Salamis (i.e. Greek Salamis) whose metropolis became the cause of all their woe. Like in Aeschylus, Salamis is associated with Greek Salamis in Seferis' poem too. The poem is inspired by a real story - occupation of Cyprus by the Englishmen. Once again, the poet most skillfully introduces into the narration phrases and

³² Cf. ... Ἡρας μηχαναῖς ἐθνήσκετε (610), ... τέχναις θεῶν / ὦλοντι' (*Helena*, 930-931).

³³ Cf. ... ὅτε σ' ἐτέκετο ματρόθεν / χιονόχρως Κύκνου πτερῶ (*Helena*, 214-215).

³⁴ Cf. ὅτι θεὸς ἢ μὴ θεὸς ἢ τὸ μέσον (*Helena*, 1109-1110).

³⁵ Cf. ψυχὰι δὲ πολλὰι δι' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις ῥοαῖσιν ἔθανον (*Helena*, 52-53).

³⁶ Complete Poems, 188.

³⁷ According to Benedetti, the preceding five lines reflect this fragment by Heraclites. Cf. E. Benedetti, 115.

³⁸ Complete Poems, 190.

information from Aeschylus' *Persians*, which is surprisingly coherent function-wise. The key phrase of the poem is a quotation from the same tragedy, 'νήσός τις ἔστι' (447), which on the first occasion refers to the recklessness and ruthlessness of war, while in the end of the poem it reappears to mark the recollection of past events. To better understand the function of the phrase, let us resort to its source and recall the above-mentioned passage from Aeschylus' *Persians*, where the messenger reports about the loss of the Persians. When describing the dismal event, the messenger says that 'full against Salamis an isle arises', where the Greeks severely beat the Persians, who had found a shelter on the island.³⁹ Thus, already in Aeschylus, the island, associated with the battle at Salamis, is the symbol of the Persian defeat as well as of the Greek's glorious victory. Seferis uses the symbol both ways. On the one hand, for him it is the historical island attested in the *Persians*, while on the other hand it is any island (including Cyprus) where an analogical event could take place. In the first case, this phrase conveys information about the tragedy on Cyprus and, consequently, it carries a negative function. In the second case, line-ends '... But the messenger moves swiftly, / and however long his journey, he'll bring / to those who tried to shackle the Hellespont / the terrible news from Salamis'⁴⁰ imply certain warning and hope that there is an island where even a great empire encountered defeat. Here, the phrase has a positive function.

The poem *The Cats of Saint Nicholas*⁴¹ is based on a Cyprian legend which tells that monks of the St. Nicolas' monastery kept cats, who, hunting at night snakes that had multiplied in those areas, would die themselves in the end from the poisonous bites. The poem has only one allusion to antiquity, when the poet refers to the myth of Aphrodite to specify the location of that particular beach of Cyprus: '... and there, in the distance to the west, is where Aphrodite rose out of the waves.' Bearing this in mind, one may find it quite unexpected that the epigraph to the poem is a passage from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: 'Τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὁμως ἱμνοδεῖ θρῆνον Ερινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος' (990). In order to better understand the function of the epigraph, it is important to consider its context in Aeschylus. Victorious Agamemnon is back from Troy. Festive mood seems to reign around. Cly-

³⁹ ...νήσός τις ἔστι πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων (*Persai*, 447). The passage alludes to the island of Psyttaleia.

⁴⁰ This passage allude to the following line from the *Persians*: Ἐλλήσποντον ἱρὸν δούλων ὧς δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισε σχήσειν βέοντα (*Persai*, 745-746).

⁴¹ Complete Poems, 220.

temnestra, who has laid a purple carpet in his honor, invites her husband into the palace. Chorus' song conveys a mixed message: all seems to be indicative of joy and festivity; however, Chorus has a premonition of evil, which prevents it from freely expressing its delight. The above-mentioned lines render exactly this mood. Seferis' poem drives us double ways: although people found a way to fight reptiles, eventually, cats, who become people's rescuers, were sacrificed to this. Versifying the story, the poet must have been feeling a certain discrepancy between apparent piece and inner tragism imbued in the local myth. Bearing this in mind, we may assume that Seferis found the lines from his favorite tragedy the best appropriate to render his mood.

The poem *On Stage*⁴², which is very difficult to interpret, shows obvious connection with antiquity. In my opinion, the 'plot' to a certain extent refers to Aeschylus' trilogy, especially to *The Libation Bearers*. The poet presents Clytemnestra right before her death. The poet does not specify details but only offers allusions. Clytemnestra rises from her bed, to which she will never return, she gets out of the bath, in which she revenged on Agamemnon 'What where you after? Your look a stammer. / You had just woken up / leaving the sheets to grow ice-cold / and the baths of revenge.' To refer to the bath, Seferis uses the term 'λουτρόά', which is mentioned several times in the *Libation Bearers*. Besides, the appearance of the slave women, who carry Orestes' things, marks the start of the main phase of the revenge. The slave women figure everywhere. The chief guarantee of the revenge is the earth - 'γή', presented together with 'δίκη'. 'Earth' is mentioned several times in Seferis' poem, which, however, can be a mere coincidence 'Your feet bare on the soil / on the cut frass'; 'you stood rooted to the soil.' Clytemnestra's breasts also have very important function. In the most dramatic moment, when Orestes is going to kill his mother, Clytemnestra shows him her breast, which fed him as an infant. However, neither this argument will stop Orestes - so, Clytemnestra's breast is of stone 'two small purple stones / covered your nipples.' In the *Libation Bearers*, Clytemnestra deliberately follows Orestes into the palace to meet her death; the same happens in Seferis poem, where Clytemnestra obediently accepts her death. The final phrase of the poem 'am I not the sea?' clearly alludes to the well-known phrase from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: Εστίν θάλασσα - τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει' (958), included as a quote or translation in several of Seferis' poems; however, here it is used in a completely different

⁴² Complete Poems, 202.

meaning. In this case, the author puts emphasis on the fact that Clytemnestra is not the inexhaustible sea but a mortal human.

As shown above, Seferis frequently refers to the information from the classical tradition, which appears as a direct quotation, a Modern Greek translation or a paraphrase. In this respect, Aeschylus is the most important source for the poet; Homer comes in the second place, Euripides in the third, while other poets are quoted rarely. Remarkably, most of the ancient quotations used by Seferis are not among those admitted as maxims in world literature, and consequently, appear quite unexpected. They are so inherent with the Modern Greek verse and the new context that the distance between the past and the present, the boundary between ancient and Modern Greek literatures seem to be abolished, which once again accentuate the integrity of Greek culture, Greek civilization. This exactly can be the reason why the poet so frequently resorts to ancient texts.

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CORINNA

There are a lot of arguments in science regarding Corinna's personality and works. There are two main issues: a) Defining presumable period of Corinna's life and activity; b) Identifying the reasons of her popularity since certain époque.

a) Different scientific assertions result in deep gap between époques of Corinna's life and activity. Traditionalists think Corinna belongs to late archaic - early classical époques and is a contemporary to Pindar. Others regard her as a poet of late-Hellenistic époque.¹

I. What are the arguments of traditionalists' assumptions are based on?

1. The data on her works: as it is known, one fragment of Corinna's works survived, where she condemns 'sweet-voiced' Myrtis for daring rivalry with Pindar. According to this fragment Corinna is a contemporary to Pindar, i.e. she acted in V century BC.

2. The tradition, where one can obviously and directly see that she lived in Pindar's époque. For instance, according to Plutarch she won poetry competition against Pindar for five times (Plutarch, *On the Glory of Athens*, 4, 347). Ancient author Pausanias tries to explain Corinna's victory over Pindar. We encounter the following in Pausanias' works: 'I think her success was probably chiefly due to her dialect as opposed to the Dorian of Pindar, she created in a dialect, familiar to Eolians. Besides, if one can trust a picture, Corinna must have been the most beautiful woman of the mentioned period' (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, X, 22, 3). As it is obvious from this saying, Pausanias might had seen Corinna himself or possessed

¹ Schmid W., Stählin O., *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I-II, 7 Bde., München 1920-1948, I, Bd. 1, 445; Lesky A., *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1971², 167.

trustworthy information about her grave stone in Tanagra and her picture in Gymnasia as a sign of her victory over Pindar.

Suda's Corinna's biography was written based on the information of ancient period. We read that Corinna was Achelodorus' and Procratia's daughter, Theban or Tanagran poet, a pupil of Myrtis, a lyric. She defeated Pindar for five times, wrote five books of lyric songs, epigrams and nomoses. Based on this data some scholars think that there might exist a work about the poetic agon, like Homer and Hesiod's agon.

3. Linguistic analysis of Corinna's poetry, which shows tense link to traditions of popular language (it will be discussed below). This can link Corinna to earlier-classical époque, than to Hellenistic.

4. 'The Canon of the Lyric' - it is known that famous law of lyric-poets was developed in Hellenistic époque, where nine best poets of Greece are listed. True, Corinna was not in the list from the beginning, but she was put there later. 'Canon' represents only the poets, having been acted before Hellenism.

II. Arguments of opponents of Corinna's early dating:

1. None of ancient sources mention Corinna before II-I cc. BC. It is not likely that such a popular poet was ignored by whole classicism and great Alexandrian philologists; Corinna's name was not mentioned in the initial variant of the 'The Canon of the Lyric', she was put there later.

2. Analysis of language and style of Corinna's works shows reference to Euripides' tragedies created in middle period of his activity, which can be explained by the fact that poetess of late period used to apply to Euripides' tragedies, when this tragedian had gained a huge popularity in Hellenistic époque.

3. As for the references to Pindar and Myrtis in Corinna's works, it is an example of literary fiction, which became a basis for later-period authors to connect Corinna to Classical époque, i.e. reconstruct Corinna's biography based on poetic fictions.

As we can see, the starting point that feeds these two contradictory assumptions is: on the one hand, the sources that mention Pindar and Corinna together, and assertion of falsification of these sources on the other. I agree with the idea of early dating of Corinna's work and life, so I will not refer to it further. I will try to criticize the arguments of the opponents of Corinna's early dating:

1. It is surely to be taken into consideration that Corinna's name is not mentioned in Ancient sources until a certain period. There might exist several explanations for this: a) during the whole classical period Corinna was regarded as a poet of a local importance in respect with a subject-matter. Respectively

she was not given certain importance at the time when the attention of society was driven to the poetry, oriented to general Hellenistic values. It is certain that many names of poets, belonging to certain localities, were forgotten. We could have never found out the names of poets that Sappho and Alcman mention. The fact is that they really existed and if not the authors that had been in a need of mentioning those, they would have been sunk into oblivion. In Hellenistic époque an interest grew towards less famous or totally strange names. Corinna might have been among them, the poetry of which caught a reader's attention and interest was so high that she was put in the list of Greece best poets; b) Corinna's late appearance might be explained by a plain accident; we can assume that the sources that would mention Corinna did not survive; The key authors that discussed the cardinal issues of poetry development, omitted Corinna, because she did not seem significant to them by her meter, subject-matter, view-point.

2. As for the issues of language and style, it is quite complicated to prove anything. The fact that there is some similarity between Euripides and Corinna can be explained by their inclination to one and the same tradition. Besides we know Boeotian poetry so badly, that it is impossible to define at what extent Corinna's poetry is early or late in relation with Boeotian poetry.

3. The third argument attributes poetic fiction to tradition. This is not certain either. One fact should be definitely considered: the ancient tradition, which was not unanimous even at dating Homer, reveals surprising agreement at dating Corinna and chooses Pindar's époque for defining the period of her activity. This, naturally, is based on the Corinna-created works, as well as the legend about their agon. We can hardly believe that a poetess, acting in Hellenistic époque would belong herself to earlier period and nobody would doubt about it. No ancient source can be found, which would argue Corinna's belonging to classical period. This is the reason why we agree with the assumption of those scholars that regard late-archaic and early-classical period as the time of Corinna life and act. In addition an orientation on Sappho's poetry is observed in women's poetry from late-classical period (it will be discussed below in details). We think that originality of Corinna and her contemporary Myrtis enables us to regard the mentioned époque as a period of their activity, when a Sappho model did not have a big influence on Hellenistic poetry.

b) Activity. D. Page dedicates twenty pages to Corinna's activity in his *Poetae Melici Graeci*.² There are 36 fragments plus 6 fragments of unidenti-

² Page D., *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, Oxford 1962, 325-358.

fied Boeotian poets, some of which could belong to Corinna, but it is hard to prove now. Among the fragments that we have at hand there are few of any importance that could help in forming an idea about Corinna's poetry. Mainly these are 2-3 fragments, obtained after papyrus discoveries.

Fr.1, first published in 1907, embraces about 62 lines that could be read. The rest, much damaged part of the text, about three times more than the identified part, is quite chaotic and vague.

Fr.2 (POxy, 2370) was first published by Lobell and consists of 16 lines and there is some concept in it, but the work seems to be of a bigger volume. Besides, there are fragments confirmed in indirect sources (about twenty lines). They are collected from the works of the authors that quote Corinna in different aspects (mainly as examples of the forms, characteristic to Boeotian dialect).

Notwithstanding these few materials, Corinna seems to have been quite a productive poetess. This fact is confirmed in Suda's biography, where Corinna seems to have written 'five books, epigrams and lyrical nomoses' (Suda, *Corinna*). As we can see, the classification is quite general; it mainly embraces three classes of works.

As for the existing texts, they can be grouped according to a thematic principle. Surely, this can be said only about the fragments, which can be read. It seems that Corinna actively used mythological information. If we regard Plutarch's information about the relations of Pindar and Corinna trustworthy, we can conclude that the latter was quite moderate in using myths: she would urge her contemporary 'to sow them by a hand and not by a sack' (Plutarch, *On the Glory of Athens*, 4, 347). One quite an interesting tendency can be observed in Corinna's works: the poet avoids poetic realization of already elaborated myths and attempts to choose the ones from local Boeotian legends that were ignored by great Greek poets. For instance: Fr.1 tells us about the agon of two brothers: Helikon and Kitheron. At musical-poetic contest conducted at Olympus Helikon would sing about how Kurets raised infant Zeus, kidnapped by Rea in disguise from Kronos.

In Fr.2 Corinna tells us the story of Asopos' daughters that were married to Zeus, Poseidon and Hermes. 'They fulfilled the order of Cyprus and Eros. They gave a birth to the constant, immortal and glorious generation of half-divinity heroes.' The poet names Akraiphon, Euonymus, Hierus and Orion. As soon as we look through antic sources to find out if they mention these heroes, we observe regularity: these sources do not know them at all or the episodes, related to them, which we encounter in

Corinna's works, are unknown to them. Consequently, we can say that Corinna's confirmed and only source is Corinna herself (cf. RML).

Boeotian city Akraiphnion is connected with Akraiphnen's name. And Tanagra, the divinity protecting the city of the same name, was Asopos' daughter (Pausanias, IX, 20, I). It is obvious that in both cases the songs are composed based on local, namely Boeotian legends.

Besides the reflection of mythological cycles, popular in Greece, can be observed in Corinna's poetry. Namely: she seemed to have a work, dedicated to the attack of the Seven against Thebe, as well as the song, dedicated to killing of Teumesian fox by Oedipus. The theme of Heracles in one of her poems was represented by hero's faithful friend-Iolaos. If the mentioned thematic is limited by the cycle of Boeotian and Theban legends, the work *Orestas* (?), which has not survived, might have been of a totally different character. We might consider its plot in the frame of Trojan myths' cycle.³

According to sayings, Corinna had written poems about Athena's shield (Antipater of Thessalonika, *Athena Pallas*, 9, 26); Apollo and Athena (Plutarch, *On Music*, 14) and others gods (Herodianus, *Words without parallels*, 2, 917). The name of Corinna's work *γερποία* is disputable. It had been considered for a long time that it was a story-teller old woman. In this case, it is assumed that Corinna's works were of an ironic character. But on one of the newly discovered papyruses we come across *γερποία* instead of *Feρποία*, the meaning of which is still unknown.⁴

It should be pointed out that a major part of Corinna's fragments are presented in sources for confirmation of this or that grammatical thesis. Nevertheless, nothing specific can be said about the linguistic peculiarities of this poetess, because of meager materials. Boeotian dialect, as well as signs of general Greek poetic upper-dialect can be observed in her fragments. Her language and style seem to be fed by epic tradition.⁵ The arguable issue that is still to be solved is when Corinna's text was written down so, as it has reached us from the orthographic point of view. Majority of scholars think that it might have happened in 225-175 BC.⁶

Therefore it is interesting to find out what is the reason for Corinna's originality that managed to draw attention of Antic society. First of all, we

³ Lesky A., *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München, 1971¹¹, 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁵ Cf. Hoffmann O., Scherer A., *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Bd. I, Berlin 1969, 88.

⁶ Hoffmann, 1969.

should refer to one key issue: what was the main thematic of Corinna's works and who she wrote for. It is significant that notwithstanding few survived fragments, Corinna's works themselves answer these questions (fr. 664 (b) P., fr. 655 P.).

We think that in these two fragments Corinna indicates quite clearly what the topic of her songs is: who she is praising. These are hero men and hero women. The whole polis, the city where she acted, namely Tanagra, is her audience. And mainly women, living in the polis, are her listeners. It is interesting, that Corinna never mentions other city than Tanagra in survived fragments, and she never crosses its border. Therefore it can be definitely said that Corinna's view-point is limited by this audience. Consequently it is obvious that the heroes, that Corinna praises, are framed in local, Boeotian context. The poetess is interested in the issues that are interesting and close to her specific audience. One more circumstance should be noted: Corinna directly separates women among Tanagran people, as the direct addressees of her songs. We should focus of one interesting detail in the above-discussed fragment. Corinna says: '...Terphsiqora summons me so that I can sing beautiful songs about great heroes to Tanagran 'white-peplosed' women' (Fr. 755 P). This passage witnesses the poet's strive to heroization of women's interests, which can, on its part, reflect the ideals of emancipation of classical époque women, discussed above. This fragment also shows that Corinna had well-realized the importance of her songs for her audience. She stresses out that she sings beautiful (*καλά*) songs about great (*μέγα*) heroes and that 'polis rejoices at these songs.' If we recall what we have already discussed above, namely local nature of the myths, selected by Corinna and the high share of Boeotian dialect in her writings, it becomes obvious why the poetess' name did not pass beyond the borders of her audience and the city in the classical époque. Corinna's poetry caught interest only when the audience revealed interest towards the very locality of the poetry. It happened in Hellenistic époque. This might explain the fact why she was listed among lyric-poets of Ancient Greece.

The issue of Corinna's style is to be discussed separately. As soon as we get familiar with the fragment we feel originality of Corinna's language, which can be named as non-highly-flown narration. What do we mean: In the survived poetry we cannot come across the poetic tool, that Homer's epos, Sappho's poetry, her contemporary Pindar's works are so rich with. We mean the way of thinking, poetic formulas, simile, epithets, etc. which give highly-flown style to a poetic piece. We fail to find literary similes, metaphor or other poetic tool in the survived fragments. The only

thing that can catch our attention is a name with an epithet, but their analysis makes it clear that she does not strive to a significant highly-flown style. Using this epithet while describing an event is just a traditional narration.

If we go back to a highly-flown style that was characteristic to Sappho's poetry, we can assume that Corinna's style strongly opposes the style of her predecessor poetess. She was definitely different from her contemporary and compatriot Pindar. Naturally a question arises, how can be explained Corinna's clearly defined narrative style, which differs her from highly-flown style of melic poets. We think that it is realized artistic originality. It seems that the Poetess' main objective was to ignore ornamental, highly-flown style and convey information in a plain and easy way. It goes without saying that such poetry was not liked in ancient Greece in V century BC. Since Hellenistic period two directions had been distinguished in literature: stressed ornamental and artificial style on the one hand, and scientific heaviness on the other. Corinna's poetry seemed to attract readers by its plainness and natural style.

And last, we are interested in the specifics of Corinna, as a poetess. We think several moments should be outlined here: a) regional limitedness; as it was mentioned her listeners inhabit in one polis ('My polis rejoices at my bright songs', fr. 655 P); b) thematic limitedness; we mean local legends, which attract interest of only one region (Boeotia), that other poets did not pay attention at all; c) interest towards the stories on hero-men and women ('Glory to virtue of men and women heroes' fr. 664 P) and focus on female audience ('I sing beautiful songs about great heroes to Tanagran 'white-peplosed women' fr. 655 P).

I think, because of meager survived fragments, it is complicated to talk about other specific womanish signs of Corinna's poetry. I mean women's world, their emotions, perception of events, which is so strong in Sappho's poetry. Corinna must have been very popular in Hellenistic world and ancient Rome; the fact that great Ovid named his beloved after her name, also confirms this fact. Another great Roman poet Propertius equals the poetic excellence of his beloved to Corinna's (II, III, 21). It should be added as well that Corinna was the only one, after Sappho, having a privilege to be listed in 'The Canon of the Lyric' among male poets (even in late tradition).

Rusudan Tsanava (Tbilisi)

INITIATION OF TELEMACHOS
(ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF THE *ODYSSEY*)

Oh, how you need far-away Odysseus
ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποικομένον Ὀδυσῆος δεύη I, 253

According to *Odyssey*, Odysseus's son Telemachos is precisely at the age of initiation (20-21 years old), i.e. the age of transition from adolescence to manhood. The status of ἀνὴρ could be obtained at different times and ages. The age of 18 was officially accepted in Classic Greece. In *Odyssey*, Telemachos is being initiated in the presence of readers. In my opinion, it is this process that the first four books of the text (*Telemachiad*) describe. Goddess Athena undertakes and carries out the initiation of Telemachos. She appears to the youth in two forms, 'preparing' the son to meet his father. Telemachos should be a man, when he meets Odysseus, in order to have the gods' ideas implemented.

Telemachos appears in the very first book of *Odyssey*. He is sitting sad among his mother's suitors (who are throwing dice, entertaining themselves), dreaming: if my glorious father returned οσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλόν, ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθων I, 115)¹ and drove the suitors to their homes (μνηστηρῶν τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείη I, 116), he could regain his power and wealth (τιμῆν δι' αὐτὸς ἔχει καὶ κτήμασιν οἰσιν ἀνάσσοι I, 117). It is here that Athena appears to him. She introduced herself to Telemachos as Mentès, the king of Taphians², who was linked to Odysseus with rules of hospitality. Telemachos told Athena-Mentès: If [Odysseus] could be seen back to Ithaca now, you would see all [suitors]

¹ Hereinafter texts are cited from: Homer, *Odyssey*, with introduction, notes, etc. by W.W. Merry, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1961.

² Τάφος is situated close to Ithaca, between Leucadia and Acarnania.

dreaming to have quickest feet, not gold or garments (εἰ κείνόν γ' Ἰθάκηνδ' ἰδοίαιτο νοστήσαντα I, 163, πάντες κ' ἄρησαίαι' ἐλαφρότεροι πόδας εἶναι 164 ἢ ἀφνειότεροι χρυσοῖό τε ἐσθῆτός τε 165).

We can see that Telemachos does not even dare to think about putting up resistance to the suitors. He is just daydreaming like an angry child about his all-powerful father appearing and coping with the shameless aggressors with one blow. The problem is that the suitors are almost of the same age as Telemachos, but they are numerous, while Telemachos is alone and, at the same time, lacks Odysseus's courage. Athena undertook to 'transform' the youth 'into a man'. Consistent actions are necessary to this end: 1. The first thing the goddess is to do is to arouse μένος³ in Odysseus's son (καί οἱ μένος ἐν φρεσὶ θεῖω I, 89); 2. Telemachos inspired by wrath and boldness should convoke an assembly of the Achaeans to make a decision that the suitors are prohibited from entering Odysseus's home and ravaging his bulls and sheep (I, 90-92); 3. Telemachos should go to Sparta and Pylos to learn something about the return of his beloved father (νόστον πεισόμενον πατρός φίλου, ἦν που ακοῦσῃ I, 94); 4. He should earn a good reputation among people (I, 95).

If we apply the traditional mythoritual model of the 'birth' of a hero to Athena's decision, it will become evident that the goddess's efforts are to give birth to a new hero. Zeus's daughter implements her plan in two stages. She first takes the shape of Mentos, whose main aim is to give hope to the youth. The visitor tells Telemachos insistently and categorically that Odysseus will soon come back (I, 194-195), that he did not perish on land, but is alive and locked on an island surrounded by the sea and can be tormented among savage beasts. Listen to me, she says, my prophecy is what the great gods put in my heart, which will come true without fail. I believe in that, although I am not a prophet. He will not remain far away from his beloved homeland for long. Even if he is in iron fetters, he will find the correct way and return home. No one is as ingenious as he is (οὐδ' εἶ πέρ τε σιδήρεα δέσματ' ἔχῃσι· I, 204 φράσσεται ὡς κε νήηται, ἐπεὶ πολυμήχανός ἐστιν I, 205).

Athena then notes that Telemachos looks amazingly like Odysseus with his head and beautiful eyes (I, 207-209). 'Are you indeed Odysseus's son?' the visitor asks. I believe that Telemachos's answer deserves detailed analysis. Therefore, we should follow the text carefully: 'I had better not had such an ill-fated father. It would have been better if he had lived in his homeland till his old age (ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον μάκαρός νύ τευ ἔμμεναι υἱός I, 217 ἀέρος, ὃν κτεάτεσσιν εἰς ἔπι γῆρας ἔτετμε I, 218). He, who is the most unlucky among mortals, is my father. This is what people think' (I, 218-220).

³ μένος, εἶδος, τό - 1. force, power, aspiration; 2. rage, anger; 3. force of life ... See more.

Telemachos then continues: there was time, when our home was full of wealth. The gods' benevolence is no longer there. His (Odysseus's) story is foggy. I would not lament him to this extent, had he fallen on the war-torn land of Troy together with his friends (ἐπεὶ οὐ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ' ἀκαχοίμην, I, 236, εἰ μετὰ οἷς ἑτάποισι δάμη Τρώων ἐνὶ δῆμῳ 237, ἢ ἐ φίλων ἐν χερσὶν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον πολύπευσε 238). The Achaeans would have made a mound for him and he would have left his eternal name to his son (I, 239-240). However, Harpies have taken him (Odysseus) now. He is lost without any trace and grave. Everyone has forgotten him. He has left only trouble and lamentations to me (I, 241-244). However, I am not lamenting him alone. The gods have brought another trouble down on me. Noble chiefs from various islands - Dulichia, Same, forested Zacynthos, and rocky Ithaca, my mother Penelope's suitors (μυῶνται I, 248), are ravaging our home. She (Penelope) does not want the loathsome marriage, but is unable to resist either (ἢ δ' οὔτ' ἀρείται στυγρὸν γάμον οὔτε τελευτῆν ποιῆσαι δύναται I, 249-250). They are swallowing our wealth and will ultimately ruin me too (I, 250-251).

This passage shows full well the situation on Ithaca. Young Telemachos, who cannot bear his mother's suitors, has to sit together with them, entertain himself, and feast with them. His father's return is a vain and unrealizable dream for him. Moreover, Telemachos wants everything to be clear. He wants to know if Odysseus is dead. He wishes him to have fallen on the Trojan land as a famous man, leaving his good name to his son. If we take a careful look, we will see that Telemachos is angry. Being Odysseus's son has brought him only problems. That is why he is 'philosophising' that he does not know for sure, who his father is and that he knows only what his mother is telling him. Even if we regard these words of Telemachos as a joke, they are nevertheless words of an angry person. It is not difficult to explain this. He does not remember his father, as he was a baby, when Odysseus went to war and his grandfather went to live in a village too. The boy grew up surrounded by women (mother, grandmother, and nurse). Odysseus's having fought heroically in Troy has done nothing good to Telemachos. In addition, no one knows whether he is alive or not. Had he died, he would have left his name to his son, but his mother's suitors are now ruining his home. He can do nothing about that and no help is expected from anywhere.

Having listened to Telemachos's monologue, Athena-Mentes says: Oh, how you need far-away Odysseus (ὦ πόποι, ἡ δὲ πολλὸν ἀποικομένου Οδυσῆος δεύη I, 253). She makes a precise assessment of the situation and follows Telemachos's dreams, but returns to reality very soon. She first says with confidence that Odysseus is to return very soon, but then changes tack,

saying that they cannot guess the gods' will and their determination to get him back or not. After that, Athena-Mentes starts speaking about business, telling Telemachos that they should think together how to evict the suitors.

From this moment, Athena-Mentes assumes Telemachos's role, urging him to act, although he has lost all hope and has reconciled himself with his fate. It is here that Telemachos's initiation starts. What is Odysseus's son to do? He should leave home (cease being under his mother's patronage), mix with people, learn how to establish relations, obtain information, and analyse it, which is supposed to enable him to make decisions and implement them. To achieve all that Telemachos needs force and appropriate spirit – μένος, which the goddess gives him. The plan should be implemented step by step. Athena-Mentes instructs Telemachos: 1. To convene a meeting of noble Achaeans on the next day, say everything, calling immortals as witnesses, and demand that all suitors return to their homes. If his mother wants to marry, she should return to her father Icarios, where the beloved daughter will be given in marriage (I, 272-278); 2. To go, together with 20 rowers, by ship to his father, who is far away (ἔρχεο πευσόμενος παρὸς δὴν οἰχομενοιο I, 281), in order to learn, what mortals are saying, or listen to the story (gossip) coming from Zeus, which is often a subject for consideration for people (ἦν τίς τοι εἴπησι βροτῶν, ἢ ὄσσαν ἀκούσης I, 282 ἐκ Διὸς, ἢ τε μάλιστα φέρει κλέος ἀνθρώποισι I, 283). Telemachos should first go to Pylos to see Nestor and then to Sparta to see Menelaus, who was the last Achaean to return home. If he learns that his father is to return, he should bear humiliation again. If he learns from rumours that he has died, he should go back home, render homage to him, and mourn in accordance with the rules. He should then convince his mother to get married (I, 284-292) and, when these are over, think about how to kill suitors by ruse or by force (I, 293-296). Athena-Mentes tells Telemachos that it is not appropriate for him to remain a child, as he is no longer a youth (οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ νηπιᾶς ὀχέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλικὸς ἐσσί I, 296-297), holding up as an example Orestes, who took revenge on his father's killers and made an immortal's name for himself (I, 298-302).

We can see that Athena-Mentes set a clear action plan for Odysseus's son. Penelope's suitors are 'dead' Odysseus's enemies, not those of Telemachos. The suitors will become Telemachos's personal enemies, when he becomes head of the family. The place is still free, 'protected' by Penelope. Telemachos should obtain the right to be the head and deserve it. It is no good to sit aggrieved side by side with his mother's suitors. It is time for decisive action.

There is nothing unusual in Athena-Mentes's plan. The person, who is being initiated, should leave his home, take a path, overcome obstacles, and return home in possession of knowledge. One thing attracts attention here: Athena-Mentes demands that Telemachos listen to and collect rumours about Odysseus. In Greek mythology, ὄσσα personifies gossip and rumours. The etymology of this word is linked to Sanscrit *vák* and Latin *vox* - 'voice'. Οσ-σα is Zeus's messenger. It is in accordance with Zeus's will that ὄσσα incites Achaeans in Troy to unite and resolve the future of the army (*Il.*, II, 94). Οσ-σα is very quick in delivering information from Zeus (*Od.*, I, 281-283; II, 216). He informs the Ithacans about the killing of the suitors (XXIV, 413-415).

Phama has the same function. With Sophocles, Phama is a message, divine voice, 'the son of golden hope'. Both ὄσσα and μῦθος come from Zeus, but the Thunderer makes divine aieds deliver (sing) a μῦθος (message), and the wretched and self-styled prophets deliver ὄσσα. In addition, μῦθος is regarded as a genuine message, but ὄσσα is not. In reality, there is as much truth in μῦθος as falsehood in ὄσσα. Therefore, μῦθος (message) and ὄσσα (gossip) supplement each other to a certain extent, shaping public opinion and ideals (or vice versa). It can be said that ὄσσα is the shadow of μῦθος.

The problem is that Telemachos can indeed collect only gossip about Odysseus, because no one has seen Odysseus since the Trojan War. Proteus is the most reliable source, as he saw weeping Laertid in Ogygia. If rumours can be classified, what Proteus says is the most reliable rumour. Other rumours are based on various sources. Some are being disseminated by adventurist tramps for the sake of profit, some by prophets (including Proteus, Halitherses, and others), and others by the gods themselves (for example, Athena, who knows that Odysseus is alive, but does not maintain that for sure or, to be more correct, at times she confirms that and at times she does not. She advises Odysseus to lie too. To say the truth, Odysseus is also disseminating gossip about Odysseus). One thing is clear: the gossip comes from Zeus himself and it has a certain aim.

