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EDITORIAL NOTE

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Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
13 Chavchavadze ave., 0179 Tbilisi, Georgia
Tel.: (+995 32) 2 22 11 81
Fax: (+995 32) 2 22 11 81
E-mail: phasis@greekstudies-tsu.ge
WebPage: www.greekstudies-tsu.ge

CONTENTS

Part I

Lela Alexidze (Tbilisi) Orphische Theogonie und platonische Kosmologie in den Prokloskommentaren	9
Irine Darchia (Tbilisi) For Symbolic Interpretation of Some Passages of Plato's <i>Phaedo</i>	27
Levan Gordeziani (Tbilisi) To the Interpretation of CTU A 3-4	31
Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi) The Colchians in the Adriatic - Poetic Imagination or a Historical Fact	42
Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi) The Tradition of Foster Adoption in Ancient Mediterranean Area and Georgia	55
Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi) The Myth of Apsyrtos in the Ancient Sources	60
Manana Pkhakadze, Raul Chagunava (Tbilisi) The Myth of Argonauts and Colchian Method of Gold Production	73
Robert Schmitt-Brandt (Heidelberg) Berge, Türme und Tempel in altorientalischen und mediterranen Kulturen	80
Irene Tatišvili (Tbilisi) Traces of Hattian Syntax in Some Hittite Ritual Expressions?	87
Rusudan Tsanova (Tbilisi) Some Religious Aspects in pre-Christian Georgia	95
Part II	
Medea Abulashvili (Tbilisi) Some Remarks on the Genesis of Greek and Georgian non-Ritual Songs	115
Tamar Aptsiauri (Tbilisi) The Theory of ἀποκατάστασις in <i>The Life of Moses</i> by Gregory of Nyssa	124

Svetlana Berikashvili (Tbilisi) Συντακτικά στοιχεία της αντιπαραβολικής ανάλυσης Ελληνικής και Γεωργιανής	131
Rusudan Burjanadze (Tbilisi) Antiquity in Modern Georgian Literature	140
Irine Chogoshvili (Tbilisi) The Language of Gods and the Use of Foreign Words with Homer	147
Lela Chotalishvili (Tbilisi) Minoan sa-ra ₂ and Mycenaean Texts	155
Maia Danelia (Tbilisi) Zur Aktualisierung der kaukasischen Thematik von Apollonios Rhodios bis Valerius Flaccus	163
Irine Darchia (Tbilisi) Greek Mani and Georgian Svaneti	173
Μαρία Δημάση, Ιλόνια Μανελίδου (Κομοτηνή) Λογοτεχνικές μεταφράσεις του έργου του Ακάκι Τσερετέλι στην ελληνική γλώσσα και διαπολιτισμικός διάλογος. Το αυτοαναφορικό στοιχείο ως σχόλιο διακειμενικότητας στην ανάγνωση ποιήματος του Τσερετέλι και του Οδυσσέα Ελύτη	182
Tina Dolidze (Tbilisi) Christliches und Hellenisches in der Epistemologie des Origenes	196
Tea Dularidze (Tbilisi) The Institution of Envoys with Homer – Origin of Diplomacy in Antiquity	212
Iamze Gagua (Tbilisi) Moral Code of Epic Heroes	219
Ketevan Gardapkhadze (Tbilisi) Greek Symbols in Galaktion Tabidze's Poetic Language	228
Manana Garibashvili (Tbilisi) Ancient Motifs in the Works of Georgian Symbolists	235
Tinatini Giorgobiani (Tbilisi) Some Aspects of Greek-Georgian Cultural Dialogue	246
Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi) Greek Factor in the Formation of the Opposition Europe/ Asia	252

Victoria Jugeli (Tbilisi) The Georgian <i>Life of Julian-Saba</i> (cod. <i>Sin. Georg. 6</i>) and its Greek and Syriac sources (<i>Historia Philothea</i> by Theodoret of Cyrus)	260
Maya Kakashvili (Tbilisi) Αλληγορία Αγίας	273
Zaza Khintibidze (Tbilisi) Greek-Georgian Cultural and Literary Dialogue: Plato, Aristotle, Rustaveli	277
Ekaterina Kiria (Tbilisi) Pneumatological Research according to the Third Homily of <i>De oratione Dominica</i> of Gregory of Nyssa	282
Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi) Hegeleus the Tyrsenian in Corinth and Demaratus the Corinthian in Tyrsenia	291
Gvantsa Koplatadze (Tbilisi) Phenomenon of Love in <i>Symposium</i> by Plato and <i>Symposium</i> by Methodius of Patara	297
Magda Mchedlidze (Tbilisi) On the History of the Term <i>mAnij</i>	315
Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi) Medea in the Context of the East/West Relationships	327
Dali Nadibaidze (Tbilisi) Minoan Art and the Role of Greek and Roman Culture in the Formation of Christian Art	335
Sandro Nikolaishvili (Tbilisi) Byzantine Imperial Ideology and Political Thinking: Model for the 12 th century Georgian Kingship	346
Ketevan Nizharadze (Tbilisi) The Phenomenon of Epiphraisis in Ancient Greek Literature and Its Paradigmatic Nature for the Post-Antique Literature	354
Manana Pkhakadze, Raul Chagunava (Tbilisi) Medea and <i>The Description of Megrelia</i> by Arcangelo Lamberti	366
Maia Shukhoshvili (Tbilisi) For Ancient and Modern Meaning of Liberal Education	375

Tamar Tarkhnishvili (Tbilisi) The Popular Assembly in Greece and Georgia's Highlands	379
Nana Tonia (Tbilisi) Time and Poetesses	386
Ana Tsanova (Tbilisi) <i>Orestes</i> by Euripides and Modern Conceptions of Thrillers	394
Rusudan Tsanova (Tbilisi) Odysseus: A Modern Discourse of an Epic Hero	400
Giorgi Ugulava (Tbilisi) Idee der Utopie in altgriechischer Literatur und ihre modernen Rezeptionen	408
Εμμανουήλ Βαρβούνης (Κομοτηνή) Η Ελληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης: Ζητήματα Πολιτισμικού Διαλόγου στη Θρησκευτική Λαογραφία	417
Maria Vergeti (Komotini) Waves of Immigration of Greeks from the Former Soviet Union in the 20 th century	436
Ana Zhorzholiani (Tbilisi) Some Aspects of the Manipulation of Public Relations in Ancient Greece and Contemporaneity	443
Books in Georgian	447
Short Versions	
Notices of Books	455
Editions of the Publishing House Logos. Catalogue 2010-2011	458
Anniversary	460

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Part I

Lela Alexidze (Tbilisi)

ORPHISCHE THEOGONIE UND PLATONISCHE KOSMOLOGIE IN DEN PROKLOSKOMMENTAREN

Orpheus und alles Orphische – die mythische Person, die religiöse-philosophische Lehre¹ und die orphische Dichtung waren Themen der Literatur, Philosophie und Kunst, vom 6. Jhr. v. Chr.² bis zur Gegenwart, zumindest bis zur 1. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, ich nenne z. B. M. Zvetaeva³, J. Cocteau⁴, R. M. Rilke,⁵ G. Marcel.⁶ Die am meisten auffallende

¹ Die orphische Lehre musste in den orphischen Sekten gelehrt und praktiziert werden. Es gibt aber Meinungsverschiedenheit, ob diese tatsächlich existierten: im Gegensatz zu Martin L. West behauptet Luc Brisson, die Antwort solle negativ sein. L. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*. Aldeshot, Variorum 1995, p. 7. Weiter zitiert: *Brisson, Orphée*.

² Dazu gehört: die Darstellung des Orpheus mit den Argonauten auf der Metope in Delphos (s. R. Böhme. *Orpheus. Der Sänger und seine Zeit*. München 1970, p. 14-18), sowie seine Erwähnung bei Ibykos. O. Kern. *Orphicorum fragmenta*, Berolini 1922, Test. 2. Weiter zitiert: *Orph. fr. Kern*.

³ “Не надо Орфею сходить к Эвридике,/и братьям тревожить сестер!” – („Orpheus soll nicht zu Eurydike heruntersteigen,/Und die Brüder sollen nicht die Schwester belasten“), schrieb Marina Zvetaeva (nicht ohne Einfluss Rilkes) in ihrem Gedicht „Эвридика – Орфею“ („Eurydike – an Orpheus“). Eurydike ist diejenige, die zurückkehren nicht will, und das ist der Grund bei Zvetaeva, weshalb Orpheus sie nicht hinausholen kann. Solches „Nicht-Wollen“ Eurydikes wurde von Rainer Maria Rilke in seinem Gedicht „Orpheus. Eurydike. Hermes“ ausgedrückt. Eurydike ist „so voll mit ihrem großen Tode“, dass sie es einfach nicht mehr braucht, zurückzukehren. Ihre Zufriedenheit mit dem Tod ist so groß, dass die Kluft zwischen Leben und Tod nicht mehr zu überwinden ist. Später aber wurde diese Einheit der beiden Welten in den „Sonetten an Orpheus“ und in den „Duineser Elegien“ erreicht.

⁴ Jean Cocteau hat nicht nur das Theaterstück über Orpheus geschrieben, sondern auch den Film gedreht.

⁵ “Orpheus. Eurydike. Hermes“, “Die Sonette an Orpheus“.

⁶ *Gabriel Marcel*, Rilke, *Témoignage du spirituel*. – in: G. Marcel, *Homo viator*, Paris 1944.

Eigenschaft des Orpheus war – neben der Schönheit seines Gesanges – seine Fähigkeit, Vermittler zu sein zwischen den verschiedenen Sphären des Seins sowie verschiedenen Formen der Kultur. Im Mythos und in der Literatur war er, wie Hermes, Begleiter der Seelen von einer Welt in die andere. Durch die Seelenwanderung stellte er den Kontakt zwischen Menschen und Natur her. Durch seinen Gesang und sein Kitharaspield wirkte Orpheus auf Tiere, Pflanzen, und sogar Steine konnte er in Bewegung bringen. Im Neuplatonismus (insbesondere bei Proklos, aber auch z. B. bei Damaskios⁷) diente mythologischer Inhalt orphischer Gedichte zur Analogie der philosophischen Begriffe, zum Beweis und zur Illustration der Lehre Platons. Im Frühchristentum und im Mittelalter wurde Orpheus auch als Christus oder David dargestellt, auch in der jüdischen Kunst – als David.⁸ Er erschien auch als einer von denjenigen antiken Denkern (Aglaophamos, Pythagoras, Hermes Trismegistos, Platon), die den Weg zur christlichen Philosophie bereiteten; so wurde er von Marcilio Ficino aufgefaßt,⁹ und etwa so wurde er vom georgischen Neuplatoniker Ioane Petrizi angesehen. Bei R. M. Rilke und G. Marcel wurde Orpheus zum Symbol des Zusammenhangs zwischen Leben und Tod, zwischen Mensch und Natur. Er stellte die Persönlichkeit des Menschen wieder her (G. Marcel) und hob die Entfernung des Menschen gegenüber der Welt sowie gegenüber sich selbst auf. Durch sein Leben und seine Wirkung (Gesang, Musik, Dichtung) trug Orpheus zur Teilnahme des Menschen am Sein, zu seinem Übergang in das Andere bei. Er ist zum Symbol der wiederhergestellten Harmonie, der Einheit mit dem Kosmos und der Ganzheit geworden. Ob Orpheus auch heute eine neue Rolle im Geistesleben der Menschen spielen kann, ist eine offene Frage.¹⁰

Es musste im Orphischen etwas geben, was es möglich machte Elemente der Mythologie, der Literatur und des religiösen-philosophischen Denkens aus verschiedenen Epochen unter einem Begriff –

⁷ Für Damaskios s. L. Brisson, *Damascius et l'Orphisme*. – in: *Orphisme et Orphée*. En honneur de Jean Rudhardt. Textes réunis et édités par Philippe Borgeaud. Recherches et rencontres 3. Genève: Librairie Droz S. A. 1991, p. 157-209.

⁸ Für Orpheus im Mittelalter und Renaissance s. J. B. Freedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge 1980, und "Orpheus. The Metamorphosis of a Myth", ed. by J. Wardle, Toronto 1982. S. u. a. auch *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. VII, 1. Artemis Verlag, Zürich-München, p. 96-97.

⁹ E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Decline and Fall of the Neoplatonic Interpretation of Plato*. Helsinki 1974, p. 18.

¹⁰ Ich bedanke mich sehr bei Ina Ranson für ihre großzügige Hilfe bei der Überarbeitung dieses Artikels.

„Orpheus“ (oder „Orphismus“ und „Orphisches“) unterzubringen. Dies könnte, denke ich, folgendes sein: (1) Zusammenhang des Lebens und Todes im Mythos über Orpheus sowie im Orphismus; (2) Appolonisches und Dionysisches im Mythos sowie im Orphismus; (3) Seelenwanderung. Für die Kenntnis des „realen“ Orpheus und des Orphismus spielt diese Frage des möglichen Zusammenhangs fast keine Rolle. Das Orphische aber ist nicht nur das was es wirklich war, sondern auch das wie es akzeptiert und interpretiert wurde. Und im Blick auf Orpheus bzw. Orphisches ist seine Wirkungsgeschichte – sein Weiterleben im Denken der anderen nicht weniger wichtig als sein reales – uns weniger bekanntes Leben. Das ist der Fall, wenn „die Spur also, so George Duby, *um ihrer selbst willen* zu untersuchen ist“.¹¹

Niemand hat über das Orphische so viel und vielleicht auch mit solchem Enthusiasmus geschrieben wie Proklos, zumindest zeigen dies die bis heute erhaltenen Quellen. Wir werden hier jene Fragen der orphischen Kosmologie behandeln, die Proklos so interpretiert hat, dass sie zur Illustration des Zusammenhangs zwischen dem kosmischen Modell (*paradeigma, autozoon*) und dem Demiurgen Platons dienen.

In den zahlreichen Werken über Orphismus wurden immer das Orphische betreffende Texte des Proklos angegeben. Aber das Interesse des Proklos selbst, die Motive die ihn orphische Texte zitieren ließen, blieben meistens unbehandelt. Andererseits wurde in der Literatur über Proklos auch das Orphische besprochen, aber nicht gründlich genug, um eine ausreichende Vorstellung über die Bedeutung des Orphischen für die Philosophie des Proklos gewinnen zu können. 1987 erschien das Werk von Luc Brisson, das diese Lücke in der Orphismusforschung vollständig gefüllt hat.¹² Im selben Jahr wurde meine Dissertationsschrift an der Universität Tbilissi vorgelegt, mit dem Titel: „Orphismus in der neup-

¹¹ „Wir sind allmählich zur Überzeugung gekommen, dass die „Tatsache“, das, was sich ‚wirklich‘ ereignet hat, die ‚wirklichen‘ Lebensbedingungen einer Epoche uns immer entgehen werden, dass wir uns ihnen nur durch einen verzerenden Schleier hindurch nähern können: durch die ‚Quellen‘, die von ihnen berichten. Und dies veranlasst uns, unseren Blick auf die Art und Weise zu richten, auf die die Ereignisse weitererzählt wurden. Die Spur also *um ihrer selbst willen* zu untersuchen“. *Georges Duby – Guy Lardreau*, Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft. Dialoge. Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft. Frankfurt am Main 1982, p. 83.

¹² *Luc Brisson*, Proclus et l’Orphisme. – in: Proclus – lecteur et interprète des Anciens. Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Paris 2-4 octobre, publiés par Jean Pepin et Henri-Dominique Saffrey. Editions du CNRS, Paris 1987, p. 43-109. Weiter zitiert: *Brisson*, Proclus et l’Orphisme.

latonischen Philosophie: Timaioskommentare des Proklos“ (auf russisch). Über das Werk Brissons wusste ich damals leider gar nichts. Nur 1990, nach meiner Ankunft in Deutschland (Göttingen) bekam ich die Möglichkeit, es kennenzulernen. Vieles in unseren Arbeiten stimmte überein. Seitdem gab es soweit ich weiß kaum etwas wesentlich Neues in der proklischen Orphismuskforschung. Es wäre sinnlos die seit der Publikation von Brisson schon gut bekannte Struktur der proklischen Interpretation der orphischen Texte zu wiederholen. Daher werde ich hier nur diejenigen Aspekte behandeln, die auch vom Gesichtspunkt der Philosophie des Proklos aus besonders wichtig sind. Darunter verstehe ich u.a. den Zusammenhang zwischen dem Objekt der Erkenntnis (*noeton*) und dem Erkennenden (*noeron*), d.h. zwischen dem Autozoon und dem Demiurgen, oder – orphisch gesagt – zwischen Phanes und Zeus. Die Interpretation dieses Zusammenhangs reflektierte auch im christlichen Platonismus die Verhältnisse zwischen den Ideen und dem Schöpfer, und – indirekt – zwischen diesen beiden und der sinnlichen Welt. Ein Aspekt davon – nämlich, das Verhältnis zwischen Ideen (Unkörperlichem) und Körperlichem wurde in den Kommentaren Petrizis zur „Elementatio Theologica“ des Proklos analysiert (Kapitel 41).¹³

Für die Orpheusforschung sind die Timaioskommentare des Proklos besonders aufschlussreich. Eben in diesem Text wird Orpheus am häufigsten erwähnt. Für Proklos war Orpheus, genauso wie Homer, Hesiod und der Verfasser der chaldäischen Orakeln, ein „Theologe“, weil er über das Göttliche schrieb und befasste sich mit denselben Themen, die in den Werken von Platon behandelt wurden, nur seine Form der Auslegung war andere.¹⁴ Die orphische Form der Auslegung war, so Proklos, symbolisch und mythisch, im Unterschied zu der Auslegungsform von Platon, die dialektisch und wissenschaftlich war. Dabei gab Proklos zu, dass selbst Platon manchmal Mythen schrieb. Die mythologische Form aber musste an sich gut und mit dem göttlichen Sein verbunden sein.¹⁵ Und obwohl Proklos glaubte, dass die orphischen Mythen in sich die

¹³ Ausführlich s. L. Alexidze, Ioane Petrizi und die antike Philosophie, Tbilisi 2008 (auf Georgisch, Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch), p. 17-39; 318-325. Weiter zitiert: Alexidze, Ioane Petrizi und die antike Philosophie.