What is the aim of rumours about Odysseus's return and why should Telemachos 'collect' them? In my opinion, this has a concrete aim for the initiative involving Telemachos. The point is that collecting and analyzing rumours requires a certain intellectual level, experience, and knowledge of life. If Telemachos distinguishes between the liars and the honest and finds in the rumours the grain, which may be close to the truth, he will confirm that he is intellectually mature. Even if the rumour about Odysseus being alive and intending to return remains a rumour (i.e. even if Odysseus is indeed dead), Telemachos should realize that people do not want him to be dead, and this may be even more important than Odysseus's being alive.

Athena-Mentes tells Telemachos several times that he should not behave like a child, as he is already grown-up (οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ νηπιίας ὀχέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλικὸς ἐσσί I, 296-7). Having given him advice, Athena-Mentes flies away like a bird (ὄρνις δι' ὧς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο I, 320). She 'implants' into him a spirit (rage) and courage, and reminds him of his father (τῷ δι' ἐνὶ θυμῷ θῆκε μένος καὶ θαρσος, ὑπέμνησέν τέ ἐ πατρός I, 320-1). His soul, heart, and mind are moved, when he realises that the goddess has appeared to him (μᾶλλον ἔτι ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν. ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ἧσι νοήσας θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμόν· οἴσατο γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι I, 322-323).⁴ After the conversation with Athena-Mentes, Telemachos's face lights up like that of a deity (ἐπώχματο ἰσόθεος φῶς I, 324) and the change becomes evident to everyone - both Penelope and her suitors.

I will now dwell on one episode, which is noteworthy from a number of viewpoints. While Athena-Mentes is speaking to Telemachos, divine singer Phemios comes up to the suitors and starts singing about the difficult return of Trojan heroes. Penelope, together with two of her escort comes down from her room to listen to the singer. The lady asks Phemios to sing something else, because these sad stories fill her heart with sorrow, reminding her that she (Penelope) is the unhappiest person, because she lost such a husband. She suffers heavily for having lost the man, who became famous in the whole of Hellas and Argos (I, 325-344). Telemachos opposes his mother here. In his opinion, the aed's song has a divine meaning. He asks her mother (ἀντίου ηὔδα I, 345), why she wants to prohibit the singer from pleasing them by singing what comes from his mind (τί τι ἄρα φρονέεις ἐρίηρον ἀοιδὸν τέρπειν ἐμῆ, τί τι ἄρα φρονέεις ἐρίηρον ἀοιδὸν τέρπειν ὄππῃ οἱ νόος ὄρνυται I, 346-348), noting that she should not resist the song about the Danaeans' terrible return, as people always listen to this song (this singer) with good disposition (praiseworthy mood), repeatedly inflaming their souls with this song, as if it were new (τήν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσι ἄνθρωποι, ἢ τις ἀκουόντεςσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται I, 351-352). Telemachos says that she should strengthen her soul and heart to listen to it (σοὶ δι' ἐπιτολμάτω κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀκούειν· I, 353), because it was not only Odysseus, but also many other well-known people, who lost the day of return from Troy in accordance with the gods' decision (οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς οἶος ἀπώλεσε νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ I, 354 ἐν Τροίῃ, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι φῶτες ὄλοντο I, 355).

It is quite clear from these strophes that Telemachos does not say that his father is dead like others. He says that 'he has lost the day of his return'

⁴ θάμβησεν < θαμβέω - 'stupefaction, amazement' are ritual terms. The aim of the ritual is to move a person's soul and heart.

(ἀπώλεσε νόστιμό ἦμαρ). He also says that there were others together with Odysseus and they should not be forgotten. The most important thing in this passage is that Telemachos has understood full well the implications of Athena's advice concerning the importance of words: songs, praises for heroes, and their remembrance are a precondition for renovating the past and inflating listeners' souls. Zeus himself has set the rule for people to listen to these songs. Divine songs, like ὄσσα, come from Zeus and they have concrete goals.

After this monologue, Telemachos tells his mother to go to her room and do her own business, i.e. oversee the family household – knitting, weaving, and so forth, as it is man's business to speak, not woman's, which means that from now on, it is Telemachos, who will speak, not Penelope, as he is the master in the house (μῦθος δὲ ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει πάσι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστι ἐνὶ οἴκῳ I, 358-9). Penelope, who is stunned (θαμβήσασα I, 360) by her child's (παιδὸς I, 361) reasonable words and behaviour, goes to her room (I, 360-363). Telemachos tells the suitors firmly that they are arrogant people and they should stop their noisy feasts and listen to aeds, who are like the gods (inspired by the gods) (I, 368-371). He also tells them that at dawn, he urges them to assemble at the agora, where he will tell them directly to leave (his) home (I, 372-373) and organise feasts at their own expense or ruin someone from their ranks, if they want; I will call upon the gods; Zeus may grant requital of that deeds (ἐγὼ δὲ θεοῦς ἐπιβώσομαι αἰὲν ἔοντας I, 378, αἶ κε ποθὶ Ζεὺς δῶσι παλίνιτα ἔργα γενέσθαι I, 379).

The suitors are also surprised at Telemachos's behaviour (his bold words), because nothing like that has happened before. Antinoos tells the host that the gods have probably taught him (διδάσκουσιν θεοὶ αὐτοῖ I, 384) to be so bold and defiant and that time will be hard on them when he becomes their king on Ithaca in accordance with Cronion's will, to which he has the right thanks to his origin (I, 386-387). Telemachos answers them that he would have accepted power with pleasure, if Zeus gave it to him. He said that it is not bad to be a king; wealth accumulates quickly at the royal house and people respect rulers very much; however, many can be found among old and young Achaeans (residents of Ithaca) and it is possible to choose among them, since Odysseus is dead (ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς I, 396). He says that anyway, he is the ruler at his home (I, 402-405) and he has the power over slaves (I, 398-399), whom Odysseus captured in wars.

Eurymachos says, answering him that they do not know the gods' will on who is to rule on Ithaca (I, 400-401) and that no one of them intends to deprive him of his property, and asks who his visitor was (I, 402-405). The sui-

tors linked Telemachos's transformation with the visitor, who disappeared in a strange manner.

One more detail is interesting: Telemachos does not mention Odysseus as dead, when he speaks to his mother, but in conversation with her suitors, on the contrary, he says several times that Odysseus is dead (θάνε I, 396, ἀπώλετο I, 413). He says that he no longer thinks about the return of his father and that he will not trust any stories, which may give rise to hope, and will not pay attention to prophets, whom his mother used to summon to their house (I, 413-416). Although Telemachos said this, deep in his heart, he was sure that he saw an immortal god (I, 420). He seems to have tabooed Odysseus's return, as what he knows should not become known too early. That is why he is very categorical in conversation with the suitors, saying that he no longer believes that his father will return, because he is indeed dead.

Thus, Telemachos passed the first stage of initiation. He proved to be a talented pupil and learned the first lesson delivered by the goddess quite quickly, following her instructions. He said what he was to say and concealed what he should not have said. Telemachos's permanent epithet is πεπνυμένος⁵ (reasonable, wise, judging, intelligent).⁶

In Book II, Telemachos resorts to action, starting to fulfil Athena-Mentes's instructions. His first serious test is the assembly of the Ithacans. The text makes it clear that there has been no assembly or meeting on the island since Odysseus left Ithaca (II, 25-27). Therefore, people assemble at the agora quite quickly, waiting with interests to learn the reason for the gathering. They suspect that someone may have learned news about the war or may want to give people a piece of wise advice (II, 30-32). Elders are among them.

Against the background of these expectations, Telemachos, who is sitting in his father's throne (ἔζετο δι' ἐν πατρὸς θώκῳ II, 14), stands up, looking like a god (θεῶν ἐναλίκιος II, 30). He holds a copper spear in his hand (παλάμη δ' ἔχε χάλκεον ἔγχος II, 10). Telemachos's appearance, behaviour, and confidence obviously points to his transformation. Before he starts speaking, mes-

⁵ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος (I, 153; 230; 306; 365-7; 367; 412; II, 129; 371; III, 21; 201; 225; 239. IV, 290; 315; XV, 84; 154; 179; 279; 264; 502; 512; 535; XVI, 30; 68; 112; 146; 162; 240; XVII, 45; 77; 107; 392; 398; 598; XVIII, 226; XIX, 26; XX, 338; XXI, 343; XXIV, 510); Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής (I, 103; III, 343; XVI, 20; XVII, 391, etc.); Οδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός II, 415; III, etc.

⁶ Comment to line 213: πεπνυμένος – Irregular perf. part. from πνέο. Lit. 'having the breath of life' (*Od.*, 10.495) and thence = 'intelligent'.
Comment to line 230: 'To plan everything with cleverness'. see Homer, *Odyssey*, with Introduction, notes, etc. W.W. Merry, Books I, II, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1961.

senger Pisenoros gives him a scepter (σκήπτρον δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε II, 37). Telemachos equipped with all symbols of power addresses the Ithacans. He says that his heart is full of sorrow, he does not know anything about the return of the army, and is unable to give them a useful piece of advice. He also says that he intends to speak to them about his personal pains (II, 42-45).

He formulated what he wanted to say in the following manner: 1. My famous father (πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα II, 46), who was your king and loved you like his sons, has died (ὅς ποτ' ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖσδεσσι βασιλεὺς, πατὴρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν· II, 46-47); 2. A new trouble has struck me down now and my home is collapsing. The suitors are ruining everything. They do not want to address Icaros and to ask for her (Penelope's) hand (II, 48-58). There is no person like Odysseus, who could save us from this trouble (οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνήρ οἰός' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκειν, ἀρῆν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμύναι II, 59), and we do not have sufficient power to put up resistance either. Had I had the power, I would have combated the violence (ἦ τ' ἄν ἀνναίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γέ παρείη I, 62). However, I can no longer tolerate that.

From this moment, Telemachos's address to the Ithacans changes in manner. It is the son, who is to clarify now, why his fellow islanders do not sympathise with Odysseus's family, because Penelope's suitors would not be so arrogant without the Ithacans' secret or open accord (there were quite a lot of Ithacans among the suitors). Telemachos speaks cautiously in order not to anger the people and his indignation at his fellow citizens is rather implied than declared.

Telemachos tells the Ithacans that they should be ashamed before neighbours or fear the gods' rage to prevent their bad deeds from rebounding on them, because they did not lift a finger, seeing trouble in his family (II, 55-59). Then he asks them whether they were taking revenge on him being offended by Odysseus (εἰ μὴ πού τι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐσθλὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς δυσμενέων κακὴ ἔρεξεν ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς, τῶν μὲν ἀποτινύμενοι κακὰ ῥέζετε δυσμενεῖτες, τούτους ὀτρύνοντες II, 71-74). He says that he would prefer them to ruin his property, as he could demand everything and would never leave them in peace until he regained everything. He also says that his soul was moved by their passiveness (νῦν δέ μοι ἀπρήκτους δόδυνας ἐμβάλλετε θυμῷ II, 79). Then he flings the sceptre down and starts weeping ("Ὡς φάτο χροόμενος, ποτὶ δὲ σκήπτρον βάλε γαίην, δάκρυ' ἀναπρήσᾳ· II, 80-1). People sympathise with him (οἰκτος δ' ἔλε λαὸν ἅπαντα II, 81).

Thirty-nine lines are devoted to Telemachos's speech. It can be said that it is an excellent example of a public speech. Telemachos's aim was to cause people's sympathy and he achieved the goal too. Correspondingly, the son not only looked like his father (which Athena-Mentes noted), but he resem-

bled him in his ability to convince people and make speeches. This makes it clear, why *πεπνύμενος* is his permanent epithet.

It is also clear that Telemachos has taken the path of initiation. He convenes an assembly (which no one has done since Odysseus's departure), sits in his father's throne, and speaks to the people with the symbol of power – sceptre – in his hand. Telemachos transforms his family's problems into a subject for public discussion and that is no accident either. Now that time has come for Odysseus to return (which Telemachos learned from Athena), it is necessary to clarify how the population of Ithaca is disposed towards Odysseus and his family.

The epic narration and Homer's skills make this short passage amazingly capacious. We can watch how the long-haired Achaeans assemble at the agora. Telemachos comes alone, accompanied only by dogs (II, 10-11). Aegyptios is the first to speak with lonesome Telemachos, whose beauty is divine. Old, hunched, and knowledgeable Aegyptios is the father of Odysseus's companion Antiphos devoured by Cyclops Polyphemos [It was Odysseus's whim to enter the Cyclops's cave, while his companions were against that]. The old man always mourned his lost son, weeping. People expecting to hear news about their loved ones, who went to war, are effectively standing in front of Telemachos in the shape of Aegyptios. This endless expectation can not only be felt, but a question is also asked about anyone who could have learned anything about the war (II, 30).

Reading this part of the poem, one gets the impression that, when Odysseus and best young men of Ithaca went to Troy, life came to a standstill on the island and everyone switched to the 'expectation mode'. No assemblies have been convoked since then and they seem not to have been necessary either. The Trojan War started 20 years ago. Stories about the war and other Achaeans, who returned to their homes, have reached Ithaca, but everyone is keeping silent about the Ithacans. The silence is already unbearable. It is against this difficult background that Telemachos has to speak to his fellow-citizens, and he has to do that for the first time in his life. At the beginning, he seems to be apologising for summoning the Ithacans to ask them for help, not to inform them about what is interesting for them or to give them advice (II, 40-44). The very beginning of his speech makes it clear that the 'the Ithacans, who gathered at the assembly quickly' (II, 8-9), are disappointed, as they will not learn anything about their family members, who went to war. That is why Telemachos should choose words, which will reach their hearts and cause sympathy. He says publicly that his father is dead. The statement is, of course, supposed to cause sympathy. By officially admitting that Odysseus is

dead, Telemachos causes sympathy on the one hand and eyes sentiments towards the 'deceased man' on the other.

Telemachos then starts speaking about the suitors' shameless behaviour, urging gods – Zeus and Themis – to be the judges and accusing his fellow citizens of inactivity. In conclusion, he asks a question, for which, in my opinion, the whole scene was written: Are you not revenging on me, being angry at my father?

One of the suitors – Antinoos – responds to Telemachos's accusation, blaming Penelope for everything. He says that the suitors' claims are 'lawful', but Penelope has been deceiving them shamelessly (II, 85-128). Telemachos explains to Antinoos, why he is unable to force his mother to leave his home: 1. My mother gave birth to me and raised me, while my father is far away and I do not know whether he is dead or alive (II, 131-132); 2. Icaros will be quite harsh with me, if I take my mother to his home without taking his will into account, and my father will be quite angry too (II, 133-134), while my mother will send demons – terrible Erinyes – to deal with me (II, 135). In addition, that is eternal shame in the eyes of the people (II, 136-137); 3. Leave my home, (suitors) (I, 139). If you continue to ruin my property, I will call the gods (ἐγὼ δὲ θεοὺς ἐπιβόσομαι αἰὲν ἑόντας II, 143). The fact that Telemachos has become the one chosen by the gods is confirmed by divine signs. The point is that two truths were said at the Ithacans' trial – those of Telemachos and the suitors. According to the message from the prophet of birds, Halitherses,⁷ the truth is on Telemachos's side and the future of the suitors is dark, as Odysseus will soon return and ruin everyone (II, 157-160). Halitherses says that he told Odysseus fortune before he went to Troy, saying that he would return 20 years after the end of the war, and it is now time for the prophesy to come true. One of the suitors – Eurymachos – reviles the prophet, saying that he is 'increasing' Telemachos's rage with his words (Τηλέμαχον κεχολωμένον ὡδ' ἀνιείης II, 185) and other suitors tell Halitherses that, if he inflames rage in the young man with his futile words (αἶ κε νεώτερον ἄνδρα παλαιά τε πολλὰ τε εἰδὼς παρφάμεμος ἐπέεσσιν ἐποτρυνῆς, χαλεπαίνειν II, 188-189), Telemachos himself will suffer. Eurymachos then repeats what he said previously: Telemachos should order (force) his mother to return to her father and Icaros will give her a rich dowry and marry her off. He says that they, suitors, will not go anywhere, as they are not afraid either of Telemachos or prophesies (II, 195-201).

⁷ Two eagles pecking at each other appeared in the sky during the argument between Telemachos and the suitors.

Telemachos then tells the assembled people: 1. Give me a boat with 20 rowers to go to Sparta and sandy Pylos. I will probably learn something from mortals about my father's return or hear an ὄσσα coming from Zeus, or probably noblemen will tell me something (πευσόμενος πατρὸς δὴν οἰχομένοιο ἢ τίς μοι εἴπησι βροτῶν, ἢ ὄσσαν ἀκούσω ἐκ Διὸς, ἢ τε μάλιστα φέρει κλέος ἀνθρώποισιν II, 215-217); 2. If I learn that Odysseus is alive and is to return, I will wait for him for another year (II, 219-220); 3. If I learn that he has died, I will make a mound for him in accordance with the rules of burial (II, 221-22); 4. I will then marry my mother off (II, 223).

Thus, Telemachos fulfils Athena-Mentes's instructions fully and successfully. Correspondingly, the first stage of the initiation is successful. Several points attract attention at this stage. At the beginning, Telemachos says that his father is dead, but then the 'game' of assumptions starts again. What if he is alive? Halitherses maintains for sure that he is alive. To find out the truth once and for all, Telemachos is ready to travel. Another stage of initiation starts here.

Few sons are similar to their fathers and most of them are bad, while very few are better (παῦροι γὰρ τοὶ παῖδες ὁμοῖοι πατρὶ πέλονται, οἱ πλεονες κακίους, παῦροι δὲ τε πατρὸς ἀπίους II, 276-277).

This stage can be described as preparations and starting off. From this moment, Telemachos has a new helper – Athena-Mentor.⁸

After the Ithacans' assembly ends, the suitors go to Odysseus's home and Telemachos goes to the seashore. He washes his hands in salty water there and implores Athena (II, 261). Telemachos knows that it was Athena, who visited him and gave him instructions the day before (χθιζός). He realises, who his 'helper' is. He knows that he should cross the foggy sea (II, 263) and learn (πευσόμενον II, 264) something about his father, who left long ago (264), but the Achaeans, particularly the swaggering suitors, are hindering his journey (κακῶς ὑπιρηνόροντες II, 266).

Athena-Mentor tells him that people will be unable to call him either cowardly or unreasonable (Τηλέμαχι, οὐδὲ ὄπιθεν κακὸς ἔσσειται οὐδὲ ἀνοήμων II, 270), if he shows his father's powerful spirit (μένος) (εἰ δὴ τοι σοῦ πατρὸς ἐνέστακται μένος ἠὲ II, 271), which helped him achieve anything by deeds and words (οἶος κείνος ἔην τελέσαι ἔργον τε ἔπος τε II, 272). To travel by sea will be good too (οὐ τοι ἔπειθ' ἀλίη ὁδὸς ἔσσειται οὐδὲ ἀτελεσ-

⁸ Mentor is Odysseus's famous friend, to whom Odysseus entrusted his home (II, 225-226). Mentor defended Telemachos at the assembly, urging people to protect his house, but in vain, because the Ithacans said that they were afraid of the suitors. When the assembly dispersed, the suitors went to Telemachos's home again.

τος II, 273), because it is not in vain that he is Penelope's descendant (εἰ δὲ οὐ κείνου γὰρ ἔσσι γόνος καὶ Πηνελοπέϊης II, 274). She says that there are hopes that he will achieve what is planned (οὐ σέ γὰρ ἔπειτα ἔολπα τελευτήσῃν ἃ μαινῶς II, 275). Few sons are similar to their fathers, she says, and most of them are bad, while very few are better (παῦροι γάρ τοι παῖδες ὁμοῖοι πατρὶ πέλονται, οἱ πλείονες κακίους, παῦροι δέ τε πατρὸς ἀπειούς II, 276-277). After that (i.e. after he fulfils the instructions), Telemachos will no longer be bad or unreasonable. Athena says that Odysseus's wisdom has not weakened within him (ἀλλὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὄπιθεν κακὸς ἔσσεται οὐδὲ ἀνοήμων, οὐδέ σε πάγχυ γε μήτις Ὀδυσσῆος προλέλοιπεν II, 278-279) and he will hopefully accomplish what is to be done (ἐλπωρή τοι ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃσι τὰδε ἔργα II, 280). As regards the suitors, whose ideas and reason resemble those of witless people; do not know either the plan (νοήμονες) or laws (rules) (δίκαιοι). They are unable to see death and their dark fate that are coming closer to them in order to destroy all of them (II, 281-284). Athena tells him not to delay his journey (II, 285). I (Mentor), she says, am your friends and adoptive father (τοῖς γάρ τοι ἐταῖρος ἐγὼ πατρῷός εἰμι II, 286) and promises to give him a fast ship and travel with him (II, 287). Athena-Mentor then tells Telemachos how much flour, wine, and other products he needs for the journey.

At the second stage of the initiation, Athena effectively discloses everything to Telemachos. It is clear that he is not an ordinary initiate, but he, just like his father, is consecrated by a deity. That is why in her monologue, Athena underscores the similarity between the son and the father. Telemachos's appearance is similar to that of Odysseus (Athena-Mentes said this earlier). His is also a good orator and reasonable like his father. Athena is satisfied with the fact that Telemachos does everything exactly like she would like him to do without any need for her to give him instructions twice, and he sometimes does things without any instructions. Correspondingly, he is among those sons, who are no worse than their famous fathers, because, as a rule, few sons resemble their famous fathers. Odysseus's spirit (μῆνος) should be reinforced in Telemachos. What he has done (claimed his rights) alone is not sufficient for this purpose. He must travel his road, collect and analyse ὄσσα about his father (i.e. become familiar with his father, before he meets him, because his impression of him is vague. Others are in a better position to tell him about his heroic deeds). From this moment on, Telemachos is in a more advantageous position than the suitors. Although they are numerous, their minds are shrouded in darkness. The suitors do not know what consecrated Telemachos knows.

Telemachos's initiation is intellectual. Unlike heroes of previous generations, he does not have to participate in big wars, fight against monsters, and overcome precipices. All that has been done by the generations of their fathers and grandfathers. The main thing now is for the generation of sons to 'digest' the ancestors' knowledge and experience. If we take a more careful look, we will see that the functions of the so-called third generation are somewhat different. Achilles' son Neoptolemos is a moral hero; Orestes' task is to protect his father's rights and restore his family's honest name; and Telemachos is to find his lost father, perfect his father's wisdom, and achieve harmony in his family.

From this stage, Telemachos diligently follows Athena-Mentor's instructions. He is a good 'performer'. I will dwell on several points here. On Telemachos's return home from the popular assembly, Antinoos told him: You, Telemachos, who spoke in a high-flown manner and who is unable to subdue his rage, you had better eat and drink together with us like you did previously, rather than confront us (Τηλέμαχ' ὑψαγόρη, μένος ἄσχετε, μή τί τοι ἄλλο ἐν στήθεσσι κακὸν μελέτω ἔργον τε ἔπος τε, ἀλλά μοι ἐσθιέμεν καὶ πινέμεν, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ II, 302-305). Telemachos told him: I will no longer sit with you. You ruined my property (II, 310-313), while I was under age (ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα II, 313). I am grown up now. I have realised things thanks to others' words (advice) (νῦν δὲ ὅτε δὴ μέγας εἰμὶ καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἀκούων πυνθάνομαι II, 314-315) and my spirit has strengthened (καὶ δὴ μοι ἀέξεται ἔνδοθι θυμὸς II, 315), I will try how I may hurl forth upon your evil fates (ὡς κ' ὕμιν κακὰς ἐπὶ κήρας ἰήλω II, 316). In conclusion, Telemachos informs the suitors that he intends to travel. Before the journey, Telemachos executes all rules – makes a sacrifice and offers up a prayer.

Book III of the *Odyssey* describes Telemachos's visit to Pylos and Sparta. Athena-Mentor constantly accompanies him, giving him instructions on how to behave in specific situations. When Telemachos comes to wise Nestor, Athena-Mentor tells him to overcome shyness (αἰδοῦς III, 14) and insist (λίσσεσθαι II, 19) that he tell him the story. Telemachos, who has left his home and island for the first time, is excited about everything: how he can approach Nestor and how he, a young and inexperienced man, can question the elder. Telemachos admits that he does not know yet how to ask reasonable questions (πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω πῶς τ' ἄρ' προσπτύξομαι αὐτόν οὐδέ τί πω μυθοῖσι πεπεῖρημαι πικνυόισιν· αἰδῶς δ' αὖ νέον ἄνδρα γεραίτερον ἐξεσθαι III, 22-24). The goddess answers that some of it he will discern with his own mind and some of it the daimon will suggest, adding that in her opinion, he was not born and raised without the gods' will (III, 26-28). Athena-Mentor

says unequivocally that the personal factor is important in the initiation together with divine will.

Athena-Mentor leads the way with speedy steps and Telemachos follows her (Ως ἄρα φωνήσασι ἠγήσατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη καρπαλίμως· ὁ δὲ ἔπειτα μετ' ἵχνια βάλινε θεοῖο III, 29-30). Athena puts courage in his heart before the conversation with Nestor (III, 75-77). Telemachos embraces Nestor's knees (this is the suppliant's position) and asks him to tell him all that he has seen with his own eyes or heard by chance from some wretched people (III, 92-94). Nestor notes that Telemachos's reasonable speech resembles his father's (σέβας μὲ ἔχει εἰσπόωντα. ἦ τοι γὰρ μῦθοί γε εἰοκότες, οὐδέ κε φαίης ἄνδρα νεώτερον ὧδε εἰοκότα μυθήσασθαι III, 123-125).

Book IV of *Odyssey* starts with Telemachos's visit to Menelaos. People are fussing about in the king's house. Hermione – the daughter of Menelaos and Helen – is getting married to Achilles' son Neoptolemos (one more representative of the so-called generations of 'sons' appears in this episode. Menelaos promised him back in Troy to make him related by marriage IV, 4-6). At the same time, the son, whom Menelaos had from a slave, is also getting married.

Telemachos and Peisistratos are amazed, viewing Menelaos's magnificent palace (IV, 43-44). When the king eyes the visitors, he says that in none of them has their parents' race been extinguished and they seem to be men born by kings with sceptres consecrated by Zeus, as people like them are not born by useless people (IV, 62-64). To show respect Menelaos gives them part of his meat (IV, 65-66). At this moment, violet-savoured Helen, who looks like Artemis comes out and asks who the visitors are. Before hearing an answer, she says that she is not sure, whether this is indeed so, but she has never seen such resemblance between anyone – be it men or women – like the resemblance she could see between Odysseus and Telemachos, whom Odysseus let at home as a baby, when Achaean heroes went to Troy (οὐ γὰρ πώ τινά φημι εἰοκότα ὧδε ιδέσθαι οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα, σέβας μὲ ἔχει εἰσορώσαν, ὡς ὁδὲ Ὀδυσσεύος μεγαλήτορος ἕμι εἶοικε, Τηλεμάχῳ, τὸν ἔλειπε νέον γεγαῶτ' ... IV, 141-144). Menelaos agrees with Helen, saying that he has the same impression, as Telemachos has similar legs, arms, the expression of the eyes, and dense hair (οὕτω νῦν καὶ ἐγὼ νοέω, γυναῖ, ὡς σὺ εἰσκεις· κείνου γὰρ τοιοῖδε πόδες τοιαῖδε τε χεῖρες ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαὶ κεφαλῆ τ' ἐφυπερθε τε χαῖται IV, 148-150) and adding that, when she started speaking about Odysseus, tears welled up in his throat (IV, 153). Peisistratos responds to the king and queen instead of Telemachos. He confirms that his companion is Odysseus's son, but he is shy and cannot speak boldly (IV, 158-160), telling them that they can probably help him with words or deeds (ὄφρα οἱ ἦ τι ἔπος ὑποθήσεται ἢ τι ἔργον IV, 163). Peisistratos informs them that a

major trouble has struck down Telemachos, who remains without his father (IV, 164-167). The passage shows that Telemachos has failed to overcome shyness, because it is no joke to stand right in front of Menelaos, who has already become a legend and a hero of the Trojan War and his divine wife, for whom Greek heroes fought for 10 years. Menelaos' words and his love and enthusiasm towards Odysseus helped Telemachos to overcome shyness. Menelaos says that he could do anything for his dear friend, build a palace for him in Argos, and invite him to live there together with his family, but the god seems to have been jealous of his happiness and prohibited the unhappy man from returning home (ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν που μέλλεν ἀγάσσεσθαι θεὸς αὐτὸς, ὃς κείνον δύστηνον ἀνόστιμον οἶον ἔθηκεν IV, 181-182).⁹ Menelaos does not say that Odysseus has died. He says that the god has prohibited him from returning home. Why should the god have been jealous of Odysseus? Probably because, unlike the Atrids' wives, his wife is faithful? However, why should the god have been jealous of this? It is the Atrids, who should have been jealous.

Telemachos receives gifts from Agamemnon and Helen: a chalice (δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον XV, 102), a precious dress for his future wife (XV, 105-108; 125-130), and a gilded silver crater made by Hephaestus (XV, 114-122). Correspondingly, the journey has proved to be useful. Telemachos managed to speak with famous heroes of the Trojan War, overcame shyness, and obtained their benevolence. Telemachos received gifts personally (obtained property). What is most important, he learned everything about Odysseus. However, everything is effectively nothing. No one was able to tell him for sure whether Odysseus was alive or not. On the other hand, he learned what great heroes thought about his father and what people said (ῥόσσα). On the basis of that, Telemachos shaped the image of his famous father. Not only he, but the whole of Greece can be proud of the image and it is now worth to wait and even sacrifice oneself to it.

Telemachos returns to Ithaca as a man, but the suitors do not know that. They failed to take into account what happened before their eyes (such was the will of the goddess). The suitors are making plans to kill Telemachos. Their judgement is as follows: If the child (νέος παῖς I, 665) has proved to be so courageous despite the will of the suitors, he will cause much trouble in the future too (IV, 665-667).

When Penelope is informed about the threat her son is facing, she is very concerned. A conversation between Penelope and her sister Iphthime's ghost

⁹ μέλλεν ἀγάσσεσθαι - 'must himself have been jealous of this happiness' (comment to IV, 181).

(an image Athena sent to her) is noteworthy. Iphthime tells Penelope that her son will return with peace, because he has never been offensive to the gods (ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔτι νόστιμός ἐστι σὸς παῖς· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θεοῖς ἀλιπήμενός ἐστι I, 806-807).¹⁰ Penelope explains, why she is worried: 1. I lost my husband with the lion heart, distinguished for all virtue among the Danaeans, whose fame spread wide through Hellas and Argos (IV, 813-816); 2. Now my beloved child is gone (παῖς ἀγαπητός ἐβη IV, 817) for a journey, a novice, not well skilled in action or speech, who has experienced no trouble (νήπιος, οὔτε πόνων εὐ εἰδὼς οὔτ' ἀγοράων IV, 818). For him I sorrow still more than for my husband. Iphthime's phantom tells Penelope: Be calm. He (Telemachos) has with him the sort of guide, whom other men have prayed to stand beside them – Athena, the Thunderer's daughter (IV, 825-829).

Telemachos is the main hero of the first four books in *Odyssey*. We can see that this part of the text is devoted to his initiation. Telemachos then appears in the poem in Book XIV or, to be more correct, swineherd's head Eumaeos speaks about him. He reveals his woe to Odysseus, who is disguised as a tramp: I am now worrying more about Telemachos than Odysseus. I do not know whether it was a god or a man, who fogged his mind, as he went on a journey to Pylos to learn news about his father. Even if he returns with peace from there, the suitors are lying in wait for him in order to root out the name of Arces¹¹ (XIV, 174-184) on Ithaca. This is how Eurymachos describes Telemachos: He was like a child raised by the gods. I thought that, he would not be worse than his father in appearance and build of body, when he became a man (τὸν ἐπεὶ θρέψαν θεοὶ ἔρνεῖ ἴσον, καὶ μιν ἔφην ἔσσεσθαι ἐν ἀνδράσι· οὐ τι χέρηα πατρὸς εἴοιο φίλοιο, δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸν XIV, 175-177).

Athena appears in a dream to Telemachos delayed in Sparta and tells him: 1. to hurry up to find his mother (still) chaste (ἀμύμονα μητέρα τέτμης XV, 15), as her father (Icarios) and brothers are forcing her to marry Eurymachos, and also tells him about women's unreliable nature (XV, 20-23); 2. To entrust the gifts he has received to the most reliable slave until the gods send him to meet a worthy wife (XV, 24-25); 3. How to avoid the suitors, who are lying in wait for him (XV, 27-35); 4. To first go to the swineherd's head on his arrival in Ithaca and send him to Penelope on the next day to inform her that you have arrived (XV, 38-42). Athena speaks to Telemachos, who is already a grown-up man. He has to speak about everything. His mother can also behave like other mothers after they get married for a second time.

¹⁰ This suggests indirectly that those, who offended gods, were punished.

¹¹ Arcesios was the name of Laertes's father.

Therefore, he cannot fully trust anyone, and everything and everyone should be controlled. This is Athena's last 'lesson'.

Before Telemachos leaves Sparta, an eagle clutches a domestic goose in its talons (XV, 160-164). Helen sees this and says that the gods have cast in her heart that Odysseus will return and take vengeance (XV, 172-178). Thus, Telemachos returns from Sparta full of hope. He gives shelter to Melampus's descendant Theoclymenos, who casually killed a man in Argos and fled his relatives' revenge. His lot is to be a tramp (XV, 223-281). On his return from Sparta, Telemachos is unable to invite to his home either Theoclymenos or the visitor (Odysseus), whom he got to know with Eumaeos. He says that he is still young and he has never tried to punish his enemies for arrogance (XVI, 71-72), while his mother is reasoning with her soul and heart, not knowing what to do – stay with him or take care of the home, be faithful to Odysseus's bed or marry the most distinguished man among the Achaeans, who is seeking her hand and giving her gifts (XVI, 73-77). He says that he will present the visitor with a cloak – chiton, but he should remain with Eumaeos for some time, because he does not advise the visitor to go to the town to meet the suitors, who can mock him, while Telemachos cannot curb them, as even the most powerful is forceless against many, because he is alone (μή μιν κερτομέωσιν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος ἔσσειται αἰνόν. πρῆξαι δ' ἀργαλέον τι μετὰ πλεονεσσιῶν ἔντα ἄνδρα καὶ Ἰφθιμον, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσι XVI, 87-89). Only a grown-up man can reason in this manner, not a youth, who is ready to die combating anyone, who offends him or succumb to the will of someone, who is stronger. The suitors also admit that Telemachos has become a man. They are arguing whether they should kill Penelope's son or not. Antinoos says that so long as he (Telemachos) is alive, they will be unable to achieve their goal, as he has become a man and his mind is also ready for deeds and advice (οὐ γὰρ οἶω τούτου γε ζῶντος ἀνύσσεσθαι τάδε ἔργα. αὐτός μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστήμων βουλῇ τε νόῳ τε XVI, 372-374). One thing is also noteworthy here. Antinoos says that the Ithacans will not approve of this act (Telemachos's murder), because they no longer regard them in a benevolent manner (λαοὶ δ' οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἧρα φέρουσιν XVI, 375). This phrase (and other passages of the text) makes it clear that the suitors behaved freely previously, because no one denounced them (the Ithacans did not condemn the suitor's audacity).

Penelope and maidservants can also see that Telemachos has become a man. One of the maidservants, Eurynome, tells her mistress that her son is precisely in the age she has implored the immortals and she has lived to see

his manhood (ἤδη μὲν γάρ τοι παῖς τηλίκος, ὃν σὺ μάλιστα ἦρῶ ἀθανάτοισι γενειήσαντα ἰδέσθαι XVIII, 175-176).¹² When Penelope reproaches her son for not defending his guest (XVIII, 215-225), Telemachos answers that her reproach is fair and he can distinguish between good and bad too, since he is no longer a minor (πάρος δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα XVIII, 229), but he does not have sufficient force to judge everything correctly, because he has a lot of ill-wishers and no supporters around him (XVIII, 230-232). Telemachos is precisely as reasonable as Odysseus, not yielding to emotions. The time, when he was a child, has gone. Telemachos himself says about the past that he was a child at that time (ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα XIX, 19). Penelope admits that her son is grown-up and can take care of the family. Zeus is arousing respects towards him among the people (XIX, 159-161). In Book XX, Telemachos speaks about his rights in a very self-confident manner, urging the suitors to be reasonable (XX, 266-267; 304-306; 311-312; 315-319). We can end discussing this issue with Telemachos's words from Book XXI: 'I am the head of this family now' (τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔσται ἐνὶ οἴκῳ XXI, 353).

Family is a crucial issue in *Odyssey*. In the poem, the whole macrocosm is oriented and focused on the microcosm – home and family hearth. Relations between three generations, marital fidelity, and unity of and mutual respect between fathers and sons are topical issues now too. Telemachos's initiation is a leitmotif, which is part of this whole context. The universal ritual of initiation has been regarded as an indispensable component of public order since the time, when primeval families emerged. We have seen that this ritual has a significant artistic role in *Odyssey*.

¹² W. Merry's comments on these strophes: 'Her *οὐ* is linked to *τηλίκος* and should be understood in this manner: 'Your son is now perfect, of the age you have implored the heavens to be able to see him with a grown board.' ἦρῶ <ἠράου <ἀραομαι - reaching the age of motherhood.

Ketevan Tsintsadze (Tbilisi)

ON NAMING THE WORK OF ONE GROUP OF GREEK POETS OF THE 1920S

The early 20th century is a period of chaotic change of events, civil confrontation, and dictatorships in Greek history. The country had not yet emerged from the depression brought about by the shameful defeat in the Cretan uprising at the end of the 19th century – in 1897, when first the Balkan war and then World War I fell upon it. However, it was the Asia Minor disaster that became a major tragedy for the Greek world of that period. It produced a big wave of refugees, who became a heavy load for the country, which was already in a complicated economic situation.

It is no surprise that such a situation led to moral wavering, devaluation of values, and the loss of trust in ideals. All that had an impact on the country's cultural life. The literature and particularly the poetry of this period are marked with pessimistic sentiments. The young poets, who appeared in the literary arena in the second decade of the 20th century, regard themselves as defeated and humiliated people and protesting against monotonous routine in their works.

It is possible to point to one group of pessimistically-minded poets (Romos Filyras – 1888-1942; Napoleon Lapathiotis – 1893-1944; Fotos Giomyllis – 1887-1981; Kostas Ouranis – 1890 -1953; Leuteris Alexiou – 1890-1964; Kleon V. Paraschos – 1894-1964; Ilias Raftopoulos – 1893 -1923; Kostas Karyotakis – 1896-1928; Kostis Velmyras – 1898-1960; Giorgos Stauroopoulos – 1898-1969; N. Hager-Boufidis – 1899-1950; Tellos Agras – 1899-1944; Mitsos Papanikolaou – 1900-1943; Kesar Emmanouil – 1902-1970; Maria Polydouri – 1902-1930; Teukros Anthias – 1903-1968 and Nikos Kavvadias – 1910-1975), whose poetic work was quite bold and absolutely different from the poetry of previous periods. They sought new literary paths to better express their internal realm, established interesting novel-

ties while seeking, and defined ways for further development of Greek poetry in general.

Despite such importance of their work, it can be said that these poets have not yet been studied in a systemic manner. Interested readers can easily see by taking a glance at scientific literature that researchers have failed to find for the work of the poets of the 1920s one concrete name, which would be acceptable for everyone. Every researcher has his own view and gives his own name to their work and the group of poets itself.

Some of the literary critics of that time named the poets as Karyotakists and the trend as Karyotakism¹ after one of its most important representatives. They are also most often referred to as *poets of interwar period*.² Other terms to describe them are as follows: *late symbolism*,³ *symbolists of later generation*,⁴ *decadent poets*,⁵ *denying poets*,⁶ *cursed poets*,⁷ *neosymbolism*,⁸ and *neoromanticism*.⁹ The difference of views is due, among others, to the fact that the pessimist poets of the 1920s did not produce any treatise to formalise their work.

Before considering individual terms mentioned above, we deem it appropriate to briefly overview the main processes in the cultural life of Greece at the start of the 20th century.

It has already been noted that the period we are considering was very unsteady from the social and political viewpoints. At the same time, significant changes were taking place in the country's cultural life. Writers, who appeared in the literary arena back at the end of the 19th century, undertook to revive the Greek literature and make it part of European processes.

One of the most important representatives of this generation, Kostis Palamas became the central figure of the cultural life in Greece and his opinion determined others' work from the very day the first collection of

¹ For the term see Καραντώνης Α., Η επίδραση του Καρυωτάκη στους νέους, Τα Νέα Γράμματα, 9, 1935, 478-486.

² See e.g.: Μιρασogέση Μ. Δ., Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία, Αθήνα 1982, 351.

³ See e.g.: Beaton R., Εισαγωγή Στην Νεότερη Ελληνική Λογοτεχνία, Αθήνα 1996, 199-200.

⁴ See e.g.: Kamushadze M., Literary Movements on the Verge of the XIX-XX Centuries in the Greek Literature, Tbilisi 1998, 70 (in Georgian).

⁵ See e.g.: Μιρασogέση Μ. Δ., Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία, Αθήνα 1982, 353.

⁶ See Ελλάδα, Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός, 9, Αθήνα 1980, 64-67.

⁷ See e.g.: Vitti M., Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας, Εκδόσεις Οδοσsoέας, 353-366.

⁸ See Η Ελληνική Ποίηση, Ανθολογία-Γραμματολογία, Αθήνα 1990, τ. 3, 40-48.

⁹ See Η Ελληνική Ποίηση, Ανθολογία-Γραμματολογία, Αθήνα 1990, τ. 3, 40-48.

his poems and the first critical essay on them were published. Palamas believed that the country, which obtained independence a short time ago and which had to think about future, needed writers, who would create optimistic sentiments among the public and offer it an ideal hero.

Palamas's contemporaries followed his call. They placed literature at the service of the creation of ideals and, precisely when this process reached its peak, a group of young poets emerged and sharply confronted this spirit of the older generation, introducing an absolutely converse sentiments into poetry.

An essay published by Napoleon Lapathiotis in one of the leading literary journals became a kind of manifesto for the poets. Lapathiotis urged his young colleagues to combat their older colleagues' everyday routine. He thought that older poets' belief that art can have an impact on the public was nonsense and the only meaning of life was remembering the past: 'Nothing but the past exists for me. I have no present, and future is unclear. The only thing, which I own and hear and which is my present and future at the same time, is the past. Nothing exists precisely and forever for the exception of what has happened.'¹⁰ There is no doubt that such a statement sounded like the cracking of thunder in the society used to optimistic literature thanks to Palamas.

When Karyotakis published one of his collections entitled *Elegies and Satires*, V. Rotas was one of those, who criticised him. Rotas published a sharply critical essay in the *Rizospastis* newspaper. He attacked the pessimistic sentiments in most of these poems and accused Karyotakis of destroying ideals. Karyotakis also responded with a letter, in which he wrote: 'The only realistic word is pessimistic. I would like to ask Mr Rotas some more questions. For example: Does he really believe that his optimism is more appropriate to present-day life than my optimism?'¹¹

It is not our aim now to overview in detail the confrontation between the young poets and the older generation, which exceeded the younger generation in number and the standing they enjoyed among the public of that time. Suffice it to mention that it is no surprise that against the background of this confrontation, the works of the pessimist poets remained in the shadows, were not duly assessed, and caused difference of views.

We have already mentioned all terms used in the Greek literary critics to describe the works of the poets of the 1920s. We believe that it is not

¹⁰ Λαπαθιώτης Ν., Τα Ποιήματα, Εισαγωγή, σχόλια, παρουσίαση - Άρη Δικταίου, Αθήνα 1964, LII.

¹¹ Καρυωτάκης Κ. Γ., Άπαντα τα ευρισκόμενα, τ. 1, Αθήνα 1966, 220.

worth to focus our attention on terms like *poets of interwar period* and *denying poets*, as they describe the group of poets only chronologically and characterize their works in general terms. They resemble rather a result of literary critics doing their duty than drawing conclusions on the basis of a literary analysis. Based on such an approach, it would also be possible to dub surrealist poets as *poets of interwar period*, because they too worked in the period during World War I and World War II. In addition, representatives of all schools and trends, be it Kavafis, Empeirikos, Karyotakis, or Chatzopoulos, could be united under the name of *denying poets*, as elements of denial can be encountered in the works of all of them.

Decadent poets is quite a general name as well. The verge of the 19th and 20th centuries was the time of substantial changes in almost all spheres of human life in the whole of Europe and the rest of the world. These changes affected the sphere of human creation, which we call artistic culture. In that period, culture became international in nature and managed to integrate effectively all ethnic and regional spiritual values, becoming more multiform as a result. However, the public proved not to be ready to explain in a rational and scientific manner the political and economic changes, which were under way, new social relations, and the new image of the world.

The main characteristic feature of the cultural processes in that period is a kind of confusion and the fear of the abruptly changing world. This period is marked with torrents of pessimistic sentiments. Unlike the cultural trends of the start of the 19th century, which did not differ much from each other at the levels of ideas and styles, the trends that emerged at the start of the 20th century were quite varied and their approach to reality was absolutely different from each other. However, all of them bore a common mark widespread in that era: the sentiment of hopelessness and the desire to flee reality. Despite differences in methods and styles, researchers believe that they have common ideas, which have been dubbed Decadence on the basis of their common features.

Decadence united many trends of various stylistic origins and ideological contents such as Symbolism, Futurism, Dadaism, Imagism, Acmeism, Impressionism, and so forth. If we take into account the diversity, we can say that Greek literature does not know Decadence in the form known by the rest of Europe,¹² which means that it is possible to speak about indi-

¹² Γεωργιάδου Α., Η ποιητική περιπέτεια, Μια περιδιάβαση στη νεοελληνική ποίηση μέσα από τους κυριότερους ιστορικούς σταθμούς και τα λογοτεχνικά ρεύματα, Μεταίχμιο 2005, 210.

vidual decadent features with different creative workers, but we believe that it would be an exaggeration to speak about Decadence as a full-fledged trend.

One more very interesting name was used in Greek literature for the unity of the poets of the 1920s – *cursed poets*. Greek literary critics borrowed the term from Paul Verlaine. In his articles published in 1883-1884, Verlaine united under this name French symbolist poets Tristan Corbière, Arthur Rimbaud, Stéphane Mallarmé, Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, and himself, whom he referred to with his pen name of Pauvre Lilián.¹³ The author believed that these poets were linked to each other with similar fates and aspirations. All of them felt themselves isolated from the public and they themselves did not have a particular desire to find their own place in the extremely pragmatic environment of that time.

As regards the Greek poets' closeness to the *cursed poets* and the use of the name to refer to them, the French symbolist poets with this name were a source of inspiration for the Greek poets. Even if this had not been so, and had the term not existed at that time, it could have been invented for Karyotakis and his generation on the basis of their lifestyle and works. However, we do not think it is appropriate to use for the poets of the 1920s the term, which was invented for specific French poets and which reflects a psychological state of these poets, rather than a certain literary style.

It is a generally accepted rule that a certain system is necessary in studying any issue. It would be appropriate to have one specific term for the works of the poets of the 1920s. Researchers in the history of literature say that every literary trend is conditioned by historic and social situations and is shaped to resolve specific problems, which societies face. Correspondingly, trends acquire various overtones depending on situations locally and serve national interests. At the same time, a specific national literature can give an impetus to other national literatures. However, these impulses may not be limited in time and find a response some time later, when appropriate social and cultural conditions for these impulses are prepared in the specific country.¹⁴

If we take a look at the path of the development of Greek literature taking all that into account, we will be able to see that as a result of isolation,

¹³ Βεργιλιόβ Π., Οι Καταραμένοι Ποιητές (Ρέμπω – Κορμπιέ – Μαλλαρμέ), παρουσίαση Ρ. Πιερού, επίμετρο – μετάφραση – σχόλια Αλ. Ζήρας, Αυγόκερως, Αθήνα 1982.

¹⁴ Неупокоева И. Г., К вопросу о методах изучения всемирной литературы, контекст-1975, Москва 1977, 171-172.

the Greek culture deviated from the path of its natural development. It took Greek literature almost the entire 19th century to become an organic part of European processes and fill the gap at the expense of artificially accepting certain trends. The Enlightenment era ended in a failure in Greece, because the country had omitted the Renaissance. Instead of becoming a reaction to the Greek Enlightenment, Romanticism turned into an imitation of its French original, repeating the mistakes of the Enlightenment. Parnassist ideas shaped to fit Greek reality and quite removed from its French original, failed to resist the temptation of symbolism and found themselves in an impasse. Having passed through all that, Greek literature was ready morally to organically develop the literary impulses obtained from the time of the creation of a New Greek state till the early 20th century in conditions of favourable historic and social factors, a new literary trend was shaped on the basis of a mixture of these impulses. We believe that Neoromanticism and Neosymbolism are the best name to denote the trend. Greek researcher Kostas Stergiopoulos¹⁵ has already used this term for the Greek poets of the 20th century. However, Stergiopoulos did not substantiate the term and did not produce any systemic study of this group.

The first component of this synthetic term is quite multifunctional. Some researchers believe that it is identical or synonymic of Decadence.¹⁶ However, many do not share this opinion, because "Neoromanticism has acquired various meaning in various countries. Therefore, it can hardly be described as a unified and general trend".¹⁷ Hence, it is difficult to produce a precise and unequivocal definition of this term.

This time, we will concentrate on the definition of Neoromanticism, according to which the trend is often identified as a manifestation of later Romanticism: "Neoromanticism is an artistic trend of the verge of the 19th and 20th centuries, a later period of development of Romanticism, which is characterized with transition from minor forms of creation (characteristic of Romanticism) to major large-scale forms, philosophic combinations of romantic problems, negation of everyday life and reality, and return to mystical and magic".¹⁸

In our opinion, the Romanticism in Greece of the 1920s was later Romanticism, although it is clear to everyone that at the time, when a century

¹⁵ Η Ελληνική Ποίηση, Ανθολογία-Γραμματολογία, Αθήνα, 1990, τ. 3, 40-48.

¹⁶ Венгеров С. А., Этапы 'неоромантического' движения, Русская литература XX века, Т. 1, Под ред. С. А. Венгерова, Москва 1914.

¹⁷ Encyclopedic Dictionary of Art, ed. by N. Macharashvili, Tbilisi 2004 (in Georgian).

¹⁸ Encyclopedic Dictionary of Art, ed. by N. Macharashvili, Tbilisi 2004 (in Georgian).

had passed since the emergence of Romanticism and when Greek literature had familiarized itself with other trends and absorbed some elements from them too, it was impossible to speak about pure Romanticism, particularly as every trend has specific forms of expression and time limits. From this viewpoint, it would be strange to maintain that the poets of the early 20th century were pure Romanticists. In order to avoid terminological misunderstanding, we describe the poetry of this period as Neoromanticism. We believe that, thanks to its originality, the heritage of Neoromanticism in Greek literature is much more valuable than that of Romanticism, whose artistic values are questioned by many researchers nowadays.¹⁹

Romanticism spread in Greece back in the first half of the 19th century. However, given the situation in Greece of that time, it was to some extent forced and artificial, being a rough imitation of French Romanticism. In the newly-liberated country, writers should not have had any grounds for melancholy, reveries of the past, and the feeling of being lonely, which are characteristic of Romanticism.

As regards Karyotakis and his contemporaries, historic reality was different in their time. This generation tasted bitter failure and their Romanticism is not indeed devoid of foundations. An invented idyllic realm is the only refuge from morbid reality:

*Our body and memories ache.
Even things have rejected us, and poetry
Is our refuge.*

Karyotakis wrote in his poem *We are something ...* He spoke about the destruction of ideals of contemporary life and destroyed dreams in his *Don Quixotes*:

*They leaped off horses unable to breathe,
They rejected old chimeras with tears in their eyes.*

Creative subjectivism specific of Romanticists and full freedom in searching for forms of expression are characteristic of Karyotakis and his mates. Only boundless emotion is an absolute for them, while they regard everyday forms of life, which are defined in advance, as a result of people's narrow-mindedness scattered in the boundlessness of universe. Like in the works of Romanticists, we often encounter in their works words like *dusk, grave, melancholy* . . .

It is noteworthy that pessimism in the form encountered in the creation of young poets of the 1920s was not characteristic of Romanticism. This seems to be rather the influence of Symbolists. And indeed, authors

¹⁹ Δημαρας Κ. Θ., Νεοελληνικός Ρομαντισμός, Αθήνα 1994.

known in Greek literature as symbolists, particularly Chatzopoulos had a major influence on their poetry.

It is also noteworthy that Karyotakis and other poets representing his generation were particularly attentive in familiarizing themselves with the creation of French symbolists and often published translations of their poems in their magazines, because they believed that poems by Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and others corresponded most to their internal realm and spiritual state. *Thirst, love, hope... Pain and then death – always the same comedy:* these are Laforgue's words used as the epigraph to Kostas Ouranis's first collection of works – *Spleen*. It is also interesting that the author chose the title of one of Baudelaire's poems as the title for this collection. Incidentally, Karyotakis also took an interest in this poem and even translated it.

*I am like a king of a darkness-filled kingdom,
who is rich but capable of nothing, young but aged from this day...*

This is how Baudelaire starts his poem and it is probably this sentiment that took possession of Ouranis and Karyotakis, because they were so inspired by this poem.

It is due to this influence that various researchers referred to these poets as symbolists. However, since the poetic function of the words they used differed from that in the language of Symbolists, and since symbolism was not so characteristic for the language of pessimists, who said what they wanted without making it obscure, they cannot be regarded as Symbolists in the full sense of this word. Probably in order to avoid vagueness, some researchers described them as representatives of later Symbolists. The term 'neosymbolism' also appeared in Greek literature, which, in our opinion, is most appropriate in this case.

In conclusion, we would like to note once more that on the basis of the similarity of the pessimist poets of the 20th century with Romanticists and Symbolists and taking into account the chronological factor, we deem it appropriate to introduce name of the *School of Neoromanticism and Neosymbolism* to denote them.

Michael Vickers (Oxford)

EURIPIDES' *BACCHAE*, CRITIAS AND ALCIBIADES

It used to be the case that scholars thought that Greek tragedy kept aloof from contemporary events, but things are changing. These days, if tragedy is thought to be political at all, it usually is in terms of generalities about macro-political themes such as 'imperial hegemony', 'the polis', 'competing models of elite leadership' or the like. I prefer to think that tragedies might be micro-political, concerned with the role played in politics by specific individuals. Given the intensely personal nature of Athenian politics, this should not be surprising. Even history, according to Aristotle, might be personal: for him it dealt with particulars, such as 'what Alcibiades actually did, or what was done to him' (*Poetics*, 1451b.11). Given the stature of Alcibiades as a public figure, we might speculate that if Greek tragedy did deal with politics at the personal level, then he might figure as large on the tragic stage as he apparently did in comedy.¹ It was said of Alcibiades' relationship with the Athenians that 'they love him, they hate him, and they cannot do without him' (*Ar., Ra.*, 1425).

But Alcibiades was not the only individual to have his character dissected on the stage. Another was his contemporary Critias, a man who gained notoriety the lawmaker of the Thirty Tyrants who ruled Athens with a bloody hand after the city's defeat by the Spartans in 405. The sources relating to Alcibiades are plentiful, but those relating to Critias are few. This is in large part due to the fact that Critias' excesses towards the end of his life contributed to the deliberate excision of his actions from Athenian folk-memory, formally enacted in the oaths 'not to remember evils in

¹ Cf. *Lib. Decl.*, 50.2.1: 'What play did not include [Alcibiades] among the cast of characters? Did not Eupolis and Aristophanes show him on the stage? It is to him that comedy owed its success.'

the future' (μὴ μνησικακήσειν: Xen., *Hell.*, 2.4.43) once democracy was restored after the fall of the tyrants in 402 BC.

Critias is slowly emerging from the shadows. Several works have recently been devoted to his influential, but ultimately deleterious role in Athenian life and politics during the later fifth century BC. One thinks in particular of the studies by Monica Centanni, Umberto Bultrighini, Alessandro Iannucci, and Peter Wilson. Critias was something of a polymath and a political theorist of a distinctly conservative bent. His career was intimately tied up with that of Alcibiades: both came under the influence of Gorgias of Leontini, and their excesses were cited among the charges laid against Socrates in 399. I once suggested that Plato's *Gorgias* was written in order to exculpate Socrates from any blame for the careers of Critias and Alcibiades; the one a bloody tyrant and the other essentially a thug who traded on his wealth, lineage, good looks and charm. I argued that in *Gorgias* Plato employs Callicles as a mask for Alcibiades and Polus for Critias.²

I still believe this analysis to be essentially correct, but the work in particular of Iannucci and Wilson has brought the study of Critias to a higher level of subtlety and sophistication. Iannucci has shown that even the slight testimonia concerning Critias and Alcibiades can reveal fresh insights. These include the suggestion that Critias' ostensibly light-hearted verses in praise of Alcibiades (4 D.-K.) might be a parody of a praise-poem of the kind Euripides composed for Alcibiades' magnificent, but resented, Olympic victory of 416 BC. They may contain a violent threat at the end where Alcibiades' reclining position at a banquet will perhaps 'be that of a dead man'. Critias and Alcibiades were ultimately to be mortal enemies, with Critias arranging for Alcibiades to be assassinated; it is interesting to see evidence for such enmity apparently so early. Critias' claim in another poem (5 D.-K.) to have sponsored the recall of Alcibiades from exile in 411 makes best sense as an attempt by Critias to clean up his own image after his participation in the rule of the Four Hundred (oligarchs who briefly ruled Athens in 411), and the occasion was probably when Critias himself had gone into exile in 408.

Iannucci interprets some hexameter verses devoted to Anacreon (1 D.-K) in which choruses of women perform nocturnal rites, as a negative caricature of the decadent Athenian symposium prevalent at the end of the fifth century, and which Critias wished to replace with a restrained Dorian symposium more in keeping with traditional values and his philo-

² Vickers, 1994.

Laconian, his Spartan, principles. These are well expressed in Critias' denunciation of current Athenian dining practices (6 D.-K). Vessels 'which a Lydian hand, Asiatic-born ('Ασιατογενής) invented' are spoken of disparagingly, as is the custom of multiple toasts, after which Athenians 'loosen their tongues to tell disgraceful tales (αἰσχρὸς μῦθος) and enfeeble their bodies'. Critias' Anacreon is 'a restrained pleasure seeker'³ by contrast with Athens' gilded youth.

These works of Critias will have been composed before his appointment as one of the five ephors of Athens installed by the Spartans in 405, and before his bloody participation in the rule of the Thirty who controlled Athens until their fall, and Critias' death, in the winter of 404/3 BC. But even before the truly violent phase of Critias' career there are indications of his zero-tolerant attitudes. His proposal after the overthrow of the Four Hundred at the end of 411 BC that the body of the dead Phrynichus be put on trial for treason (Lyc., *Leoc.*, 113) bespeaks a tendency to go too far. Critias' role during the regime of the Four Hundred itself is far from certain,⁴ but it would appear from a hitherto unconsidered document that his sanguinary proclivities were already in evidence. This document, if that is the word, is Euripides' *Bacchae*.

I have argued elsewhere that in some of his later plays Euripides was peculiarly sympathetic towards Alcibiades' cause, exculpating him from some of his worst actions. Euripides' motivation may even have been financial, for he composed a praise-poem, an epinician ode in the style of Simonides, on the occasion of Alcibiades' flamboyant participation in the Olympic festival of 416 BC (Plut., *Alc.*, 11.1-3; Ath. 1.3e; cf. Isocr. 16.34), and he was presumably paid for his trouble. In the *Helen* of 411, for example, Euripides shows Alcibiades in the best possible light, given the misdeeds and misunderstandings of the past few years. He seems to stress such topics as the embarrassment many thought Alcibiades had caused King Agis, Alcibiades' supposed influence with Tissaphernes, and the promise that Alcibiades might be another Themistocles. Aristophanes, meanwhile, consistently held an anti-Alcibiadean stance (this was Aristophanes' political position), and he appears to have reacted against Euripides' propaganda in the following year by using in *Thesmophoriazousae* Euripides' own plots to emphasize the more discreditable aspects of Alcibiades' recent history: his entanglement with the oligarchs, his imprison-

³ Wilson, 2003, 192.

⁴ Avery, 1963; Adeleye, 1974; Bultrighini, 1999.

ment at the hands of Tissaphernes, and his irresponsible lack of respect for hallowed custom.⁵

It is still widely held that it is 'improper' to attribute political motives to Greek playwrights – at least to tragedians, and even more so to suggest that their plays might closely reflect current events. But in a world where *Antigone*, *Oedipus*, *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* were all based in one way or another on the complex and disturbed personality of Alcibiades, political allegory may have been the norm rather than the exception. Sophocles, like Aristophanes, usually took a dim view of Alcibiades. Tales of Alcibiades' teenage cross-dressing, his belligerent obstinacy, his desire always to win and come first, and the rumour that he slept with his mother lie, in my view, behind Sophocles' plotting and character-building.⁶

Euripides, by contrast, might treat Alcibiades favourably, and this is certainly the case in his *Bacchae*. It has been said of the two main characters in this play that 'Dionysus is the dispenser of natural joys, Pentheus the joy-hating Puritan'.⁷ We shall presently see how, in detail, Euripides envisages a worst-case scenario for the relationship between an Alcibiades who we know was very 'prone to pleasure' (πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀγώγιμος; *Plut., Alc.*, 6.1-2), and a Critias who was possessed of 'a strong puritanical streak' according to a recent writer,⁸ between an Alcibiades who was 'of all Athenians, the most notorious for various types of *hybris*',⁹ and a Critias who saw 'tyranny' and *nomos* as brakes on *hubris*.¹⁰ I believe that in *Oedipus Coloneus*, written at about the same time as *Bacchae*, Sophocles observes the same political scene but from a different standpoint. He sees both good and bad in Critias, showing the good side in Theseus and the bad in Creon. (That there was a quickly forgotten good side to Critias is apparent from Aristotle's choosing him as the exemplar of the famous man whose good actions had to be actively recalled 'since not many people know about them' [*Rhet.*, 1416b26]). The aura of mystery cult that surrounds *Oedipus* in Sophocles' last play closely reflects Alcibiades' revival of the Eleusinian celebrations in 407. In *Oedipus Coloneus* Sophocles, whose sympathies lay with the oligarchs, expresses the hope that a moderate Critias (in the person of Theseus) might prove to be Athens' saviour, and that a reformed Alcibiades might co-operate with him. In the event, it was the

⁵ Vickers in preparation.

⁶ Vickers, 2005a; 2005b; 2007; 2008.

⁷ Dodds, 1960, 128.

⁸ Ostwald, 1986, 465.

⁹ Fisher, 1992, 461.

¹⁰ Centanni, 1997, 151 citing Critias' *Sisyphus*.

butcher in Critias that came to the fore, and Alcibiades was murdered.¹¹ Euripides in *Bacchae* was also looking to the future, but gives an entirely different spin, and envisages a rather different outcome in having a pleasure-loving Alcibiades give a puritanical Critias the chop.

Euripides' final months, when he probably completed *Bacchae*, were spent at the court of Archelaus of Macedon. He left Athens in the summer of 408, and died in the winter of 407/6. Alcibiades returned from exile with great pomp in the summer of 407, and was active on several fronts. Notably, he caused the Eleusinian Mysteries to be celebrated in traditional fashion, with a procession to Eleusis held for the first time in several years (the Spartan occupation of Decelea having inhibited such activity). It was Alcibiades who appears to have proposed a grant of *euergesia* for Archelaus, Euripides' Macedonian host, early in the archonship of Antigenes (407/6 BC) for having supplied the Athenians with timber for ships (ML 91). Alcibiades was himself treated as a benefactor to Athens by many of its inhabitants, who 'granted him gold and bronze crowns' (Nepos, *Alc.*, 6), and remarkably, 'not only all human, but divine honours', having 'looked upon him as if sent from heaven' (Justin., 5.4). Alcibiades briefly had the populace eating out of his hand (Plut., *Alc.*, 34.7), but was to leave the city for ever in October 407.

It is possible to match most of the characteristics of Dionysus in *Bacchae* with those of Alcibiades, and these will have been readily picked up by the audience. They will have recognised in the god's vinosity an allusion to Alcibiades' having been given to heavy drinking (Pliny includes him in a list of the most famous boozers of all time: *HN* 14.144; cf. Plut., *Mor.*, 800d). Dionysus' beauty will have recalled that of Alcibiades, which was famous: he was *ἠραιότατος καὶ ἔρασιμώτατος Ἑλλήνων* ('the handsomest and loveliest of the Greeks').¹² Dionysus has long hair; Alcibiades 'let his hair grow long during a great part of his life' (Ath., 12.534c). Dionysus has smooth cheeks; extant portraits of Alcibiades show him clean-shaven (Smith 1990). Dionysus' skin is white; so will that of Alcibiades have been after his recent stay in Persia. Persians' bodies were white since they 'never took their clothes off,' at least in public (Xen., *Hell.*, 3.4.19). Dionysus is no wrestler (455); Alcibiades disdained gymnastic contests (Isocr., 16.33). Dionysus is a womaniser; when Alcibiades 'was a young boy' he is said to have 'lured husbands away from their wives, but when he was a young

¹¹ Vickers, 2005a; 2008, 95-103.