¹⁴ Vgl. u. a. Brisson, Orphée, p. 70: „Proclus à la suite de Jamblique à tout le moins, considérait que la doctrine de Platon était une doctrine théologique“.

¹⁵ Proclus, Théologie platonicienne. Texte établi et traduit par H. D. Saffrey et L. G. Westerink. Paris, t. I (1968), t. II (1974), t. III (1978), t. IV (1981), t. V (1987), t. VI (1997). Weiter zitiert: Procl. Theol. Plat. Saffrey – Westerink. Hier: Procl. Theol. Plat. I 4, 6, p. 21, 29 Saffrey – Westerink.

göttliche Wahrheit enthielten, musste er wohl wissen, dass die orphische Literatur an sich keine reine „Wissenschaft“ und Philosophie war. Auch das müsste der Grund dafür sein, dass Proklos, obwohl er die Ähnlichkeit zwischen platonischer und orphischer Theologie betonte, sowie den Gebrauch der mythologischen Form der Auslegung bei Platon anerkannte, immerhin schrieb, dass die Eigenheit der platonischen Philosophie die wissenschaftliche Auslegung war.¹⁶

Dabei gab Proklos im Timaioskommentar zu, dass Platon sich manchmal in Symbolen und Enigmen ausdrückte.¹⁷ Proklos unterschied wesentlich zwei Zugänge zur Ausdrucksform des Sinnes: den mythologischen und den rationalen, und er ließ nicht zu, dass der rationale Zugang von einem mythologischen überschattet würde. Da die Götter unbewegt und unveränderlich seien, dürfe man jene Mythen, die das Gegenteil behaupten, nicht beachten, auch nicht, wenn diese von Platon stammen: man solle immer Rücksicht darauf nehmen, dass solche Mythen nur zum Zweck der symbolischen Didaskalie erfunden worden seien.¹⁸ Irgendwie musste Proklos zeigen, dass Platon trotz allem „größer“ als Orpheus sei, sogar wenn Platon sein Anhänger (*zelotes*) war,¹⁹ sonst wäre Orpheus genauso „groß“ wie Platon, dies müsste aber im Grunde genommen den Absichten Proklos widersprechen. Anscheinend konnte Platon „*zelotes*“ des großen alten Dichters Orpheus sein, aber nur wenn es um seine Dichtung, nicht, wenn es um die philosophischen Aspekten ging. Vielleicht ist dies der Grund, weshalb Proklos immer Beispiele aus orphischen Texten anführte; fast nie hat er den philosophischen (theologischen) Sinn seiner Texte geschildert, ohne sie durch Zitate zu belegen. Genauso verfuhrten auch die anderen Neuplatoniker. Sie schrieben Orpheus praktisch keinen philosophischen Gedanken zu, ohne entsprechende Texte aus der orphischen Dichtung anzuführen – aus einer Dichtung, die an sich – d.h. ohne philosophische Auslegung – eher Mythopoesie (Theogonie) als Philosophie oder Theologie war. Ohne die große Anzahl der orphischen Zitate wäre es unmöglich, bei Proklos

¹⁶ Siehe Procl. Theol. Plat. 1, 4; t. I, p. 20 Saffrey -Westerink.

¹⁷ *Proclus Diadochus*, in *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, ed. H. Diehl, Leipzig, t. I (1903), t. II (1904), t. III (1906). Weiter zitiert: Procl. in Tim. Diehl. Hier: Procl. in Tim. I 132, 21 Diehl.

¹⁸ L. J. Rosán, *The Philosophy of Proclus. The Final Phase of Ancient Thought*. N. Y. „Cosmos“ 1949, p. 133, n. 13 (weiter zitiert: *Rosán*). Dabei werden die entsprechenden Zitate aus der „Platonischen Theologie“ angeführt.

¹⁹ Procl. in Tim. I 187, 12 Diehl.

inmitten der proklischen Interpretation das Originalorphanische (d.h. Nicht-proklische) herauszufinden.

Laut der von Proklos wiedergegebenen Ansicht des Iamblichos, sei die Lehre Platons hauptsächlich in zweien seiner Dialoge ausgedrückt: im „Timaios“ und im „Parmenides“.²⁰ Im „Parmenides“ werde das Intelligible analysiert, im „Timaios“ – das Innenkosmische.²¹ Die Titel der Dialoge entsprechen dem Forschungsobjekt derjenigen Denker, die sich mit der entsprechenden philosophischen Thematik (Theologie und Physik) befassten.²² Das Sinnlich-wahrnehmbare sei nach dem Intelligiblen geschaffen: das Kosmische sei Abbild (*eikon*) des Wahrhaft-Seienden, das Wahrhaft-Seiende sei, seinerseits, Modell (*paradeigma*) für das Kosmische. Deshalb sei es möglich, diese beiden Welten – jede von ihnen – nicht nur an sich selbst, sondern auch durch die andere zu erforschen. Proklos behauptete, dass im „Parmenides“ die Untersuchung dessen, was innerhalb des Kosmos sei, so wenig vernachlässigt werde wie im „Timaios“ die Untersuchung des Intelligiblen, denn „im Intelligiblen ist das Sinnlich-wahrnehmbare paradigmatisch, im Sinnlich-wahrnehmbaren aber ist das Intelligible abbildlich (*eikonikos*).“²³ Der sinnlich wahrnehmbare Kosmos werde von dem Göttlichen „gesteuert“, er hänge von ihm ab; „Timaios also ermöglicht es, das Physische nicht nur physisch, sondern auch theologisch zu betrachten“.²⁴

Orpheus wurde von Platon „Theologe“ genannt, weil er theologische Texte verfasst hatte; in der Sprache von Symbolen und Mythen berichtete Orpheus über das Göttliche, d.h. darüber, was der Gegenstand der

²⁰ Procl. in Tim. I 13,15 Diehl. Vgl. P. Bastid, Proclus et le crépuscule de la pensée grecque. Paris, Librairie Vrin 1969, p. 34-35. Weiter zitiert: Bastid, Proclus et le crépuscule.

²¹ Procl. in Tim. I 13, 5-7 Diehl.

²² Procl. in Tim. I 13, 13 Diehl.

²³ Procl. in Tim. I 13, 7-10 Diehl.

²⁴ Procl. in Tim. I, 8, 4-5 Diehl. Ausführlicher über die proklische Methode der Kommentierung des „Timaios“ s. Procl. in Tim. I 182, 7 ff. Diehl (Aufstieg bei der Betrachtung der historischen Ereignisse zum Universum), in Tim. I 227, 2 Diehl (der Weg von der Physik zur Theologie). Eine ähnliche Methode der Interpretation vor Proklos findet man bei Iamblichos: im Dialoge „Timaios“, in dem es hauptsächlich um die Physik geht, könne man Hinweise auf das Metaphysische finden; dabei solle das Prooimion des Kommentars dem Thema (dem Ziel: *skopos*) treu bleiben, sei es Theologie (Metaphysik), Physik, Ethik oder Logik. Siehe auch K. Praechter, Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus. Genethliakon. Berlin 1910, p. 105-156 = Kleine Schriften, Hildesheim, 1973, S. 165-216, hier p. 192.

Theologie ist.²⁵ Das Thema des „Timaios“ sei Physik. Der Bereich der Physik, der der Theologie nachgeordnet ist, fange mit den himmlischen Körpern an. Physik aber scheine auch eine Art Theologie zu sein, weil das Wesen der Seienden irgendwie göttlich ist.²⁶ Auf Grund dieses Zusammenhangs zwischen Physik und Theologie zitiert Proklos Orpheus auch wenn er die innenkosmischen Probleme, die eher „lokale“ als allgemeynkosmische Bedeutung haben, kommentiert. Orphische Gedichte über göttliche Taten dienen als Beispiel für die kosmische Realität. Die auf dem Prinzip der Analogie aufgebaute Kosmologie des Proklos gibt ihm die Möglichkeit, die Probleme der Physik, die im „Timaios“ behandelt sind, mit Hilfe von orphischen „theologischen“ Texten zu illustrieren.

In der Tat aber sind die Themen und die Personen der orphischen Texte ontologisch nicht immer „höher“ zu plazieren (d.h. sie gehören nicht immer zum *noetischen* oder *hypernoetischen* Bereich) als die Themen des „Timaios“ selbst. „Höher“ sind sie, kann man so sagen, nur im ersten Buch des Kommentars, das praktisch als Einleitung zum Haupttext dient, und das mit dem Kommentar zu Tim. 27c endet. Denn im entsprechenden Teil des „Timaios“ schildert Platon eher „irdische“ (oder „historische“) als philosophische (sei es aus der Physik oder aus der Theologie) Probleme, wie z. B. die Geschichte von Athen und Atlantis. In solchen Fällen wirken die orphischen Texte als Paradigmen, d. h. sie gehören zum „höheren“ Bereich als die Themen, die Platon im entsprechenden Text behandelt. Dieser Vorzug der orphischen Themen im Verhältnis zu den Themen des „Timaios“ endet aber mit dem Ende des ersten Buchs des Timaioskommentars: ab Tim. 27c beginnen die Mitglieder des Gesprächs über den Kosmos zu reden und zwar philosophisch. Von diesem Moment an sind die orphischen mythologischen Texte eher *eikon* als *paradeigma* im Verhältnis zu dem was bei Platon geschildert ist, und dies wegen ihrer mythologischen Form. Sie lassen sich aber auch theologisch interpretieren: man könne in ihnen z. B. verschiedene Stufen des Nous, der Psyche, des Kosmos sehen, die Verhältnisse zwischen dem Ganzen und der Teile im Allgemeinen; die Götter der orphischen Mythologie können als die intelligiblen (*noetoi*) und die intellektuellen (*noeroi*) Prinzipien verstanden

²⁵ Für die Bedeutung von „Theologia“ in Zusammenhang mit dem Wort *theos* s. *Rosán*, p. 99, n. 1: Gott ist laut Proklos für alle Philosophen die erste und selbständigste Ursache von allem, und die Erforschung dieser Ursache nennen sie „Theologie“. Ähnliche Erklärung des Wortes „Theologia“ s. bei Aristoteles, *Metaphysik* VII 1026a 27-32.

²⁶ Procl. in Tim. I 217, 25-27 Diehl. S. *Rosán*, p. 99, n. 2.

werden usw. Durch die These: „Alles in Allem“ zeigt Proklos nicht nur, wie die verschiedenen Stufen der ontologischen Hierarchie zusammenhängen, nicht nur ihr „Ineinandersein“, sondern auch, wie die verschiedenen Textformen (Philosophie oder Mythologie) sich zueinander verhalten.

Der Demiurg Platons und orphischer Zeus. Dem Demiurgen, den Proklos als *nous noeros* definiert, und der dem orphischen Zeus entspricht, ist hauptsächlich das zweite Kapitel des Timaioskommentars (in Tim. 27c-31b) gewidmet, obwohl es sich auch in den anderen Teilen des Kommentars um den Demiurgen handelt.²⁷

Der Demiurg bei Proklos ist ein intellektueller Geist, der, das intelligible Paradeigma ansehend, das sinnlich wahrnehmbare Abbild (*eikon*) – unsere Welt schafft. Dem Demiurgen Platons entspricht der Zeus des Orpheus, der nach dem Hinunterschlucken des Phanes (welcher dem Autozoon entspricht) die Welt geschaffen hat; dem platonischen „Ansehen“ entspricht also das orphische „Hinunterschlucken“.²⁸

²⁷ Ausführlich mit allen Details über den Zeus des Orpheus im Zusammenhang mit dem Demiurgen Platons s. *Brisson, Proclus et l'Orphisme*, p. 61-66. Was den von Proklos berichteten Zusammenhang zwischen Orpheus und Platon angeht, „Proclus fait preuve d'une subtilité tout à fait exceptionnelle pour établir l'accord le plus complet possible entre Platon et l'Orphée des Phapsodies (p. 69) ... et que cette doctrine théologique devait s'accorder avec celle d'Orphée notammant. A chaque ordre de réalité devait donc correspondre une classe de dieux, d'être supérieurs ou même d'âmes, trouvant sa place dans une structure hiérarchique composant 13 degrés“ (p. 70). Für die intelligiblen, intelligiblen-und-intellektuellen und intellektuellen Götter bei Proklos s. p. 72-81. Für „Timaios“ und die orphische Kosmologie s. auch *A. Olerud, L'idée de Macrocosmos et de Microcosmos dans le Timée de Platon. Étude de Mythologie comparée*. Upsala 1951, p. 99-127. Für den Demiurgen bei den Neuplatonikern und bei Proklos im Einzelnen s. u. a. *F. M. Cornford, Plato's Cosmology. The Timaeus of Plato translated with a running commentary*. New York 1937, p. 99 (weiter zitiert: *Cornford, Plato's Cosmology*); *A. J. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. IV. Le Dieu inconnu et la Gnose*. Paris, Librairie Lecoffre, p. 275-292; appendice II: Le démiurge de Platon (weiter zitiert: *Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès*); *J. Pépin, Éléments pour une histoire de la relation entre l'intelligence et l'intelligible chez Platon et dans le néoplatonisme*. – in: *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* 1956, t. 146, n. 1, p. 39-64 (weiter zitiert: *Pépin, Éléments*); *W. Beierwaltes, Proklos. Grundzüge seiner Metaphysik*. Frankfurt am Main. Vittorio Klostermann, 1965, S. 134-135, 143-144, 147 (weiter zitiert: *Beierwaltes, Proklos. Grundzüge*); *L. Brisson, Le même et l'autre dans la structure ontologique du Timée de Platon. Un commentaire systématique du Timée de Platon*. Paris, éditions Klincksieck 1974, p. 64-71, 60, 242-243 (weiter zitiert: *Brisson, Le même et l'autre*); *W. Deuse, Der Demiurg bei Porphyrios und Iamblich*. – in: *Die Philosophie des Neuplatonismus*, Hrsg. C. Zintzen. Darmstadt, Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1977, p. 238-278 (weiter zitiert: *Deuse, Der Demiurg*).

²⁸ Ausführlicher darüber s. unten. Vgl. auch *Brisson, Proclus et l'Orphisme*, p. 73.

Im ersten Buch des Timaioskommentars wird von Proklos die Frage nach der Zahl der Demiurgen gestellt: wieviele sind es: einer oder drei? Im Unterschied zu Amelios und Theodoros, laut deren Auffassung drei Typen des Geistes drei Demiurgen seien, behauptete Proklos, es gebe nur einen Demiurgen. Er meinte, dass gemäß der Philosophie Platons, der Demiurg *Nous* (der Geist, der Intellekt) sei, nicht aber *Psyche* (die Seele), und *Psyche* sei *Nous* untergeordnet. Denn an der demiurgischen *Pronoia* (Vorsehung) nehme alles teil, die Wirkung der Seele aber sei nicht „universal“;²⁹ die göttliche Wirkung könne den Geist und die Götter erzeugen, die Seele aber sei unfähig etwas zu erzeugen was „höher“ ist als sie selbst.³⁰ Deswegen irre sich Porphyrios, wenn er die überhimmlische Seele den Demiurgen nennt.³¹ Was Amelios und Theodoros angeht, ihre Demiurgen seien jenseits der *Psyche*,³² und sie seien drei, was der Meinung des Proklos nach nicht ganz korrekt ist.³³

Im zweiten Buch des Timaioskommentars betrachtet Proklos die Auffassung derer, die behaupten, es gebe drei Demiurgen, und beweist, dass der Demiurg eins ist: der Kosmos ist eins, er muss also aus *einer* Ursache entstanden sein.³⁴ „Amelios behauptet, es gebe drei Typen des Geistes und des Demiurgen, genauso wie bei Platon – drei Könige, und auch drei [Götter] bei Orpheus: Phanes, Uranos, Kronos, aber der bedeutendste als Demiurg für ihn ist Phanes“.³⁵ Weiter schreibt Proklos, dass bei Platon das Eine dem Vielen immer vorausgeht, und obwohl die göttliche Zahl aus der Trias stammt, so sei doch vor der Trias Monas.

²⁹ Die *Pronoia*, die im Prinzip *vor* dem *Nous* ist, ist trotzdem die Wirkung des Demiurgen, der der *Nous* ist, gleichzeitig aber auch Gott. Für *Pronoia* s. *W. Beierwaltes*, *Pronoia und Freiheit in der Philosophie des Proklos*. – In: *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 23. Band. Freiburg – Schweiz 1976; *ders.* *Proklos. Grundzüge*, p. 149-150, 154, 200-201.

³⁰ *Procl. in Tim.* I 307, 10-12 Diehl.

³¹ *Procl. in Tim.* I 306, 32; 307, 5, 322, 1-2 Diehl.

³² *Procl. in Tim.* I 12, 1-10 Diehl. S. auch *Proclus. Commentaire sur Timée. Traduction et notes* par A. J. Festugière. T. I, livre I. Paris, Libr. Vrin 1966, p. 38-39 (weiter zitiert: *Procl. in Tim. Festugière*).

³³ Über den Demiurgen bei Plotin, Amelios, Porphyrios, Theodoros, Iamblichos, Syrianos und Proklos s. *Brisson*, *Le même et l'autre*, p. 65-69. Insbesondere über Porphyrios, Iamblichos und auch Proklos s. *Deuse*, *Der Demiurg*, p. 238-278. S. auch *Festugière*, *La révélation d'Hermès*, p. 275-292.

³⁴ *Procl. in Tim.* I 306, 20-27 Diehl.

³⁵ *Orph. fr.* 96 Kern; *Procl. in Tim.* I 306, 10-13. Amelios meinte, der bedeutendste von drei Demiurgen sei der Intelligible – derjenige, der mit dem orphischen Phanes identisch ist. *Procl. in Tim.* 306, 13-14 Diehl.

Auch die *Orphikoi* behaupteten, dass die Monas der Duas und dem Vielen – oder der Aither dem Chaos – vorausgeht.³⁶

Amelios also meinte, es gebe drei Demiurgen, die den drei Typen des Geistes entsprechen. Im vierten Buch des Kommentars kritisiert Proklos diese Meinung. Der erste Geist entspricht bei Amelios, so Proklos, dem Autozoon Platons – dem Paradeigma, der zweite – den Ideen, die sich in ihm befinden, und der dritte Geist „sieht“, d.h. er denkt den ersten. Das ist die Ansicht des Amelios, so wie Proklos sie wiedergibt. Proklos selbst behauptete, der zweite Geist unterscheide sich nicht vom ersten, weil er innerhalb des ersten sei; denn Platon schrieb, dass die Ideen sich im Autozoon befänden.³⁷

Proklos zitiert Iamblichos, der – ebenso wie Proklos – die Meinung des Porphyrios über die Identität der Seele mit dem Demiurgen widerlegte, die, so Proklos, „nicht-plotinisch“ sei. Dabei bezeichnete Iamblichos den ganzen intelligiblen Kosmos als „Demiurgen“.³⁸ Proklos führt ein Zitat aus Iamblichos an: „Das wahre Wesen, der Anfang der Geborenen, die intelligiblen Paradigmen des Kosmos, den wir als intelligiblen Kosmos bezeichnen, und auch die Ursachen, die unserer Meinung nach allem was in der Natur existiert, vorangehen, all dies hält der hier besprochene Gott – Demiurg – in sich, im Einen umfassend“.³⁹ Proklos fährt mit seinen eigenen Worten fort: „Damit meint er, dass im Demiurgen alles demiurgisch sei, das Seiende selbst, und der intelligible Kosmos, und das stimmt mit Orpheus selbst überein, denn dieser schreibt: „Denn alles befindet sich in einem großen Körper des Zeus“,⁴⁰ / „Im Bauch des Zeus ist Zusammenfluß entstanden“⁴¹, und so weiter. Kein Wunder, dass unter den

³⁶ Orph. fr. 66 Kern; Procl. in Tim. I 176, 11-14. S. auch *Brisson*. Le même et l'autre, p. 65-66. Die These kommt auch in den Kommentaren Petrizis vor.

³⁷ Procl. in Tim. 39c – III 103, 18-28; II 160, Anm. 3 Diehl.

³⁸ Procl. in Tim. I 306, 32 – 307, 25 Diehl. S. auch *Brisson*. Le même et l'autre, p. 66-67. Über die Identität des Demiurgen mit dem Intellekt als Folge der platonisch-aristotelischen Synthese s. *Ph. Merlan*. Monopsychism. Mysticism. Metaconsciousness. Problems of the Soul in the Neoplatonist and Neoplatonic Tradition. The Hague. Nijhoff 1963, p. 8, 11 (weiter zitiert: *Merlan*. Monopsychism). Iamblichos identifizierte – so Proklos – den Demiurgen mit dem intelligiblen Kosmos und behauptete – ganz gerecht – dass das paradigmatische Prinzip im Demiurgen sei. Procl. in Tim. I 336, 17 Diehl. S. auch *Bastid*, Proclus et la crépuscule, p. 134-135.

³⁹ Procl. in Tim. I 307, 20-25 Diehl. *Brisson*, Le même et l'autre, p. 66-67. Franz. Übersetzung: „les ayant rassemblées en une notion unique, tient incluses en son extension“. Procl. in Tim. t. 2, p. 162 Festugière.

⁴⁰ Orph. fr. 168, 10 Kern.

⁴¹ Orph. fr. 167, 7 Kern.

Göttern jeder das All ist, aber auf verschiedene Weise: einer – demiurgisch, ein anderer – zusammenhaltend, der dritte – unveränderlich, der vierte – veränderlich, der fünfte – wieder anders, [jeder] gemäß seiner göttlichen Eigenschaft.“⁴² Dieser Text zeigt uns, dass die These: „Alles in Allem“ gut zum orphischen Zeus passt.⁴³

Zeus hat, laut Orpheus, nach dem Hinunterschlucken des Phanes alle Ideen des Kosmischen in sich umfasst. Phanes (das Autozoon), enthält in sich die Ideen der vier Elemente im idealen Zustand.⁴⁴ Im Unterschied zu Phanes enthält Zeus die Ideen der einzelnen Seienden: die Ideen der Sonne, des Mondes, der Sterne.⁴⁵ In diesem Zusammenhang schreibt Proklos über Zeus: „Nach dem Hinunterschlucken des Phanes erschienen die Ideen in ihm,⁴⁶ wie der Theologe sagte“, und weiter zitiert Proklos den orphischen Text,⁴⁷ in dem beschrieben ist, was in Zeus erschien (Aitheros, Ozean, Flüsse...). Und nachdem Zeus alles monadisch und intellektuell erfasst hat, schafft er nach dem Rat der Nux alles Kosmische, die Götter und die Moirai des Alls“.⁴⁸

Dieser orphische Hymnus an Zeus wurde auch von anderen Autoren sowie von Proklos selbst an verschiedenen Stellen zitiert. In seinen Kommentaren zu „de caelo“ des Aristoteles schrieb Simplikios: „die göttlichen Männer haben uns die Theogonien überliefert, laut derer befindet die Vielheit der Götter sich, einerseits, in Einem, und sie geht sozusagen gemäß ihrer Multiplikation aus; andererseits berichten sie über die Geburt dieser Vielheit, denn sie ist vom Einen ausgegangen, ebenso wie wir die Geburt der Zahlen, die aus der Monas hervorgeht, betrachten“.⁴⁹

Eine ähnliche Interpretation des Hymnos an Zeus findet man im Parmenideskommentar des Proklos: nach dem Hinunterschlucken des Phanes sei alles in Zeus; in Phanes war alles in Einheit, im Demiurgen

⁴² Procl. in Tim. I 307, 27 – 308, 6 Diehl.

⁴³ Ich verzichte hier darauf, die gut bekannten orphischen Texte über Zeus als Anfang, Mitte und Ende des Alls anzuführen.

⁴⁴ Vgl. *Rosán*, p. 144.

⁴⁵ Procl. in Tim. I 323, 6-8 Diehl.

⁴⁶ Dadurch wird von Proklos die Etymologie des Phanes erläutert. S. auch Procl. in Tim. III 101, 9 Diehl: „Orpheus hat diesen Gott Phanes genannt, weil er die intelligiblen Henaden sichtbar gemacht hat“.

⁴⁷ Orph. fr. 167b Kern.

⁴⁸ Procl. in Tim. I 313, 6 – 314, 3 Diehl. Den vollständigen Text des Hymnos an Zeus s. in Orph. fr. 168 Kern. Ausführlich über den Hymnos an Gott als Anfang, Mitte und Ende bei Proklos und anderen Autoren s. *Beierwaltes*, Proklos. Grundzüge, p. 78-79.

⁴⁹ Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, t. VII: Simplicius in de caelo commentaria. ed. I. L. Heiberg. Berlin 1894, I 3, 270a12, p. 93, 8-15.

aber haben sich die Ursachen von allem Kosmischen differenziert gezeigt.⁵⁰

Zu der Frage, ob der Demiurg in sich die Ordnungen der Seienden enthält, oder ob er hat keine Unterschiede in sich selbst, stellt sich auch die Frage nach der schöpferischen Ursache. Im Kommentar zu Platons „Timaios“ 36c behauptete Proklos, der Nous enthalte in sich Unterschiede, genauso wie die kosmische Seele, die aus den Kreisen von Selbigkeit und Andersheit zusammengesetzt sei und in sich die Unterschiede enthalte; „denn nicht alles im Geist ist von gleicher Kraft, und es ist in ihm etwas was mehr ist als Ganzes und etwas was mehr ist als Teil. Kein Wunder: der Demiurg enthält doch in sich die ersten, mittleren und die letzten Reihen. Deswegen, denke ich, schreibt Orpheus folgende Zeilen, die die Abfolge der Reihen im Demiurgen zeigen sollen: ‚sein Kopf ist der strahlende Himmel,/Augen – der Sonne und die ihm entgegenkommende Nacht‘“.⁵¹

Im Kommentar zu Tim. 30a schreibt Proklos, dass im Demiurgen die Ordnung von Anfang an vorhanden sei, und gemäß dieser Ordnung bringt er die Unordnung in Ordnung. Dabei kritisiert Proklos Aristoteles, der die Existenz der Ordnung im Demiurgen verneinte, der aber zugab, dass diese Ordnung in den geschaffenen Dingen existierte; das Gute aber sei in beiden, d.h. im Demiurgen und in den geschaffenen Dingen, behauptete Aristoteles. Dazu schreibt Proklos, dass der Nous bei Aristoteles, der kein Schöpfer sei, ein Objekt des Strebens für die Seienden der niedrigeren Stufe sei.⁵²

Der Meinung A. Festugières nach sei dieser Text kein genaues Zitat, sondern eine Wiedergabe mehrerer Texte der „Metaphysik“ des Aristoteles, wie z. B. Met. 1074 b 25, in dem es um das erste Bewegende geht und gezeigt wird, dass es an gar nichts denkt, außer an sich selbst. Das bedeutet, so A. Festugière, es denke weder an das Geschaffene, noch an die kosmische Ordnung. Daraus folgt, dass es nicht Schöpfer, sondern nur Ziel ist. Dazu gehört der von A. J. Festugière angegebene Kommentar des

⁵⁰ Proclus, *Commentarium in Platonis Parmenides*. Procli philosophi platonici opera inedita, pars tertia, ed. V. Cousin. Hildesheim 1961 (1. Auf. Paris 1864), 130b, p. 799, 27; Orph. Fr. 168, p. 204 Kern. Die Idee, Gott sei Anfang, Mitte und Ende, findet man bei Platon, *Legg.* IV 716a. Einige Beispiele der christlichen Auffassung dieser Formel findet man in den Werken von Augustinus, Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita, Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, Nicolaus Cusanus.

⁵¹ Orph. fr. 168 Kern, Procl. in Tim. I 161,19 – 25 Diehl.

⁵² Procl. in Tim. I 289, 32 Diehl.

Proklos, laut dem der Demiurg bei Aristoteles kein Schöpfer sei, sondern nur ein Ziel.⁵³

Hier erinnere ich mich wieder an Petrizis Kommentar, obwohl in diesem Fall bei Petrizi, im Unterschied zu Proklos, kein Zusammenhang mit Orpheus angedeutet (und wahrscheinlich auch gemeint) ist. Im 11. Kapitel seines Kommentars zur „*Elementatio theologica*“ des Proklos schrieb Petrizi, dass „der Stagirite und der Philosoph von Aphrodisias sowie seine Kollegen das schöpferische Prinzip aus den Seienden vertrieben haben“⁵⁴. Bei dieser Beurteilung Petrizis über die schöpferische Ursache bei Aristoteles könnte Petrizi – genauso wie bei anderen Fragen – unmittelbar von Proklos beeinflusst worden sein.

Zeus und Phanes. Das Paradeigma – Phanes trägt auch den Namen *Metis* – die Weisheit, der Demiurg (dessen Namen Platon nicht angibt) ist „der Weise“. Der eine wird angeschaut, der andere schaut. Der eine wird hinuntergeschluckt, der andere wird mit der Kraft des ersten gefüllt. Der erste ist die Grenze der intelligiblen, der zweite – die Grenze der intellektuellen Götter.⁵⁵

In den Kommentaren zum Tim. 28c, 29a, in denen das Paradeigma erwähnt ist, zeigt Proklos die Gleichheit zwischen Paradeigma und Phanes auf. Das Zusammentreffen des intellektuellen Gottes mit dem intelligiblen, das Platon mit „Schauen“ (*oran*) bezeichnete, hat Orpheus durch „Hinunterschlucken“ (*katapinein*) ausgedrückt. Dies treffe, meint Proklos, mit der Meinung des Syrianos zusammen, der den Phanes (Protogonos) mit dem platonischen Autozoon identifizierte. Zu dieser Identifikation führt Proklos die orphischen Texte an.⁵⁶

Der Phanes von Orpheus sei also mit dem kosmischen Paradeigma identisch. Der Demiurg bei Platon sieht das Paradeigma an und schafft den sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Kosmos, ebenso wie Zeus bei Orpheus nach dem Hinunterschlucken des Phanes die ganze intelligente Welt in sich umfasst, und dann erschafft er ihn wieder, als ob er ihn aus sich selbst

⁵³ Procl. in Tim. I 390, 5 – 6 Diehl; Procl. in Tim. t. II, p. 256, n. 2 Festugière.

⁵⁴ Ioannis Petrizii Opera, tomus II. Commentaria in Procli Diadochi *Stoicheiosin theologiken*. Textum Hibericum ediderunt commentariisque instruxerunt S. Nutsbidze et S. Kauchtschischvili, Tbilisi 1937 (auf Georgisch), p. 38, 29-32. *Ioane Petrizi*, Kommentar zur *Elementatio theologica* des Proklos. Übersetzung aus dem Altgeorgischen, Anmerkungen, Indices und Einleitung von L. Alexidze und L. Bergemann. Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2009, p. 117. S. auch L. Alexidze, Griechische Philosophie in den Kommentaren des Ioane Petrizi. – in: „Oriens Christianus“ 81, 1997, p. 148-168.

⁵⁵ Procl. in Tim. I 324, 14; 224, 29 Diehl; Orph. fr. 117a 1- 4, 168 Kern.

⁵⁶ Procl. in Tim. I 324, 20 – 325, 3 Diehl; Orph. fr. 164a 1 – 4 Kern.

herausnimmt. Man könnte sogar behaupten, dass die Philosophie des Proklos durch den orphischen Mythos genauer ausgedrückt wird als durch den platonischen Mythos von „Timaios“. Denn die neuplatonische Vorstellung über das Vorhandensein der Idee im *Nous* wird durch das „Hinunterschlucken“ deutlicher ausgedrückt als durch das „Anschauen“. Und genau das ist eine der wichtigsten Fragen des Timaioskommentars: die Beziehung zwischen dem Demiurgen und dem Paradeigma: befindet sich das Paradeigma vor dem Demiurgen, in ihm oder nach ihm?⁵⁷ Von Platon selbst wurde diese Frage nicht explizit behandelt, in der Wirkungsgeschichte des Platonismus aber seit Plotin (auch im Christentum) gewan die Frage nach dem „Ort“ des Paradeigma eine große Bedeutung. Die Frage nach dem Verhältnis des Demiurgen zum Paradeigma wurde im Neuplatonismus zum Problem der Verhältnisse des Geistes (*nous*) und des Denkens (*noein*) zum Gedachten (*noeton*).⁵⁸

Proklos hat seine Meinung so ausgedrückt: das Paradeigma könne nicht dem Demiurgen nachgeordnet werden, weil es unmöglich sei, dass der Demiurg auf etwas Niedrigeres herabblicke.⁵⁹ Es sei auch unmöglich, dass das Paradeigma nur im Demiurgen existiere: denn in diesem Fall würde das Intellektuelle mit dem Intelligiblem zusammentreffen und es gäbe keinen Unterschied mehr zwischen ihnen; das sei aber unmöglich, weil das Paradeigma in sich vier Ideen enthalte, der Demiurg aber enthalte auch die Ideen derjenigen, die mehr geteilt sind: die der Sonne, des Mondes, der Sterne.⁶⁰ Wenn aber das Paradeigma vor dem Demiurgen ist, dann stelle sich folgende Frage: sieht der Demiurg das Paradeigma oder sieht er es nicht? Proklos denkt, dass Nicht-sehen ausgeschlossen sei: es wäre unmöglich, dass unsere Seelen, nicht aber der kosmische *Nous*, dazu befähigt wären, die Paradigmen gewissermassen zu sehen und darüber zu diskutieren. Wenn es also so ist, dass der Demiurg das Intelligible sieht, so müsse er es entweder in sich selbst oder außer sich

⁵⁷ Procl. in Tim. I 323 ff. Diehl. Verschiedene Meinungen dazu wurden von Proklos selbst angegeben.

⁵⁸ Für die Frage des Verhältnisses zwischen dem *nous* und *noeton* s. unter der zahlreichen Literatur z. B. *Brisson*, *Le même et l'autre*, p. 101; *Pépin*, *Éléments*, p. 39-64. Schon der Titel des Artikels zeigt, dass er ganz der hier erwähnten Frage gewidmet ist. Auch bei *Petrizi* wurde diese Frage mehrmals besprochen. Für die Identifikation des *Nous* mit seinen Ideen s. *Merlan*. *Monopsychism*, p. 8-10. Dass der Demiurg laut Plotin die Paradigmen dessen was im Kosmos befindet, behält, berichtet Proklos im Timaioskommentar, I 322, 20 Diehl.

⁵⁹ Procl. in Tim. I 305, 14-16; 323, 8-10 Diehl.