¹² Ael., *VH*, 12.14; cf. Plut., *Alc.*, 1.4; cf. 4.1; 16.4; Pl., *Symp.*, 216c-219e; *Prt.*, 309a; Ath., 12.534c; Dio Chrys., 64.27; Gribble, 1999, 39.

man he lured wives away from their husbands' (Bion in D.L. 4.49). Dionysus is much given to luxury; when in Asia, Alcibiades 'outdid even the Persian in splendour and pomp' (Plut., *Alc.*, 23.5). Dionysus is forever laughing in ways that annoy Pentheus; Alcibiadean laughter was to be a by-word in later times for inappropriate behaviour.¹³

Dionysus was a god; Alcibiades was said, as we have already seen, to have been accorded divine honours during his brief stay in Athens in 407 BC (Justin., 5.4). Whether this was in fact true, or the invention of the stage, is uncertain. What is the case is that there were divine claims made for mortals about the same time. The doctor Menecrates (c. 390 BC) believed himself to be Zeus after he was accredited with curing epileptics (Plut., *Ages.*, 21), and Alcibiades' Spartan contemporary Lysander (d. 395 BC) was worshipped as a god on Samos in his lifetime:¹⁴ the very place where the Samians had erected a bronze statue in honour of Alcibiades a few years earlier (Paus., 6.3.15). Alcibiades clearly attracted fervent support at times: Aelian reports Alcibiades' claim that 'when he enjoyed favour among the people, he was considered equal to the gods' (*VH*, 13.38), which was almost certainly rhetorical hyperbole;¹⁵ perhaps the same was true of our historian's interpretation of the events of 407 BC.

It is not difficult to see the analogies between Dionysus and Alcibiades in the opening lines of *Bacchae*. Alcibiades was the ward and *de facto* son of the Pericles, known as the 'Olympian', just as Dionysus was the son of Zeus, as we are reminded in the very first line of the play (cf. Διὸς παῖς: 1). Alcibiades was in any case supposedly descended from Zeus *via* Salaminian Ajax (cf. Plut., *Alc.*, 1.1). He gained considerable notoriety by replacing the traditional emblem on his shield with an image of Eros brandishing thunderbolts (Plut., *Alc.*, 16.1-2; cf. Ath., 12.534e), but again this may have been an invention of the stage.¹⁶ Thunderbolt imagery figures large in Dionysus' speech. It was a thunderbolt that assisted Semele's *accouchement* (3), and there are successive references to Dionysus' 'thundersmitten' mother (6) and the remains of the flame (8). If Alcibiades was in the frame, these allusions would have been highly appropriate.

Dionysus has left Asia behind him, described in terms that extend beyond Lydia and Phrygia to Bactria and Arabia Felix (13-16). This is an

¹³ E.g. Sopat., Rh., Διαίρεσις ζητημάτων 8.127: τὸ γὰρ γελᾶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ δακρύνει τὸν πένητα ἐπόμενον τῷ πλοουσίῳ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα—'Alcibiades' laughter, or weeping when poverty accompanies wealth, and the like.'

¹⁴ Plut., *Lys.*, 18.8; Cartledge, 1987, 83.

¹⁵ Currie, 2005, 185.

¹⁶ Russell, 1966, 45; Littmann, 1970.

exaggerated image of the Asia from which Alcibiades had just come, similarly situated besides the salty sea and full of fine cities occupied by both Greeks and barbarians (17-19). The word Dionysus uses to describe these cities, *καλλιπυργώτους*: 19, is a neologism, one of many in the play (There is said to be 'an unusually high proportion of 'new' words' in *Bacchae*.);¹⁷ Alcibiades was famous for persuading his contemporaries to use new-fangled words (Ar., *PCG*, 205.6-7), and this may be an evocation of that phenomenon. Dionysus came to 'this city of Greece' (Thebes, as often, is to be equated with Athens; cf. Beaumarchais' *Seville* as a calque of Paris) after he had 'set Asia dancing (*χορεύσας*: 21), and established there my mysteries, that I might be manifest to mankind as a god': 20-1. Alcibiades had likewise made a triumphant journey to Athens after some years in Asia, at Magnesia-on-the-Meander, Sardis, Samos and elsewhere. He had been formally absolved of his sins by most of Athens' priesthood, and not only were the charges of impiety that had been laid against him dropped, but his magnificent celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries will have involved his initiation. And if the tradition that he was granted divine honours only had its origins in an invention of the stage, perhaps here, it will be very pertinent in the present context.

Relevant here, in the context of the apparently innocuous word *χορεύσας* (dancing) is information we receive in Plutarch about the way Alcibiades walked and spoke. His manner of walking was so distinctive that it was imitated by his son (Plut., *Alc.*, 1.8). He probably owed his peculiar gait, however it might have looked, to a serious wound he had received at Potidaea in 432 (Plut., *Alc.*, 7.4), and it is my guess that it contributed to Sophocles' characterizations of him as Oedipus (in 425) and Philoctetes (in 408); both characters were deficient in the leg department and walked with a limp. Alcibiades' son also imitated his father's distinctive manner of speaking. Alcibiades was unable to pronounce the letter *rho* and would lambdacise it, saying for example *ὀλᾶς*; for *ὀρᾶς*; ('do you see?': Ar., *Ve.*, 44). This is to suggest that if Dionysus in *Bacchae* was indeed characterized as Alcibiades, he will have been heard as describing his recent experience not so much as 'having set Asia dancing' (*χορεύσας*: 21) but as 'having set Asia limping' (*χολεύσας*), extremely apposite if the play is 'really' about Alcibiades. This is not the only pertinent allusion; the parallels, echoes and resonances continue through the play.

¹⁷ Cf. Dodds, 1960, xxxvii, citing Smereka, 1936, 241: 'There is ... an unusually high proportion of 'new' words.'

Similarly, there are constant allusions to Critias' public image and career in the way Pentheus is represented. His very first words ἔκδημος ὄν (216) that Sandys translates as 'Though at the moment absent from this land' evoke an exiled existence (cf. Pl., *Lg.*, 869e). Critias had been in exile since 408 BC. He has heard of evil νεοχμία at Thebes, a word that smacks of political strife and upheaval (cf. Thuc., 1.12.2); this was Critias' speciality in the eyes of contemporaries, and was probably the reason why he had to go into exile in the first place. Pentheus objects to the women performing their nocturnal rites on the mountains, and suspects that they have base reasons for their activities; if Critias' Anacreon hexameters (1 D.-K.) were indeed intended to be what Iannucci has called 'a caricature of the kind of decadent Athenian symposium against which he is raising the standard of the restrained Dorian alternative',¹⁸ then 'the women's nocturnal choruses' of which Critias complains will be pertinent to the interpretation of Euripides' *Bacchae*.

Pentheus has little time for Dionysus, and refuses to acknowledge his divine status; Critias by 407 will have had little time for Alcibiades, and if divine honours had been granted, we can be sure that Critias would not have been among the devotees. But there may be more at work than this, for Pentheus' unwillingness to acknowledge Dionysus' status as a god may well reflect what has been called Critias' 'functional atheism': his rejection of the gods of the democratic city¹⁹ foremost among whom was Dionysus.²⁰ It should probably not be taken as a reflection of Euripides' own religiosity. Pentheus disapproves of the Asiatic carryings-on of Dionysus and his followers; Critias was a proponent of the 'Dorian muse'.²¹ 'Bromios' as an epithet of Dionysus is a constant theme of *Bacchae*: it occurs 20 times in one form or another (84, 87, 115, 141, 329, 375, 446, 536, 546, 593, 629, 726, 412 (x 2), 584 (x 2), 790, 976, 1031, 1250); the historical Critias also uses the word when he describes in hyperbolic periphrastic fashion the game of kottabos: 'the scale-pan, daughter of bronze, sits on the top of the high peaks of the kottabos, to receive the raindrops of Bromios' (1.10 D.-K.). *Bacchae* begins with the story of a false accusation of rape (26-31); Critias had written a tragedy, *Tennes*, which a false accusation of rape was made.²² Pentheus' threats of imprisonment in chains and stoning to death (355-6) certainly foreshadow Critias' cruel role during the

¹⁸ Iannucci, 2002; Wilson, 2004.

¹⁹ Bultrighini, 1999, 249-50.

²⁰ Dodds, 1960, 127.

²¹ Wilson, 2003, 190.

²² Wilson, 2003, 188.

regime of the Thirty, and perhaps echo his earlier behaviour as one of the Four Hundred. We might even preserve the manuscript reading at *Bacchae* 466, where εὐσεβησ' ('made me reverent') recalls Critias' claim that 'Sobriety is the neighbour of Reverence (Εὐσεβίης)' (6.21 D.-K.). Again, there are many more resonances between details of the play and the testimonia relating to Critias.

Dionysus tricks Pentheus into dressing up like a woman, in fine linen (821ff.), a far cry from the Spartan garb favoured by philo-Laconians like Critias. Likewise, the luxury (ἀβρότητα: 968, τρυφάν: 969) with which Pentheus is bedecked before his ill-fated rendezvous with his mother on the mountains is redolent of the East, and surely foreign to the Dorian ideology that Critias was zealous to inculcate even in the unwilling. Pentheus' pretty curls are the object of comment (928); we may well speculate that Critias kept his hair long in the Spartan manner (cf. Hdt, 208.3; Xen., *Lac.*, 9.3). Topical elements will have added to the humour of the dressing up scene,²³ and the total effect will have been to hold the historical Critias up to ridicule before an audience that had perhaps already suffered at his hands, and whose subsequent sufferings might well have been all the harsher thanks to Euripides' invidious imagery.

No enemy of the historical Critias could possibly devise a punishment that was more exquisitely cruel or shameful than the one that Euripides gives to his tragic hero, Pentheus. To be torn down from his observation post by crazed Bacchantes was bad enough, but to be torn limb from limb by his own mother and to have her brandish his head was just not cricket. Euripides arouses feelings of pity even for a Critias by dwelling on Agave's delusions, and on the grief shown by Cadmus for his dismembered grandson. Pity will, however, have been mitigated by those who recalled Critias' demand that the body of Phrynichus should be put on trial in 411. Euripides' gruesome conceit was arguably informed by this event.

Bacchae won first prize, but one cannot help feeling that its subsequent survival was due to the fact that Euripides' analysis of the forthcoming political situation was in principle spot-on, but in fact a kind of mirror image of what actually happened. For it was Alcibiades who was the victim of an ambush in open country, and who was shot at with arrows. It was Alcibiades whose headless corpse was to be lovingly tended, not by

²³ On which see Seidensticker, 1978; 1982.

his mother, but by camp-followers called Theodote and Timandra (Nep., *Alc.*, 10.6; Plut., *Alc.*, 39; cf. Ath., 13. 574e-f).

Aristophanes' *Frogs*, was probably performed at the same festival, in 405. The precise relationship between it and *Bacchae* is uncertain, but it is likely that Aristophanes knew the broad outlines of the play at least,²⁴ for his Dionysus too 'comes forward' as Alcibiades, as I have argued elsewhere.²⁵ Aristophanes' Dionysus is 'supple, fickle, wayward, panicky, opportunistic, and unscrupulous ...' and 'changes like a chameleon';²⁶ in other words rather closer to the picture of Alcibiades that we receive in Plutarch. For him, 'Alcibiades, among his other extraordinary qualities, had this especial art of captivating men by assimilating his own manners and habits to theirs, being able to change, more quickly than a chameleon, from one mode of life to another' (Plut., *Alc.*, 23.4).

I must stress that all this is provisional; it is very much work in progress. But one cannot help wondering why the points made here are not already part of *Bacchae* commentary (and there are plenty more correlations between myth and contemporary history than I have been able to discuss here). It perhaps has much to do with what E.R. Dodds, a recent editor of *Bacchae*, wrote in another, but related, context, that 'it is an essential critical principle that *what is not mentioned in the play does not exist*'.²⁷ This critical principle underlies, and invalidates, much current scholarship. If the analysis presented here is correct, there is a huge job to be undertaken to restore the text of *Bacchae*, and to further elucidate Euripides' delicate but incisive commentary on current affairs. That he chose in this instance to fling a 'disgraceful tale', an *αἰσχρὸν μῦθον*, at Critias – the mortal enemy of his patron Alcibiades who was also his current Macedonian patron's friend – was merely one example of the way political debate at Athens extended to the stage. So far as my limited experience has taught me, it is a phenomenon not without parallel in modern Georgia.

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²⁴ Cantarella, 1974.

²⁵ Vickers, 2001.

²⁶ Stanford, 1973, xxix-xxx.

²⁷ Italics original: Dodds 1966, 40; 1973, 68; 1983, 180.

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REMARKS

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EINMAL MEHR: SHAKESPEARE UND DIE GRIECHISCHEN SCHAFE*

Schon wieder hat uns der weltweit führende Sprichwort-Forscher Wolfgang Mieder (Burlington, Vermont) mit einem Band seiner 'Kulturellen Motivstudien' beschenkt:

Sein oder Nichtsein. Das *Hamlet*-Zitat in Literatur, Übersetzungen, Medien und Karikaturen. Mit 113 Abb. Wien 2008: Praesens Verlag = Kulturelle Motivstudien Bd. 8¹.

In 40 Jahren hat Mieder auf 287 S. vielgestaltiges Text- und Bildmaterial zusammengetragen. Über Mieders einschlägige Veröffentlichungen im Vorfeld des neuen Buches informiert das Vorwort (Kap. I). Kap. II interpretiert die 'geflügelteste aller Shakespeare-Wendungen': 'To be, or not to be, that is the question.' (Im Deutschen wird sie gewöhnlich in August Wilhelm Schlegels Blankvers-Wiedergabe zitiert: '... das ist *hier* die Frage'²). In III werden die Fassungen von 1603, 1604/05 und 1623 abgedruckt. IV teilt 21 deutsche Übersetzungen des Monologs von 1758 bis 1978 mit. Die erste stammt von Moses Mendelssohn, weitere von zum Teil auch für die Antikerezeption wichtigen Männern wie Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Joachim Eschenburg, Johann Heinrich Voß, Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Ludwig Seeger³, Friedrich Gundolf. Die erste deutsche Übersetzung des ganzen Stückes schuf 1766 Christoph Martin Wieland. Er veröffentlichte 1762-66 Übertragungen von 22 Shakespeare-Stücken, meist in Prosa; es ist die bis dahin bei weitem umfangreichste Shakespeare-Verdeutschung, von Lessing in der 'Hamburgischen Dramaturgie' ungeachtet mancher Einwände lebhaft begrüßt. Sie wird jetzt neu in der seit 2008 im Verlag de Gruyter erscheinenden Oßmannstedter Ausgabe vorgelegt, der ersten historisch-kritischen Edition Wielands, die von Klaus Manger und Jan Philipp Reemtsma betreut wird. Wieland ist der erste der vier großen Weimarer, von dem schon zu Lebzeiten 'Sämtliche Werke' vorlagen⁴ (Goethe, Schiller, Herder bekommen erst viel später eine solche Ausgabe), aber er ist der letzte von ihnen, der eine historisch-kritische Edition erhält. Alle vier Klassiker sind bedeutende Antikerezipienten:

Wieland, dessen 275. Geburtstag wir 2008 feierten, übertrug u. a. Werke von Aristophanes⁵, Xenophon, Lukian⁶ sowie von Horaz und Cicero; er schrieb Romane mit antiken Sujets, so (sie sind hier in Kurzform zitiert) 'Sokrates mainomenos'⁷, 'Agathon', 'Geschichte der Abderiten', 'Peregrinus Proteus', 'Agathodämon', 'Aristipp'. Mieders Kap. V umfasst englische und deutsche Parodien des Monologs (z. B. durch Mark Twain). In VI und VII liest man Gedichte sowie 'Aphorismen, Sprüche und Graffiti', die sich auf 'To be ...' beziehen, u. a. von Byron, Herwegh, Victor Klemperer, Rühmkorf, Volker Braun, Durs Grünbein, sowie Texte wie: Two Beer or not two Beer (Shakesbeer); Koexistenz oder Koexitus – das ist hier die Frage. In VIII geht es um 'Das (variierte) Zitat als Titel und Überschrift': Schein oder nicht Schein (zur Schwangeren-Beratung in der Sicht deutscher katholischer Bischöfe); Deutsch oder nicht sein (Titel eines Buches des deutsch-türkischen Grünen-Politikers Cem Özdemir); Rein oder nicht rein nach Europa, das ist die Frage im Staate Dänemark; in IX um 'Karikaturen, Witzzeichnungen und Comics' (z. B. aus dem *Simplicissimus*); in X um 'Zitatmanipulationen in der Werbung'. Der Exkurs Kap. XI enthält weitere Texte zu 'Etwas ist faul ...', so 'Something is rotten in this age of hope' (Heiner Müller). In VIII könnte ergänzt werden: To Be or Not to Be: Film von Ernst Lubitsch (1942), ferner: Schuster oder nicht Schuster, das ist hier die Frage (1996). Jürgen Werner, 'Schuster oder nicht Schuster, das ist hier die Frage', Überschrift eines Aufsatzes zu der Frage, wieso Brecht den Steinmetz bzw. Bildhauer Sokrates zum Schuster (Schuhmacher) macht. Mitteilungsblatt des Deutschen Altphilologenverbandes 1/1996, S. 43.⁸

Mieders 'Sein oder Nichtsein' ist ebenso wie sein 'Cogito ...' (s. o. Anm. 1) ein hochinteressantes und bei aller Gelehrsamkeit überaus unterhaltsames Buch. Es ist nicht zuletzt ein sehr anregendes Buch, darum hier noch ein kleiner Zusatz: Im 18. Jahrhundert tobte unter den Klassischen Philologen ein besonders heftiger Streit über die schon vorher umstrittene Aussprache des Altgriechischen. Bei der durch Erasmus von Rotterdam favorisierten 'erasmischen' Aussprache – es ist im wesentlichen die heute unter Altsprachlern übliche – wird der Buchstabe Eta *ä* oder *ē* gesprochen. Der Homer-Übersetzer Voß wollte Eta auch im Schriftbild mit *ä* wiedergeben: *Häbä*, *Homäros*. Der berühmte Christian Gottlob Heyne schlug Voß vor, dann auch *Jäsus* zu drucken. Doch das ging Voß zu weit. Nicht viel später druckte Hölderlin *Antigonä*⁹, und diese Form hat Carl Orff in seiner Vertonung beibehalten. Im Deutschen ist heute *ē* üblich: *Antigonē* usw. (wie schon im Lateinischen, dort neben *Antigona*). Bei der durch Johannes Reuchlin geförderten 'reuchlinischen' Aussprache wird Eta *i* gesprochen,

der Buchstabe Beta hat den Lautwert *w*, usw.; das ist die neugriechische Aussprache, die in Griechenland und bei den Griechen auf Zypern auch aufs Altgriechische angewandt wird. Im Deutschen tritt die neugriechische Aussprache und Schreibung selten auf, z. B. in '(Herr,) erbarme dich': erasm. *eléäson*, reuchl. *eléison*, *Mēlos* neugriech./ital. *Milo* (Venus von Milo), 'Weißveilchen': *leukóion* > 'Levkoi', oft in heutigen griechischen Namen: '(Stadt des) Sieg(es) über die Thessalier': *Thessalonikē* reuchl. mit Wegfall der unbetonten ersten Silbe 'Saloniki' (vgl. engl. *Salonica*), 'Länginsel' bei Kap Sunion: *Makrónēsos/Makrónisos*. Häufig ist die neugriechische Lautung auch in anderen oströmischen, von Byzanz beeinflussten Gebieten, besonders im Bereich der russischen Sprache: 'Sieger' *nikētēs* > *Nikita*, 'königlich' *basileios* > *Wassilij*, 'magnēt(o)' > *Magnitogorsk*. Der erwähnte Streit entzündete sich u. a. daran, ob in einem Text von Kratinos (5. Jh. v. Chr.), in dem Schafe blöken, ihr Laut *bā bū* oder *wi wi* auszusprechen ist. Welcher Schafslaut ist wohl der wahrscheinlichere? (Der deutsche Dichter Wilhelm Busch wäre vermutlich für die erasmische Aussprache, es gibt bei ihm einen unintelligenten Dichter Balduin *Bäh*lamm.) Der heute besonders durch seine Aphorismen bekannte Physikprofessor Georg Christoph Lichtenberg schrieb um 1780 eine satirische Abhandlung 'Über die Pronunciation der Schöpse des alten Griechenlands verglichen mit der Pronunciation ihrer neuern Brüder an der Elbe ...' und 1782 eine weitere witzige Schrift mit dem originellen Untertitel 'To bäh or not to bäh, that is the question'.

Anmerkungen:

- * Eine kürzere Fassung wird in 'Proverbium' 26 (Burlington, Verm.) erscheinen.
- 1 Den in derselben Reihe erschienenen Band 'Cogito, ergo sum' habe ich in 'Proverbium' 25, 2008, 447-449 und in 'Forum Classicum' (Bamberg) 1/07, 59-61 vorgestellt.
- 2 Manche sehen in dem Wort *hier* eine 'erweiterte Verdeutschung' (S. 22), ein 'Füllwort' (16 f., 38) in Schlegels 'sonst meisterhafter Übertragung' (16), 'einen Übersetzungsfehler' (38) bzw. eine 'Fehlübersetzung' (17). Mieder bietet eine 'Ehrentrettung' für das *hier* (18, 29).
- 3 Seine Aristophanes-Übertragung ist immer wieder gedruckt worden, so in: Aristophanes, Komödien in 2 Bänden, Weimar 1963 (übers. v. Seeger; bearb., eingel., komm. von J. W.) = Bibliothek der Antike, Griechische Reihe, Bd. 1-2. Vgl. meine Rezension der Newigerschen Ausgabe von Seegers Übersetzung (München 1968) in: Deutsche Literaturzeitung 91, 1970, 210-213 sowie meinen Aufsatz 'Die Übersetzungen des Aristophanes geben keine Vorstellung von dem Werte des Originals', *Phasis*, 4, 2001, 132-144 = SKENIKA. Beiträge zum antiken Theater und seiner Rezep-

- tion, Festschr. Horst-Dieter Blume, hrsg. v. Susanne Götde und Theodor Heinze, Darmstadt 2000, 389-401.
- ⁴ Die Sämtlichen Werke enthalten allerdings nicht die Übersetzungen. Zur Geschichte der Wieland-Editionen s. jetzt Hans-Peter Nowicki in: Jutta Heinz (Hg.), *Wieland-Handbuch. Leben Werk Wirkung*, Stuttgart, Weimar 2008, 26-35; zu Wielands Shakespeare-Übersetzungen: Peter Kofler, ebd. 394-403.
- ⁵ Dazu s. die o. Anm. 3 genannte Literatur, ferner J. W., *Studien zur Geschichte der Aristophanes-Verdeutschung*, Habil.-Schr. Leipzig 1965. Zu den von mir synonym verwendeten Termini *Übersetzung*, *Übertragung*, *Verdeutschung* (\neq *Eindeutschung*) s. meinen Artikel in: Claus Träger (Hrsg.), *Wörterbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1986 u. ö., 532-534, sowie meinen Beitrag zum 'dokumentarischen' und 'transponierenden' Übersetzen bei Schadewaldt in: *Forum Classicum*, 2, 2006, 160-162.
- ⁶ Eine moderne Leseausgabe von Wielands Lukian-Übertragung, die den Bedürfnissen des heutigen Lesers gerecht wird, brachte ich in der 'Bibliothek der Antike' zum Druck: 3 Bde., Berlin und Weimar 1974, 1981. Zum fotomechanischen Nachdruck von Wielands Lukian-Verdeutschung (Darmstadt 1971) s. meine Rezension in: *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 92, 1971, 1009-1012. Vgl. ferner J. W., 'Wenn du dir aus dem Meßkatalog einiges aussuchst, so vergiß Wielands Lukian nicht', *Philologus* 129, 1985, 121-132.
- ⁷ Dazu J. W., *Der Kyniker Diogenes als 'Rasender Sokrates'*. Zu Wielands Antike-Rezeption, *Phasis* 8, 2005, 152-186 = *Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Arbeitsberichte ...* 18-20, 2005, 63-98.
- ⁸ Dort geht es um andere Schuhmacher-Philosophen wie den deutschen Mystiker Jakob Böhme (16./17. Jh.), über den Karl Marx unter Anspielung auf die übertragene Bedeutung von 'Schuster' (Pfuscher; wer seinen Job nicht ordentlich erledigt) sagte: 'Der Schuster Jakob Böhme war ein großer Philosoph. Manche Philosophen von Ruf sind nur große Schuster.' Mehr dazu bei J.W., *Der Stückeschreiber und der Sohn der Hebamme. Brecht und das Erbe: der Fall Sokrates*, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1998 (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse Bd. 136, H. 1).
- ⁹ Doch warum nicht *Ismänä*? Das erfährt man auch nicht aus Johann Kreuzer (Hrsg.), *Hölderlin- Handbuch*, Stuttgart und Weimar 2002; vgl. meine Rezension in: *Forum Classicum*, 3, 2003, 176 f.

Jürgen Werner (Berlin)

DER SPIEGEL UND DIE ANTIKE*

‘Latein ist ... wieder ‘in’. Ein bisschen gilt das sogar für das Fach Griechisch’ lautete das *euangelion* in Andreas Fritschs Editorial in ‘Forum Classicum’ (Bamberg; im folgenden stets FC) 4/2008, 219. Erfreulich, dass diese Tendenz auch von nichtaltertumswissenschaftlicher Prominenz unterstützt wird. Der einflussreiche TV-Moderator Günter Jauch hat sich in einem Interview im Nachrichtenmagazin DER SPIEGEL 14/2006, 146 f. positiv über Latein und Griechisch als Unterrichtsfach geäußert; seine Töchter hat er auf ein altsprachliches Gymnasium geschickt. In demselben SPIEGEL-Heft gab es einen Artikel zum Comeback dieser beiden Sprachen in Deutschland. Es ist zu begrüßen, dass sich DER SPIEGEL mit dem griechisch-römischen Altertum befasst. Das geht allerdings nicht immer gut.

Ein erstes Beispiel: Im SPIEGEL vom 4. 8. 2008 ist mehrfach von britischen *Olympioniken* die Rede, die sich in Peking auf die Olympischen Spiele vorbereiteteten. Die LeserInnen des FC wissen natürlich, dass griech. *Olympionikēs* ‘Olympia-Sieger’ bedeutet; so wurde es zuerst vor zweieinhalbtausend Jahren von Pindar in seinen Gedichten auf bedeutende Sportler und ausschließlich so wurde *Olympionike* im Deutschen bis vor 20 Jahren verwendet. Seitdem wird es häufiger im Sinne von ‘Teilnehmer an den Olympischen Spielen’ benutzt, auch im SPIEGEL vom 18. 8. und vom 8. 9. 2008. Solchen Bedeutungs- bzw. richtiger: Bezeichnungswandel gibt es bei vielen griechischen und anderen Wörtern.¹ Dagegen ist nichts zu sagen. Aber wie kommt es wohl bei *Olympionike* zu dieser Neuverwendung? Hat ein – kontextbedingtes – Missverständnis dazu geführt? Oder hat man das Wort bewusst umfunktioniert, wollte man, d. h.: wollten die Sportreporter für die vergleichsweise schmucklose deutsche Bezeichnung ‘Olympia-Teilnehmer’ (die ‘Berliner Zeitung’ vom 14. 08. 2008 hat ‘Olympiakämpfer’) einen klangvoll-exotischen Ausdruck haben? Mit Mitteln des

Griechischen – wenn es schon etwas Griechisches sein sollte, und warum nicht bei 'Olympia'? – hätte man z. B. 'Olympiagonist' bilden können, nach dem Muster von 'Protagonist'. Klingt dies nicht gut? Es ist eine Silbe kürzer als 'Olympia-Teilnehmer', bereitet also in unserer schnelllebigen Zeit sprachökonomisch keine Probleme. Aber eine solche Wortprägung hätte Griechisch-Kenntnisse vorausgesetzt, und in 'Protagonist' hätte es nur eine schwache Stütze: Wie wenig dieses Wort dem Durchschnittsdeutschen vertraut ist, zeigt die häufig zu hörende und zu lesende Form 'Hauptprotagonist', also die Kreuzung des für den Durchschnittssprecher 'unmotivierten' (etymologisch undurchsichtigen) Fremdwortes mit seinem deutschen Synonym 'Hauptdarsteller', in dem 'Haupt-' ja eine zum Verständnis notwendige Komponente ist. An ähnlichen Prägungen las ich schon 'Gesamtpanorama', 'erster Prototyp', 'logistischer Nachschub', 'zoologischer Tiergarten', 'didaktisches Lehrtheater', 'nostalgische Sehnsucht'. (Vgl. J. Werner zu 'vorprogrammieren': FC 2/2008, 124.) Zurück zu 'Olympionike'. Vielleicht bürgert sich eine Differenzierung ein, die die 'Leipziger Volkszeitung' probiert hat: Dort hießen 'Olympioniken' die – zahlreichen – Olympia-Teilnehmer, dagegen die – nicht so zahlreichen – Sieger schlicht 'Olympiasieger'. Aber warten wir ab, was die Kreativität der Sportjournalisten uns noch beschert. Es muss ja nichts Griechisches sein. Die Teilnehmer an einer Athener 'Friedensolympiade' wurden in einer Zeitung folgerichtig 'Friedensolympioniken' genannt, bei der ersten Erwähnung noch mit Anführungszeichen, danach ohne. – Interessant ein Blick in die neuesten Auflagen der maßgeblichen Bände des Mannheimer Dudens: Das Duden-Fremdwörterbuch (zuletzt 2006) und das Große Fremdwörterbuch (zuletzt 2007) haben zwei Bedeutungen von 'Olympionike': '1. Sieger ..., 2. Teilnehmer ...'; das ebenfalls zuletzt 2007 erschienene Deutsche Universalwörterbuch hat bereits, in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, 'Teilnehmer, besonders [!] Sieger bei einer Olympiade', das Duden-Bedeutungswörterbuch (zuletzt 2002) schon nur noch 'Teilnehmer ...'. Ende 2008 hat der Showmaster Frank Plasberg in seiner Fernseh-Sendung 'Hart, aber fair' vier Deutsche genannt, 'von denen einer unter den Top 10 aller Olympioniken 2008 gewesen sein soll, darunter Basketballer Dirk Nowitzki'. Darauf stellte Jauch vor 7 Millionen Zuschauern richtig: 'Nowitzki ist gar kein Olympionike. *Olympionike* heißt 'Olympiasieger', griechisch *Nike* bedeutet 'Sieg'. Mehr dazu in: FC 3/2008, 272 ff.

Im SPIEGEL 52/1999 wird von Chronos behauptet: Er war für die Griechen ein 'Lehrmeister, der seine Schüler umbringt'. Richtig ist: er war der Gott der Zeit, der seine Kinder verschlang, wie es auch der Titan Kro-

nos tat, mit dem er, schon wegen der Namensähnlichkeit, oft gleichgesetzt wurde.

Im *SPIEGEL* 24/2008 heißt es von Carla Bruni-Sarkozy, sie preise nicht nur Witz und Lebhaftigkeit des Gatten, sondern erhebe 'den aufopferungswilligen Präsidenten gar zum modernen Sisyphos: 'Er liebt es, eine Last zu tragen'. Ein eher gewagter Vergleich – die griechische Sagengestalt, die immer wieder einen Stein bergan rollen musste, gilt als Symbol vergeblicher Mühen.' Aber falls die First Lady bzw. Première Dame wirklich an Sisyphos gedacht haben sollte, so hätte *DER SPIEGEL* darauf hinweisen können, dass sie ihren Gatten statt mit dem erfolglos bemühten Sisyphos besser mit dem starken Herakles hätte vergleichen sollen, der im Mythos sogar zeitweilig anstelle von Atlas die Erdkugel trägt.