⁶⁰ Procl. in Tim. I 323, 6-8 Diehl.

selbst sehen. Im letzteren Fall würde er aber nur das Abbild des Seienden sehen, was sinnlicher Wahrnehmung, nicht aber geistiger Erkenntnis entspricht. Der Demiurg also sei auf sich selbst bezogen, das bedeutet, dass das Intelligible in ihm selbst sei.⁶¹ Proklos behauptete, dass bei Platon sowie die Differenz als auch die Identität zwischen dem Demiurgen und dem Paradeigma ausgedrückt werde. Proklos bezog sich auf Plat. Tim. 39e und 30c (der Demiurg macht den Kosmos dem Paradeigma ähnlich) und Tim. 29e (der Demiurg war gut, und deshalb wollte er, dass alles ihm selbst ähnlich sei).⁶²

Für uns bestätigt der Text Platons nur den Unterschied zwischen dem Demiurgen und dem Paradeigma; was aber die Ähnlichkeit zwischen ihnen angeht, so kann sie nur indirekt auf folgende Weise behauptet werden: der Demiurg, der sich den Kosmos ähnlich macht, ist selbst dem kosmischen Paradeigma ähnlich.⁶³ Die Identität des Paradeigma mit dem Demiurgen wurde bei Orpheus klarer als bei Platon gezeigt, obwohl dieser Vorzug des Orpheus von Proklos selbstverständlich nicht betont wurde.⁶⁴

Das Platonische *oran* entspreche also dem orphischen *katapinein* und auch *epipedan*.⁶⁵ Der intelligible Geist werde – nach dem Rat der Nyx (sie sei die intelligible und intellektuelle Göttin) – mit dem Intelligiblen vereint; „deswegen kann man nicht sagen, dass der Demiurg aus sich selbst heraus schaut – dies wäre für ihn ungeeignet, sondern umgekehrt – er ist auf sich selbst und auf die Quelle der Ideen in sich selbst bezogen, und er vereint sich mit der Monade verschiedener formbildender Ordnungen.“⁶⁶ Alles was im Paradeigma auf intellektuelle Weise existiere, werde im Demiurgen intellektuell.⁶⁷ Der Demiurg enthalte das Autozoon nicht monadisch, sondern gemäß der göttlichen Zahl, er vereine sich mit dem intelligiblen Kosmos.⁶⁸ Der orphische Zeus wird nach dem Hinunter-

⁶¹ Procl. in Tim. I 323, 16-20 Diehl. S. *Bastid*, Proclus et le crépuscule, p. 137-138.

⁶² Procl. in Tim. I 323, 22 - 324, 10. *Bastid*, Proclus et le crepuscule, p. 138.

⁶³ In der Literatur über Platonismus gab es Meinungsverschiedenheiten, ob Platon auch das In- oder nur das Außer dem Demiurgen sein des Paradeigma angedeutet habe. Dazu s. *Cornford*, Plato's Cosmology, p. 99, und *Pépin*, Éléments, p. 43-44.

⁶⁴ Selbstverständlich wurden auch die chaldäischen Orakeln (Or. 11) zum diesen Thema zitiert: „Denn der Geist existiert nicht ohne das Geistige (*noeton*), und es gibt kein Geistiges ohne den Geist (Procl. in Tim. III 102, 10-11 Diehl).

⁶⁵ Procl. in Tim. III 102, 1 Diehl; Orph. fr. 82 Kern.

⁶⁶ Procl. in Tim. III 102, 5-9 Diehl.

⁶⁷ Procl. in Tim. I 323, 20-22 Diehl.

⁶⁸ Procl. in Tim. III 103, 16-17 Diehl.

schlucken des Phanes intelligibel, aber auf intellektuelle Weise.⁶⁹ Aber nicht nur im Demiurgen sei das Paradigmatische, sondern auch im Paradeigma – das Demiurgische. Dabei unterscheide sich die demiurgische Wirkung des Paradeigma von der des Demiurgen: das Paradeigma schaffe nur durch sein Sein, der Demiurg aber – durch seine Wirkung.⁷⁰ Das demiurgische Denken sei dabei das Schaffen.⁷¹ Es gebe Proklos Auffassung nach zwei Arten des Denkens des Geistes, bzw. des Demiurgen: (1) das einfache Denken, durch das der Demiurg mit den Intelligiblen geeint ist, und das von Platon als *oran* und von Orpheus als *epipedan* bezeichnet wurde; (2) das differenziertes Denken, das der demiurgischen Tätigkeit entspreche, durch das die Seienden von zweiter Ordnung geschaffen wurden. Dieses Denken heie *dianoesis*.⁷²

Das Ineinander-sein des Paradeigma und des Zeus, die bernahme der Funktionen voneinander, von jedem auf die ihm entsprechende Art und Weise, sei es demiurgisch oder paradigmatisch bzw. intellektuell oder intelligibel, wurde von Proklos auch durch jene orphischen Texte bewiesen, in denen Zeus und Phanes mehrere Namen tragen. Auch diese Tatsache gibt ihm Gelegenheit folgendes zu behaupten: „Die Ursachen also haben aneinander teil, deswegen hat derjenige Recht, der sagt, dass der Demiurg in sich das Paradeigma enthalte,⁷³ wie es der gttliche Iamblichos dargestellt hat, ebenso wie auch derjenige Recht hat, der das Paradeigma ‚Demiurg‘ genannt hat, wie der ausgezeichnete Amelios.“⁷⁴

Das Paradeigma. Es ist wichtig fr Proklos, dass Phanes keine Augen hat; er brauche doch keine einzelnen Organe, um fhlen zu knnen. Er enthalte in sich den ganzen Kosmos im urschlichen Zustand; deswegen sei das Paradeigma die Vielheit-an-sich. Phanes sei aus dem ersten Ei entsprungen, in dem sich das erste Lebewesen im spermatischen Zustand befand. Aus dem Ei komme das Lebewesen. Auch deshalb sei die orphische Mythologie eine Illustration der Platonischen Philosophie. Proklos behauptet, „wenn das Erste, das aus der Grenze und aus der

⁶⁹ Procl. in Tim. I 324, 26-28; 335, 31 Diehl.

⁷⁰ Procl. in Tim. I 335, 31 Diehl. Fr die verschiedenen Arten des *poiein* bei Proklos s. J. Trouillard, Les degrs du *poiein* chez Proclus. – in: Recherches sur la tradition platonicienne (Platon, Aristote, Proclus, Damascius). Paris, Libr. Vrin 1977, p. 101-117.

⁷¹ Procl. in Tim. III 244, 12 Diehl. Hier die berhmtete Phrase des Proklos, laut der das demiurgische Denken auch Schaffen ist (*demiourgike noesis poiesis esti*).

⁷² Procl. in Tim. III 101, 26 – 102, 1 Diehl. Vgl. Bastid, Proclus et la crpuscule, p. 182.

⁷³ ber die hnlichkeit des demiurgischen Prinzips mit dem paradigmatischen, die des orphischen Zeus mit dem Phanes s. auch Procl. in Tim. I 451, 6 Diehl.

⁷⁴ Procl. in Tim. I 336, 15-20 Diehl.

Grenzenlosigkeit geboren wurde, tatsächlich das erste Seiende ist, dann müssen das Seiende Platons und das orphische Ei gleich sein. So erschien Phanes, der dem Autozoon entspricht.“⁷⁵

Die intelligible Welt habe die Vielheit als Ganzes in sich, in der sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Welt aber sei die Vielheit aus den Teilen zusammengesetzt. Die sinnlich wahrnehmbare Welt sei das Ganze aus den Teilen, die intelligible Welt sei das Ganze vor den Teilen. Bei Orpheus werde es dadurch gezeigt, dass Phanes den Kopf verschiedener Tiere hat, und er ist bisexuell,⁷⁶ er hat Federn.⁷⁷ „Phanes strahlt das intelligible Licht aus, und macht damit alles sichtbar, was hier unsichtbar war“⁷⁸, genauso wie hier dank dem Licht die Körper eine Farbe bekommen, wenn sie sichtbar werden.⁷⁹ Auch der Kosmos ist einzigartig, ebenso wie Phanes allein ist: keiner steht ihm bei,⁸⁰ im Unterschied zu anderen, ihm nachfolgenden Göttern, die als Paare erscheinen.“⁸¹

Auch bei der Interpretation anderer orphischen Mythen und Gedichte wollte Proklos die Übereinstimmung der Lehre und der Dichtung des Orpheus sowie anderer alter Theologen und Mythopoeten mit der Philosophie Platons zeigen und beweisen, dass es bei ihnen um ein und dieselbe Wahrheit geht, die aber auf verschiedene Weise ausgedrückt wird. Dabei hat Proklos die orphischen Mythen philosophisch interpretiert. Z. B. zeigt der Mythos über Dionysios und die Titanen im Sinne des Proklos das Verhältnis zwischen dem Einen und dem Vielen. Der aus der orphischen Literatur bekannte Mythos von Phanes und Zeus (Zeus hat Phanes verschluckt und danach den ganzen Kosmos geschaffen) entspricht bei Proklos, wie wir es oben gezeigt haben, dem philosophischen Mythos Platons über den Demiurgen und das kosmische Paradeigma: Beim Anschauen des intelligiblen Autozoon hat der Demiurg einen sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Kosmos erschaffen. Nach der Ansicht von Proklos gibt es also eine Analogie zwischen dem Platonischen „Anschauen“ und dem orphischen „Verschlucken“. Für Proklos sind Orpheus, Pythagoras, Chaldäer und Platon die „Theologen“, soweit sie über die „Götter“, d.h. über die Prinzipien des Weltalls berichteten. Nur die Ausdrucksformen ihrer Gedanken sind verschieden: Orpheus habe seine

⁷⁵ Procl. in Tim. I 428, 1 – 429, 21 Diehl.

⁷⁶ Orph. fr. 82 Kern.

⁷⁷ Procl. in Tim. I 430, 5-10 Diehl.

⁷⁸ Vgl. Orph. fr. 109 Kern.

⁷⁹ Procl. in Tim. I 430, 14-20 Diehl.

⁸⁰ Procl. in Tim. I 449, 17- 450, 22 Diehl.

⁸¹ Procl. in Tim. I 450, 22 Diehl.

Lehre durch Mythen ausgedrückt, Pythagoras durch mathematische Symbole, die Chaldäer durch göttliche Inspiration und Platon selbst, der größte unter ihnen, der gleichzeitig Mythos und Mathematik verwendet habe, dialektisch und wissenschaftlich.⁸²

Um die Übereinstimmung zwischen Platon und Orpheus zeigen zu können, musste Orpheus also teilweise in einen Philosophen verwandelt werden, oder - genauer gesagt - musste seine kosmo-theogonische Dichtung philosophisch interpretiert und als Kosmologie betrachtet werden. Aber wenn Proklos Orpheus erwähnt, führt er fast immer Zitate aus seiner Dichtung an. Dies lässt den Leser nicht vergessen, dass das Werk des Orpheus keine „reine“ Philosophie war, sondern eher eine Dichtung und „Theo-logie“, die sich auf philosophische Art und Weise interpretieren ließ.⁸³

⁸² Procl. Theol. Plat. 1, 4; t. I, p. 20 Saffrey - Westerink.

⁸³ L. Alexidze, Ioane Petrizi und die antike Philosophie, p. 318-319.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

FOR SYMBOLIC INTERPRETATION OF SOME PASSAGES OF PLATO'S *PHAEDO*

When we read or study Plato's *Phaedo* we should find some veiled content hidden behind the artistic images and symbols. More so that Plato was aware of mystery religions and esoteric teaching.

A symbol is a key to the vast world of philosophy, mythology, literature, and art. It is a universal aesthetic category as ancient as a human mind. A symbol with the help of a figurative language reveals a mysterious implication of a literary work and makes it possible for us to understand it deeply. Shelling says that poetry is a permanent symbolization.

From the point of view of symbolic-allegoric interpretation it is very interesting to mention an observation of C. Rowe. In *Phaedo* Plato tells us: "As he said this he lowered his legs to the ground, and then remained sitting in that position for the rest of the discussion" (καὶ ἄμα λέγων ταῦτα καθῆκε τὰ σκέλη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ καθεζόμενος οὕτως ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ διελέγετο (*Phaedo*, 61c10-d2).

To Rowe's mind, "Socrates' change of physical position parallels a shift in the discussion to more serious matters. He is no longer the poet, but the philosopher".¹

In one of the passages *Phaedo*, the personage of the dialogue, says: "I happened to be sitting to his right, on a stool beside the bed, while [Socrates] was a good way above me" (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος παρὰ τὴν κλῆμην ἐπὶ χαμαιζήλου τινός, δεῖ ἐπὶ πολὺ

¹ Plato, *Phaedo*, Rowe C. J. (ed.), Cambridge University Press 1993, 123.

ὑψηλοτέρου ἢ ἐγώ - *Phaedo*, 89b1-2). Plato deliberately notes that the philosopher was seated higher. Such allusion is not accidental. There is a symbol in sitting in a physically higher position. It reminds us the privileges of Socrates. He is spiritually superlative as well. In the present case spiritual is expressed by means of physical though physical itself derives from spiritual.

We would like to stress the peculiar function of silence in *Phaedo*. It has a symbolic meaning and at the same time it is a compositional device.

Ben Ioseb (III c.) says: "Silence is the fence of wisdom". Isaac from Syria said that speech is the weapons of our everyday life, and silence is the mystery of the future life, of the next world. When people are silent they get absorbed in themselves, mobilize their spiritual power and focus their attention. It is the preparation to gain the Logos.

Socrates' silence is meaningful too. It is not a mere pause, an automatic ceasing of the dialogue. It means that one of the stages of the dialogue is over and gives to the interlocutors a chance to think over the said... Silence makes it possible to begin the following stage of the reasoning.

Socrates told his friends the reason of a philosopher's courage. "When Socrates had said this, there was silence for a long time. To judge from his appearance, Socrates himself was absorbed in the foregoing argument, and so were most of us" (σιγή; οὖν ἐγένετο ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ αὐτός τε πρὸς τῷ εἰρημένῳ/λόγῳ ἦν ὁ Σωκράτης, ὡς ἰδεῖν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ πλείστοι - *Phaedo*, 84c1-3). The renewed conversation concerns the theory - soul as a harmony.

After Simmias and Cebes had been sure that spirit was not harmony there came silence again. "Here Socrates paused a long time examining something in his own mind" (ὁ οὖν Σωκράτης συχρὸν χρόνον ἐπισχών καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτόν τι σκεψάμενος - *Phaedo*, 95e7-8). And that was followed by "the account of Socrates' intellectual history",² by seeking the reason of the things.

In the final passage Socrates "came and sat down, fresh from his bath, and there wasn't much talk after that" (ἔλθὼν δ' ἐκαθέζετο λελουμένος καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἄλλα μετὰ ταῦτα διελέχθη - *Phaedo*, 116b7-8). He drains dry his cup without any hesitation; his look becomes blank and he is silent again. Now Socrates' silence is infinite.

According to Olympiodorus' statement, in Athens a condemned to death was punished only after the sunset. At the beginning of the work we

² Gallop D. (ed.), Plato, *Phaedo*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975, 169.

learn that Socrates' life will last till dusk. Perhaps, it is a tradition and a real fact, but we think there is a symbol in it as well.

Through the entire dialogue the reader is awaiting for the dusk and therefore, he unconsciously identifies it with Socrates' death. The philosopher's death is identified with the sunset, disappearance of the light, strength, and holiness. The sun is setting and Socrates' life is coming to the end (*Phaedo*, 116b5-6).

Another passage of *Phaedo* has some symbols too. In the opening part of the work Socrates' friends gather in front of the prison, they talk and wait for the door to be opened. They visit Socrates and spend the day talking to him (*Phaedo*, 59d4-5).

Opening of the door is very important for Phaedo and his friends. The door opens; they enter and acquire the new spiritual experience. They ascend a new stage of the spiritual development. If much had been unclear and mysterious for them before, later, when the door was opened, by means of the philosophic conversation they obtained the divine wisdom.

In the world literature and art opening of a door, a gate, drawing of a curtain are the symbols of coming closer to the Divine World. They are familiar to the *Old* and *New Testaments*, the Christian Literature of the Middle Age.

The word "door" has something in common with the word of the Lord and heavenly wisdom. Jesus said: "I am the gate for the sheep" (*John*, 10. 7). In Acts when Paul and Sila were praying, suddenly there was such a violent earthquake that the foundations of the prison were shaken; all the prison doors flew open and the preaching of the word of the Lord began... (*Acts*, 16. 25-32).

In *Matthew's Testament* the curtain of the temple was torn in two, the earth shook and the rocks split. It was the sign of Jesus' resurrection. The centurion and those with him who were guarding exclaimed that surely He had been the Son of God (*Matthew*, 27. 51-54). Tearing of the temple curtain is again connected with coming closer to Truth and ascendance the new stage of spiritual development. The symbol is present in the artistic world of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. "The attendant drew back a fold of the curtains..." (342), and there comes a sudden change in Tariel's life. He falls in love with Nestan and starts seeking for his lost "divine self".

In *Mark's Testament* Jesus healed the sick and demon-possessed people who had gathered at the door (*Mark*, 1.33-34). Socrates was not only a teacher and a friend for the rest characters; he was a healer as well. The philosopher healed (ἰάσατο) them of fright and cowardice that was the

result of their ignorance. All happened after the prison door was opened (*Phaedo*, 89a5).

The door opens... behind the visible veil of the phenomenon we should notice the meaning that is concealed for the physical sight.

The study of *Phaedo* from its artistic point of view has made it clear that the dialogue meets all requirements that the most refined reader claims to a true literature work. Various poetic and oratorical devices are skillfully and perfectly used in it. Due to his gifts, fantasy and flair, the author fills them with unique charm and thoughtfulness; but each artistic device used by Plato is a way to the expression of a philosophic idea.

Levan Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

TO THE INTERPRETATION OF CTU A 3-4

The earliest texts reflecting the active foreign policy of Urartu to the North, i. e. the Caucasus, can be dated to 820-10 BC, the period of the coregency of Išpuini and Minua. They are CTU A 3-4¹, 3-5², 3-6³, 3-7⁴. The texts presumably give an account of the same Urartian campaign. The first one, which is the largest, includes several interesting expressions, which I find worthwhile to dwell upon.

CTU A 3-4

Ro 1' [x x x x]5 miš-pu-ú-i-ni-¹še⁶

2' [^{mD}]sar5-du-ri-e-^hi-ni-¹še¹

3' [^m]mì-i-nu-ú-[a-še]

4' miš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-^hi-ni-[še]

5' [^ha]-¹a-i¹-tú⁷ ^m[u¹-ú-šá-[a]

¹ A stele from Surb Pogos church in Van = YKH 20, KYKH 3, transliterated according to M. Salvini.

² = YKH 21, KYKH 32, a stele from Surb Hovanes church near Van. There is an identical inscription on the reverse side of the stele. It was by miskate published as an independent text and was assigned a separate number in earlier corpora (YKH 22, KYKH 33).

³ A newly discovered inscription from Pirabat, near Alashkert.

⁴ = YKH 23, KYKH 34, Toprak-Kale, near Alashkert, stone inscription.

⁵ Possible reconstructions: [P^hal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-šì-ni? uš-ta-li?] (Арутюнян 2001: 31); [P^hal-di-i-e e-ú-ri-i-e] (Меликишвили 1960: 131).

⁶ Here and in the following three lines, N. Harutyunyan reconstructs the nominative ending ni, which corresponds to his reconstruction of the initial formula (Арутюнян 2001: 31).

⁷ Following C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, G. Melikishvili (Меликишвили 1960: 132) and N. Harutyunyan (Арутюнян 2001: 31) reconstruct su-ú-i-du-tú, according to the following lines of the same text: Ro 27, Vo 10.

- 6' mka-tar-za-a
 7' []x-i[-x x]x-l[i?]⁸
 8' [ku]-tiš-i¹-[tú] pa-a-ri-[e?]
 9' URUa-na-ši-i[-e]
 10' [pa]-ri U^[RU]ma⁹-[(qu-)]ru-tar[-a/za]¹⁰
 11' [x-]x¹¹-nu-bi m^ú-i¹-tè-ru-[(hi)]
 12' [m]u-ša-a [m]ka-tar-za-[a]
 13' [bur-g(a-la-l)]i [L]UGAL^[(MEŠ)]
 14' [(^{KUR})e-ti-ú-hi-[(ni)]e-¹li¹
 15' [a(r-nu-ia-li)] uš-ta-[bi]
 16' [D]hal-(di-ni ma-s)]i-ni G^{IŠŠ}ú-ri-e
 17' [(^mú-i-tè-ru-hi-ni)]e-¹di¹
 18' [(^m)]lu-šá-i-[(ni-e-di)]
 19' [(^m)]ka-tar-¹za¹-ni-[e-di]
 20' [^{KUR}]e-ti-ú-h[(i-na-e)]-di ¹LUGAL¹[(^{MEŠ}-di)]
 21' [(^D)]hal-di-¹ni¹ ku-ru-ni
 22' [^D]hal-di-ni G^{IŠŠ}ú-¹ri¹-i ku-ru-ni
 23' [u]š-ta-li m^{iš}-[(pu-)]ú-i-ni-ni
 24' [^mD]sar⁵-du-ri-e-[(hi)]
 25' [m]mi-i-[(nu)]-ú-a-¹ni¹
 26' [m]iš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-[(hi)]
 27' [(s)]u-ú-i-du-tú m^ú-¹tè¹-ru-[hi]
 28' [m]lu-ú-šá-¹a¹ m^{ka}-¹tar¹-za-[(a)]
 29' [(bur)]-ga-¹la¹-li LUGAL-¹li-li¹
 30' [^{KUR}]e-[(ti-ú-hi)]-ni-l[i]
 31' [(za-)]ši-l[(i)] u-¹i¹ x x [(i)]p-ha-r[(i)]
 32' [(še)]-er-[(tú?¹²)] DUB-te ^[UR]Ua-na-ši-i[(-e)]
 33' [(nu-)]na-be i[(š)]-ti-¹ni-ni¹
 34' [x]LIM 7 ME [20] KU.[(X)]^{MEŠ13}
 35' [x]LIM 6 ME 70 ¹LÚ¹ú-e-di-a-[ni]
 36' [x]ME 26 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ}
 37' [(10 LIM)] 3 LIM 5 ME 40 G^{U4}pa-hi-[(ni)]
 38' [20] LIM 7 ME 85 UDU^{ME[Š]}

⁸ Here N. Harutyunyan logically reconstructs m^ú-i-tè-ru-ú-hi (Арутюнян 2001: 31).

⁹ [k]u?- (Меликишвили 1960: 132).

¹⁰ ta-ra-e (Меликишвили 1960: 132; Арутюнян 2001: 31).

¹¹ ta(?) (Арутюнян 2001: 31, 33).

¹² i (Меликишвили 1960: 132; Арутюнян 2001: 31).

¹³ N. Harutyunyan reconstructs HUN.[GÁ^{MEŠ}?] (Арутюнян 2001: 31).

- 39' [ka]-am-ni ^{LÚ}ú-e-di-a-ni
 40' ['a]-a-ši-ni-e[-(i)]
 41' [^{URU}tu-uš-pa-^fi¹ ma-a-[(nu)]
 42' [(i)]-ni-ni gu-ur-da-r[i]

 Vo 1' [^{URU}a-na-ši-i-^fe¹ [(pa-ri ^{URU}ma-qu-ru-tar)-a/za]
 2' [x-x]-nu-bi ^{mú}ú-tè-ru-ú-[(^hi)] ^m[lu]-^fú¹-[(ša-a ^mka-tar-za-a)]
 3' [bur-(g)]a-la-li LUGAL^{MEŠ} KUR^e-ti-ú-^hi-ni-[(li)]
 4' [a]r-nu-ia-li uš-ta-a-[bi]
 5' [^Dhal]-di-ni ma-si-ni ^{GIŠŠ}ú-ri-e ^{mú}ú-tè-ru-^hi-ni-e-[(di)]
 6' ^mlu-šá-i-ni-e-di ^mka-tar-za-ni-[-e-di]
 7' [^{KUR}e-ti-ú-^hi-na-e-di MAN^{14MEŠ}-di ^Dhal-di-ni ku-ru-[(ni)]
 8' ^Dhal-di-ni ^{GIŠŠ}ú-ri-i ku-ru-ni uš-ta-[(li)]
 9' [(^miš)]-pu-ú-i-ni-ni ^mDsar₅-du-ri-^hi ^mmì-nu-[(a-ni)]
 10' [(^miš)]-pu-ú-i-ni-^hi su-ú-i-du-tú ^{mú}ú-tè-[(ru)-^hi]
 11' [^m]u-ú-šá-a ^mka-tar-za-a bur-ga-la-li MAN^[MEŠ]
 12' [^{KUR}e-ti-ú-^hi-ni-li za-ši-li [(u-i)]
 13' x x ip-^ha-ri še-er-^ftú?¹ DUB-[(te)]
 14' [^{UR(U)}a-na-ši-i-e nu-na-be iš-ti-ni-[(ni) x LIM]
 15' [(7)] ME 20 KU.X^{MEŠ} [x] LIM 6 ME 70 ^{LÚ}ú-e-di-[(a)-ni]
 16' [x (ME)] 26 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} 10 LIM 3 LIM 5 ME 40
 17' [(^{GU4}pa)]-^hi-ni 20 LIM 7 ME 85 UD[(U^{MEŠ})]
 18' [ka-(am)]-ni ^{LÚ}ú-e-d[(i-a-ni)]
 19' ['a-(a)]-ši-ni-e-i ^{URU}tu-uš-pa-^fi¹
 20' [(m)]a-a-nu i-ni-ni gu-ur-da-a[-(r)i]
 21' [a]-lu-[-še i]-ni ¹DUB¹-te pi-i-tu-l[i-e]
 22' [a]-lu-[-še ip]-^hu-li-[i?-e]
 23' [a-lu-še qí-ú-ra-a ^hi-pu-li-e]
 24' [a-lu-še] A^{MEŠ} [^hu-šú-li-i-e]
 25' [a-lu-še] e-si-ni-e-i [x x x]
 26' [a-l]u-še ^DUTU-ka-i-ni ^fše-er-du¹-l[i-e]
 27' [a]-lu-še a-i-ni-e-[-i i-ni-li du-li-e]
 28' [ti]-i-ú-li-e ^ftú-ú¹-r[i-e]
 29' [a]-lu-še ú-li-e-še ti-i-ú-l[i-e]
 30' [i-e-š]e za-a-^{du}ú-bi ^mi-i-ni ^Dhal-[-di-še]
 31' [^PI]M ^DUTU ku-ú-li-tú-ú-ni

¹⁴ M. Salvini draws a distinction between two ideograms denoting 'king': LUGAL/LUGÁL and MAN, while G. Melikishvili and N. Harutyunyan use only LUGÁL here and elsewhere (Меликишвили 1960: 132; Арутюнян 2001: 31).

- 32' [mì-i ti-i]-ni mì-i zi-li-b[i]
 33' [qi-ú-ra]-i-e-di ^D[x x x x]
 34' [x x x]-i-e ka-a-r[i(-) x x x]

Obverse: ...¹⁵ Işpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Işpuini, repulsed¹⁶ (the tribes of) Luša,¹⁷ Katarza,¹⁸ [Uiteruḫi?],¹⁹ reached (the city of) Anaše²⁰ and (the city of) Makurutar(z)a.²¹

...²² (the tribes of) Uiteruhi,²³ Luša, Katarza. The aiding forces of the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi²⁴ came to (their) assistance.

Went forth (to battle) (the god) Haldi with his weapon against (the tribes of) Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi. Haldi is powerful, Haldi's weapon is powerful.

¹⁵ Possible reconstructions: [went forth (to battle) with the power of Haldi] (Арутюнян 2001: 32); [to Haldi, the lord] (Меликишвили 1960: 133).

¹⁶ Salvini reconstructs the verb [ḫa]-ʾa-iʾ-tú and translates it accordingly: “conquered” (Salvini 2008: 131, 132). In the same context in Ro 27, Vo 10 the word clearly reads as su-ú-i-du-tú (“repulsed”) and this verb is restored here in earlier editions.

¹⁷ A tribe in South Caucasus. According to G. Melikishvili, Luša-Losa can be associated with the name of the Laz (Меликишвили 1959: 113). S. Gabeskiria shared with me his opinion about the plausibility of associating the name with Erusheti.

¹⁸ A tribe in South Caucasus. Its name is identified with Greek Καταρζηνή, Georgian Klarjeti, Armenian Klarjkh (Меликишвили 1959: 113, 210; Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 48; Salvini 1995: 40; Арутюнян 2001: 512).

¹⁹ Here N. Harutyunyan logically reconstructs „Uiteruhi“ (Арутюнян 2001: 31, 32). However, in other contexts the names appear in a different order: Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza.

²⁰ Presumably, modern Alashkert/Eleşkirt (Меликишвили 1960, 417; Арутюнян 2001, 496), near which the texts were discovered СТУ А 3-6, 3-7.

²¹ Cf. Меликишвили 1960, 132-134: [up to Great Kukurū], Арутюнян 2001: 31, 33: [up to Great Makuru]. This interpretation is based on the reading ^{URU}ma(/ku)-qu-ru ta-ra-e. Salvini sees it as one word: ^{URU}ma-qu-ru-tar-a/za, and in evidence refers to the place names with the endings -tar-a, -tar-na, -tar-za (Salvini 2008: 131sq.). Presumably, it was located near modern Alashkert.

²² N. Harutyunyan reconstructs ta-nu-bi and offers the following translation: „I paved my way (against ... tribes)“. However, this interpretation is associated with some contradictions, which the scholar points out himself: the subject and the verb do not agree in number (Арутюнян 2001: 31-33).

²³ A tribe and a country in South Caucasus. The name can be associated with Georgian Ozhrkhe and Βόζρηες of the ancient sources (Меликишвили 1959: 113, 210). Paiteru found in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser may refer to the same tribes (Asatiani 1998: 28).

²⁴ Etiu(ni/hi) a great union of South Caucasian tribes or a collective name that covered a greater part of the modern Armenian territory.

Went forth (to battle) Işpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Işpuini; repulsed (the tribes of) Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, the aiding forces of the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi... Went forth (to battle) Işpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Işpuini; repulsed (the tribes of) Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, the aiding forces of the kings of (the land of) Etiuhi... Inscription (the city of) Anaše... from there came: ... thousand 720 men, ... thousand 670 women, ... hundred 26 horses, 13540 (head) of neat cattle, 20785 sheep... Women and men are guarded in (the city of) Tuşpa as hostages (?).²⁵

Reverse: ...²⁶ He who will ruin this inscription, who will destroy it, burries it in the earth, throw in water, who will replace it, conceal it away from the sun, who will enforce someone else to do so, telling him „Destroy (the inscription)!“, the other one, who will say „I have done (this)“, may Haldi, the Weather Deity and the Sun Deity²⁷ leave neither him nor his name or his progeny on the earth.

The text in question describes a successful campaign of the Urartian kings, Işpuini and Minua to the area of modern Alashkert (Eleşkirt), the right bank of the Araxes river. The location of the campaign is attested by two inscriptions (CTU A 3-6, 3-7) found in the region and referring to the same event, as well as by the resemblance of the name of Anaše city with Alashkert.²⁸

The Urartians were confronted in the war by the tribes of the Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, who were aided by the kings of Etiuhi.

The land of Etiuhi, as mentioned, was a great union of South Caucasian tribes, or their collective name and comprised a greater part of the modern Armenian territory. It is associated with a number of tribes in the Urartian texts.²⁹

²⁵ The last phrase is usually left untranslated though part of the words in it are known. For more details, see below.

²⁶ Lines 1-20 replicate lines 9-42 of the text on the obverse side.

²⁷ Haldi, the Weather Deity and the Sun Deity were the supreme gods of the Urartian pantheon. The Weather Deity was called Teişeba, and the name of the Sun Deity was Şiuni. Consequently, the majority of scholars translate the list ^dHaldi ^dIM ^dUTU as „Haldi, Teişeba, Şiuni“. But rendering the names of the deities with ideograms is to be understood as an intentional ambiguity aimed at the maximum effect. The Urartians would perceive the triad as their own supreme gods, while the conquered people would interpret it as the unity of the Urartian and local deities and would treat the inscription with more awe (Gordeziani 2009: 59 ff.).

²⁸ Меликишвили 1960, 417; Арутюнян 2001, 496.

²⁹ Меликишвили 1960: 426; Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 34; Арутюнян 2001: 505.

As concerns the tribes of the Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza, their location is disputable. Based on the text in question, some scholars locate them in the area of Anaše/Alashkert.³⁰ According to N. Harutyunyan, Anaše-Alashkert was the city of Uiteruhi and consequently, the country was situated on the right bank of the Araxes river.³¹ Here we also come across Katarza, whose identity with Klarjeti is beyond doubt. Thus, the Klarjis and their allies must have been active in an area by far south than the historical territory of Klarjeti. As concerns the following period, Katarza is mentioned in the chronicle of Argišti I (785/80-756 BC) in the context of a campaign against Diauehi (CTU A 8-2 Vo, 35, CTU A 8-3 V, 48) and presumably can be located on the territory of historical Klarjeti. According to the texts of Argišti I and Sarduri II (756-730),³² Luša and Uiteruhi too must have been found quite far away from the right bank of the Araxes river to the north.³³

This fact may invite three different theoretical explanations:

1. The tribes beaten by Išpuini and Minua moved to the north as a result of Urartian expansion;
2. The texts refer to the campaigns of the northern tribes to the right bank of the Araxes river;
3. These tribes settled a vast territory from the right bank of the Araxes river to the historical Klarjeti³⁴ and possibly, even more northwards.

However, in this case, at the end of the 9th century, Katarza must have been a large and powerful formation, comparable with Urartu of the period. Hence, to this extent, there is no room left on the map for Diauehi, which during the sole reign of Minua (810-785/80) appears to be a very important union in the region. If identified with Daiaeni of the Assyrian texts,³⁵ it must have been a regional leader throughout several centuries.

Thus, the choice is to be made between the first and the second versions. I believe the text contains indirect hints that may guide us along the two options.

³⁰ Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 48ff.; Арутюнян 2001: 496, 512.

³¹ Арутюнян 2001: 528.

³² CTU A 8-2 Vo, A 8-3 I, A 9-3 III.

³³ Меликишвили 1960: 135, 433, 445, Salvini 1995: 40. See also below.

³⁴ Арутюнян 2001: 512.

³⁵ Меликишвили 1960: 424; Diakonoff, Kashkai 1981: 26; Salvini 1995: 55; Арутюнян 2001: 503. An assumption has also been made about the identity of Assyrian Daiaeni with Hittite Azzi-Hayasa (Дьяконов 1968: 209 слл.; Kemertelidze 2001: 13; Kavtaradze 2006: 39).

Let us first of all consider the formulae that refer to the Urartian success. As mentioned, M. Salvini reconstructs [ha]-<a-i>-tú (“conquered”) in the destroyed part of line 5, while later we come across su-ú-i-du-tú (“repulsed”).