Auch meinte *DER SPIEGEL*, die Weihnachtsgeschichte werde nur von dem Evangelisten Johannes erzählt (52/1999). Dieser erwähnt sie überhaupt nicht, das tun lediglich die Evangelisten Matthäus und Lukas.² Dies war offenbar nicht in dem – vorzüglichen – *SPIEGEL*-Archiv belegt, aber das weiß im allgemeinen auch der gebildete Nichttheologe.³

Anmerkungen

- * Veränderte und erweiterte Fassung von zwei Beiträgen, die in Forum Classicum erschienen sind.
- 1 Vgl. dazu vorläufig Werner J., Ernstes und Heiteres zum Thema 'Griechische Lexik im Deutschen', *Gymnasium* 102, 1995, 385 ff., und 'Olympionike', 'Porno' und anderes: Neuverwendungen griechischer Wörter im Deutschen, in: Ulla Fix u. a. (Hg.), *Chronologische, areale und situative Varietäten im Deutschen* (Festschr. Rudolf Große, Frankfurt a. M. usw. 1995 = *Leipziger Arbeiten zum Sprach- und Kommunikationsgeschichte* 2), 435 ff. Nichts zum Thema bei Weeber K.-W., *Musen am Telefon*, Darmstadt 2008 (dazu meine Rez.: *FC* 2/2008, 122-126).
- 2 Vgl. Fritsch A., *Die Weihnachtsgeschichte nach Lukas im Lateinunterricht*, *Altsprachlicher Unterricht* XLI 6, 1998, 6 ff.
- 3 In der hochinteressanten Berliner Babylon-Ausstellung (2008) war zu lesen: 'In der christlichen Bibel, die durch das Neue Testament ergänzt ist, wird des öfteren auf das Alte Testament zurückgegriffen'. Die christliche Bibel – welche sonst? – besteht aus dem Alten und dem Neuen Testament. Da gibt es nichts zu 'ergänzen', da ist auf nichts 'zurückzugreifen'.
- *DER SPIEGEL* vertat sich auch in Bezug auf den Libanon (37/2006). Hier ging es zwar 'nur' um die Neuzeit; sie ist aber für den Altertumswissenschaftler ebenfalls wichtig, schon wegen der Ausgrabungen in Baalbek. *DER SPIEGEL* schrieb: 'Keine andere Macht des Westens konnte es mit Deutschlands Popularität aufnehmen ... Großbritannien nicht, die alte Kolonialmacht, nicht einmal Frankreich ...' Richtig ist: Großbritannien hatte nach dem Zerfall des Osmanischen Reiches im Libanon

keine Befugnisse, dort schaltete und waltete Frankreich, aber nicht als 'Kolonialmacht', sondern im Rahmen eines Völkerbund-Mandats (so wie in Syrien), bis 1941 bzw. 1944. (Großbritannien hatte nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg ein Völkerbund-Mandat für Irak, Palästina und andere türkische Gebiete).

BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

SHORT VERSIONS

RISMAG GORDEZIANI

**MEDITERRANEA-KARTVELICA (I-IV), LOGOS 2007-2008, I: 205p.;
II: 458p.; III: 497p.; IV: 200p.**

The work deals with the linguistic encounters of earliest attested languages of the Mediterranean region and the Kartvelian ones, and offers an attempt to systematize interpret them with regard to historical and archaeological material. The work is published in four volumes, and is intended for specialists and students as well as for broader community interested in ancient languages and civilizations.

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VOLUME IV.

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Concluding Comments.

Since the Neolith, the Mediterranean was one of the most important locales for the development of language families and establishment of linguistic contacts. By that time (the 8th-6th millenniums BC), the differentiation of the proto language had been well under way. Formation of a number of new language families marked the end of an earlier stage as well as the start of a relatively later one. The language unities, which served as the basis for the formation of language families known nowadays, developed fairly distinct contours as early as the Neolith. In the Eastern Mediterra-

near the like dominant unity was the South-East Anatolian, whose diffusion all over the region resulted in the so-called Mediterranean unity or union. Among other unities, the diffusion gave rise to the so-called Aegean linguistic area, embracing Aegean-Anatolian region, and Mesopotamian-Proto-Kartvelian linguistic area extending to the South Caucasus and North Mesopotamia. In my opinion, the start of the 4th millennium BC marked the formation of the Sumerian language in Mesopotamia and the Common Kartvelian language family in the South Caucasian region, which belonged to the Kura-Arax cultural area. The former was the outcome of the fusion of hypothetical Proto-Sumerian (resulting from the synthesis of the South-East Anatolian and North African) with Mesopotamian-Proto-Kartvelian. Therefore, Sumerian is strongly marked by a quasi-Kartvelian nature. The Kartvelian language family resulted from the synthesis of the Mesopotamian-Proto-Kartvelian with West and North-West Caucasian languages within the spread of the Kura-Arax culture. To the same cultural area presumably belonged the tribes associated with East-Caucasian and other languages. The Kura-Arax cultural region enjoyed relations with neighbouring cultures, especially with the Maikop culture (around 3500-2500 BC), which served as a mediator between the populations of Kura-Arax culture and the so-called Kurgan as well as other cultures. The Kura-Arax region acted as a mediator between the Mesopotamian culture and the one attested in the north of the Caucasus. These relations must have also been reflected at the level of linguistic contacts, testified by the presence of the so-called Indo-Europeisms, Sumerisms, Semitisms, Caucasisms in the languages of various families. The second half of the 3rd millennium BC marked the start of intensive migrations within the Eurasian region, which could be associated with the decline of the Kura-Arax culture. Various streams of people belonging to the Kura-Arax culture must have migrated to different directions. A significant part of them remained in the Caucasus, taking part in the formation of the Great Kurgan or Middle Bronze-Age Trialeti culture. Evidently, Kartvelian tribes were actively involved in the migrations from the Caucasus to various directions. I suppose that the Caucasian tribes must have followed two main directions while migrating westwards, i.e. to the Mediterranean: south-western and north-western. The migrations resulted in the formation of a linguistic area dominated by the Kartvelian component.

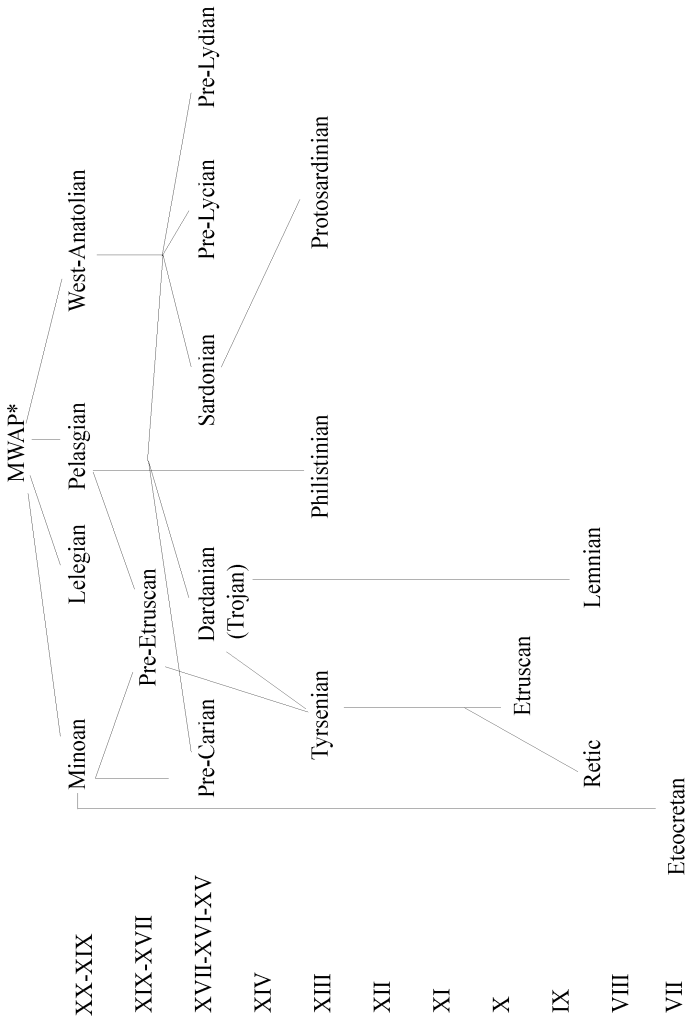
Historical-archaeological background of Pre-Greek-Kartvelian encounters. The Greeks regarded the Pelasgians as the leading element of autochthonous, non-Hellenic element in the Aegean. According to the mythological

chronology, they must have appeared on the scene approximately between the 20th-19th centuries. Around that period started the advancement of the Middle Helladic culture, which to a certain extent can be associated with the Early Helladic III Tiryns culture. The Middle Helladic culture was not confined solely to the Aegean. Its influence can be traced in the Apennine culture of Italy (1800/17000) as well as in the El Argar culture of Spain (the second quarter of the 2nd millennium BC). The expansion of the Middle Hellenic culture more accurately coincides with the advancement and expansion of the Pelasgians. In my opinion, this process must be in some way associated with the Caucasian migrations. The formatives of non-Greek origin, showing correspondence with Kartvelian, can be grouped into two: a) directly related to Kartvelian and b) related to late Indo-European. I believe that the first group is associated with peoples' migration from the Kura-Arax cultural zone to the Aegean via Anatolia, while the second with the Caucasian peoples' migration towards the northern Black Sea littoral, which was reflected in the Kartvelisms found in late Indo-European dialects. As concerns the formation of the Pelasgian element and the so-called Pre-Greek languages in general, it was mostly contributed by the Caucasians migrating via Anatolia.

The impact of the Caucasian migration can be attested not only linguistically, as treated above, but also archeologically. The Middle Helladic culture, connected with the Early Helladic II B and III periods, reflects a number of signs typical of the Kura-Arax as well as Trialeti culture. The early so-called Kartvelian-Pelasgian layer can also be distinguished in the Aegean, Etruria and Spain (first of all, in the so-called Kartvelisms of Basque); evidently, the Caucasian tribes also migrated eastwards, suggestive of which are Burushaski-Kartvelian linguistic encounters. So, the Caucasian migrations to the north-west in the 3rd millennium BC found reflection in the Baltic-Slavic, Thracian, Macedonian, Greek, Italic and possibly, Celtic, Germanic and some other languages, while the migrations via Anatolia formed the Aegean-Kartvelian linguistic unity, which can be conventionally called Minoan-West Anatolian-Pelasgian. Its differentiation resulted in the formation of a significant part of Pre-Greek languages and dialects, whereas the migration of Pre-Greek tribes to the west established pre-Etruscan or Pelasgian in Italy and Spain, and pre-Basque in Spain.

In the 17th or 16th century BC, after the Santorini catastrophe in the Aegean, there were favorable conditions in the region for a new important relocation of forces. The collapse of the so-called Minoan koine and the appearance of new, first of all, Mycenaean Achaeans caused further differentiation of the Minoan-

Pelasgian unity. In the Aegean-Anatolian area appear the tribes which I have mentioned as I dwelt on the Sea Peoples (see above p. 69 ff.). After the hypothetical Trojan War, at about 1200 BC, the repeated migrations of peoples to and from Anatolia resulted in an inevitable Indo-Europeization of the Aegean. The central characters of the process were the Greeks, Thracian-Phrygian and Hittite-Luwian tribes. Migration from the Aegean took two main directions: to the east and north-east, including the Caucasian region, and to the west towards Italy and Sardinia. The information about the migrations is preserved in the Greek tradition, namely in Herodotus' above-considered note regarding the Colchians' Egyptian origin (see above, p. 71). Evidently, the information reflects the migration of one of the Sea Peoples, the Shardana, to the Caucasus and their assimilation with the Colchians. As concerns another part of the Sea Peoples, they must have been the inhabitants of Sardinia Island. One more representatives of the Sea Peoples, Trš, must have moved to Italy and formed the Etruscan ethnos after assimilating with their kindred Pelasgian tribes, earlier settlers of the region. I share the opinion according to which the Egyptian Trš reflects Taruiša of the Hittite sources, which on its part must correspond to Troiva/ Troivh of the Greek traditions. Since the Pre-Greek element is dominant in Etruscan, it can be considered quasi-Kartvelian, analogically with its kindred Lemnian. Having all this in mind, I will present below a chronologically ordered picture of language differentiation in the Aegean-Anatolian region at the turn of the 2nd millennium BC.



* Minoan – West – Anatolian – Pelasgian

EKATERINE KOBAKHIDZE

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In the work there is researched an information kept in Ancient Literature regarding the Etruscan culture. Data existed in ancient Greek and Roman Literature are one of the most important sources. In spite of it, that Ancient Literature was researched from this point of view by the scientists famous all over the world: historians, archaeologists, philologists, there are a lot of unsolved problems, which are actual in the matter of researching Etruscology, as well as Ancient Culture.

In modern science, there is not so far explained a contradictory character of some information kept in sources there, what complicates the using of data as the certain proofs. Thus, unlike the majority of researches existed in Etruscology to present, where there is discussed an information presented to any one author, It is important to present the tendencies of repeating and transformation of data in the whole Ancient Literature.

Having taken into the consideration the facts, that were discussing the literature sources, it is necessary to base not only chronological succession, but genre characteristics as well. In the material in synchrony and diachronic section there were revealed a lot of unexpected novelty from the point of view of verification of information, as well as setting the reasons of motivation of artistic generalization.

The research presented in work describes a diachronic process - how there happened an artistic transformation of concrete facts and in some case - metaphorization.

Such analyze makes the possibility to review not only Etruscological problematic, but the general tendencies of literary processing of information saved in Ancient sources in a new manner.

The goal of the work is a maximum comprehensive analyze of information kept in Ancient Literature about Etruscans from one party, which is an important base in the matter of Etruscological research and from the other party, the studying of the question has a meaning for establishing the general regularities of changing the factual data for the objects of artistic generalization in the entrails of Ancient Literature.

Information saved in Ancient Literature about the Etruscans is not studied jet from monographic point of view. Meanwhile, method of research applied in the work and which is based on genre and chronological analyze of information, is not used in Etruscology so far.

Majority of Etruscologists analyzed the literary sources according to the certain authors, perceived the data gathered there as a means for pick-

ing the factual information out. In the works of such kind, there is contemplated neither the principal of artistic generalization characterized for literary works, neither the tendencies of repeating and transformation of this data from work to work, what is a new way for the interpretation of this or that information.

Novelty is a genre, chronological and thematical analyze of information kept about the Etruscans in Ancient Literature. As an innovation worthwhile to be paid an attention can also considered the establishing of pre-conditions of revealing and rising of so called 'clichés' and metaphors.

The practical meaning of work is targeted to the sphere of Etruscology, referring to it, that there are discussed the questions of interpretation in Ancient sources of Etruscan culture, as well as general problematic of theory of literature.

There are described three trends of research in the work there: genre analyze of information, chronological discussion of data and Etruscans kind - changing of symbols for artistic metaphor. Referring to it, there is the necessity for using the different methods. The most significant from them are the methods of comparative and structural analyze.

Foreword. In the foreword of the book, there is a discussion regarding the goal of work and its actuality in Etruscology and Classical Philology. There is also discussed the method applied while the above mentioned research.

In spite of it, that Etruscology in the branch of Classical Philology is already a long time is discussed as several autonomous disciplines, Etruscological researches in modern science is in fact unimaginable without taking a role of Ancient civilization into the consideration.

This, first of all is provided by the fact, that as the main sources for studying the Etruscans culture, together with archeological materials are just the ancient written monuments.

The goal of research of the work is an analyze of describing the Etruscan culture in Ancient Literature.

The word 'Etruscans' following the majority of modern Etruscologists is used in the work in the meaning of term, through the which, It designates not only the people, as an ethno, but the culture in its many sided revealing.

In the word it is indicated, that unlike the researches made by Etruscologists, the work is based on systematical analyze of factual data of sources and studying the tendencies of artistic interpretation of data.

Researching of the question from this point of view is significant for three main goals:

1. Complex researching of the problems of Etruscan culture.
2. Offering the interpretation of data in a new manner taking a high artistic value of information into the consideration.
3. Methodical studying of transformation of information by the influence of genre and chronological tendencies in Ancient Literature itself.

Discussing of the question from this point of view is not so far in the limit of the sphere of interest of Etruscologists.

One more factor is an interesting component for research.

If the chronology of material monuments itself coincides with the period of existing the Etruscans, there are plenty of data about the Etruscans in artistic literature, even after them, as the people's disappearing from an area of History.

Thus, for the purpose of perfect presenting the question, we considered it significant not to be limited by the certain chronological frames and completely study the Ancient Literature – from the period of classic through the late antiquity (total more than 60 authors from ancient Greek, as well as Roman Literature).

In the foreword there is presented a list of discussed authors and works there. I refused for using the artistic translations and use my own interlinear translations in the work.

In the foreword there are formed the principles, which I use for analyzing the above mentioned material. There is a discussion regarding the necessity of genre and chronological discussion of the information saved in Ancient Literature regarding the Etruscans.

Chapter I. Genre Analyze.

The chapter is divided into 4 sub-chapters: a) Epos; b) Lyrics; c) Drama; d) Prose.

There is presented the information saved in ancient Literature about the Etruscans from the point of view of genre in it. There are discussed each authors, each works, there is taken a meaning of contextually of information into the consideration. Each data is enclosed by a proper comment, which is based on modern situation of the research of question, my own analyze of information and a literary interpretation of passage.

I Sub-Chapter. Epos.

In this sub-chapter, there are presented the following 7 authors: Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Nonnos.

In the sub-chapter there are discussed the following works: *Theogonia*, *Argonautica*, *On the Nature of Things*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*, *Fasti*, *Metamorphoses*, *Pharsalia*, *Dionysiaca*.

As a result of detailed studying of material, it is presented the information existed in epos about the Etruscans into the following thematic groups:

1. Martial characters (Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil, Ovid);
2. Art of prediction (Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan);
3. Cruelty (Virgil, Ovid, Nonnos);
4. Tyrrhenian pirates (Ovid, Nonnos);
5. Modern Etruscans (Virgil, Ovid);
6. Details of every day life (fife, hooter, sandles).

From the mentioned above, the following groups: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 are corresponded with concrete characters:

1. Tarquinius Superbus, Tarchon, Mezentius, Arruns (Virgil), Tarquinius Superbus (Ovid).
2. Azy1 (Virgil), Tages, Cipun foreteller (Ovid), Arruns from Luna, Tages (Lucan).
3. Mezentius (Virgil), Tarquinius Superbus, Sextus Tarquinius (Ovid), Tyrrhenian pirates.
4. Maecenas, plump fife player (Virgil).

In sub-section each of these groups are discussed in chronological section.

1. Martial characteristics.

Being interested in fighting experience of Etruscans in Epos is connected with VIII-VII centuries BC (Hesiod). So called 'Standard' formed with Hesiod was not left beyond the attention neither Greek nor Roman authors. The Etruscans special fighting characteristic features are mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius (II century BC), Virgil (I century BC) and Ovid (I century BC).

It's worthwhile to be paid an attention that not only positive, but negative characters are presented by the above mentioned characteristic features (Tarchon, Arruns, Tarquinius Superbus, Mezentius, Porsena).

Repeating of information makes so called 'clichés' about the martial characteristic features about the Etruscans false.

2. Art of prediction.

After the fighting thematic, most of all, referring the volume of information, attention in epos is paid to the art of Etruscan divination.

In ancient epos there are presented almost every trends of this art (fortune-telling on thunders (Lucretius, Virgil, Lucan), Haruspition (Virgil, Ovid, Lu-

can), prediction according to stars (Virgil), science for the treatment of birds (Virgil, Lucan).

In ancient epos, there are given the artistic faces of the experts of divination as well, authority of which is stable (Azyll, (Virgil), Tages, Cipus (Ovid), Arruns (Lucan).

It can be said clearly, that Etruscan prediction in ancient Greek and Roman epos depicts a true knowledge of the events. Including the elements of divination in the plot of work psychologically gets the reader ready for fatal development of the action, making so called 'announcing' of future by sacral symbols. As a result of understanding reasons, philosophical poem *On the Nature of Things* by Lucretius looks like isolated, which is special with its skeptical attitude to Etruscan divination.

Meanwhile, opposition of sides significant for epos is maintained here too - from one part there is presented a scientific discussion of the subjects and opposite to it - art of Etruscans prediction

Different point of view given at Lucretius about the prediction of Etruscans doesn't interfere the formation of homogenous relation to the divination in ancient epos, which to my mind, like the information presented in the first group, can be conditionally called 'cliché'.

3. Cruelty

Data regarding the essential brutality of Etruscans in ancient epos are episodic. From one sight, this information is based on concrete historical facts (episode of stoning of Foceans by Etruscans, piracy of Etruscans ...).

Though, as it became clear from the work, such estimation of Etruscans is provided not only by historical facts, but the concrete artistic configuration of certain works (Virgil, Ovid, Nonnos).

Here, first of all, is meant the preparation of 'Epic opposition' by means of opposing of kind and evil), (Aeneas - Mezentius, Lucretia-Tarquinius Junior, Dionysus - Tyrrehanian pirates).

4. Tyrrehanian Pirates.

Comparative characterization of 'Tyrrehnoi' presented at Ovid and Nonnos makes it clear, that the authors of these mythological characters win for rising their artistic conception.

At Ovid, Tyrrehanians personified 'godless crowd' (opposition: god - godless crowd) and at Nonnos - brutality and cruelty (opposition - kindness - cruelty, justice - injustice).

Rights the above mentioned conception causes the transformation of information regarding the pirates at Nonnos.

5. Modern Etruscan.

Referring the specific of genre there is noticed to be the lackage of modern characters in epos.

It is conformed by two exceptions, which are made at Virgil (thick Etruscan participating the feast and Maecanas).

Both of them are presented only in one phrase. Thick Etruscan presented in *Georgics* is an example of repeating the literary cliché of already fecundated lyrics (comp. Catullus).

6. Everyday Life.

Elements of every day life, as we've already mentioned are shown at Virgil.

Musical instruments (fife, hooter) are presented in the other genre of Ancient Literature as well and hooter, as it is discussed in connection with tragedy – already formed cliché and is perceived as a symbol of strong, divine, symbol of thunder like voice.

Thus, from the point of view of artistic interpretation of information about the Etruscans, epos is not beyond the limits characteristic for genre.

They are the following: data inspired with heroic-battle aspiration (group 1, 3) mixed with the certain fantastic (group 4) and reality (group 5, 6).

'Inside' the genre, there are fixed the case of repeating (group 1, 2, 3) and transformation (4). In Epos, there are the repeating of already existed clichés (Group 5, 6).

The essential attention is paid to one significant tendency.

Repeating of information at several authors, supports the transformation of data and characters into certain clichés, which are conferred a defined meaning.

It, from its party, in most cases may provide their so called 'metaphorization', in each genre, as well as in separate period and in the whole literature.

For example, in Ancient Literature, from artistic characters there are mentioned Tarquin dynasty (Virgil, Ovid) in ancient epos most of all. These data are characterized by tendency of repeating (brutality, violence), what in epos forms so called clichés for characterizing Tarquin dynasty.

The same tendency, in spite of frequency of mentioning, is not shown in connection with Turrhenian pirates (Ovid, Nonnos).

The reason of it is in non homogeneous of information existed about them and transformation of data from the essay of one author into the work of another author.

II. Sub-items – Lyrics.

In the sub-chapter, there are presented the following authors and works: *Homeric Hymns*, Solon, Pindar, Catullus, Horace, Propertius, Martial, Statius, Juvenal, Persias, Ausonius, Pontius Paulinus, Claudianus, Namatianus, Maximianus Etruscus.

On the basis of analyze of the above mentioned authors and works, material revealed in the above mentioned sub-chapter may be presented into the following thematic groups (in the list it is followed the succession given in the previous sub-item, enclosing the additional groups at the end):

1. Martial characteristics (Pindar, Horace, Persias)
2. Divination (Tibullus, Jurenael, Claudianus)
3. Pirates (*Homeric Hymns*)
4. Modern Etruscan (Catullus, Horace, Propertius, Martial, Statius, Juvenal, Ausonius, Maximianus)
5. Every day life (Horace, Persias, Propertius, Martial, Statius)
6. Ruins of past glory (Propertius, Rutulius Namatianus)
7. Pantheon (Propertius, Martial, Namatianus)
8. Historical-mythological characters (Persias, Martial, Juvenal, Ausonius, Paulinius, Claudianus)
9. Aspiration to luxury (Horace, Martial, Statius)

1. Martial characteristics.

Information presented in this pithy group is scanty compare to epos. This sort of data in lyrics is of indirect face and bears an episodic character.

Such tendency completely coincides the aspiration with lyrics, which presents the martial episodes only in panegyric poems (as it in case of Pindar and Horace is seen in concrete works created for eulogizing of Hieron from Siracus and Maecenas).

2. Divination.

Like epos, factor of trust to Etruscans divination in lyrics is high enough, but it is seasoned with 'subjectivity'. For example, absolute obedience in poetry of Propertius is changed in Juvenal with the sense of satiety. Claudianus 'reminds' this art while mentioning Tanaquil and doesn't make hei Etruscan origination concrete.

Thus, Etruscans divination in lyrics is not a significant element and its mentioning like the martial characters of Etruscans is not an object of artistic generalization.

The only exception is one word combination at Jevenal, where the poet means 'Disciplina Etrusca' and uses it with the meaning of 'books of miracles'.

3. Tyrrhenian Pirates.

This rather popular theme in epos is met only at one author (*Homeric Hymns*).

Tyrrhenian pirates by Homer, unlike epos is not a component of epic opposition, their action is not essentially estimated by the author and perceived as a showing of 'blind fate'.

After the archaic period, ancient lyrics is not interested in this theme any more. May be it happened because of the fact, that from this point of view, initiative was assumed by the other genres on them (essentially epos).

4. Modern Etruscan

Among the 'modern' Etruscans, the most frequently is mentioned Maecenas (Horace, Propertius), Claudius Etruscus (Martial, Statius), Seiannus (Jevenal), Pomponia Urbica (Ausonius), Maximianus Etruscus (Maximianus Etruscus).

In *Georgics*, by Virgil, Catullus creates a prototype of plump fife player. It's worthwhile to be paid an attention, that in most cases, modern Etruscans appear in panegyric poetry (Horace, Propertius, Martial, Statius, Ausonius).

All of them enjoy with a high social position and are close to Imperial Society (Maecenas - Augustus, Claudius Tuscus, Seianus - Tiberius, Pomponia Urbica-censor's wife).

5. Everyday life.

This sub group is special with its thematic variety (Veian wine (Horace, Persius), Tuscan street (Propertius), terms (Martial, Statius).

It's clear, that being interested in these themes is more or less characteristic for all genres and is not a subject of analyze of genre comparison.

6. Ruins of past glory.

Data united in this thematic sub-group is enclosed by so called illustration material-description of ruined cities.

Referring the historical circumstances, at the poets of late ancient period, this event has a panoramic character.

Because of specifics of lyrics, this 'description' is colored by emotional background, which describes a sorrow and grief of poet.

In case of Propertius, it is a regret because of destroying the wonderful city of Vei by Romans and at Namatianus – partial ‘adaptation’ with modern situation of Etruscan cities destroyed by Gets.

Ruins of Vei, at Propertius are one of the wound of history of strong people and at Rutilius – objective reality of ‘Mortal tribe’.

From modern point of view, this theme in Roman Lyrics can be considered as a distant ancestor of one of the motive of romantic poetry (being alone with the ruins of past).

It's worthwhile to be paid an attention that right Etruria turned out to be a source of inspiration of Roman lyrics from this point of view.

7. Pantheon.

Unlike epos, there are presented several Etruscans gods in ancient lyrics there.

These are: Vertumnus (Propertius), Nortia (Martial), and supposedly Culsans (Namatianus).

In connection with Etruscan gods, there is revealed an interesting chronological tendency in Ancient Literature there – at Propertius, though the name of Etruscan god is romanized (Etr. Veltha), the poet indicated to the origin of god, at Martial romanization of name (Etr. Nurthi) is added, that goddess is not named as an Etruscan god and at Namatianus, neither it, not which is indicated.

This tendency reflects a fortune of Etruscan inheritance in ancient world. First of all, there happens the involving this or that element in the system of ancient values, taking their origination into the consideration, etymology of these elements are not indicated on the further stage and at last, in most cases, there happens its fall assimilation (comp. Namatianus' opinion about any Etruscan god: ‘either Pan or Faunus’).

8. Historical-Mythological Characters.

In this group an obvious leader is Maecenas (Martial, Juvenal) and Tanaquil (Ausonius, Paulinus, Claudianus).

It's significant, that both of them in Ancient literature is mainly presented in face of metaphor (Martial, Juvenal, Ausonius).

9. Aspiration to Luxury.

Data united in this sub-group lack the general discussion and are presented as a characteristic feature of modern characters.

These characters are as follows: Maecenas (Horace, Martial) and Claudius Etruscus (just his wonderful terms are eulogized by Martial and Statius).

III. Sub-Chapter – Drama.

In this sub-chapter, there are discussed the following authors and works: Aeschylus (*Eumenides*), Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*), Euripides (*Children of Heracles*), Pacuvius (*Chrysis*), Accius (*Brutus*), Seneca (*Oedipus*), *Octavia*, Plautus (*Pseudolus Cistellaria*).

Information saved in ancient tragedy and comedy about Etruscans can be presented in the following contents group:

1. Divination
2. Tyrrhenian pirates
3. Every day life
4. Historical characters
5. Women

1. Etruscan Divination.

In *Electra* by Euripides, episode of divination has an important role for work. Before meeting with Orestes, Egisthos makes this ritual and predicts a future misfortune. Hepatoscopy is a certain prediction of future unavoidable for everyone. Plot of the work follows with the further development of events announced by sorcery.

Another attitude is seen in *Chryses* by Pacuvius, where divination, by means of birds, as well as liver is considered to be less believable. Through, the plot of work (and myth) completely abolished this skeptic point of view. In *Brutus* by Accius, dream of Tarquinius Superbus is a clear example of contemplation of the events in advance. In *Oedipus* by Seneca, future announced by hepatoscopy symbolically retells about tragic fortune of Oedipus. By means of detailed description of the situation of intestines of the animal to be sacrificed, Seneca makes the breaking of divine order clear, which further is provided on the fortune of chief character.

Thus, in all the above mentioned case, divination (Etruscan Haruspition) is announcing of events by means of Etruscan symbols, through which it turns out to be an artistic means and repeatable literary face in anciendrama.

2. Tyrrhenian Pirates.

Tyrrhenian pirates in tragedy are met only in *Oedipus* by Seneca.

In tragedy, Tyrrhenian pirates lack 'artistic selfness' and are called only for illustration of terrible punishment of guilty by the Gods.

Though, meanwhile, passage is in certain connection with previous, divination episode, as well as symbolic language of the whole work, which acknowledges Oedipus' unwilling crime as an offence.

3. Everyday Life.

In such case, this group presented in previous sub-chapters is presented only in one sphere – by music and one concrete instrument.

This is a Tyrrhenian hooter.

Soundness of this musical instrument in Greek tragedy is repeated in face of artistic formula several times. Tyrrhenian hooter has a strong, terrible voice.

At Aeschylus, this voice is sounded by will and order of Athene. At Sophocles, sound of fighting hooter reminds Odysseus, the voice of Athene. At Euripides, this formula is repeated, but without a connection with Athene.

It's significant, that in Roman literature, Tyrrhenian hooter will appear in epos, namely in *Aeneid* by Virgil, though at Virgil, this Etruscan musical instrument is connected not with Athene but Venus.

4. Historical Characters.

In ancient tragedy from historical characters, there are mentioned Tarquinius (Tarquinius Superbus and Sextus Tarquinius) and Servius Tullius' daughter Tullia.

All these famous persons are acting the cruelty in ancient tragedy and simultaneously, they are the artistic object for overcoming the cruelty.

5. Women.

In one passage of comedy by Plautus, there are data regarding the existing of 'Tuscan rule', which makes a custom of Women's prostitution clear, in modern science, it is perceived as an echo of plots calculated on sensations of Greek fiction-writer prosiest dated III century BC.

Thus, there were revealed 3 cases of thematic 'repetition' in drama: 1. Divination (Haruspition – Pacuivius, Seneca), fortune-telling on birds (Pacuivius, Plautus), explaining of dream (Accius), First two ones from this is a case of repetition. 2. Tyrrhenian hooter (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides) and 3. Historical persons (Tarquinius).

There are seen 3 cases of formation as a 'cliché' (divination – haruspition – 'announcing' of developing the events, fortune-telling on birds – 'guaranteed' foreseen of future; Tyrrhenian hooter – strong, blood-curved voice), characters (Tarquinius – power wearing the cruelty).

3. Cases of metaphorization: Tyrrhenian hooter – 'Voice of God' – 'Will of God', 'Strongest Sound'; Characters – Tarquinius – 'cruelty'.

IV Sub-chapter – Prose.

The information presented in this sub-chapter is grouped into the following trends: 1. Historical-geographical prose (20 authors – Herodotus, Thu-

cydides, Diodorus Siculus, Sallust, Strabo, Livy, Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch, Tacitus, Suetonius, Arrian, Aelianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Orosius, Procopius from Caesarea. 2. Philosophic – rhetorical (3 – Plato, Cicero, Apuleius). 3. Artistic (2 – Longus, Petronius). 4. Epistology (3 – Cicero, Seneca, Pliny the younger). 5. Encyclopedic Prose and dictionaries (7 – Varro, Apollodorus, Pliny, Vitruvius, Athenaeus, Hesichios, Martianus Capella).

Material presented in prose about the Etruscans is special with thematic variety and plenty of data.