CTU A 3-6 describes the same event with different formulae:

- 1^D ḫal-di-ni uš-ta-b[i m]a-si-ni-e GIŠšú-ri-e ka-ru-ni mlu-ša-a
- 2 ka-ru-ni mka-tar-za-a Dḫal-di-ni ku-ru-ni-ni Dḫal-di-ni GIŠšú-ri ku-ru-ni-ni
- 3 uš-ta-bi miš-pu-ú-i-ni-ni mDsar₅-du-ri-e-ḫé mmì-nu-a-ni miš-pu-ú-i-ni-ḫé
- 4 za-áš-gu-tú-ú-e mlu-ša-a mka-tar-za-a ḫa-a-i-tú-ú-e
- 5 KURšú-ri-li ku-ti₅-tú pa-ri URUa-na-ši-i-e
- 6 i-ša-a-ni bi-di-a-li at-ḫi-tú-ú-e i-ni ta-ar-ma-a-n[i]

Went forth (to battle) (the god) Haldi with his weapons, defeated Luša, defeated Katarza. Haldi is powerful, Haldi’s weapon is powerful.

Went forth (to battle) Išpuini, the son of Sarduri, Minua, the son of Išpuini; slaughtered (the tribes of) Luša, Katarza, conquered the land, reached (the city of) Anaše. Returning from the land, (they) found this spring.

ka-ru-ni (“defeated”, “took over”³⁶), za-áš-gu-tú-ú-e (“killed”, “slaid”, “slaughtered”), ḫa-a-i-tú-ú-e (“conquered”) are the terms that frequently recur in the Urartian texts. In some cases they may not be understood in their direct sense, but can be regarded as standard structures designating a successful campaign in general. Once again referring to Diauehi, Minua and Argišti describe the wars against the land with the same terms though the outcomes of the campaigns were significantly different.³⁷ As concerns the verb *suidu-* (“repulse”, “throw out/off”), it is much less common in a warfare context³⁸ and hence is likely to be more precise. It might be no coincidence that in the given context the verb *ḫaiu-* (“conquer”) too is applied not to the enemy, but to the land, the territory – “slaughtered (the tribes of) Luša, Katarza, conquered the land...”.

The ways of referring to enemies are also worthwhile to consider. In the Urartian texts, ethnopolitical and geographical names are expressed by the formulae mX (“the tribe of X”), URUX (“the city of X”), KURX (“the

³⁶ Or „subordinated to his weapon“ (Арутюнян 2001: 35).

³⁷ Gordeziani 2010a: 41.

³⁸ CTU A5-6, 8-3, 8-6, 8-7, 9-1, 9-3.

land/country of X"), ^mX KUR-ni ("the land of the X tribe"), ^{URUX} KUR-ni ("the land of X city"), ^{KURX} KUR-ni - ("the land of X land").

In my opinion, the formulae were not land/state specific but varied according to the principle of state/land nomination. Thus some territories were called after their principal city, while others were nominated after their inhabitants. The same ethnopolitical unit could be expressed by different formulae depending on the context. ^mX KUR-ni - "the land of the X (tribe)" and ^{KURX} - "X (land)" were used when the territory was under the focus, while in the context where the formula ^mX - "X (tribe)" appears, location was not important or was not implied at all.³⁹

This exactly may account for the difference between the above-quoted texts of Išpuini-Minua and the chronicles of Arğišti and Sarduri as they refer to ^muiteruhi, ^mluša, ^mkatarza (CTU A 3-4, 3-5, 3-6, 3-7); ^{KUR}uiteruhi (CTU A 8-2 Vo, 8-3, 9-3 III); ^{KUR}luša (CTU A 8-2 Vo); ^mkatarzae KUR-nie (CTU A 8-2 Vo, 8-3).

Therefore, in my opinion, the texts of Išpuini and Minua describe the repulse of the raids delivered by the Uiteruhi, Luša, Katarza tribes rather than a campaign in their own territories. The texts of Minua mention neither the tribes nor Anaše city, while in the vicinity of the city an inscription was discovered which refers to the construction of a fortress by Minua (CTU A 3-40).

We could plausibly assume that Minua finally subdued the region and the local tribes. The Urartian expansion northwards continued and victorious inscriptions appear as far as the areas of Erserum and Kars (e. g. CTU A 5-3, 5-4).

In the reign of the following kings, Arğišti I and Sarduri II, the Urartian power reached its peak. They conquer modern Armenia and build fortifications there. An inscription describing Arğišti's success was also discovered in Hanak, near the Georgian border. Thus, during its campaigns against Diauehi (Tao) and Qulha (Colchis), Urartu again confronted Luša, Katarza and Uiteruhi. During the campaign in the second year of Arğišti's reign, all the three tribes appear to be the allies of Diauehi. During the distant campaigns under Arğišti and Sarduri, the Urartians reached the settlements of these tribes and even conquered their lands for a while.⁴⁰

³⁹ Gordeziani 2010b: 98f.

⁴⁰ CTU A 8-3 I text seems to indicate the route of the campaign. It is not difficult to reconstruct the main points of the route: Arğišti headed for the north through the Tortomi gorge, then turned to the east towards Iga (near Childiri Lake) and Eriahi (on

I believe that the campaign of the tribes Luša, Katarza and Uiteruhi, the neighbours and allies of Diauehi, to the lands bordering with Urartu is to be considered in the context of Urartu vs Diauehi confrontation. According to the annals (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1) of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC), Daiaeni was a leading power among the Nairi lands. Later, the main adversary of Shalmanasar III (858-824 BC) in the north was the Urartian king Aramu, while King Asia of Daiaeni attempts to establish relations with Shalmaneser (RIMA 3, A.0.102.8).⁴¹ In the Assyrian inscriptions of Sarduri I (circa 840-830), he calls himself “king of Nairi”, by which he claims hegemony over the lands of Nairi. The king of Daiaeni-Diauehi must have seen the period of Išpuini’s and Minua’s coregency as a favourable moment to test the Urartian forces. The invasion of the northern tribes into the area of Anaše can be seen as a raid as well as an attempt to settle the territory.

In support of this interpretation we could attempt to analyze the formula ka-am-ni LÚú-e-di-a-ni ‘a-a-ši-ni-e-i URUtu-uš-pa-i ma-a-nu i-ni-ni gu-ur-da-ri – “ka-am-ni women and men are in the city of Tupsha i-ni-ni gu-ur-da-ri”. Apart from the text in question, it also appears in texts A 3-9,

the territory of modern Gyumri). The route is quite logical taking into account the mountainous landscape of the region. Luša and Katarza are mentioned among the allies of Diauehi before Eriahi, while Uiteruhi appears after Eriahi here as well as in a different context (CTU A 9-3 III). Argišti was to raid Klarjeti up to Gyumri. Where did he go afterwards – to the north-east or to the south (or south-west), to reach Apuni and Uiteruhi? Both versions are possible theoretically, however, why did Argišti and Sarduri need to raid the territories that have been annexed by Urartu already in the reign of Minua, or why did they drove out captives from there? According to the texts, Apuni and Uiteruhi seem to be quite distant lands. It is no earlier than the reign of Sarduri II that Urartu temporarily conquers Uiteruhi and leaves there its renegade (CTU A 9-3 III). Regrettably, it is not easy to establish the exact localization of the lands only by the study of the routes. Linguistic material can also be of some help. Urartian texts abound in place and ethnic names that later appear in Greek, Armenian and Georgian sources to refer to the tribes and settlements of the region. Though many identifications are disputable, the number of the place names may compel an assumption that Urartu had relations with the more or less developed ethnocultural and political world rather than with separate individual tribes whose location is not identified. While a couple of place names and, moreover, ethnonyms could have plausibly changed their location over centuries, it is less likely to expect a shift of the whole system of place names. Therefore, when attempting to specify the location of the place names found in the Urartian texts, which can be more or less reliably identified with Georgian and Armenian place names attested in other sources, we could take into consideration their later location (Gordeziani 2010a: 42ff.).

⁴¹ Меликишвили 1954: 250; Kavtaradze 2006: 25.

5-2. Though part of the words are known to us, the whole formula is not translated.

According to Diakonoff, kam(a)ni may denote “the previous, earlier referred”.⁴² The word can be found in various forms (ka-am-ni – A 3-4, 3-9, 5-2; ka-am-ni-ni – A 5-87, 5-88; ka-ma-a-ni – A 9-3, VI; kam-ni, kam-ni-ni – A 12-2) mainly in unclear contexts. In the above-mentioned text, it presumably refers to a certain group of men and women.

There is no translation available for inini gurdari. It must denote a state in which the people mentioned must have found themselves. The phrase follows the description of the Urartians’ trophies and presumably refers to the fate of some of the captives.⁴³

The deportation of population from a conquered territory and their settlement in distant lands for military or agricultural purposes was a widely applied practice in the ancient east. It is also reflected in the Urartian texts,⁴⁴ where in the formula rendering the act of taking captives, the reference to human trophies is normally followed by the phrases “I have slaughtered some and took others alive”. However, we also come across the following phrase: “I have added the population to my country” (CTU A 8-2 Vo). In my opinion, a special mention of taking captives to the capital city may imply that they were treated as hostages. Seizing hostage could serve as a lever for giving one’s relations with a half beaten enemy a desirable direction. In fact, following the events described in the text, Uiteruhi, Luša and Katarza tribes did not any more pose a threat to the Urartians and even disappeared from their horizon until Urartu itself launched a conquest campaign to the north.

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⁴² Дьяконов 1963: 55; Арутюнян 2001: 451.

⁴³ Меликишвили 1960: 135.

⁴⁴ See e. g. CTU A 5-9, 8-1, 8-2, 8-3, 9-3, 9-4, 9-5, 10-2, 11-3, 12-4.

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Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

THE COLCHIANS IN THE ADRIATIC – POETIC IMAGINATION OR A HISTORICAL FACT

Among the disputable issues related to the myth of the Argonauts is the route of the campaign in the earliest versions of the myth. Scholars continue to argue whether in the initial version of the myth the destination of the expedition was indeed Colchis or whether the version developed after Greek settlements started to appear in the Black Sea region, while before then, the Land of Aetes could have been thought to be located somewhere in Ethiopia (1). If the tradition anyway refers to the Black Sea littoral, then it could have been the southern part, i. e. the territory of the Hittite Empire (2), or the northern part, the territory of Scythia (4). As the question has been covered in many works (5), now I will only attempt to give a brief account of the arguments set forth by the supporters of the traditional viewpoint – the identification of the land of Aetes with Colchis already in the early versions of the myth: a) The Homeric epics, the earliest written source, locates the land of Aetes in the Black sea region, which is suggested by the episode of Lemnos and Euneus, a son of Jason and Hypsipyle, and by the mentioning of Hellespont; b) all of the terms associated with the myth of the Argonauts that do not have Greek etymology are connected with the Kartvelian linguistic environment; c) A number of golden artefacts of the Bronze Age discovered in Iolkos (modern Volos) can be of Colchian origin; d) *ko-ki-da*, *ko-ki-de-jo* formatives found in the Mycenaean texts must be the equivalents of Colchis (6). As concerns the part of the myth relating about the Argonauts' flee from Aetes and the settlement of the Colchian pursuers in the Adriatic, it remains less explored. As it is known, three important philologists and poets of the Hellenistic period, Calimachus, Lycophron and Apollonius of Rhodes employ the version where the Colchians reach the Adriatic in

pursuit of the Argonauts, but having failed to capture the Greeks and Medea, decided not to return to Colchis for the fear of Aetes and settle in the Adriatic. This version obviously became quite popular since then. Though a number of details remained disputable for a long time, none of the ancient authors doubted the Colchians' settlement in the Adriatic. The version is supported by such reliable and scrupulous authors as Strabo and Pliny the Senior. The following question may naturally arise: what facts are reflected in the information? While the issue has so far been found historically irrelevant in Georgian scholarship, those interested in Paleo-Balkan questions see some historical truth in the episode, while companies interested in attracting tourists to the Adriatic resorts obviously find it quite profitable to incorporate the region into the scope of *Argonautica* (7).

As I have pointed out already in 1999 (8), the issue truly deserves closer attention of Georgian scholars. This prompts me to offer a deeper insight into the question. First, let us recall some details of the Colchian pursuit, so exhaustively described by Apollonius of Rhodes (IV, 212 ff): Aetes sends his ships, led by Medea's brother Apsyrtus, in pursuit of Argo. Enraged Aetes requires back her treacherous daughter. At first, Argo takes the same route by which she arrived in Colchis. However, on the coast of the Paphlagonians, at the mouth of the river Halys, Medea advises the sailors to sacrifice a thank offering to Hecate and erect a temple in her honour. Having done so, the sailors remember the words of the seer Phineus who warned them to return home by a different route. Therefore, they sail along the banks of Istros, from where they enter the Adriatic Sea and reach the Brygean isles of Artemis. Apollonius notes that part of the Colchian pursuers left Pontus by passing between the Cyanean rocks (IV, 303-304), i. e. left the Black sea through the Bosphorus Strait, while the other ship, led by Apsyrtus, sailed into Istros via a mouth called Kalon Stoma. As concerns the Argonauts, they entered the river by another mouth, Narex. This enabled the Colchians to get to the Adriatic before the Argonauts. According to Apollonius, the Colchians took the following route from Kalon Stoma to the Adriatic: They passed by the boundaries of the Scythians, mingled with the Thracians, the Sigynni, the Graucenii and the Sindi, inhabiting the vast desert plain of Laurium, afterwards they passed by mount Angurum, and the cliff of Cauliacus, by which, according to Apollonius, Istros, dividing its stream, "falls into the sea on this side and on that". Finally, they reached the Laurian plain and then sailed into the Cronian, i. e. the Adriatic Sea, thus cutting off all the ways. The Colchians occupied all the islands except two Brygean isles of

Artemis, for the reverence of the goddess. On one of these islands was a sacred temple, while on the other landed the Argonauts, who had sailed into the Adriatic later. As the Argonauts had no chance to escape, they decided to reach the following agreement with Apsyrtus: As the Golden Fleece was obtained by Jason through the fulfillment of Aetes' tasks, it would remain with the Colchians by justice, while Medea would stay in the temple of Artemis until any of the righteous kings would decide whether she ought to return home or accompany the Argonauts. Medea, frightened and exasperated at the decision, offered a new, vicious plan, which would enable them to slaughter Apsyrtus. She would persuade her brother that the Argonauts had taken her away by force. Then she would entice him aboard for a face-to-face talk with the help of messengers and precious gifts, while ambushed Jason would take a chance to kill him. When the scheme was implemented successfully, the Argonauts fiercely destroyed the Colchians, left without the leader, and escaped the other Colchian ships under the veil of night. When in the mourning the pursuers learned about the death of their leader, they searched the whole Adriatic but could not find Argo. The Colchians, awaiting Aetes' wrath, refused to return to their homeland, and decided to remain in the foreign region. Some of them settled on two Brygean islands, where the Argonauts had been staying, and their progeny was called the Apsyrtides in memory of Apsyrtus. Some built a city by the Illyrian river, near the Encheleans, where there is the tomb of Harmonia and Cadmus. Others found their home amid the mountains which are called Ceraunian. Thus, Apollonius specifies three regions in the Adriatic where the Colchians settled: a) The Apsyrtides islands, b) The banks of the Illyrian river, c) Ceraunian mountains. Other sources offer additional information about the Colchian Diaspora in the Adriatic: a) they settled in the city of Pola, giving it a name which in their language denoted "fugitive" (Callim., fr. 104, Lycophr., 1022ff., together with scholia of Tzetzes, Pomp. Mela II 57); b) they settled near Dizerus river, which was given a name after the search for Medea (Lycophr. 1026 together with scholia of Tzetzes, Steph. Byz.); c) by the river Aquileia (Iust. XXXII 3, 13); d) in the city of Oricon, on the banks of the Illyrian river (Timaios, fr. 53, Ap. Rhod., IV 519, 1214f., Plin., III 145) and e) in the city of Olcinium in Dalmacia, earlier called Colchinium (Plin., III 144). It can be presumed that the Colchians, who came to the Adriatic via the Istros river, must eventually have been joined by their compatriots that had followed the Bosphorus, as the latter too would have been reluctant to return to Colchis, for the fear of Aetes' wrath (9).

When could the version of the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic have developed and what may underlie it? The Colchian pursuers are an intrinsic detail of the homebound Argonauts' adventures, which would gradually modify along with the expansion of the Greeks' geographical awareness. Some earlier authors believed that the Argonauts had sailed from Phasis through Oceanus to the south, till they reached the Libyan desert by crossing the Erythrian Sea. There they carried Argo on their shoulders for 12 days till they came to Lake Tritonis and afterwards reached the Mediterranean Sea via the Nile (Hecat., fr. 339, Hes., fr. 87, 88, Pind., *Pyth.*, IV, 25 ff. etc.). Others believed that the Argonauts returned to their homeland by the same route as they had taken to Colchis (Herodor., fr. 55, according to the scholion to Ap. Rhod., IV 259, Diod., IV 48f., this version is supported by Soph., *Skythai*, fr. 504 and Eurip., *Med.*, 432, 1263). After the Hellenes' knowledge of the Black Sea geography expanded, part of the authors came up with a version that the Argonauts sailed into the Tanais river and from there carried Argo on their shoulders to the Northern Ocean, then sailed to the Pillars of Hercules, i. e. the strait of Gibraltar and entered the Mediterranean Sea (Timaios, fr. 6, Scymnus, according to the scholion to Ap. Rhod., IV 284, partly *Orph. Arg.*, 1038ff.), and finally, the version offered by Apollonius of Rhodes, which, evidently, became popular thanks to Timagetus, a geographer of the Hellenistic period (Timagetus, according to the scholia to Ap. Rhod., IV 259, 284, Apollod., I 9,24, Aristot., *Mirab.*, 105p. 839b9, Strab., I 46, Diod., IV 56,7, Val. Flacc. VIII 185, Hygin., *Fab.*, 23. This version was obviously shared by Callimachus). Some authors supporting this version found that from Istros the Argonauts carried their vessel on their shoulders to a river flowing into the Adriatic (Peisandr. Zosimos, V 29, Iust. XXXII 3, Plin., III 128, Sozom. *Hist., Eccl.*, I 6).

Bearing in mind the Greeks' knowledge of the world geography before the classical period, it will become clear why the Argonauts' route invited controversial ideas. In the period when the myth was developed, presumably, appr. The 11th-10th centuries, the only body of water which the Greeks called "sea" was the Mediterranean, while the rest of the world was believed to be washed by the Oceanus, the world river, where continents were dispersed as islands, i. e. it was an outer sea, connected with the Mediterranean only by the Pillars of Heracles, the Gibraltar (10). As concerns the Black Sea, the Greeks' ideas were controversial. The Black Sea too was considered to be a sea or pontos, but it was supposed to be connected with the Oceanus, the world river, and with the Mediterranean Sea by Hellespont. Its southern shores were inhabited by the peoples

mentioned in *The Catalogue of Ships* of the *Iliad*. One of those tribes was called the Halizones, which presumably is a speaking name meaning “surrounded by the Sea” (11). This means that Homer associated them with the sea. As concerns the destination of the Argo, Aetes’ city, according to Mimnermus, it was located on the bank of Oceanus (fr. 11a v). According to the *Odyssey*, the island of Circe must have been located in the Sea of Aeaea. This must be implied in Book XII 1-4 of the *Odyssey*. The ship coming from the land of the Cymmerians “had left the stream of the river Oceanus and had come to the wave of the broad sea, and the Aeaeian isle ...” Hence, if Mimnermus locates the city of Aetes on the bank of the Oceanus, then Aeaea island, which according to Homer, was in the same area, must have been located in the open sea. In connection with the Oceanus, I would like to highlight one important point that deals with relationship of Aea with Ethiopia. In his work *Aia* (12), A. Lesky suggests that in the *Odyssey* the land of Aetes and Aeaea Island, related to it, are supposed to be located in the same region as Ethiopia in the early beliefs of the Hellenes. His central argument is that both locations are associated with Helios. According to the *Odyssey*, Aeaea is the island “where is the dwelling of early Dawn and her dancing-lawns, and the risings of the sun” (*Od.*, XII, 3-4). Mimnermus further specifies that the rays of Helios rest in a golden chamber (thalamos) on the bank of Oceanus in the city of Aetes, Mala (11a). According to the *Odyssey* (I, 22ff.), “the far-off Ethiopians ... dwell sundered in twain”; some of these mythical people live in the east, from where the sun rises, and some in the west, where the sun sets. In his other fragments, Mimnermus further specifies the details of Helios’ route (Fr. 12 W) and describes the toil of the sun god. Neither he nor his horses can take a breath. When Eos rises from the Oceanus, he flits on his gold-winged bed, fashioned by Hephaestus, from the land of the Hesperides to the land of the Ethiopians, where swift steeds harnessed to a chariot await him. Having mounted his chariot, Helios starts his ascent. Proceeding from this, A. Lesky and his followers believe Ethiopia to be the place from where Helios’ rises. As according to the *Odyssey*, in Aeaea there are the palace and Eos and the place of sunrise, the land of the Ethiopians and the island of Circe can be considered to be in the same geographical area. Hence, in such a highly reputed encyclopedia as DNP, an article on *Aia* directly states that *Mythisches Wunderland am Okeanos (im Land der Aithiopen ...)*. In my opinion, the supporters of this statement must have overlooked a point which I will attempt to expound below. Let us remember the *Odyssey*. It contains a number of passages about the island of Circe. Neither Circe and Hermes nor the poet himself ever mentions

that Aea is anyhow related to Ethiopia. Nor does the well-known extract from Mimnermus anyway associate the land of Aetes with Ethiopia. In my opinion, when describing the places of sunrise and sunset, Homer and Mimnermus follow the mythopoetic tradition. According to it, the farthest east, symbolically represented by Ethiopia, and the farthest west – again Ethiopia in Homer and the land of the Hesperides in Mimnermus – are the members of the binary opposition: the East and the West, with Helios, or the sun, being the mediator between them. He neutralizes the opposition by his motion. As concerns the land of the Aetes, Helios, being Aetes' father, is linked with it genetically. Evidently, there existed another tradition in connection with the sunrise, which said that the rays of Helios were stored in his son's land, likewise located in the farthest east. However, Homer and Mimnermus do not relate this land to Ethiopia, neither do they claim that Helios' swift steeds and chariot were to be found here or that this land was the beloved place for gods to carouse. Consequently, in early sources the land of Aetes and the Island of Circe were not related to the land Ethiopia.

Was the episode of the Colchian pursuit part of the early versions of the myth of the Argonauts? I believe the very logic of story most plausibly indicates that it was. It is difficult to imagine that the son of Helios, the powerful king could take no notice of the seizure of the Golden Fleece. A hint at this can be seen already in the Homeric *Odyssey*, where Argo is referred to as "famed by all" (*Od.*, XII, 69), also in Hesiod, who speaks about many ordeals endured by Jason before he reached Iolcus with Medea (*Theog.*, 997), in Mimnermus, who highlights Medea's role in the success of the expedition (11 v), in Pindar, who reminds us that Medea wedded against her father's will and that she rescued Argo and all her crew from danger (*Od.*, XIII, 53-54), in Pherecydes (fr. 254), who speaks about the pursuers, in Apollodorus (I,9,24), whose *Library* gives an account of two stages of the pursuit as, presumably, must have been described in the sources available to him: a) Aetes himself participates in the pursuit but is hindered by the collection and burial of Apsyrtus' remains; b) Having returned to Colchis, he sent hosts of Colchians to search for Argo. Therefore, I believe that the story of taking Medea against her father's will, Medea's complicity in slaughtering her brother, her assistance in overcoming the dangers and the Colchian pursuers' reluctance to return to Colchis for the fear of Aetes must have been known already in the early versions of the myth. Individual details of the pursuit would vary in accordance with the poets' imagination. Apsyrtus' episode could be cited as an example: It is difficult to say which version is earlier: whether

Apsyrtus was an infant at the time of the Argonauts' campaign or an adult, whether he was killed in his home, in a river, in the Pontus or in the Adriatic Sea, whether he (or the parts of his dismembered body) was buried in his homeland, in Tomis, or in an Adriatic island, whether his slaughter caused Zeus' rage, whether Circe purified Medea and Jason of the sin in the Pontus or in the Mediterranean (13). Unlike these details, whose versions vary in different accounts, the episode of the Colchian pursuit is reported almost in all versions. That the pursuers could not capture the Argonauts and were therefore unable to return home seems to be taken for granted in all the accounts. Since the 3rd century BC, ancient sources claim insistently that the pursuers settled in the Adriatic. The specialists of Paleo-Balkan studies attempt to justify the information by considering historical facts. They believe that after the Milesian colonists discovered Colchis in the 7th-6th centuries BC and the expedition of the Argonauts became closely associated with the eastern Black Sea littoral, the relations between the Mediterranean and Colchis intensified. At the time, part of the Milesian colonists migrated from Colchis to the Adriatic, which could have generated the version of the Colchians' settlement in the Adriatic. Thus, along with the transformation of the myth in the Hellenistic period, the migration of Greek colonists could have been reflected in the pursuers' episode (14). However, such interpretation of the information provided by ancient authors may not seem plausible enough as the learned men of the Hellenistic period are less likely to have confused Greek colonists with autochthonic Colchians; or Calimachus, a merited philologist, could hardly have failed to realize that the word which he took for Colchian in fact belonged to the language of the Greek colonists.

These observations prompt the following question: How else can we explain the information provided in Greek sources about the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic? I believe they can be associated with possible relations between Colchis and the Adriatic in the 15th-11th centuries BC, which can be inferred from archeological and linguistic evidence.

Archeological evidence reveals interesting encounters between Colchis and the so-called Terramare and Danube valley cultures dated to the 2nd millennium and the early 1st millennium BC (15). The encounters are so significant that some scholars even do not rule out the existence of a Colchian ethnic element in these regions of Europe (16). Anyway, close relations between the regions in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages are found fairly plausible. Elements typical of Colchian culture appear in northern Italy and the Danube area after a strong Kartvelian component

was established in the Pre-Greek linguistic world at the turn of the 2nd millennium BC, as a result of the migration of some Caucasian and primarily, Kartvelian tribes during the Great Migration of Peoples. The “Colchian Migration” apparently started a new stage in the relations between the Kartvelian tribes and the Balkan, Danube and northern Italian regions, which was reflected in archeological as well as linguistic data. In this connection, it would be interesting to study the substrate vocabulary of modern Adriatic inhabitants, whose languages are mostly Slavonic. Now I will only confine myself to ancient Macedonian vocabulary preserved in ancient Greek sources. I will dwell on several so-called Macedonian formatives that are not attested either in the Mycenaean or the Homeric epics. This may compel us to assume that the formatives must have been unknown to Pre-Greek and early Greek dialects and must have been considered by Greek lexicographers to be pure macedonisms (17). Let us discuss several of them:

ἄδρατα: according to Hesychius, the Macedonian formative denoted “bright whether, clear sky”. The form is not widespread in Greek and its origin is not known (18). In my opinion, it must be related to the Georgian-Zan **adr-* root (Georg. *adre*, Megr. *ordo* “morning”, Laz *ordo* “early, quickly” (19). The Macedonian formative obviously stems from the common Kartvelian variant of the pre-differentiation period rather than from the later Zan stem.

ἄργελλα/ἄργυλλα: the first version of the formative with e is defined in the Suida as “a Macedonian dwelling place where, [men] bathe while warming up”. The second version with i, according to notes mentioned by Strabo (V 244), was used in Magna Graecia by the Cymmerians to denote an underground dwelling. The etymology is unknown (20). The *adgil-i* formative, derived from **deg-/dg* Georgian-Zan stem with the help of the Kartvelian derivational **a-* prefix and the Georgian-Zan *-il* suffix, develops *r* in western Kartvelian dialects, from which it was borrowed by Megrelian > *ardgil-i* and Svan > *argil* “the worshipping place/ the place for praying” (21). I believe the root must have been borrowed by Macedonian from the same source.

κάρισα - / σάρισσα: according to Theophrastus and Polybius, the formative refers to „Macedonian lance“. Its etymology is unknown (22). It can be associated with the formatives derived from **sar-* Georgian-Zan stem: Georg. *isari*, *sreva*, *sari*; Megr. *isindi/ isgindi* „lance“, Laz. *isaği* „arrow“ (23). A formative corresponding to the Georgian-Zan root can be found in Macedonian.

Δαλάγγαν: according to Hesichius, the glossa denoted “sea”, probably, in the Macedonian and was the equivalent of Greek θάλασσα, θάλαττα, meaning „salty water“ (24). Thus, the δαλ-, θαλ- root implied the meaning of saltiness. The etymology is unknown (25). It can be associated with the common Kartvelian **dal-a* root, whose derivatives are formatives denoting “curds/curdled milk, rennet, butter milk”, that is, salty liquid: Geo. *dala*, *dalamuci*, *dalamo*; Zan *ndo/do* “do”, Svan *dgr/dgr* “rennet” (26). In this case too, the Macedonian formative shows relations with the Kartvelian archetypical root.

κάραβος: according to Hesychius, the formative was used by the Macedonians to denote “door”. Its homophonic equivalent in Greek had different meanings: “sea lobster”, “a kind of beetle, a scarab beetle”, etc. (27). The Macedonian formative can be associated with formatives derived from the common Kartvelian **kar-/kr-* stem: Geo. *kari*, *karebi*; Svan. *likre* “opening” (28).

Πόλα: Strabo (V, C216) presents an extract from Calimachus, according to which the Colchian pursuers of Argo founded a city and, as mentioned above, called it Pola, which in their language denoted “fugitives”. This etymology, attested in Calimachus’ fragments, is also mentioned by a number of other ancient authors. Bearing in mind Calimachus’ erudition, his statements are to be treated with due consideration and should not be taken for his poetic imagination, all the more so that no convincing etymology of the place name has so far been offered. I would find it reasonable to associate the name with the Georgian formative *rbola* “running”, derived from the Georgian-Zan **reb-/rb-* “running” stem (29) by adding a common Kartvelian verbal suffix *-*ol*. It is highly likely that the *rb-* cluster in anlaut could have lost the first consonant *r* when borrowed by Greek, while Kartvelian *b*, due to its relatively low degree of voicing, could have been replaced by *p* in Greek (30).

Ἰστρον/Ἰστρος, the ancient name of the Danube River. It is mentioned as early as by Hesiod in the so-called Catalogue of Rivers (*Theog.*, 339) along with other well-known rivers of the ancient world. A river with the same name is also attested on the island of Crete, giving name to the city of Istron, analogically with a number of place names with *istr-* element found in the Danube area (31). The meaning of the root can be related to some quality of a river. Taking into account the swift flow of the affluent Danube River, the meaning of the root could be associated with “swiftness”. E. J. Furneé revealed an interesting correspondence of the common Kartvelian *ç* sound with the Pre-Greek *st*. If we share Furneé’s theory, the Georgian-Zan verbal root **çar-/çr-* can be considered as the

basis whose derivatives can be Georgian and Mingrelian formatives having the meaning of promptness (Geo. *crapa*, (s)*crapi*; megr. *corapa*). **içar-/içr-*, formed through the combination of the Georgian-Zan derivational prefix **i-* and **çar-/çr-* stem, could have developed into the Pre-Greek *istr-* element.

The study of ancient proper names and vocabulary associated with the Danube area and the Adriatic, especially its so-called Illyrian part, may further reveal a number of interesting linguistic encounters. As concerns the above-considered examples, they may prompt the following hypothesis:

If the discussed formatives are really Kartvelian borrowings, they must have penetrated the region and languages in question before the 1st millennium BC as they are marked by common Georgian-Zan and not merely Zan properties. Hence, it is difficult to agree with those who associate the myths about the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic with the migration of part of the Ionian colonists inhabiting the eastern Black Sea littoral in the 6th-5th centuries BC. It is unlikely that the Hellenistic authors could have confused the Ionian Greeks with the Colchians. That the Colchians were known as early as the Late Bronze Age is suggested by the following: a. some golden items recovered in Mycenaean Iolcus (modern Volos) must presumably be Colchian (32); b. The majority of scholars believe that *ko-ki-da* and *ko-ki-de-jo* formatives found in Linear B texts of Knossos of the Mycenaean period are ethnic names derived from *Κολχίς*, *ίδος* (33). If we agree that the Mycenaean formatives indeed have this meaning, then the appearance of the Colchians on the island of Crete also need to be accounted for. It is hard to believe that in the 14th century hired or enslaved people were taken to the central city of the island directly from Colchis. It might be more logical to associate the “Cretan Colchians” with the Caucasians migrated to the Adriatic.

The following question may naturally crop up: If the episode of the Colchian pursers’ settlement in the Adriatic, described by Apollonius, really reflects the Colchian migration from the eastern Black Sea littoral in the Late Bronze Age, why is it missing in the earlier versions of the myth? Why did it become popular only in the Hellenistic period? In my opinion, this can be explained by the fact that the Greeks’ relations with the region of the Colchians’ possible migration started in a relatively later period. The Illyrian coast of the Adriatic must have fallen in the scope of their interest only in the late classical period, i. e. from the 4th century BC (34). The Illyrian kingdoms start to appear on the historical scene no earlier

than 400-167 BC (35). This is the period when the episode of the Colchian pursuers' settlement in the Adriatic appears in the Greek tradition. The version must have been rooted in the historical memory of the Illyrians. However, it could not have been influenced by the Greek tradition as the version of the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic, as seen above, was unknown in earlier Greek sources.

Thus, the process of the inclusion of the Adriatic episode into the myth of the Argonauts can be presented in the following way: Thus, the discussions presented above may allow us to speak about the following historical prerequisites determining the inclusion of the Adriatic episode into the myth of the Argonauts: in the 2nd millennium BC, there were regular migrations from the territory of western Georgia, probably, via northern Black Sea littoral, towards the Balkans and the Adriatic. It should not be ruled out that in the Late Bronze Age, people known as Colchians might have been compelled by some reasons to migrate in quite large numbers and settle the Adriatic. Later, the Greeks start intensive relations with the region and get acquainted with the tradition preserved in the memory of the Illyrians about the Colchians' descendents, who must already have assimilated. This might have prompted Greek authors to associate the Illyrian Colchians with the myth of the Argonauts.

NOTES:

- (1) Lesky A., *Aia*, Wiener Studien 63, 1949, 22 ff.;
- (2) Dräger P., *Argo Pasimelusa. Der Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur. Teil I. Theos Aitios*, Stuttgart 1993; DNP, I;
- (3) Haas V., *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter*, s. a. 315;
- (4) West M. L., *The Argonaut Legend in Early Greek Poetry*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 10 (1), 10 (2), Tbilisi 2007;
- (5) For more details, see: *The Argonautica and World Culture*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies 10 (1), 10 (2); See also Gordeziani R., *The Expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis in the Light of Modern Studies*, *The Kartvelologist* 15, 2009, 45 ff.
- (6) Cf. Gordeziani R., *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters, III. Etruscans. Conclusive Comments*, Tbilisi 2007, 464 ff.
- (7) A number of brochures and online resources advertising Adriatic resorts put a special emphasis on the region's associations with the myth of the Argonauts.
- (8) *The Argonauts*, narrated and commented by R. Gordeziani, Tbilisi 1999, 111 ff.