We have the most information about divination (Herodotus, Plato, Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Livy, Vitruvius, Petronius, Pliny the elder, Apuleius, Plutarch, Tacitus, Suetonius, Athenaeus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Martianus Capella, Procopius from Caesarea) and about historical and mythological characters (Herodotus, Varro, Cicero, Strabo, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Seneca, Petronius, Plutarch, Apuleius, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pseudo Apollodorus, Pausanias, Ammianus Marcellinus, Paulus Orosius, Martianus Capella) – 17 authors in both cases.

The following ‘place’ is occupied by information regarding the innovation of Etruscans, fighting glory and origin of Etruscans (12-12 authors).

Such popular themes are as follows: affection of luxury (10 authors), remainders of past glory (6 authors), modern Etruscan (5 authors), gods (5 authors), origination of alphabet (4 authors), every day life (3 authors), cruelty of Etruscans (2 authors), Glossae (2 authors), situation of women (1 author).

1. Divination.

The most attention in ancient prose is paid to the above mentioned sphere.

In the work, there are explained the various sorts of Etruscan prediction, there are given the examples of Tyrrhenian fortune-telling from the history of Rome, in several cases, there are named the concrete persons, who were considered to be authoritative in this sphere.

Majority of authors trust this Etruscan art and considers it to be a real mean for predicting the further development of events. It's worthwhile to be paid an attention, that this preach of Tyrrhenians and religious practice is as well discussed in late ancient period with interest.

It's true, that in only two cases, there is noticed to be a skeptical attitude to divination (Cicero, Petronius), but this fact in this genre of literature ‘doesn't make a climate’ and is unable to shake a faith traditionally formed in ancient sources to prediction of the Etruscans.

2. Historical and Mythological Characters.

In prose, there is noticed to be an essential variety of this thematic group.

In the works of all trends of prose, there are presented mythological, as well as historical and modern epoch characters.

It's worthwhile to be paid an attention that in frequent case, making a limit between the real and mythological characters is connected with certain difficulty. So, it's difficult to say, whether Mezentius, Lucumon, Caelius Vibena, Arimnesto - can be belonged to mythological or historical spheres.

Though, in case of Tages, it's obvious, that the matter concerns with real mythological hero, having interest to who is confirmed at many authors (Livy, Plutarch, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Cicero, Varro, Martianus Capella).

The following Etruscans characters are the belonging of Ancient History of Rome: Tarquinius Priscus, Tanaquil, Tullia, family of Tarquinius (Tarquinius Superbus, Sextus Tarquinius, Arruns Tarquinius, Tarquinius Colatinus), Porsena.

In ancient sources, there are often mentioned: Caecina, Tarquinius Crescent, Tarquinius Priscus (Senator), Maecenas, Marcus Salvius Otho, famous foreteller Spurina, Philosophers: Lucius, Velius, Musonius, Aulus Caecina, some Volnius, creator of Etruscans tragedies.

In this numerous gallery repeating of characters and their characterizations from work to work is quite a frequent case.

It's worthwhile to be paid an attention that there is formed so called stereotype towards Etruscans characters in Ancient, essentially Roman Literature, which show them as the people affectionate to luxury, utmost ambitious, educated in the art of divination and simultaneously innovative one, having a sense of responsibility to the work, which in spite of their losing an old military fame, country, still follows the ancient traditions, though shows the own talents on the field of the other country.

It's significant, that if not all of these characters but most part of them is noticed in each Etruscan character, in spite of it, that they are distanced from one another even by several centuries (comp: Tarquinius Priscus-Maecenas, Mezentius - Tarquinius Superbus, Otho and many others).

It's significant, that ancient prose like the other genres, changed the several characters into 'metaphors'. The followings were under this artistic interpretation: Mezentius (Apuleius), Maecenas (Seneca), Sextus Tarquinius (Petronius).

3. Etruscans inventions.

In prose, unlike the other genres, there is not only mentioned, but the essence of fictions and the history of inculcation is Roman reality is explained in detailed. On the basis of data of ancient sources, Tyrrhenians invented the following:

Dices, games by ball (Herodotus), hooter (Pausanias), master's positions and marks (Sallust), toga, bulla (Plutarch), throne, toga, circular portics (Diodorus Siculus), special type of house and temple (Vitruvius), stage games (Livy, Plutarch), gladiators fights (Athenaeus) and many others.

As it makes clear, on the basis of ancient data, the Etruscans contributed in almost every field.

All the above mentioned was certainly enclosed by Etruscans fortunetelling and inculcation in Rome, what was already discussed above.

4. Fighting fame.

Unlike epos and lyric, Etruscans fighting fame is replaced to the past because of chronological reason.

Some authors try to make clear, what was the reason for reducing the military strength of this people (Diodorus Siculus).

Fights made against Etruscans are not forgotten in late ancient epoch as well (Ammianus Marcellinus, Orosius, Procopius from Caesarea).

It's significant, that this experience of part was carried out in concrete character as well. Almost all Etruscans are special with their good knowledge of military matter and personal braveness (Alienus Caecina, Aulus Caecina Severus, Tarquinius Crescent, Marcus Salvius Otho, Lucius Salvius Otho).

5. Origination of Etruscans.

This thematical group is special with an enough numerous data. Together with numerosity, there co-exist the points of view contradict to one another.

1. At Herodotus, we are first time met by version regarding the Lydian origination of Etruscans (this opinion is agreed by: Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Cicero and the others).

2. Dionysus of Halicarnassus presents the Etruscans as autochons.

3. Hellanic Lesbosian (his compositions are kept only fragmentally, in the works of the other authors) – supports the origination of Etruscans from Pelasgians (Plutarch, Athenaeus).

It's natural that the interest in antiquity to this theme was provided by an original character of the culture of Etruscans.

6. Affectionate of Luxury.

This theme is presented in the other genres as well, though the prose makes it clear, not only on the example of separate characters (Tarquinius

Superbus, Maecenas, Caecina and the others) but tries to learn the reasons of this character of Etruscans (Diodorus Siculus, Athenaeus).

7. Reminders of past fame.

For the time of developing the prose, Etruria is losing its military -political strength step by step and is on the way of decay.

It's completely natural, that the lackage of data is not noticed to be in acient prose and symbolically embodies the reflection of past fame. Simultaneously, in some cases there is noticed to be arrogance and a sense of self satisfaction (Livy, Velleius Paterculus).

8. Modern Etruscans.

It's worthwhile to be paid an attention, that if in previous chapters, from this point of view Maecenas looked separately, in ancient prose, essentially in Roman one, there are presented the faces of writers modern so called 'alive' Etruscans.

They are as follows: Haruspics (Spurina, Aulus Licinus Caecina) philosphers (Vellius, Lucius, Musonius), military leaders and social workers (Alienus Caecina, Gaius Maecenas, Caecina Tuscus). In the list there is mentioned one Emperor as well (Marcus Salvius Otho).

It's worthwhile to be paid an attention, that Procopius from Caesarea mentions one Etruscan, which is a resident of ruined Etruria dated VI c. AD and like his ancestors is mastered in prediction.

9. Gods.

We are met with the Gods only at 5 authors (Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Varro, Strabo, Livy, Martianus Capella).

It's true that at this last one, there is depicted a picture of celectrial templum (which on the basis for research made by scientists, is based on Etruscan cosmogony), but the idols have Roman names and being Etruscan of this or that worship is not mentioned in my places.

10. Everydaylife.

Only 3 authors are interested in this theme (Diodorus Siculus, Aelianus and Athenaeus).

Diodorus Siculus pays an attention to Etruscan feasts, Aelianus - Special way of hunting and Athenaeus - rule of sexually immoral life of Etruscans.

11. Etruscan Language, Alphabet.

This theme is met at Varro, Diodoros Siculus, Livy and Tacitus. Unlike the various versions of origination of Etruscans, in ancient sources it is un-animously considered, that Etruscans alphabet is of Greek origination. The

glossas are significant as well, which have a great importance in modern Etruscology (Hesichios, Phseudo Apollodorus, Livy and the others).

12. Piracy.

Unlike the other genres, in prose, it may be said, that the theme of Dionysus and Tyrrhenian pirates is not actual. Instead of it, more attention is paid to the data regarding the piracy of Etruscans, which is discussed at Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo.

Diodorus Siculus considers piracy to be even a reason of disintegration of Unity of Etruscans State.

13. Cruelty.

Theme, which was very actual in the other genres as well is lightly mentioned in prose only at 3 authors (Herodotus, Livy, Orosius) and it even by virtue of one concrete case (Stoning of Foceans by Mezentius).

14. Women.

This question, which is lightly met at Plautus is more widely presented at Athenaeus, which from its party, conforms Theopompos, Greek fond of circulation of scandal plots. From the present point of view, information used at Athenaeus is not considered to be valuable.

Thus, material discussed in I chapter about Etruscans from the point of view of genre, gives the possibility for making the following final conclusion:

1. Information about Etruscans is presented in all the genres of Ancient Literature.

2. Data about the Etruscans are special with the thematic variety and concern all the sphere of their culture (every day life, religion, mythology, history, famous persons).

3. In spite of generally existed tendency, which is made clear in self interest revealed to various sphere of Etruscan civilization, there still exists a certain difference form the point of view of selecting the themes and mainly coincides with the characteristics of genre, namely:

- a) Referring the epic aspiration, which most frequently presents the characters as the participants of fighting opposition, the most popular theme is epos is considered to be the fighting characteristics of Etruscans. (Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil). Fantastic element, which is also a significant moment for epos is expressed by means of Etruscan divination (Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan). Here is seen the relies of describing the every day life of Etruscans as well (Virgil).

- b) Referring the specification of lyric, main attention of this genre is directed to person and every day life. There appear the modern Etruscans (Ca-

tullus, Horace, Propertius, Martial, Statius, Juvenal) 'on the field' there, details describing their life (Horace, Persius, Martial, Statius), essential aspiration to luxury (Horace, Martial, Statius). There are also presented the remainders of famous past of Etruscans and fighting characteristics of Tyrhenians (Pindar, Horace, Propertius) in historical – mythological characters (Horace, Tibullus) and divination (Lucretius, Virgil, Ovidius, Lucan);

c) Tragedy 'Thematic interest' to Etruscans, referring the specific of genre, is mainly revealed in divination (Sophocles, Pacuvius, Accius, Seneca, Plautus) and in historical-mythological characters (Accius, Seneca, *Octavia*).

If certainly agrees with so called 'conception' of genre – demonstration of fatal inevitability of events calling the historical – mythological examples.

Just Etruscans divination which in the majority of compositions advances the opening of knot obtaining a function of artistic means, through the which there happens so called 'announcing of future (though not for the purpose of its changing) with cult symbols (Euripides, Pacuvius, Accius, Seneca).

Tyrrenian hooter presented in tragedy is naturally fit for the context of tragedy, as symbolically it expresses a connection with divine powers (in principal case with Athena).

Because of little amount of materials, it is difficult to make a general conclusion about comedy, though two episodes confirmed at Plautus, which concerns the overacting divination and prostitution of Etruscan women, completely corresponds with the aspiration of comedy.

d) Prose, which I've presented in several groups also follows a certain thematic regularity Philosophic-rhetorical prose pays an attention to divination (from the point of view of attitude to philosophy) and the persons (oratory).

Artistic prose – to divination and mythology (themes, characters).

Epistolography – to modern Etruscan (among them addresses as well) and divination (persons) and etc.

4. From the point of view of artistic interpretation data, there are revealed the following tendencies in Ancient Literature:

1. Repetition of information.
2. Transformation of information.
3. 'Clichezing' of information.
4. Metaphorization of information.

Repetition of information (not only inside the genre, but from one genre in another), is characteristic for all the genres.

As a rule, repetition of information from genre to genre is enclosed by fitting of data for the frames of genre, what in frequent case, causes the transformation of information (e.g. taking of theme of 'Tyrrhenian pirates; from lyric (*Homeric Hymns*, Ovid) in epos (Nonnos).

'Clitchezing' of information is characteristic for all the genres, though formation of cliché takes place in genre, which is interested in this question referring the genre thematic.

Necessary pre-condition of metaphorization is repeating of information and existing of 'clitchezing' (inside, as well as in another genre).

There is revealed one metaphor in Epos, in lyrics – 3, in drama – 3, in prose – 3.
Chapter II. Chronological analyze.
Thematical groups revealed in sources in this chapter are discussed from chronological point of view.

After proofing the necessity for researching the question from this point of view, in foreword part of the II chapter theme is presented a conditional scheme formed by 'mixing' of the periods of Greek and Roman literatures, which than is given in chronological sections:

Century	Greek literature	Roman literature	Conditional marking
VII-VI cc. BC	Archaic Period		I
Before 30 _s of V-I cc. BC	1. Classical Period 2. Ellinism	Period of Republic	II
30 _s of I c. BC – III c. AD	Period of Roman Supremacy	Classical period: a) Period of Augustus b) Period of Caesars	III
IV-V cc. AD	Late antiquity	Late antiquity	IV

I Sub-Chapter. Thematic-Chronological Analyze.

In this sub-chapter, following the chronological principals there are discussed 15 thematic groups revealed in the I chapter: 1) 'Martial characteristics'; 2) 'Prediction'; 3) 'Cruelty'; 4) 'Tyrrhenian pirates', 'Piracy'; 5) 'Etruscans'; 6) 'Every day life'; 7) 'Reminders of Past'; 8) 'Gods'; 9) 'Mythological characters'; 10) 'Affection of luxury'; 11) 'Situation of women'; 12) 'Inventions'; 13) 'Origins'; 14) 'Language, alphabet'; 15) 'Glossae'.

Except the chronological 'development' of information, in each sub-chapter there are given a modern situation of studying the question and main problems. At the end of each sub-chapter there are presented the conclusions regarding the existing of chronological regularity revealed in this or that thematical group.

1) Martial Characters (B).

Information regarding this custom of Etruscans, which is confirmed in 3 genres (except Drama), is mainly formed in the entrails of Greek literature in I and partially II period. Imaginations being already 'cliché' (epos) in III and IV period are under repetition.

2) Prediction (D).

All genres and all the periods are interested in Tyrrhenian divination. First it appears in philosophic prose and like the previous sub-group in Greek literature. Abundance of information (mainly of the character of reviewing) is characteristic for II period, in III period there happens the repetition of these themes and their artistic processing (clichè, metaphor) in IV period there happens the systematization of these data, though in some cases, there is not indicated their Etruscan origination.

3) Cruelty. This theme is seen only in epos and historical prose in I and II periods. In literature of III and IV period (exception - Origins) it loses its activity.

4) Tyrrhenian pirates (piracy) - The first literary processing is seen in I period (*Homeric Hymns*) and is more or less popular in all the periods and genres. In this sub-chapter there are discussed all the authors in detail, where there is revealed this mythological plot. There are shown the tendencies of repeating and transformation of information. There is indicated an influence of mythological plot on the imaginations existed regarding the Etruscan piracy.

5) Etruscans. There is given information regarding the historical characters here. The special attention is paid to the most popular persons. It's noted, that 'personification' of Etruscans in literature was made in literature a little later, at the end of the II period and at the beginning of III period. This period corresponds with Romanization of Etruscans and referring to it, many characters were set in context of Roman culture just the same time. In IV period, these characters 'lose' their origination, though they originate many interesting metaphors.

6) Everyday life. Being interested in this theme is an initiative of Greek drama (Beginning of II period), though it is equally actual in all the periods. Because of its essentiality in ancient world, it is misinterpreted in Greek literature (III period), is repeated in IV period.

7) Reminders of past. It's natural, that this theme becomes actual only in III and IV periods. More attention is paid to lyrics. The theme is not actual in drama and epos. It is characterized by repetition of information essentially in the IV period.

8) Gods – Nowadays, Science confirms the existing of pantheon of Etruscans as a system and names the ancient sources as the most important source for its restoration. Information regarding this theme is confirmed in II, III and IV periods. There are revealed the following chronological tendencies: in II and III periods, romanization of terms is characteristic, though there is always indicated the Etruscans of idol, in III period and essentially in IV period, Etruscan idols are perceived as an organic part of ancient pantheon and they are not named as Tyrrhenian cults any more.

In this sub-group there is confirmed the cases of repetition of information, as well as transformation.

9) Mythological characters – The most frequently there are seen the characteristics connected with divination (Tages, Tarchon) data regarding to which are confirmed in II, III and IV periods. Information is characterized by tendency of repetition, as well as tendency of transformation. In case of Tarchon, there happens its transformation into artistic character (*Aeneid*).

10) Affection of luxury – All the data about this theme belongs to III period. The authors give a general discussion, as well as they makes the personification of this character in concrete characters. From this point of view, information is characterized by the tendency of repetition.

11) Situation of women – Instead of description of essential situation of women, there is made a scandal hyperbolization of reality in Ancient Literature. Data of such kind are formed in III period in the entrails of Greek literature and are repeated in IV period.

12) Inventions – Information regarding the inventions of Etruscans is first appeared in II period and according to tradition in Greek literature (Herodotus). This theme is interesting for literature of III, as well as IV period. Together with repetition, transformation of information is frequent. There is 1 case of metaphorization.

13) Origins – Being interested in this question is fixed in II period and in the same period there are seen several points of view different from one another. In modern Etruscology, this question is simply unanswered and in frequent case reckons with hypothesis expressed in ancient sources. Interest to the origination of Etruscans is maintained in III and IV periods. Information is characterized by repetition of opinions expressed in II period.

14) Language, alphabet – In spite of it, that in Ancient Literature, question of origins of Etruscans enjoys with popularity, problem of origins of Etruscans language is discussed nowhere. Data regarding the alphabet are appeared since II period and don't lose the actuality even in III period. Data of IV period in connection with this question are not kept, if we don't consider at about 15 Etruscan Glossae, which are in the dictionary by Hesichios. Information is mainly homogeneous and bears a character of repetition.

15) Glossall – If in II and III period, there were revealed only two cases of Glossall, being more interested in from this point of view is presented in the IV period. Majority of these Glossall is informed by sources of searching of modern Etruscology.

II Sub-chapter. Analyze of chronological periods.

Thus, on the basis of studying the thematical groups there were revealed the following chronological tendencies:

I Period of Archaic (VII-VI centuries BC).

This period presents an epoch of getting of Ancient Literature acquaintance with Etruscans civilization.

From the compositions of this period, information about the Etruscans is met at four authors. They are as follows: Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Pinder and Solon (It's true, that in connection with this last one it can be said, that its certified origination is one of elegy is not established, but to my mind, there can be found enough arguments for supposing of it).

If 'famous Tyrrhenians' mentioned by Hesiod, as it is seen, haven't so far opposed the aspiration of Greeks for supremacy on the sea, this collision is already happened at Pindar ('Fighting whooping of Tyrrsenoi'). The Etruscans were on the top of fame this time. Besides the Italian tribals, their being strong are acknowledged by Phoenicians as well. Etruscans begin an expansion of Latium as well. In the same period, by Tyrrhens residing in twelve city-states of Etruria found the colonies and settlements in the whole Italy and Europe as well.

It's natural, that majority of data of this period show the military strength and danger of Etruscans. Meanwhile, there happens a mythological localization of Tyrrhenians (Hesiod) and literary report in mythological plot (*Homeric Hymns*). Information confirmed at Solon makes a gradual diffusion of Etruscan points of view of that time in the Mediterranean of that time.

It's natural, that the 'first impression', which became a certain 'cliché' as a result of repeating, had an enough influence on the imaginations of writers of the following period about the Etruscans.

II period (V c. BC - 30_s of I c. BC)

This period corresponds with Classic and Hellenistic period in Greek literature and Roman - period of Republic. During this period, Etruria was on the way of decaying. Once famous cities: Caere (353 BC), Arezzo (302 BC), Roselae (293 c. BC), Volsinii (264 c. BC), Cosa (273 c. BC), Pyrgi (191 c. BC) and etc. turn out to be under the subordination of Latium, one after another.

Literature of this period is various from the point of view of genre (18 authors).

It's significant, that Greek literature is an enough representational from this point of view (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato Apollonius Rhodius, Longos, Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus).

Referring the inheritance of I period, data regarding the 'Fighting Etruscans' first of all address the military sphere. There appears a repeating face in drama - fighting hooter of Etruscans, which is transformed into metaphor in Greek drama. Connecting of Tyrrhenian hooter with Athene (Myth about the coming of Hegeles in Temenos) didn't turn out to be occasional.

Right in this period, there are formed the theories regarding the origins of Etruscans and it happens in the entrails of Greek literature (Herodotus, Dionysus of Halicarnassus). Etruria is firmly 'set' on the map of world of that time. There is formed a mythological localization (Hesiod) (Apollonius Rhodius), it is enclosed by geographical concretization (Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus).

In this period, there are created the scandal histories about Etruscans, what was dictated by the concrete political aims (Theopompos and the others).

On the 'prepared' ground, Roman literature is involved in the matter. It's true, that Romans compare to Greeks knew their neighbours better, but the clichés of Greek literature are involved in Latin compositions without any changing.

The first works of Roman literature, where there is confirmed an information about the Etruscans, belong to dramatic genre (Plautus, Pacuvius, Accius). At three authors, referring the specification of genre, attention is paid to divination and mythological characters. Plautus repeats one data about women kept in propagandistic compositions of Greek literature.

At the end of period, Roman prose partly manages 'rehabilitation'. Cicero greatly contributed in this matter, which pays an essential attention to divination of Etruscans and historical-mythological characters. Right at Cicero are first shown so called 'alive' Etruscans, majority of which are seen in correspondence of this wonderful orator.

One of lyrician of this period, Catullus retells a portrait of Etruscans in one word, which becomes a repeating face in ancient lyrics of III period.

Just in II period, there is depicted a literary tradition about the piracy of Etruscans (Diodorus Siculus, Sallust), which replaces a mythological changes a popularity of Tyrrhenian pirates.

For this period, 3 cases of repetition (Tyrrhenian hooter, divination, involutions) and cliutchezing are significant).

There are confirmed 2 metaphors - (Tyrrhenian hooter, 'Tyrrhenian songs').

III period (30_s of I c. BC, III c. AD).

This period, which in Greek literature corresponds with the period of Roman supremacy and in Roman - period of classics, which from its party, includes the literature of the age of Augustus and Caesars, present the greatest amount of information about Etruscans (26 authors, 35 works) (It's significant, that this epoch in Etruscan history is known as a period of Romanization).

It's significant, that from the point of view of abundance of information, initiative is first taken by Latin authors (Greek literature is presented only in face of 4 authors).

In this period, from the point of view of genre, because of understandable reasons, prose has some leadership (16 authors), it is followed by lyrics (6 authors), epos - (3 authors), drama - (1 author).

By virtue of epos and essentially lyrics, information is gradually changed in the field of artistic generalization.

At the end of period, 'modern' Etruscans are not identified as Tyrrhenians (Tacitus, Svetonius) any more.

IV period (IV - V c. AD).

So called III period in Greek and Roman literature corresponds with the epoch of late antiquity.

Among the writers of this period, we discuss: Athenaeus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Ausonius, Paulinus From Nola, Claudianus, Rutilius Namatianus, Orosius, Nonnos, Hesichios, Martianus Capella, Procopius from Caesarea, Maximianus Etruscus.

When the period of late antiquity is one of the stage of development of ancient Greek and Roman cultures, for Etruscan civilization, it is a period 'followed' so called death.

Once strong power controlling the Apennine peninsula - Etruria doesn't exist any more.

The period, when Etruscans were considered to be the competitors by Romans and Greeks is far, they were a dangerous obstacle for obtaining a complete supremacy on the sea it already doesn't cause an envy in them because of unusual luxury of the rule of life and refined style. The place of these senses is not occupied not by arrogance and self-assurance of the won one. It's not difficult to understand - It's already some centuries, Etruria has not been existing any more. Place of sense is gradually occupied by scientific thinking, innovative over thinking of already traditional views and data.

Thus, late antiquity is a first estimator of analyze maker for once strong unity such as Etruria, if it can be said so verdict maker:

It should be said from the very beginning that in epoch information about Etruscans is mainly presented in Roman literature. The exception is Athenaeus, Procopius from Caesarea, Nonnos, Hesichios.

In the literature of this period, from the point of view of genre, there are dominated lyrics and prose. The only epos, which mentions Tyrhenians, is *Dionysica* by Nonnos.

It's significant, that prose of this period, referring the specification of period is mainly encyclopedical and informational character.

Information kept in historical prose from the very beginning repeats the stories retelled in III period with a little difference.

It's significant, that almost all the spheres of the life of Etruscans, which are presented in literature of III period, is seen in IV period as well, though a special attention is still paid to religion (Ammianus Marcellinus, Orosius, Martianus Capella, Procopius from Caesarea).

Still on the bases of data of III period and sometimes on the data of II period, there is formed a discussion about the Etruscans traditions and their origins (Athenaeus, Arnobius, Marcellinus, Orosius, Martianus Capella).

Imagining of Etruscans culture as a compound part of Romanian is significant for this period. For example, Martianus Capella perceives the Etruscan religion as a n organic part of Roman theology and this doesn't frequently indicate this or that information as Etruscan.

Late antiquity discusses one more important sphere of Etruscan civilization - it is an Etruscan language.

Dictionary by Hesichios makes it clear, that in late ancient epoch, trace of Etruscans is maintained on language level as well (15 glossae).

It's true, that majority of Etruscan words are hellinized, but modern Etruscology easily resorts its Etruscan variant.

Information dated V century kept in late antiquity about a modern situation of the cities of Etruria is significant. In lyric poem *Returning in Native Land* Rutilius Namatianus reviews the former Etruscan settlements, which by saying of poet, turned out to be 'villages' and the Etruscans themselves were transformed in 'Mortal tribal'.

And still, in several compositions, there is a trace for fixing the Etruscans as 'alive' (Namatianus, Procopius from Caesarea).

In face of final conclusion, there may be said the following:

1. Interest of late antiquity to Etruscan civilization is less addressed to the sphere of history – this interest is limited by a concrete depiction of inheritance of Tyrrhenians with their trace in culture of the other people – essentially, by religion, mythology and linguistics.
2. Data connected with Etruscans essentially show the process, which is characteristic for late antiquity – a) There happens the maintaining of values of ancient culture, re-fixing of data of classical period; b) Fitting of these data with so called new environment – re-interpretation.
3. All these data are far from ideology and in fact make the existing of remembering of Etruscans, as a people clear in ancient world.
4. Many things are not specially explained, as the Etruscans culture is perceived as living part of ancient civilization.
5. Late antiquity, if we don't consider some exception, is the last period of still alive depiction of the trace of Etruscans civilization of the latest period. This period is followed by a gradual forgetting of the culture of Etruscans and complete disappearing from the memory of mankind, until there won't pass about ten centuries and an active research won't discover this civilization again.

Thus:

1) Each chronological period is characterized by a different attitude to the information kept about Etruscans.

a) I period 'gets acquaintance' with Tyrrhenians and forms the first impressions in face of certain 'clitchés';

b) II period is characterized with marking of diapason (formation of main thematic groups.);

c) Significant for III period is enriching the 'spheres of interests' formed in II period with systemic data and beginning an artistic interpretation of information;

d) IV period mainly repeats the information kept in previous period, though makes an analyze estimation and re-interpretation of these data.

Chapter IV - Etruscans turned in 'Metaphors'.

In this chapter, there is discussed 'metaphorization' of information kept in Ancient Literature about Etruscans, which is a final stage of artistic interpretation of data.

Concrete examples were revealed that the process of metaphorization is advanced and 'prepared' by repeating of information and 'clitchezation', inside each genre and chronological period, as well as out of them.

This regularity is confirmed in pre conditions of forming each concrete metaphor and doesn't put this result in the row of unexpectedness.

For example, the first metaphor, which is chronologically fixed in Ancient Literature, is formed in Greek tragedy. 'Tyrrhenian hooter' is seen in the creations of three tragedians and its soundness in most cases is compared with the voice of goddess (Athene) and metaphorically personifies a divine will.

This process of metaphorization began in ancient drama (on the basis of repetition and 'clitchezation') was crowned in Roman epoch and the voice of Tyrrhenian hooter was finally connected and identified with divine will (*Aeneid*).

From its party, thematical choice of metaphor was provided by ground 'prepared' in I period - 'cliché' existed for special martial characters of Etruscans (Hesiod, Pindar).

The second metaphor as well, which was chronologically created in the III period, was formed in the entrails of lyrics. The most 'volume' thematic group (divination) about the Etruscans for III period was finally 'ripened' for artistic transformation and obtained the meaning of the 'Book of Miracles' (Juvenal).

In this case as well, group for concrete metaphor was prepared by means of 'clichés' already existed in previous period.

Metaphor about Maecenas belongs to Juvenal ('Maecenasés').

Maecenas, more correctly his creation is connected with the following metaphor ('Curls of Maecenas', Tacitus), which shows the maneuvers of oratory and poetry of Maecenas.

Both metaphors are 'prepared' in the creations of Virgil, Horace and Propertius, where there was carried out the 'gathering' of information about these characters there.

The matter concerns with the same case in connection with Tanaquil – this Etruscan Lady formed as a metaphor in the VI period enjoyed with essential interest in II period and it was even 'unavoidable' theme for the describers of early history of Rome (Livy, Velleius Peterculus, Plutarch, Tacitus and etc.).

The certain clichés, which is already confirmed at Plutarch, prepared a ground for the transformation of this character into metaphor (Avsonius, Pantius Paulinus).

At the end of III period, there is formed a metaphor, in the creation of Apuleius.

'Metaphorization' at Mezentius was prepared by the data of II and III periods in epos (Virgil), as well as prose (Livy, Cato), where it was transformed in repeatable artistic face. Simultaneously, Mezentius fitted a cliché of one of the enemy of Roman State for himself and turned out to be under the subordination of metaphorization on the next stage.

Thus, on the basis of our proofing, metaphor, which in theory of literature is completely justly is called abbreviated comparison is formed as a final stage of artistic transforming of information.

It was advanced by a tradition of repeating the concrete data and formation of these data as so called 'clichés', these two pre-conditions are necessary base for changing of information into metaphor.

Genre and chronological principles obtain the certain meaning in this process.

Because of understandable reasons, metaphorization was not carried out in I period, as the gathering of information (because of abundance of data) turned out to be not enough for preparing the previous 'two stages' (repetition, 'clichés').

Metaphorization of information is natural in II, III and IV period, what is confirmed by concrete examples.

From the point of view of genre, formation of metaphor provides the preparing of certain clichés in the entrails of one genre, which by its 'turned out to be' in the limits of the other genre is formed as 'metaphor'.

From its party, 'clitcheization', as an important stage of preparing metaphor is provided by a concrete thematic 'choice' of genre, which, from its party is completely based on so called specification of genre. For example, cliché formed in epos and epinics about the martial characters of Etruscans

(Hesiod, Pindar) naturally provides one revealing of this theme (fighting hooter) in the dram of period following the metaphorization.

Conclusion of IV chapter.

1. 'Metaphorization' is characteristic for II, III and IV periods of Ancient Literature.
2. 'Metaphorization' was made in all the genres of Ancient Literature.
3. 'Metaphorization' of Etruscan inheritance in Ancient Literature makes a desire of Greek-Roman civilization and readiness for its involving in the system of general ancient values clears.

Conclusion.

Thus, data about the Etruscans in Ancient Literature corresponds with the opinion formed in ancient world regarding to it, that Etruscans culture is an original system, which simultaneously took part in the question of formation of general values of ancient culture.

In Ancient Literature, there is described not only any sphere of Etruscan civilization, but many aspects of its revealing, what from its party, confirms the fact, that Etruscan inheritance was perceived as an united system, which was reflected on religion, mythology, customs of Tyrrhenians and personal characteristics of separate characters.

Data about the Etruscans are presented in all the genres of Ancient Literature, what clearly shows a significance of Etruscan inheritance for ancient culture.

Information about 'Tyrrhenian' is depicted in all the periods of Ancient Literature, what confirms its actuality in any epoch.

In Ancient Literature, Etruscans world turns out to be not only the object of description, but the object of analyze and artistic interpretation.

Process of so called 'metaphorization', which was revealed to the Etruscan inheritance in Ancient Literature, makes the readiness form the party of Greek-Roman Civilization clear for the perception of Etruscans culture as a part of general ancient values.

From the point of view of genre, information kept about Etruscans follows the thematical choice of data according to genre principals.

Chronological analyze revealed a chronological regularity of repeating and transformation of data existed about the Etruscans from work to work.

Final 'registration' of information is carried out by interaction of genre and chronological principles, what certainly doesn't exclude an individual attitude of writer as well.

Decisive role in transformation of information is taken by chronological as well as genre 'circumstances', what gives the possibility to a creator to show the data as an object of artistic interpretation.

This tendency is equally spread in both language world of Ancient Literature (in ancient Greek and Roman literature), what once more makes the cultural principles of both civilizations clear.

This process is not finished in Ancient Literature, it was continued in Medieval and Byzantine epoch, through the which, they prepared a ground for rediscovering and studying of Etruscans inheritance by the epoch of Renaissance.

We hope, that activated archeological and papirological research, which offers a lot of unexpected novelty to the research works of antiquity in this century, earlier or later will enlight not only an additional information about these sources, but new compositions, which, to our supposition, won't break the principals of interpretation and systematization worked out by me from chronological and genre point of view of literary data existed about the Etruscans.

KETEVAN NADAREISHVILI

**WOMAN IN CLASSICAL ATHENS AND IN GREEK TRAGEDY,
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From the 1970-ies, after the second wave of women movement, the woman thematic became a subject of current interest. Since then scientists working in different fields – psychologists, sociologists, law specialists, historians, philologists, etc. have been studying women problems. This very background made especially important the discussion of the women issues in the historical context. In reference with ancient civilizations, special interest was paid to the antiquity, as it was the world where the main tendencies of the attitudes towards women and the models of gender opposition and coexistence emerged. Though a lot of problems connected with women in antiquity are the subjects of debates, woman's social status in Classical Athens and its relationship with women characters of the Greek tragedy seems to be one of the most controversial problems.

Study of the issue means, on the one hand, to define the social status of a woman in Classical Athens. On the other hand, the investigation of this problem strives to explain the discrepancy between the low social status of Athenian women and the remarkable women of the tragedy of the same period, the discrepancy considered to be an unprecedented case, paradox from the point of the relations of art and life. Though quite a large number of works are dedicated to resolve this incompatibility, there is no systemic research, that using a definite methodological principle investigates women images of the Greek tragedy in reference with the social conflicts of Classical Athens. However, the investigation of this controversial issue is especially crucial for the study of two very important problems. First, the elucidation of the issue would give us possibility to discuss the ancient models of gender relations, the origins of women emancipation. On the other hand, the study of the issue is very valuable as it is closely connected with more general problem, namely, the relationship of literature and social context considered to be one of the main questions of cultural studies at the present stage of research activities.

Thus, the book targets on several objectives: the first goal of our analysis is to determine the social status of a woman in Classical Athens. This means to define how a woman was represented in social context – Athenian legislation and daily life, as well as to interpret her role and importance in democratic Athens. Then, the book intends to study a woman conception in Greek tragedy and explain the reasons of the existence of powerful women images of the tragedy.

Alongside with the above-mentioned goals, as an outcome, our research strives to determine the attitudes of three tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides) towards women; the line of evolution developed by the Greek tragedy regarding women; and the decisive factors that formed two models of gender relations – one, based on the confrontation of sexes/subordination of one sex to another, and second, based on the admission of equality between sexes and their harmonious coexistence. Together with this, the research intends to make evident how the changes of women behavior norms taking place in the society were reflected in the tragedy and vice versa – to investigate the role of the tragedy in establishing the cultural stereotypes concerning women.

For the study of the interrelation between artistic and social contexts of the V century Athens is used the methodology developed in the social and the structural anthropology, namely the binary opposition: woman: domestic x man: public; woman: nature x man: culture. Comparative method is also used in this part of the research. The study contains a wide specter of literary analysis together with detailed culturological research.

The present work is the first monographic study of the conception of women in Greek tragedy in reference with the social context of Classical Athens using definite methodology (namely, above-mentioned binary oppositions).

The research format, the way the problem is presented and the methodology of the research assigns the book to an interdisciplinary research, cultural studies. The book will provide useful and relevant material not only for the specialists of Classical philology, but also for the researchers of women issues, drama critics, linguists, as well as for the scientists working in the field of cultural studies in general.

The book consists of the foreword, four chapters, the conclusion, the list of referred literature and the summary (in English). The fourth chapter is wholly dedicated to Greek tragedy, where the works of each tragedian are discussed separately. Aeschylus' and Sophocles' plays are studied in the separate sub-chapters (one for each playwright), while Euripidean conception of women is investigated in four sub-chapters. The conclusion offers the main results of the work and the line of the evolution, that Greek tragedy developed towards women.

CHAPTER I**THE QUESTION OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMAN IN CLASSICAL ATHENS AND THE CONCEPTION OF WOMAN IN GREEK TRAGEDY**

The chapter considers a circle of problems related to one of the most controversial points of classical philology – the social status of woman in classical Athens and the female characters of the Greek tragedy. It presents the history of the issue, the current stage of its investigation and our own perspective of research; it also specifies the methodology of the study.

The history of the issue embraces the study of two questions. The first is the social status of woman in classical Athens, and the second is the discrepancy between the highly distinguished female images of the tragedies and the low social status of Athenian woman (if such is admitted). Discussions over these questions started in the XIX century. Scholars have somehow agreed on the first issue – the social status of Athenian woman, while the second one still remains arguable.

The history of the mentioned problem is divided into two essentially different stages: At the first stage, which lasted from the XIX century till the 1970s, there existed two diametrically different views on the problem. One group of scholars regarded Athenian woman as a lifelong legal minor, while the other group believed, that the social status of woman must have been high in classical Athens (Gomme and his supporters). After presenting researchers' opinions their critical appreciations are considered as well. From 1970-ies onward this stage of the discussion is regarded to be wrong in its very core. Such an appreciation was, first of all, caused by the misleading methodology the scholars relied on. They were rather subjective while selecting literary sources. Scholars usually confined themselves to one particular genre and failed to substantiate their choice thoroughly. Besides, modern researchers believe, that the questions raised at this stage were naïve and exceedingly simplified.

The second stage of the dispute over the status started in the 1970s. Its qualitative novelty was determined by new methodological sophistication. While considering the question, the scholars frequently refer to the methodology developed in the structural and social anthropology. The pieces of the ancient literature are treated as the cultural documents of their contemporary epoch. By the 1980s, scholars reached a certain consensus. They chiefly agreed, that woman should not have had high social status in the classical period. Besides, in connection with the conception of woman, certain differences were revealed between the 'poetic' and 'prose' texts of the classical epoch (the terms 'poetic' and 'prose' texts were introduced by the well-known scholar H. Foley). This prompted researchers to develop

an eclectic approach to the problem of woman in Athenian literature on the whole. At the same time, they admitted that, despite the large number of works, the study of the conception of woman was least of all successful in Greek drama – in tragedies and comedies.

As stated above, a large number of scholars attempted to explain the discrepancy between the status of Athenian woman and the powerful female image of tragedies. This discrepancy was even considered an unparalleled phenomenon, a paradox (Gomme). A theory, popular in past, did not consider the female images of the tragedy in relation with the author's contemporary social context. It only concluded that the female characters of tragedies are powerful, because they were created in accordance with the myths of the Bronze epoch. Another, psychoanalytical approach was presented by P. Slater. This theory aroused great interest and influenced subsequent psychoanalytical theories. It chiefly admitted the non-mimetic character of the tragedy and explained the remarkableness of its heroines by the authors' psychosexual experience at an early age provoked by their mothers' powerful image.

The study gradually drove the scholars to the conclusion, that it was necessary to find new ways of interrelation between the tragedy and the social context in which it was presented to explain the discrepancy.

In our opinion, the studies directed to the clarification of the paradox can be reduced to the theories grounded on two different methodologies. One of them attempted to explain the discrepancy by the nature/objectives of the tragedy. According to the theories based on this methodology, the difference between Athenian women and the female heroines of tragedies is to be explained by the nature/objectives of the tragedy. Correspondingly, different groups of scholars believed, that the nature/objective of the tragedy was not to reflect the existing reality, but something else: a. To edify the audience; b. Philosophical analysis of human activity; 3. Social criticism, etc. In scholars' opinion, owing to these very objectives of the tragedy, the female characters were in some cases presented idealized, on certain occasions normative, sometimes wicked, etc. According to one of the theories – the anthropological theory (Bouvrie), the objective of the drama was to make a 'correct cultural model' of its contemporary epoch. This was accomplished through inversion – distortion of the picture of the social life and afterwards rehabilitating it. And in fact, a powerful female character was needed to fulfill this objective.

The other methodology attempted to look for homogeneity of the social practice and fiction (tragedy) with respect to the position/conception

of woman. For instance, according to the well-known scholars Gould and Just, the position/conception of woman was homogenous both in the social practice and fiction – as in either milieu it was ambivalent – women were outsiders as well as the figures of essential importance, dangerous as well as indispensable for the society to function properly. So, according to the theories by Gould and Just, there was no discrepancy between the social status of Athenian women and the conception of woman in tragedies.

We believe, that the most appropriate theory to study the discrepancy, or we would rather call it interrelation, between the social status of woman and the powerful female characters of the tragedy is the theory of so-called ‘social conflicts’ according to which the nature/objective of the tragedy was to present ‘social conflicts’, struggle of various cultural values. The tragedy did not render the clash between the main social institutions straightforwardly, but through artistic codes, ciphers it represented a symbolic area for the expression of the ‘social tensions’. And since women held the central position in the leading social institutions of Athens, they were likewise interesting and important for the tragedy as well. According to this theory, the main social strain lay in the tension between the two most important institutions of the classical epoch – oikos and polis.

We attempted to develop our own methodology for the problem study based on the chief postulate of the theory of ‘social conflicts’. In our opinion, to explain the above-mentioned discrepancy and at the same time to study the conception of woman presented in the Greek tragedy, it would be appropriate to consider the female characters in broader context – the gender system of the tragedy and to link the latter to the social milieu – in particular, to the conflict between oikos and polis.

To throw light on the above-mentioned social conflict of these institutions a historical overview of the relations between the family and the state is presented here. The discussion also comments on the complexity of their relationship: oikos and polis were mutually defining institutions and at the same time there was a conflict of interests between them.

In order to find out how the gender system of the drama reflects the tension between these institutions, we considered it relevant to use the binary opposition – woman: domestic × man: public. The supporters of the theory of ‘social conflicts’ regard this opposition as particularly successful. Along with this binary opposition another binary opposition – female: nature × male : culture, which also presents the way the gender system of the drama reflects the conflict between the main cultural values of the classical period is used as well.

In the course of the investigation, along with the analysis in terms of cultural studies, we applied philological approach as well. Simultaneous use of these types of analyses represents the methodological guideline of our study. The questions related to the genre, central theme, mythological tradition, etc. of the literary text are discussed. Along with the synchronic analysis, the problem is also studied diachronically. After considering the work/s of each tragedian, the question of the playwright's attitude towards woman is explored. And finally, the concepts of women of all three dramatists are compared with one another so as to trace the evolution line the Greek tragedy underwent with respect to the attitude towards woman.

CHAPTER II

WOMAN IN ATHENIAN LAW

The lifestyle of women as envisaged by Athenian legislation of the classical period is discussed in this chapter. In this connection, orators' speeches are regarded as the main source, because, compared to other genres, they offer a large set of data. However, along with other scholars, we admit a certain extent of subjectivity characteristic of this genre, which, naturally, concerns woman issues as well. Consideration of the laws as evidenced in orators' speeches, absence of female names on the tomb stones, non-registration of women in the deme register compels us to claim that in classical Athens woman was not regarded as an autonomous being and every single point of her relation with the law was settled by her guardian.

This part of the book presents all social institutions related to woman: The guardian or *kyrios* institution; the institution of marriage with all its constituting components: a. Betrothal; b. Dowry; c. *Epikleros*; d. Adultery; e. Divorce. The study of the female role in these institutions testifies, that Athenian woman was deprived of rights in any question relating to her marriage: she was not allowed to choose her groom on her own; she had no right to own or to dispose of the dowry – correspondingly, she was powerless economically as well; her natal family was authorized to revoke her marriage if they considered it necessary despite her own will. It requires particular mention that notwithstanding her being a legal minor, woman accomplished two very important functions – gave birth to an heir of *oikos* and transferred property from one family to another through the institution of dowry.

The sub-chapter *Pericles' Citizenship Law* studies the civil status of Athenian woman and the respective circle of questions: the term *ἀσθή* denoting female citizenship; we specified restrictions of the female civil rights: except religion, they were confined to the private sphere, they could not at-

tend or vote at Assembly, sit on Juries, or serve as council members and magistrates. The alterations that Pericles' law introduced into the female civil status are also explored. After adopting Pericles' law the female citizenship acquired a particular relevance, as from this period onward a mother together with a father granted her children the citizenship. Despite the above-mentioned subordination, Athenians regarded the citizenship of woman as quite a serious matter (especially, after the adoption of Pericles' law). To their strong belief, the protection of rights of female citizens on the one hand, and the due fulfillment of their responsibilities by women on the other hand was of primary importance for proper functioning of the state.

The study revealed that woman's state was ambivalent. Woman was deprived of rights in every sphere of the family context. Despite this fact, she accomplished two most important functions for the welfare of oikos. Woman was ousted from the public area; nevertheless, her civil rights were most seriously considered by Greeks. Consequently, woman, declared as a marginal subject, fulfilled the foremost interests of polis. Woman, deprived of rights, was the key subject for oikos – one of the main institutions of the social context of Athens. For this very reason Greeks found it highly important that women accomplished their civil rights and duties, which, on the whole, was directed to serve for the 'welfare of the state, laws and faith' (Demosthenes, LIX, 114).

CHAPTER III THE DAILY LIFE OF ATHENIAN WOMEN

Before proceeding to the analysis of the problem our methodological guidelines are presented. Taking into consideration the complexity entailed by generalizing this or that aspect of the daily life of woman, instead of providing a generalized picture, we decided to divide informal cases of behavior into three categories – the cultural ideal, the stereotype and deviated behaviors, and while dwelling on a particular sphere of female lifestyle, present what was considered to be ideal, what was regarded as a norm and also mention patterns of deviated behavior.

When scholars discuss the daily life of woman in classical Athens, they chiefly rely on the lawcourt speeches delivered by orators, as in this sphere the mentioned genre is regarded as the most representative and reliable source as well. In the course of our investigation, we chiefly use orators' speeches although along with them we frequently refer to Aristophanes' comedies.

Some of the scholars consider segregation as the central point of the daily life of Athenian woman. Such a keen interest in this question arose

from the belief, that the clarification of the segregation problem was the key for the resolution of the complex and controversial issue of the social status of woman in Athens. A part of scholars believed, that permission of women's secluded life was equal to the admission of their low status. At present, according to the prevalent assumption, female segregation is considered to have been at least the ideal for an upper class woman.

The investigation revealed that segregation should have also been the normal practice for middle and upper class women. This is testified by the sharp reaction that followed the entrance of a non-related male, whether peaceful or violent, in the ladies' part evidenced in the sources. Division of an Athenian house into two parts – separate areas for men and women points to the same. However, female segregation was not absolute. Sources frequently mention close relations of women with the men of the same household, or with the women of the neighboring house. All these might have been the norm of their daily life.

Gradually, especially in the course and after the Peloponnesian war, the stereotype of female segregation started to destroy. Economic hardships compelled women, normally those of the lower class, to go out for work. And correspondingly, the gap between the ideal of woman segregation and the behavior evidenced in practice became wider.

The sub-chapter *Women and the Labor Activity* considers the sphere of labor activities undertaken by women and the appreciation of female labor by ancient authors. Study of the sources made clear, that women of the different social classes were involved in different labor activities. For instance, according to the cultural ideal, upper class women were not supposed to work themselves, but to supervise the slaves. The main occupation of these ladies was to keep house and raise children.

Outside work was only for lower class women, and this kind of labor was not consistent with the cultural ideal. Poor women were involved either in retail sale (tavern-keepers, sales-women) or did the same work as at home for remuneration – laundry, nursing, midwifery. Large number of non-citizen women were prostitutes. They could run business in this sphere as well.

Traditionally, female labor was not adequately appreciated. However, by the end of the V century BC such an attitude started to change. Concentration of attention on the private sphere entailed alteration of the attitude towards woman's role. Sources of different genres equally point to the high appreciation of female skillfulness and gift to cope with house management.

In the end, we consider those cases of female activities, that deviate both from the cultural ideal and the norm. Deviated behavior took place in different spheres of woman's life. E.g. a. Sources mention, although on rare occasions, that women maintained inadmissible relations with the public space; b. Sources frequently mention the cases when women took interest in public affairs. These are the cases when husbands considered women's ideas on certain events. c. Sources frequently relate about the excessive influence of women over husbands; d. Orators and comedians underline the cases, when women took an active part in the family finances and were present at the law acts held in the family.

All mentioned above testify to the fact, that by the end of the V century BC the gap between the cultural ideal, the norm and the women's behaviors in practice gradually grew broader. Evidently, the alternative model of female power little by little appeared in the family despite the fact, that according to the legislation as well as to the cultural ideal, male was considered to be the head of the family.

The sub-chapter *Woman and Religion* considers the participation of woman in the religious life of Athens. Religion was the only sphere of public life, where women were allowed to serve. Female activities in this sphere included several aspects. Women held the religious offices – for instance, they were priestesses; at the antesteria festival they held the office of Basilina, the wife of Archon Basileus. Likewise widespread were the consecration rituals, when virgins served for a period in a temple: Arrephoria, Aletris, and Archteon. Women frequently participated in specifically female celebrations as well as in public festivals. Since these celebrations differed from each other, the role of women in the religious cult service was ambivalent. Specifically women celebrations were characterized with dissociation of women from the male society, sex segregation, cessation of sexual intercourse. These features indicated independence of women and were associated with inversion and destruction. However, inversion was necessary for the continuity of the society. In public celebrations women had their respective functions like other members of the society, and these functions were quite important. The Greeks regarded female participation in sacral rituals as obligatory and considered it as the guarantee for public order and the continuity of the society.

Thus, the ambivalence of woman's position is reflected in her daily life as well. In certain cases, women were active individuals despite the fact, that they were deprived of rights. The cultural ideal also required of them passive lifestyle.

Correspondingly, we may claim that the social context of classical Athens was characterized by a tension concerning woman. The stereotypes established as a result of the radical sex policy required revision. On the one hand, the cultural ideal and the norm that limited women's rights and unconditionally assigned them to the family space encountered certain problems, and on the other hand, the marginal position of women envisaged by the legislation became questionable. Out of the literary genres of the classical period it is the Greek drama, both tragedy and comedy, that in the sharpest way presents these social tensions of *oikos* × *polis* conflict. The following chapter of our work considers the Greek tragedy from this very perspective.

CHAPTER IV WOMAN IN GREEK TRAGEDY

The sub-chapter *The Aeschylean Myth of Gynecocracy; Aeschylus' Attitude toward Woman* considers the conception of woman presented in Aeschylus' tragic theater. From Aeschylus' works, we thoroughly analyzed *Oresteia*, as we believe the trilogy is the most important cultural document in any exploration of the social status and functions of woman presented in Greek literature.

The chapter aims at studying two questions: 1. How the new model of relations between the male and female forces was developed in Aeschylus' trilogy; 2. What is implied under the female and male system of values and how the complex interrelations of private and public spaces are represented through female and male gender roles.

The public space in *Agamemnon* is represented through the actions and speeches of male characters – the herald, Agamemnon and the army (the latter is not the actant of the play). It should be mentioned that the chorus of Argos' old men – a male character – understands the service to the public space differently from the mentioned male characters and regards them critically. The survey revealed, that from the author's perspective Agamemnon and the army carry out public interests in a wrong way as their service to the public area represents the extreme military domination (such an impression is produced not only by sacrificing Iphigenia, but also by the behavior of Agamemnon and the army in the course of the whole war, their *hybris*). While analyzing Agamemnon's role, we accentuated another circumstance as well, which also caused Agamemnon's defeat. The commander not only fails to understand the service to the public space correctly, but he is also inclined to barbaric values – to the luxury and satisfaction of his desires, which is associated with the female phenomenon and correspondingly prevents the male to fulfill his cultural role.

The female perspective of the tragedy is represented by Clytemnestra. We have considered the dispute held in classical philology over her character. Scholars argue over how to regard Clytemnestra – as an androgenic female or as the woman different from ordinary ones, as she knows much more than they do and can check her emotions. We analyzed in detail the passages, that present Clytemnestra from this point and draw a conclusion, that Aeschylus purposefully pictures Clytemnestra as a masculine female, which is testified by: a. Insistent accentuation of the intellectual abilities of the queen; b. Acceptance of the masculine part in the intercourse with her partners; 3. A string of Clytemnestra's activities: infidelity to her husband, choosing her sex partner on her own; premeditation and accomplishment of her husband's murder. However, the analysis showed that the system of the queen's values is chiefly comprised of female ones – for example, she perceives the war, the public space, from the female perspective. Agamemnon's wife is insistent while explaining how greatly matrimonial relations suffer, on the one hand, from the war and its requirements (sacrificing Iphigenia), and on the other hand, from husband's abandonment of the family space.

The study of Clytemnestra's character revealed, that she is a complex image, i.e. she is not presented from the start as an altogether negative woman. The queen's intellect, her superiority over her partners and her powerfulness, as well as Aeschylus' critical attitude to the male values implied in *Agamemnon* prompts to regard Clytemnestra, to a certain extent, as the 'shrewd political rebel' against the existing regime. However, along with it, Clytemnestra's image is gradually associated with the wild world. At first, this takes place at the mythopoetic level. Cassandra connects her with the dark, monstrous female forces. Eventually, it is Clytemnestra's own activities that altogether turn her into the negative phenomenon – she kills her husband, kills Agamemnon, who neglected family interests. But in fact, through this deed, the queen herself becomes the violator of oikos' interests. Remarkably, according to the Aeschylean gynecocratic myth, Clytemnestra's activities, as of the negative female phenomenon, do not end with the murder of her husband; the queen usurps the power, and, eventually, she and her lover Aegisthus establish tyranny in Argos, which is regarded as the 'rule of two females' – the gynecocracy.

In the following plays of the trilogy, Aeschylus offers his own interpretation of the gynecocratic myth. The playwright establishes a new principle of relations between the female and male forces. He presents the way to create a new system, at the end of which the hierarchical model of sex interrelations is built on the basis of agreement.

We carried out a detailed analysis of the way this new model was being formed and of the problems Aeschylus had to resolve in order to establish the new interrelation between the sex forces – the principle of subordinating woman to man. First of all, he had to present Clytemnestra – the female force – as an extremely negative phenomenon in order to justify her future subordination. And in fact, in *Libation Bearers* the queen is presented as the mother-tyrant, who neglects not only matrimonial relations, but also those between mother and children. She makes her children's life unbearable and poses obstacles to their future. Besides, Clytemnestra is a dangerous force at the public level as well; at first, she creates the so-called 'ritual' deadlock, and then the social one as well, which means, that under her rule, the social order is rendered invalid. We carried out a particularly thorough analysis of the well-known ode of *Libation Bearers*, which scholars call the 'misogynic' ode. After reciting various criminal deeds committed by women towards men, the chorus links Clytemnestra's story with the myth of the Lemnian women – the myth that tells how wives murdered their husbands, which resulted in the total extermination of men and the absolute domination of women. Through this association, Aeschylus gives a warning – Clytemnestra, the uncontrolled force in general, represents a danger to the whole society. Such an ideology prepares the ground not only to justify Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra, but also to accept future subordination of women to men (Zeitlin F., *The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the Oresteia*, Women in the Ancient World, the Arethusa Papers, ed. by J. Peradotto and J.P. Sullivan, State University of New York Press, Albany 1984, 159-194, 145).

On the other hand, the male force should also be subjected to alterations for the establishment of the new system. It should no more be the subject for criticism – such as was the character of Agamemnon in the previous play. The new male character – Orestes is presented as a positive force in *Libation Bearers*. Aeschylus succeeds to offer such an image of Orestes by means of uniting several factors: Firstly, Orestes is the person, who fulfills the god's order and who gradually acknowledges, that the murder of Clytemnestra – the killer of her husband, the mother, who rejected her children, the tyrant of Argos – is his duty. Secondly, Orestes is well aware of the fact, that the task is very hard to accomplish. He regards the murder of his mother as an unholy act, a blasphemy and feels the necessity for purgation. Thirdly, Orestes fights for the interests of both spaces – for the restoration of the oikos as well as for the liberation of the polis. And the character, who protects the interests of both spaces, is presented as the winner at the end of drama as a rule.

Nevertheless, these two points – positive presentation of a male and negative of a female – did not prove sufficient for the establishment of the new model of relations of the sex forces. It was necessary to solve the conflict that existed within oikos between its two institutions – blood ties and matrimonial bonds. Blood relationship was represented by Clytemnestra, the murderer of her husband, who revenged Iphigenia's death; while Orestes, who took vengeance upon his mother for his father's death, claimed the priority of matrimony. Aeschylus had to resolve this conflict by means of attaching preference to one of the sex forces. The murder of Clytemnestra did not serve as a solution to the dilemma as, according to the Aeschylean conception, murder did not indicate the elimination of the negative female force. On the contrary, after Clytemnestra's death, the negative female force is represented by even more negative phenomenon – incarnations of Clytemnestra – the Furies (Erinyes).

The conflict is resolved in the final play of the trilogy *Eumenides*. Under the verdict of the Areopagus, the significance of a male parent to the child was admitted superior and matrimonial bonds were declared more important, than blood relationship; correspondingly, Orestes was acquitted and the superiority of the male over the female was ultimately acknowledged.

The final step was the transformation of the Furies, who represented the negative principle, altogether dangerous to life. The Furies became Eumenides – the benevolent forces. By means of such a transformation, the political power of women was transferred to the sphere of religion, cult. Thus, the female force was subordinated to the male force, and the system of patriarchal relations, the patriarchal family prevailed.

The study presented in this chapter enabled us to draw the following conclusion regarding the interrelations between the tragedy and the women of Athenian society: Through picturing Clytemnestra, the dominant female, the author presents the most difficult conflict, which existed in Athens of that epoch between two institutions of oikos – matrimony and blood relationship. Besides, Clytemnestra's image serves to show how much problematic was the phenomenon of the uncontrolled female force to Greek consciousness in that period. Greeks believed that this force impeded the functioning of the society, and on the broader scale, prevented the progress of the society. In order to realize the significance of the phenomenon and its danger, it should have been represented by the most powerful force, the most powerful character.

The Aeschylean conception of woman implies the necessity to subdue, tame, curb this force, what in fact is accomplished through the transformation of the Furies in the end of the tragedy.

The Aeschylean conception of women echoes traditional suggestions about the female nature. At the same time, the playwright himself introduces new cultural clichés, which to a remarkable extent determined the main tendencies of the attitude towards woman in classical Athens.

The sub-chapter *Sophocles' Antigone and the Conflict between Family and State. Heroic Woman in Sophocles' Drama* considers the way the gender system of the tragedy presents the social conflict between family and state. It also investigates to what extent the characters of Creon and Antigone are identified with the institutions of family and state.

The sub-chapter analyzes in detail two lines of interpretation of the tragedy *Antigone*. The reason for this is that any understanding of the tragedy is directly linked to the clarification of relations between polis and oikos in the drama itself. The question poses as follows – what forms the opposition in the tragedy *Antigone*: two equally important principles – family and state (divine and human laws) or is there family (or rather one of its aspects) on one side and tyranny on the other?

The first interpretation which was initiated by Hegel, enjoyed broad popularity in past and has supporters nowadays as well. And still, it is the second direction that prevails in modern classical philology. It regards Creon not as the state, but as the infinite power of the state, i.e. tyranny. Correspondingly, this interpretation presents Antigone as the confronter of tyranny. However, part of scholars, along with admitting this, state, that Antigone's deed is not considered to be an altogether right one.

Apart from offering opinions of a large number of scholars, the chapter explores the relationship between written and unwritten laws of Greece in the historical context. Afterwards, particular attention is paid to the reference of the law presented in the tragedy – the funeral law to the existed polis law – so-called ἐπιχωρίος νόμος. The study revealed, that Creon's order was nothing, but a command and correspondingly, the person, who gave it was the tyrant, as he believed, that his order was superior to divine laws.

The sub-chapter studies the gender system of the tragedy by using the binary opposition – woman: domestic × man: public. The investigation made it clear, that Antigone stood for one aspect of oikos – blood ties. The accomplishment of the interests of this type of relationship was, as we had evidenced in Aeschylus' tragedy, connected with the female force. Through her sacrifice to blood relationship she, in fact, gave up the other aspect of oikos – marriage, i.e. deprived herself of the generative function. In our opinion, this conflict, which existed in Antigone's female role, was the echo of the very important inner tension between two institutions of

oikos in that period. Out of these two aspects of oikos – the rival of polis, the new civil institution, was that of blood relationship, and the admission of the latter's primacy would mean the acknowledgement of the predominance of the female generative function, and of the female phenomenon on the whole – that of mother, the earth, the nature. Therefore, the conflict of these institutions of oikos can be considered with respect to the opposition – nature × culture as well.

We have also studied Creon's conception of family, which scholars regard as the political perspective and which viewed family as a disciplined unity like polis. Besides, Creon's position completely denies the importance of blood ties. Moreover, he regards the devotion to kin, and love likewise, as the phenomenon, loyalty to which proves harmful to the state interests.

Antigone's religious stand is treated separately. In fact, this position can be analyzed with regard to Antigone's devotion to blood relationship, as she observes the rite of burying the dead at the price of her life paying tribute to her blood kin – her brother. While observing the rite, Antigone believes that gods are her allies and therefore, the human law, or more precisely, the tyrant's command is of no importance to her.

The study of Creon's relationship with the public area gives an interesting picture. Creon's wrong position does not reveal itself in the tragedy from the beginning. As the drama starts, Creon presents himself as the servant of the polis. The genuine nature of Creon's rule is gradually exposed – first, as he encounters Antigone, and then during his dialogue with Haemon. His confrontation with his son evidences, that the Theban ruler represents not the state, but one particular type of authority – tyranny. For this very reason, Creon failed to see, that the mutual complementarity of these two institutions was inevitable.

A special attention is paid to the problem of Antigone's gender role inversion. Although Antigone asserts family interests, the traditional female sphere, she has to accomplish this by a masculine type of behavior. Antigone intrudes into the public area. Such a masculine behavior on the part of a woman is unacceptable for Creon. Most unbearable for the king is the fact, that his command was violated by a woman. He declares unambiguously, that he is not going to tolerate women's domination over him. Creon believes that Antigone, as his son's bride, can be freely replaced with another woman. He does not regard woman as an individual. According to the conception, which finds male semen more important for the continuity of the generation, naturally, any women will do.

The lot, that fell to the central characters at the end of the tragedy, in our opinion, apparently, points to what Sophocles believed to be the right attitude towards the public and domestic areas. In the finale both protagonists revise / change their positions. Antigone admits the existence of another duty. She says, that she went against the will of the citizens and performed the burial solely for her brother's sake; that she would not do this in case of husband or children (Ant., 907). At the end of the drama, Antigone is physically destroyed. Evidently, Sophocles did not consider it right to serve to one area at the price of neglecting the other.

Creon not only revises, but altogether changes his position. The Theban king acknowledges the necessity of protecting family interests as well as of observing the divine laws. However, his remorse was late. He is punished; he loses his son and his wife. His wrong service to the public area inflicts harm on the city – the corpse left unburied offends gods and profanes the city. Creon, left alive, is ruined morally. The following conclusion may be drawn – one will be successful, and one's service to the domestic and public areas will be right only if one admits the interests of both areas.

At the end of the sub-chapter, the question of Sophocles' attitude towards woman is explored. The images of Antigone and Electra, with regard to the main features (traits of character, vocabulary, etc.), are compared to Sophocles' male heroic personages. The analysis revealed that Sophocles' heroines have the same features as his male characters, i.e. they are also presented as heroic and ideal. Along with this, Antigone and Electra are not traditional women. Sophocles believed that when it comes to the protection of the high values, sex distinction should not be taken into account. Such an idea concerning the attitude towards women can be acknowledged as quite radical. Thus, Sophocles presented woman equal to man morally and intellectually.

We started the analysis of Euripides' dramas with the tragedy *Alcestis*. The tragedy proved challenging, as it provided quite interesting material for the investigation of the relationship of the literary fiction with the social norms. We posed the problem in the following way – how is *Alcestis'* behavior to be understood – was her self-sacrifice for her husband's sake and in a broader meaning wife's extreme devotion to husband a norm in the author's contemporary society, or was it the matrimonial ideal set by the society?

Before treating this problem, we had to attend to those aspects of the play, which pertain to the field of literary studies – namely, the problems

of genre and the leading theme, as the interrelations between the above-mentioned spheres can be clarified only if the drama represents a single unity and not the accidental blend of merely entertaining episodes. The existence of a single theme and the serious treatment of the latter is a disputable issue for the *Alcestis*. It was long believed, that the play had neither single nor leading theme. Nowadays, the majority of scholars admit, that the tragedy *Alcestis* has the central theme; however, the subject of the dispute is to decide, what it includes. In our opinion, the central theme of the tragedy should be identified as that of marriage, marriage in life and in death. It seems to us, that the frame of the play, which has generated controversial ideas and is regarded by part of scholars as the hindering point for the unity of the drama, represents, in fact, the organic part of the central theme. Alcestis' so-called 'improbable return, resurrection' in the end is symbolically linked to Admetus' behavior - the king has his resurrected wife back, because he refused to accept her death and maintained her alive in his memories. Besides, Alcestis' return brings to the logical end the leading theme of the play - marriage in death and life.

The study made clear, that Alcestis' behavior and Admetus' appraisal of such self-sacrifice make up two perspectives - male and female - of the drama. For the male perspective the subject was Admetus and it did not treat the king's deed critically. As for the female perspective, it was altogether directed to Alcestis and acknowledged the queen as the only and the best wife, while considering Admetus guilty. We traced how the male perspective altered in parallel with the development of the play. The change of Admetus' position was especially remarkable. The king realized, that Alcestis' - his wife's self-sacrifice brought him only unendurable life and the name of a coward. The revised appreciation of Alcestis' and Admetus's behaviors, the emotional chaos caused by Alcestis' death, and, especially, the king's tragic realization lead us to a certain conclusion - Alcestis' behavior and in its broader understanding the extreme devotion to husband, should not have been the norm of matrimonial relationship in Euripides' contemporary epoch. Along with it, we believe, that the drama also implies Euripides' attitude as well. The tragedian not only rejected this cultural ideal, but treated it with the criticism typical of him. This is demonstrated in depicting Admetus humiliated and gripped with the complex of guilt.

In the play *Alcestis* there is another question, that attracts our interest - namely, whether the drama presented or not both aspects of marriage - its institutional side and personal emotion. This problem - the relationship between the institutional and personal aspects of a marriage proved quite

disputable in the play. Starting with Wilamowitz, scholars found it strange, that the play dealing with marriage lacked love phraseology so familiar to the modern man. The absence of such phraseology compelled them to suppose, that the central point of the tragedy was the institutional side of matrimony. In order to throw light on the question, we analyzed in detail the scenes that are the key episodes in this respect. If in the first scene the queen mentions two subjects – the bridal bed and Admetus, i.e. both aspects of matrimony – as the causes of her self-sacrifice, there is a different picture in the subsequent episode. In her farewell speech Alcestis says, that she decided to sacrifice herself because of Admetus, as she did not wish to live without him. The essential importance of personal feeling in marriage is particularly evident in Admetus' tragic realization, when he returned home after his wife's funeral – when the king experienced emotionally and acknowledged rationally, that without Alcestis his life was no better than that of a corpse.

The interpretation of *Alcestis* throws light on Euripides' conception of matrimonial relationship and woman's role in marriage. It runs all through the tragedist's dramas that deal with sex relationship – the proper functioning of a family, of a household is possible if the roles and importance of both subjects are admitted. In the end, the play *Alcestis* is compared to *Odyssey* with respect to the parallels between the motifs, plot elements and the images of Penelope and Alcestis. Despite certain similarity, Alcestis and Penelope, Odysseus and Admetus are quite different from each other. Together with the significant artistic and ideological factors, which cause these differences, what strikes the eye is, that in partner relationship woman's role undergoes obvious decline. This, on its part, is the response to the fact that in the classical period the social status of woman altered compared to the heroic epoch, the alteration being directed towards the decline.

The sub-chapter – *Witch, Barbarian, Abandoned Wife and Mother – Killer of Her Own Children: Medea by Euripides – Paradoxical Coexistence* concentrates on the woman conception in *Medea* by Euripides. First of all, we decided to reveal whether the character of Medea deals with the social problematic of Euripides' times. From one point this seems a bit curious taking into consideration that Euripides was considered as a 'carrier of feminist ideas' exactly due to the artistic interpretation of Medea. And yet the problem existed because a group of scientists completely excluded the daughter of Ayetes from the world of Greek women. As they considered the main sign of Medea's image was her magic nature and foreign origin. To clear the

matter up we conducted an analysis of all the passages of the text that are somehow connected with the magic and barbarian aspects of the heroine.

The research demonstrated that in some cases Euripides really points out Medea's magic nature. The final of the tragedy – Medea's disappearance with the help of *Deus ex Machina* – raises a lot of questions. Like a number of scientists (Kuningham, Knox), we also think that a final episode of this kind and the interpretation of Medea's image in the episode is a mark of qualitative changes taking place in the soul of the heroine. Those changes are considered to be the transformation of Euripides' Medea into so-called 'non-human essence'. To our opinion, the introduction of the magic aspect of Medea is needed to emphasize the irrational power, a sort of 'non-human essence' of the Kolchian woman. Due to the high surplus of the irrational, Medea is identified with wild force, the force that was associated with female in Greek imagination. Moreover, Medea of Euripides not only stands side by side with 'dangerous and destructive' women, but also by her deep artistic and emotional influence greatly strengthens the negative image of a woman, the woman conception considering female force dangerous for the civilization.

Besides, we studied all the episodes that give some information about the foreign origin of the daughter of Ayetes. The research revealed that Medea's foreign origin is not the reason to exclude her altogether from the circle of ordinary Greek women. For example, Jason expects from Medea-wife the wifely obedience typical for the Athenian women. Only in the final scene, after Medea has already killed her children, Jason draws a demarcation border between his wife and Greek women. Here Jason explains the action of Medea (killing of her children) by her barbarian origin. It seems to us, that the writer used Medea's foreign origin also as a possibility to create the image of a woman who is completely different from others.

We also discussed Medea's image as a follower of the heroic code. This aspect of the heroine is formed by the unity of the certain traits of Medea's character, her vocabulary, moral principles, etc. The following episodes present Medea's heroic mood: the scene of Medea's exposition; the scene where Medea speaks with the Chorus, after meeting Creon; and the dialogue of Medea and Chorus after Medea's meeting with Aegeus. The last episode, where Medea ends up her speech by the heroic credo, is to be especially mentioned. In our opinion, the above-discussed aspects of Medea may not be considered as an obstacle for suggesting, that the heroine had reference with social problems of Euripides' time.

To explain the resemblances and differences between Medea and ordinary women, we discussed the attitudes of Medea and ordinary women towards 'family problems'. On the other hand, the attitudes of both Medea (a woman) and Jason (a pragmatic man) towards these problems are fixed in the research. The analysis showed the following results: female characters – the Chorus of Corinthian women and the nurse offer Medea their condolences and blame Jason. Though they think that Medea's mourning and suffering is superfluous. Most of all, disagreement between Medea and the Chorus appears in the speech where Medea declares the plan of killing her own children. The murder of children appalls them. The Kolchian woman dares to reject the Holly, a sense of life. According to the Chorus, such an action goes far beyond the unhappy story of an ordinary woman and transfers to other dimension.

Study of Jason's attitude towards 'family problems' displayed that in marriage issues he pays attention mainly to public facade – political alliance formed by marriage bonds, prosperity and careless life. Private life and love seem less valuable to him. Children for Jason are useful and important attributes for providing a respectable position of the head of the oikos. The analysis revealed the differences between the female and male systems of values concerning 'family problems'.

The research gives the possibility to make the following conclusions: at the beginning Medea expresses the interests of the family space (Medea served as the best wife for Jason), and it is Jason who rejects his own family. He is seeking for the higher status and public recognition with the help of the new family circle. Medea refuses to obey the rejection of the family interests, she takes revenge, but in her family sphere Medea acts according to the heroic code, that is typical for another sphere – public sphere. The transmission of the public space habitual model into the private sphere is a clear evidence of her connection with the public space. When the habitual model of behavior that is typical for one definite space is used in another, absolutely different space regulated with its own laws, it may cause a catastrophe, destruction of the sphere where these models were transmitted (Blundell S., *Women in the Ancient Greece*, London, 1995, 178).

The analysis of the gender system of the tragedy ascertained the dislocation of the female and male values including explosive, dangerous element. According to Euripides' conception, improperly allocated female and male values may cause a catastrophe identical as described in the tragedy *Medea*. As it seems, the dramatist put under question the relevance of

marriage norms of his time and believed that their new interpretation was vital. This indicates social criticism characteristic of the writer.

So far, Medea's relationship with Athens's social reality is clear, but at the same time her difference from other women is also evident. This difference is created with the combination of her nature, character, origin, past history, strong rejection of betrayal, and the final act of the tragedy – killing of her children. This very paradoxical coexistence in Medea's image (on the one hand, the woman who is connected with Athens' social problems and on the other hand the woman who is quite different from ordinary Athenian women) creates the complexity of her image and causes the troubles for the scholars to discuss the heroine in the social context of classical Athens.

Together with the description of the private space problems Euripides pays attention to the difficult relationship of polis and oikos. He was especially interested in the influence, which the conflict between spaces inflicted on the cultural norms established for the both sexes. The dramatist investigated in detail how this objective circumstance stipulated the fact, that in many cases neither man nor woman was able to accomplish their gender role. Besides, Euripides especially observed the importance of subjective, private factor in fulfilling the cultural norms.

The character of Agamemnon in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* is the example of the difficulty posed on male gender role. Discussing the relation of Agamemnon with private and public spaces we found out, that the two roles of Agamemnon (head of the family and commander of the army) continuously influenced each other. This influence relied on the following aspects: The first aspect – the conflict between the spaces was an objective circumstance, though this fact itself was not the necessary condition for the character's failure. Orestes is an example of how the person can act for the interests of both spaces. From Euripides' viewpoint, the dilemma of Agamemnon was caused mainly by the subjective factor – his character was not able to establish the balance between his two roles. The main reason of this was disharmony in his soul. According to the cultural stereotype declared by the Chorus, this virtue was necessary for the male gender. The author believed, that Agamemnon's ambitious nature, unlimited selfishness and private, careerist goals interfered him to gain this harmony.

Besides, the analysis revealed that characters' devotion to this or that space was not firm. This very instability indicates that preference made in favour of one or another space was based on the subjective factor. In case of Agamemnon, until he suggested, that the duty of army commander was

not as important as family interests, he blamed Menelaus, who, to Agamemnon's mind, was seeking for the war for his private interests. He declared that the whole Greek army thirsting for the war was mad. It was only passion, nothing more. Thus, from Agamemnon's viewpoint, war was a useless event, based on irrational impulses and aimed to satisfy only one's own goals. But later on Agamemnon's opinion about the war is changed. In front of Iphigenia and Clytemnestra he justifies his action (the sacrifice of his daughter) and speaks about high, patriotic goals.

As exclusion, together with the protagonists, we discussed the character of Clytemnestra in this play. The system of women values is very important in her image. Clytemnestra's gender role shows how the results of the war and its influences are reflected in the family space. Besides, the analysis revealed, that the queen pays a great importance to proper fulfillment of woman activities. She follows the established female norms unless the system she supported betrays her (sacrifice of her daughter). (Gamel M. K., Introduction to *Iphigenia at Aulis* in: *Women on the Edge, Four Plays by Euripides* (edd.) Blondell R., Gamel M. K., Rabinowitz N. S., Zweig B., New York, London, Routledge 1999, 305-328, 347).

The character of Iphigenia exposes, that the role which culture established for a woman – strictly confined her to the family space is very limited. As the research displayed according to the Euripides' conception, woman's gender role has the potential that can be useful for a society.

In the light of the relationship between woman and society, the artistic image of Iphigenia is especially important in Greek tragic corpus. Iphigenia gives life for her motherland acting from her own will. She transforms the necessity (her sacrifice for the success of the war) into the private wish. In her last speech Iphigenia mentions those values that she considers the most important, and she is ready to give her life for them. According to Iphigenia, the unity of the citizens is more important, then the life of an individual; man's life is more valuable, then woman's. God's will is higher, then human's. It's impermissible for Greek people to be subordinated to barbarians. As these are the values of public space, the scientists suggest, that by her speech and action Iphigenia assumes the male role. They suppose that Iphigenia's concentration on her future fame can serve as the confirmation of this opinion. It seems to us, that in Iphigenia's case we can speak about the inversion of the gender role. This is confirmed first of all by the fact that the virgin acts to protect male values.

Besides, the character of Iphigenia could be discussed from the different point of view and considered to be an ideal woman. Iphigenia is an

exceptional figure in the Greek tragedy. She is a woman who acts within the frames of public space, but unlike other women she does not do any harm to that space, on the contrary, she appears to be the rescuer of her country. The fact that Iphigenia agrees to admit the sacrifice, relieves the conflict. Her action is benevolent for her motherland because she serves to the public space from the religious sphere, the only sphere where women were permitted to participate. Iphigenia is an ideal character, ideal woman who gave her life for the public interests of her own free will. She was able to make proper contact with the gods through her 'love policy' (Foley H., *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*, Ithaca 1985). To our opinion, the final scene of the tragedy does not criticize traditional values as the group of scientists suggest, though critical attitude towards these very values are usual for Euripides' tragic theatre. Probably we may find the reason of it in Euripides' conception – women can serve the public values successfully. Thus, in this case these public values must be discussed in a positive way.

The last sub-chapter (*Helen by Euripides as the Preform of the Greek Roman. Harmonic Coexistence of Male and Female Values in Euripides' Works*) concentrates on the number of problems interesting for our research. Regarding the relations of literary and social contexts, the identical processes developing simultaneously in both spheres seem to be especially important: the raise of the interest towards the family space in society (the end of the V century) is followed by the appearance of love fabula in literature. *Helen* by Euripides is based on such a fabula and this is a reason of our attention to the play. Before studying the interrelation of these processes we carried out a pure literary research to reaffirm, that the play by Euripides really develops love fabula and thus can be considered as a preform of the Greek roman.

The sub-chapter briefly describes the long-lasting discussion about the genre of the play. The positive result of the discussion was the definition of the genre of the play: *Helen* by Euripides is considered to be the first literary attempt in ancient literature of mixture of the roman and the recognition themes.

Besides, we have discussed two radically different mythological traditions concerning Helen. The individuality and unique character of the artistic image of Euripides' Helen was based on the interplay of these traditions.

The sub-chapter pays particular attention to the comparative analysis of *Helen* by Euripides and Greek roman (These romans were written in II-IV centuries AD). We divided *Helen* into love motive structural elements

and then compared these elements to the love motive elements of the Greek roman. Besides, we paid special attention to those traits of Helen's character that were essential for the establishment of Euripides' heroine as a model of the devoted wife.

The research underlines that *Helen* by Euripides is a tragedy that completely develops love motive and seems to be a preform of the Greek roman. Besides, philosophical and theological themes are organically involved in its romantic fabula. These very themes make the play more profound than the roman. Helen's artistic image seems to be the model of the devoted wife. At the same time, this character is more complex esthetical phenomenon than a traditional type of wife/lover of the roman. The reason of this complexity is the following: Euripides' Helen is a combination of two contradicting mythological traditions. For Helen to appear as a devoted wife, the myth concerning the wife betrayer must be destroyed. Only then Helen has to prove her devotion to her husband by her action.

As it was mentioned, love fabula gives us rather interesting material from the gender system functioning point. It is very important to reveal the innovation that dealt with gender roles of men and women. The analysis of the play displayed that men and women have different systems of values and their attitudes towards the essence-points of the play are different. But to our opinion, one thing is especially important: Euripides did not suggest that these different values were completely irreconcilable. Moreover, the final scene proves that a person will gain success if he/she uses female and male values to supplement each other. The success does not include only the result. The combination of the values is necessary first of all for the perfect functioning of a person. Helen's help, the involvement of women values and means was necessary for the revival of the lost identity of Menelaus. What about Helen, she had to escape from Egypt and return home to gain the name of the devoted wife and thus to identify herself, and that was impossible without Menelaus help, without male force. It seems to us, that simultaneous utilization of the values of both sexes helped Menelaus and Helen to avoid the danger.

The conclusion presents the results of the research. It briefly discusses Euripides' attitude towards women. This attitude is not evaluated synonymously. According to the number of scientists (Zeitlin), the fact that Euripides was considered misogynist (as Aristophanes declared) in antiquity, is the result of the hyperrealism characteristic of Euripides' theatre. The imitative effects of the theatre erased demarcation line between theatre and reality. The result was the following: for a spectator the immoral

woman (if a spectator thought she was immoral) was the evidence of the immorality of the real women. The audience considered Euripides as misogynist because he described women in such a negative light. Besides, as it seems for the majority of Euripides' audience the women of the dramatist were rather different from the existed stereotypes and thus quite inaccessible. And yet, Euripides' contemporaries and especially Aristophanes were considerably irritated by dramatists' interest in women issues, probably there were spectators in his audience thinking that Euripides spoke from women's position. What about dramatist's conception concerning women issues, the research pointed out that Euripides was deeply interested in woman phenomenon, her motivation and especially in gender relations. The gender innovation of Euripides was not confined only to show the necessity of both sexes' values in the family. The dramatist raised the question of the need of coexistence of male and female values on the high – social level. His different vision concerned the main opposition of that epoch – the opposition of nature x culture. It seemed to the dramatist, that the society had to declare the necessity of adoption of irrational force in this or that form.

The study of the woman conception in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides revealed the evolution the Greek tragedy experienced in the respect of the attitude towards women. The study of Aeschylus' works showed that the tragedian had a definite ideology concerning woman's position. He believed that women's subordinated position was necessary condition for proper functioning of the civilization.

The majority of the scientists call Aeschylus' ideology 'Misogynism', because in *Oresteia* a woman is mainly connected with wildness, negative phenomenon, and thus, woman's subordinate position upon the men is justifiable.

With his attitude towards women Sophocles was clearly progressive in his epoch, as he made women equal to men on a personal level. He believed that when it is a question of protecting high values there couldn't be difference between the sexes. Euripides continuously proved the necessity of both sexes' values for the family and the society. He believed that the unity of these values is an important factor to reach the harmony. Revolutionary-minded and innovative dramatist also looked doubtfully to the basic opposition – nature x culture and supported the tendency that discussed the members of the opposition not as the opposite sides, but as the elements acting in coordination.

Finally, while discussing the relations between literary and social contexts, we can declare the following: on the one hand, the tragedy follows

cultural norms. Besides, it completely deals with the social changes of the end of the V century BC, namely, with the concentration of attention on the private space. Thus, the tragedy contributes to the creation of the new cultural clichés. Double process - the influence of the tragedy on social life and vice versa once more proves, that for the investigation of the processes taking place in both spheres it is rather important to search the ways of their interrelation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

NANA TONIA

ANCIENT WORLD POETESSES, LOGOS 2008, 320p.

Issues, related to works of women of ancient civilization are discussed in the book; namely: what caused the complete degradation of women poetry at such stage of public development where woman is emancipated enough; why do not women' poetic works reflect the diversity of genres that is characteristic to ancient literature. Generally, can we talk about originality of women' works?

ANTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT LITERATURE (I-II, GREECE), LOGOS 2008, I: 681p.; II: 439p. (Compilation, Introduction and Commentaries by NANA TONIA)

The collection embraces the best monuments of Greek and Roman belles-lettres in two parts. The first part that covers the ancient Greek literature is presented in two books. The first book compiles Hellenistic poetry (VIII-V centuries BC), the second one - Hellenistic prose, Greek-language literature of Hellenism and Roman dominion (IV century BC - V century AD). The authors' texts are accompanied by prefaces and commentaries. Short glossaries of mythological and geographic names are attached to each part. Translations are performed by well-known Georgian translators and the staff of TSU Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.

TINATIN GIORGOBIANI

OLD GREEK-GEORGIAN DICTIONARY, LOGOS 2008, 468p.

Old Greek-Georgian Dictionary contains about 17 000 words. Lexical materials of Greek authors (Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Xenophon), as well as texts of New Testament are presented in the book. Grammatical materials are attached to the book - general characteristics of Attic, Koine and Ionic dialects.

The dictionary was printed by the support of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus.

OVIDIUS, HEROIDES, LOGOS 2008, 197p.

(Translation, Introduction, Commentaries by *IAMZE GAGUA*)

It is the first translation of *Heroides* in Georgian. The translation is prefaced by an introduction that reviews life and works of Ovidius. An introducto-

ry part, commentaries and references to proper names are attached to the book.

ΜΑΡΙΑΝΝΑ ΚΟΡΟΜΗΛΑ

ΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΣΤΗ ΜΑΥΡΗ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ, ΛΟΓΟΣ 2008, 478σ. (μετάφραση από τα νεοελληνικά στα γεωργιανά: *Μήδεια Αμπουλασβίλι, Μήδεια Μετρεβελι, Κετεβάν Τσιντσάτζε*)

βιβλίο της Μαριάννας Κορομηλά, γνωστής Ελληνίδας συγγραφέως και ιστορικού, που αφορά στις σχέσεις των Ελλήνων με τον Εύξεινο Πόντο, έως τώρα υπήρχε μόνο στην ελληνική και την αγγλική γλώσσα. Δεδομένου ότι η πρώτη επαφές των Ελλήνων με τον Εύξεινο Πόντο ξεκίνησαν από τη Γεωργία ήταν λογική η ιδέα να μεταφραστεί το βιβλίο στα γεωργιανά. Η μετάφραση και η έκδοση του εν λόγω βιβλίου πραγματοποιήθηκε με την ευγενική χορηγία του Ιδρύματος *Σταύρος Νιάρχος*. Το σχετικό σχέδιο εγκρίθηκε από το Ίδρυμα με σημείωμα *υψηλού ελληνικού εθνικού ενδιαφέροντος*.

SVETLANA BERIKASHVILI

THE PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION OF THE DECLENSION SYSTEM IN ANCIENT AND MODERN GREEK, LOGOS 2008, 196p.

The present monograph examines in detail all classifications of the declension system in different historical periods of Greek language, from Antiquity till today. Since Antiquity the classification of the declension system in Greek language has been essentially changed. Initially the classification of the declension system in Ancient Greek was based on the so-called linguistic principle i.e. on stem endings of nouns. Later in Modern Greek it was associated with the grammatical category of gender i.e. the linguistic principle of classification has been changed to the mnemotechnical one. Nowadays, the issues concerning the classification of declension system in different periods of Greek language are relevant not only for Greek, but also for general diachronic linguistics as well. This problem attracts scholars' intense interest all over the world. The book is the first attempt within the framework of Georgian linguistics to investigate the classification of the declension system in different periods of Greek language, the changes in the declension and case systems and the criteria for choosing the right principle while classifying declension system.

The research represents and assesses theoretical-linguistic opinions associated with the declension system in Greek. Considering the existing classifications based on different principles via the comparative and experi-

mental analysis the author proposed an alternative classification of Modern Greek declension system based on the linguistic principle, i.e. on the stem endings of nouns. As for the case system, there is made an assumption that the language during its historical development returns to its initial form caused by the simplification tendency. This assumption is based on the changing of case system in Indo-European languages, particularly in Greek.

The research mostly focuses on the following issues: 1) the critical assessment of the professional-linguistic or other theories associated with linguistics since Antiquity; 2) the study of the modern linguistic condition in Greek and identification of all developing tendencies regarding the declension system; 3) the systematization of materials related with the declension system in Greek, the representation of different classifications existing in linguistics and their comparative analysis; 4) the historical development of case system and the tendency of its unification in Greek language, as Indo-European one; 5) the comparative analysis of the classifications of the declension system based on different principles, identification of the main principle while classifying the declension system and determining of the most acceptable version of the classifications.

The present research gives an opportunity to individuals interested in Greek linguistics to build an impression on some issues of Greek grammatical thought. The conclusions made in the book can be helpful during the study of Greek language, especially of the declension system. The research can be used as a textbook in different educational institutions to provide teaching of Greek grammar as well as several issues regarding the declension system in Greek. The conclusions provided in the book can be included in the educational course of Greek linguistics.

ANNIVERSARY

A SESSION DEDICATED TO THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY OF AKAKI URUSHADZE

On October 27, 2008 the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies hosted an event, dedicated to 90th anniversary of distinguished Georgina scientist prof. Akaki Urushadze.

Prof. Rismag Gordeziani - the director of the Institute opened the scientific session. The following papers were presented: 'Antiquity in the Epoch of Destruction of Traditions' by N. Tonia, 'Once again about Language and Style' by T. Giorgobiani, 'War and Justice by Virgil and Cicero' by I. Gagua, 'Glyptic Monuments of Gonio-Apsaros' by M. Mshildadze, Sh. Mamuladze, 'Grigol Noseli in Old Georgian Tradition' by T. Dolidze, T. Kochlamazishvili, 'For Heavenly and Earthly Hierarchy' by G. Koplatadze. Akaki Urushadze was recalled by N. Lomouri, E. Khintibidze, T. Dolidze and V. Asatiani.

Prof. Urushadze was born in 1918 and passed away in 1989. Since 1943 he had been working at classical philology chair first as a post-graduate, then as an assistant-professor and professor. Since 1968 he had been chairing classical philology chair till his death.

He defended a dissertation in 1946 on the topic: 'Apolonius Rhodius and his Argonautica' for gaining scientific degree of a candidate of science. Later, 1948, the thesis was published as a book. In 1964 Akaki Urushadze defended his dissertation: 'Old Colchis in the Argonaut Legend' for gaining scientific degree of a doctor of science. The thesis was published as a book in 1964.

The problems of Urushadze's scientific research are comprehensive and diverse: Notes of ancient authors about Georgia, Greek-Roman Literature and Mythology, Issues of Classical Linguistics, Translation of Ancient authors and critical publications, Byzantine-Georgian literature relations.

Valeri Asatiani

† Δημήτρης Γλάρος (1938-2008)

Η είδηση του θανάτου του Δημήτρη Γλάρου προκάλεσε μεγάλη λύπη ανάμεσα στους συναδέλφους και τους φοιτητές του Ινστιτούτου μας. Ο κύριος Γλάρος ήταν επιστήμονας μεγάλων διαστάσεων ο οποίος στήριζε με κάθε μέσο όχι μόνο τους συμπατριώτες του αλλά και πολλούς άλλους σε πολλές χώρες του κόσμου. Ήταν σημαντική η βοήθειά του προς το Κρατικό Πανεπιστήμιο της Τιφλίδας και, πιο συγκεκριμένα, στο Ινστιτούτο μας. Είχε συμβάλλει αποφασιστικά στην επιτυχή λειτουργία του Προγράμματος Η Ελληνική Γλώσσα στα Γεωργιανά σχολεία. Επίσης, συμμετείχε ενεργά στη διοργάνωση του μεγάλου διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ο Ελληνισμός στο μεταίχμιο των χιλιετιών. Ο κύριος Γλάρος στήριξε σημαντικά τη βελτίωση της εκδοτικής δραστηριότητας του Ινστιτούτου μας. Οι συνεργάτες του περιοδικού Φάσις εκφράζουμε τα βαθιά μας συλλυπητήρια για το θάνατο του μεγάλου μας φίλου και δημοσιεύουμε ένα ειδικό αφιέρωμα που αναδεικνύει την πολύπλευρη δράση του Δημήτρη Γλάρου.

Έχει ειπωθεί στο παρελθόν πως κάθε θάνατος αποτελεί ένα σκάνδαλο. Όμως στην περίπτωση του Δημήτρη Γλάρου, ο θάνατός του είναι απλά απαράδεκτος: άνθρωποι σαν αυτόν δεν έχουν δικαίωμα να πεθαίνουν.

Παρ' όλο που η ασθένειά του τον τελευταίο καιρό δεν άφηνε περιθώρια αμφιβολίας για την εξέλιξή της ή την κατάληξη, κανείς από όσους είχαν το προνόμιο να τον γνωρίσουν ή να συνεργαστούν μαζί του δεν ήθελε να πιστέψει την είδηση. Κι αυτό κάνει αφόρητο το αναπόδραστο χρέος όποιου οφείλει να αντιμετωπίσει την λευκή σελίδα, που αναμένει το αφιέρωμα: την αποτίμηση μέσα σε λίγες γραμμές μιας ζωής που υπήρξε πλούσια για τον ίδιο, και ανεκτίμητη για όσους τον συνάντησαν.

Το βιογραφικό του υπήρξε τόσο πλούσιο, που ακόμα και μια περιληψή του θα καταλάμβανε πολλές σελίδες. Επιστήμονας, καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου, Πρύτανης, Πρόεδρος και Διευθυντής αμέτρητων Δημόσιων ή Κοινοφελών οργανισμών. Εκείνος όμως ήταν που με την προσωπικότητά του προσέδιδε κύρος και σημασία στα αξιώματα και τις θέσεις που του ανατέθηκαν - ποτέ το αντίθετο. Την εποχή που στη χώρα μου η έννοια του δημόσιου λειτουργού έχει καταρρακωθεί και πέσει σε ανυποληψία, ο Δημήτρης Γλάρος παρέμεινε σεβαστός σε όλους για το ήθος και τη μοναδική αποτελεσματικότητά του. Κι ενώ στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα οι θέσεις εξουσίας αποτελούν εφελύχια πλουτισμού, ο Δημήτρης Γλάρος, πιστός στην παράδοση των αρχαίων προγόνων μας, ξεχασμένων ως παράδειγμα όσο συχνά κι αν μνημονεύονται, δεν δίστασε να επενδύσει ακόμα και την προσωπική του περιουσία στο κοινό καλό, όποτε αυτό χρειάστηκε.

Η μεγαλύτερη ίσως αρετή του Δημήτρη Γλάρου υπήρξε η ικανότητά του να συσπειρώνει γύρω του ανθρώπους με αξία και ευαισθησίες, και να τους καθοδηγεί στο να αποδώσουν το μέγιστο των δυνατοτήτων τους υπέρ της γνώσης, της ενίσχυσης των αδυνάτων, των οικονομικά ασθενέστερων, των αδικημένων. Δεν πέρασα ποτέ από το γραφείο του χωρίς να γνωρίσω εκεί ανθρώπους που να είχαν ανάγκη από κάτι:ας έφερνε κοντά, μας ρωτούσε αν μπορούμε να συνεργαστούμε. Μας διδασκε να είμαστε αποτελεσματικοί, να υποσχόμαστε λιγότερα και να κάνουμε περισσότερα, έτσι ώστε να μην χάνουμε την αξιοπιστία μας σε όσους περίμεναν από μας βοήθεια.

Ανεκτίμητη και η προσφορά του στη διδασκαλία και τη διάδοση της Ελληνικής γλώσσας, που τόσο αγάπησε, στα πέρατα του κόσμου. Μέχρι την τελευταία στιγμή κατάρτωνε σχέδια γι αυτό το σκοπό, συζητούσε και ονειρευόταν, χωρίς ποτέ να παραλείπει να αναφέρει τους συνοδοιπόρους του στις άλλες χώρες: δεν υπήρξε περίπτωση που να μην τον άκουσα να μιλά για τον ομηριστή καθηγητή Γκορντεζιάνι από την Τιφλίδα της Γεωργίας, και τον πρότανη Μπαλαμπάνοφ από τη Μαριούπολη της Ουκρανίας.

Εξεχωριστό προτέρημα του Δημήτρη Γλάρου υπήρξε και η επιλογή του να είναι καλόπιστος. Δεν ήταν διόλου αφελής. Απλά δεν ήθελε να μολυνθεί από την καχυποψία, αλλά να διατηρήσει την πίστη του στις θεμελιώδεις ανθρώπινες αρετές. Χαιρόταν όταν οι άνθρωποι τον επιβεβαίωναν, χωρίς να αγανακτεί όταν τον διέψευδαν. Δεν τον αγιογραφώ. Άνθρωπος ήταν. Πατέρας για τα παιδιά του και σύντροφος για τη Σοφία. Αγαπούσε τα ταξίδια, το καλό φαγητό, το κρασί και το ούζο, τη συντροφιά των φίλων και την ομορφιά των γυναικών.

Αυτά που ο Δημήτρης Γλάρος χάρισε σε μένα είναι πολλά. Πάνω από όλα τοποθετώ τη συμβουλή του να μην πτοούμαι όταν οι άλλοι με θεωρούν γραφικό όταν κάνω κάτι χωρίς να περιμένω προσωπικά οφέλη, μόνο από διάθεση προσφοράς. Να μην διστάζω να πάω κόντρα στο ρεύμα. Όπως όλοι μας, δεν είχα παρά να ακολουθήσω το παράδειγμά του. Αν μπορούσα.

Αυτός είναι ο λόγος που όλοι όσοι τον συνοδεύσαμε στην έξοδο του από τη ζωή – οι φίλοι του από την Ελλάδα, γιατί πολλοί άλλοι, όσο κι αν θα το ήθελαν, ήταν δυστυχώς μακριά – κοιταζόμασταν σαν χαμένοι κι αναρωτιόμασταν πώς θα μπορέσουμε να συνεχίσουμε το δρόμο του. Πώς θα μπορέσουμε να κάνουμε τόσα πολλά, τόσα όσα πρέπει, μέσα σε μια ζωή σύντομη όπως είναι η ανθρώπινη, όπως μπόρεσε εκείνος. Δεν ξέρουμε από πού ν' αρχίσουμε. Καλή μας δύναμη, και συλλυπητήρια. Σε όλους μας.

Γιώργος Βουδικλάρης