(9) According to Scholion 1002 on the *Argonautica*, this part of the Colchians settled on the island of Korkyra (modern Corfu).

(10) Cf. DNP, 8, 1152 ff.

(11) Homers *Ilias*, Gesamtkommentar, hrsg. J. Latacz, Bd. II, Zweiter Gesang, Fasz. 2. Kommentar, Leipzig 2003, 280 ff.

(12) CF. Note 1.

(13) For the overview of sources, cf. Gordeziani R., *The Argonauts*, 109 ff.

(14) Vast resources are available for review on the Internet, see: <http://lika.me/History%20of%20Ulcinj.html>

(15) Apakidze J., *Westliche Kontakte der Kolchis-Kultur om Anfang des I. Jahrtausends*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 9, 2006 14 ff.

(16) For the overview, see Apakidze J., *op. cit.*

(17) The majority of the formatives are found in Hesychius, cf. Tischner H. <http://www.heinrich-tischner.de/22-sp/1sprach/aegaeis/mak-a.htm>

(18) EDG, I, 22.

(19) KEW, 33.

(20) EDG, I, 125.

(21) For the etymology of the Kartvelian root, cf. KEW, 127; for the development of *r* in front of *d* in western Georgian dialects, cf. Zhghenti S., *Phonetics of the Georgian Language*, Tbilisi 1956, 246 ff.

(22) EDG, II, 1309.

(23) KEW, 360.

(24) For more details, see: cf. Lesky A., *Qavlassa*, *Hermes* 78, 1943, 258ff.

(25) EDG, I, 530.

(26) The etymology of the Kartvelian root and its relationship with Pre-Greek is discussed in detail in Gordeziani R., *Greek Words of Unknown Etymology Denoting Sea*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 12, 2009, 160 ff.

(27) Furnée E. J., *Vorgriechisch-kartvelisches. Studien zum ostmediterranen Substrat nebst einem Versuch zu einer neuen pelagischen Theorie*, Leuven 1979, 50; EDG, I, 642.

(28) For the etymology of the Kartvelian root, cf. KEW, 221 f. In my *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters*, II, 181, I share Furnée's opinion concerning the relationship of the Macedonian formative with the Kartvelian root, however, now I

believe that unlike the Pre-Greek, the Macedonian directly borrowed the Kartvelian formative in a relatively later period.

(29) For the etymology of the root, see Chukhua M., *The Comparative Grammar of Iberian and Ichkerian Languages*, Tbilisi 2008, 456.

(30) Cf. Gordeziani R., *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters, III, Etruscan, Conclusive Comments*, Tbilisi 2007, 479 ff.

(31) Cf. Brown R. A., *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources*, Amsterdam 1985, 331 ff.

(32) Cf. Adrymi-Sismani V., *Iolkos: Myth, Archaeology and History*, *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 10 (1), 2007, 20 ff.

(33) For more details, cf. Gordeziani L., *Essays in Ancient History*, Tbilisi 2009, 81 ff.

(34) For an overview, cf. Cabanes P., *Greek Colonization of the Adriatic*, in: *Greek Colonization. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas*, vol. 2, ed. G. Tsetskladze, Leiden 2008, 155 ff.

(35) *Illyrians*, Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Illyrians>

ABBREVIATIONS:

EDG = Beekes R., *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden Brill 2010.

KEW = Fähnrich H., *Kartwelisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden Brill 2007.

Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)

THE TRADITION OF FOSTER ADOPTION IN ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN AREA AND GEORGIA

(TYPOLOGICAL SIMILARITIES)

One Etruscan mirror found in Volterra and dated 350-325 BC, shows Etruscan supreme goddess Uni, who is the equivalent of Roman Juno and Greek Hera, suckling adult bearded Heracle (Roman Hercules and Greek Heracles). The inscription on the picture says that Heracle is Uni's son – *unial clan*.¹ Two gods and two goddesses attend the scene. Such a scene is not the only one ever found.²

Such a theme is unknown to Greek mythology. However, there is one myth about Hera and Heracles, which is somehow linked to this version depicted on the Etruscan mirror. The legend is preserved in works by Diodorus of Sicily and Pausanias. The story is as follows: Fearing jealous Hera, Alcmena left newborn Heracles in the field beyond the walls of Thebes. Instructed by Zeus, Athena called Hera to have a stroll there. The goddess of wisdom made Hera pity the crying and hungry baby abandoned by his mother and asked her to feed the child. Hera breastfed Heracles, but the latter sucked so hard that the embittered goddess flung him aside. Breastfeeding Heracles, Hera made him immortal and, as the myth says, the spilt milk was transformed into the Milky Way.³

According to another version, Hermes took baby Heracles to Olympus and Zeus laid the newborn at Hera's breast while she was sleeping. The

¹ TLE (39) – Pallottino M., *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*, Firenze 1968.

² Similar scenes can be found on Apulian and Felsinean mirrors (four in all) and a locket from Praeneste. Cf. Van Der Meer L. G., *Interpretatio Etrusca*, Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors, Amsterdam 1995, 124.

³ Diodoros Sicullus, *Bibliotheca Historicae*, IV, 9 – Pausania, *Descriptio Graeciae*, IX, 25, 2.

baby sucked the goddess with such force that she woke up and flung him down and a spurt of milk flew across the sky and became the Milky Way.⁴

Despite similarity, there is an essential difference between the Etruscan and Greek themes. In particular, Etruscan Heracles has a beard and he is not a baby like in the Greek myth. It is also noteworthy that in almost all versions of the Greek myth, Hera is Heracles' wet nurse, not mother.⁵

The aforementioned makes it difficult to admit that the theme depicted on the mirror of Volterra was "borrowed" from Greek mythology.

We have devoted a special study to Etruscan Heracle, which made it clear that the image consists of two chronological layers. One of them originates from a later period and is indeed linked to the Greek mythology on Heracles. This layer took shape as Hellenic mythology became more popular after Greek colonists established first settlements in Italy in the 8th century BC. The second layer is more archaic and is linked to the Pre-Indo-European population of the Mediterranean region. Analyzing archaeological data and information from ancient sources, we drew the following conclusions:

1. Heracle is an organic deity for the Etruscan religion;
2. Heracle is the son or an adopted son of a supreme god (possibly Uni);
3. Heracle seems to be linked to the celestial world;
4. Heracle cannot be regarded as the Etruscan interpretation of Heracles.

It is noteworthy that Roman Hercules also proved not to be a simple copy of Greek Heracles.⁶

The etymology of the name – Heracles – also provides information for conclusions. The explanation by mythographers that "Heracles" is derived from "Hera" and "Cleo" ("Hera's glory") seemed unnatural back in ancient times. It is difficult to imagine that the glorification of Heracles through his rivalry with Hera could have contributed to the creation of his name. The "awkwardness" was sensed by authors of antiquity, who referred to the aforementioned episode of breastfeeding and other myths to "settle" relations between Hera and Heracles, noting at the same time that Heracles was called Alcaeus before Hera adopted him.⁷ In our opinion, the fact that the mother (Alcmene) and the son (Alcaeus) bore names derived from one stem points to the matriarchal and Pre-Greek roots of the cult of

⁴ Eratosthenes, 44; Higinus, II, 43.

⁵ The only exception in this regard is the information that residents of Thebes regarded Heracles as Hera's son (Eratosthenes, 44; Higinus, II, 43; Diodorus Sicullus, 4, 10).

⁶ For details cf.: Kobakhidze E., "Italian" Heracles, Logos. The Annual of Greek and Roman Studies, 2, 2004, 178 (in Georgian; Summary in English).

⁷ Homer, *Ilias*, XIX, 95 ff; Apollod., II, 4, 5; Plautus, *Amph.*, 1096; Diod. Sic., IV, 10.

Heracles. Presumably, the mother of proto-Heracles was quite popular among the Pre-Indo-European tribes of the Mediterranean region. The fact that her name "disappeared" in the new name of her son and was replaced by Hera was probably a manifestation of Greek expansion. In particular, the recognition of Heracles as Zeus' son probably shows that the cult was incorporated in the Greek pantheon (cf. the canonization of Dionysius in a similar manner).

It is clear that the Greek religion and mythology accepted the step, because this cult was highly popular. However, the recognition of Heracles and Dionysius did not imply the recognition of their mothers, as they were mortal women. Moreover, Heracles acquired a new mother – unrivalled Hera. That was why Alcmena's son Alcaeus was called Heracles. At the same time, the same deity, who was believed to be Uni's son, continued its existence in the Etruscan world of ancient Italy. (It is noteworthy that the stem *cl-, *cle- means "son" in Etruscan. Correspondingly, Hera+cleos=Hera's son) As regards Etruscan Uni, the presence of her name on the Bronze Liver⁸ makes it clear that this deity belonged to Etruscan haruspices and worshipping and was organic for the Etruscan religion.

Given the aforementioned, what is depicted on the mirror of Volterra? In our opinion, it depicts the tradition or ritual of foster adoption, which was characteristic of the Pre-Greek and Pre-Italic population of the Mediterranean region and was preserved in the Etruscan tradition. An adult person (presumably, most frequently man) sucked the breast of his foster-mother (possibly in the presence of eyewitnesses), becoming her foster son.

Let us now consider the tradition of foster adoption from the ethnological viewpoint. Ethnography has established three types of kinship: blood kinship, marital kinship, and a third type of kinship created artificially. There is no single term in special literature to denote the latter. Such kinship is called "fictitious",⁹ "spiritual",¹⁰ "artificial", or "milk"¹¹ kinship. Researchers regard as such kinship emerging on the basis of adopting and baptizing children, entrusting babies to wet nurses, entrusting children to other families, and becoming sworn brothers.

⁸ Maggiani A., *Qualche osservazione sul fegato di Piacenza*, SE, voll L, MCMLXXII, serie III 1982, 53-98; Van der Meer. *The Bronze liver of Piacenza*, Amsterdam 1987.

⁹ Ковалевский М. М., *Современный обычай и древний закон: Обычное право Осетии в историко-сравнительном освещении*, Т. II, Москва 1886, 311; 312; 314.

¹⁰ Зелинский С., *Родство*. Известия кавказского отдела императорского русского географического общества, т. XII, 1897, 153.

¹¹ Гардинов В. К., "Кормилице и кормилице" краткой редакции "Русской-правды". краткие сообщения Института Этнографии АН СССР, Вып. 35, 1960, 49.

Artificial kinship can be found in traditions of many peoples of the world (for example, Ossetians, Armenians, Yugoslavs, Russians, Georgians, and others). It is obvious that Hera's breastfeeding baby Heracles, which was mentioned above, is a reflection of such kinship. It probably corresponds to the tradition of entrusting babies to wet nurses.

The theme depicted on the Etruscan mirror is different from the types of artificial kinship found in Greek myths. The former is not linked to entrusting babies to wet nurses. It is rather an example of adoption (and the inscription on the mirror explains this). To be more precise, it is a specific type of adoption – foster adoption.

The tradition of foster adoption depicted on the Etruscan mirror is very specific. It has no analogues in the ancient world. However, it is interesting that it seems to be linked to the specific ethnic version of foster adoption widespread in almost all Georgian regions. Like the theme shown on the mirror of Volterra, it is about the adoption of an adult person by a family with no blood kinship to him. In this case, the mother of a family adopts an alien son, who has his own family.

As artificial kinship, the act of foster adoption implied, as a rule, specific relations not only between two people (in this case, between a foster mother and a foster son), but also between two families.

Let us now consider concrete examples from the Kartvelian world.

This tradition was quite widespread in Georgia's mountain regions, particularly in Khevsureti.¹² It is noteworthy that this tradition was alive even in the 20th century, which is confirmed by an excerpt from well-known Georgian writer Mikheil Javakhishvili. In his *White Collar*, a young protagonist of the story says: "A great event took place yesterday. The Tsiklauris made me Tsiklauri. The families of Mgelika and Totia adopted me. I touched Nanuka's, Iamze's, and Mzekala's breasts with my teeth".¹³ The same ritual is found in the Svan traditions.¹⁴

In some Georgian regions, specifically in Samegrelo and Lechkumi, a family could adopt a son, because they had lost their own son. The ritual was almost the same as in Khevsureti and Svaneti. Specifically, in Samegrelo, "a mother, who had lost her son, would adopt a son in a ritual that created the full illusion of breastfeeding. A young man would visit his mother-to-be and touch her breast with his teeth, which was called

¹² Javakhadze N., *Ethnic Specificity of Artificial Kinship in Khevsureti*. Georgian-Caucasian Ethnographic Studies (1987), Tbilisi 1990, 100-115 (*in Georgian*).

¹³ Javakhishvili M., *White Collar*. Selected Works in Six Volumes, vol. II, Tbilisi 1959, 509 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁴ Ониани А., *Сванские тексты на Лашхском наречии*, С-Петербург 1927, 43.

dzudzush kibirish gedguma [touching the breast with teeth] in Megrelian. The foster son would then say an oath: 'You are my mother and I am your son' and behave like the son, who had just come back home... From that moment on, the mother, who had lost her son would become his *dida(pu)chapili* and he would become *skuachapili*. The sons of the family would become foster brothers and daughters foster sisters".¹⁵¹⁶

If in Lechkhumi, a woman adopted a son to replace her own son, the foster son would touch her breast with his teeth on the first anniversary of the death of the woman's son.¹⁷

Examples of foster adoption could also be found in Georgian folklore.

In the Georgian fairy tale *Reed Girl*, the prince tells the giant's mother: "Mother, I implore you to give me some water. I am thirsty". The mother of the giant adopts him as her son and helps him, explaining: "Had I wanted, I would have eaten you up immediately, but you called me mother and that saved you".¹⁸

We think it is also important that touching a breast with teeth as described in fairy tales is one of the means of sharing a mystery and a kind of oath. In particular, the protagonist in the well-known Georgian fairy tale *Aspurtsela* finds it to be the only way to make his mother say the truth.¹⁹

As a conclusion, we can say that it is necessary to look deeper into the typological similarity between the traditions of foster adoption of Mediterranean and Kartvelian tribes. Numerous other parallel rituals that may be found during the research may provide an opportunity to draw reliable conclusions. It is of course impossible to make a universal conclusion at this stage of research, but it is obvious that the ethnographic and folklore materials, which ethnological studies are based on, are indeed important in studying relations between various peoples. A number of fundamental works have been created recently²⁰ on Mediterranean-Georgian relations and such materials may serve as an additional argument.

¹⁵ Sakhokia T., *The Cult of the Dead in Samegrelo. Materials for Georgia's Ethnography*, III, Tbilisi 1940, 180-182 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁶ Sakhokia T., *Ethnographic Studies*, Tbilisi 1956, 76-77 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁷ Savakhadze N., *Op. cit.*, 111.

¹⁸ *The Folklore of Caucasus Peoples*. The author of the project and editor-in-chief - Naira Gelashvili. Special editor Lia Chlaidze compiled the collection of works and wrote the Introduction and notes, Tbilisi 2008, 46 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁹ *Aspurtsela*. In: *Beloved Fairy Tales*. Planeta, Tbilisi 2001, 9 (*in Georgian*).

²⁰ Rismag Gordeziani's study in four volumes - *Mediterranea - Kartvelica*, Logos, Tbilisi 2007-2008 - is particularly noteworthy among the Works published on this issue over the past few years.

Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi)

THE MYTH OF APSYRTOS IN THE ANCIENT SOURCES

It is widely acknowledged, that the numerous episodes of Medea's mythic biography present such different stories about Medea's persona, that it seems quite difficult to find the unifying theme tying these stories together. And what is more, we find no unity within a single episode of her mythic life, especially when one is dealing with the big number of narratives from different time periods.¹

One of the most enthusiastically elaborated episodes by ancient authors of Medea's mythic history is the story of Apsyrtos' murder presenting a big number of different variant versions. However, Apsyrtos's death as J. Bremmer had noticed, received little attention from classical scholars. The scientists analyzing this myth mainly attempted to find out why was Apsyrtos murdered – how did his murder help the Argonauts to escape², or they tried to elucidate the reason, why it was a sister (Medea), who murdered a brother (Apsyrtos) thus trying to study the murder's significance from the point of brother/sister relationship.³

Notwithstanding the importance of this problem in the present essay we aim at studying the other aspect of the issue. In the paper we aim to investigate the elaboration and the development of Apsyrtos' myth in the

¹ For very important and multidimensional investigation of Medea see *Medea, Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art*, ed. by Claus J. J. and Johnston S. L., Princeton 1997.

² For example Versnel suggested that the dismemberment of Apsyrtos served as a sacrifice to avert danger at sea. Versnel H. S., *Note on the Maschalismos of Apsyrtos, Mnemosyne*, 26, 1973, 62-63. For critical commentary on Versnel see Ginzburg C., *Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, London 1990.

³ Bremmer J. N., *Why Did Medea Kill Her Brother Apsyrtus in: Medea*, 1997, 83-100.

ancient sources through detailed analyze of those components of the myth, which we considered to be main ones: a) the specifics of the murder; b) the performer of the murder; c) the place of the murder. Our study, we hope, will elucidate the role Medea played in Apsyrtos' murder as well as throw the light on different interpretations of this story in the sources of the various time periods. Besides, this study serves to another goal also. The analyze of various accounts concerning the locale of Apsyrtos' murder and the settling of the Colchians in Adriatic will help to learn more details about the Kartvelian – Aegean relationship and migration processes in the ancient period.

We have to note beforehand, that the numerous versions of this myth are created by varying of the above components of the myth. Therefore these components appear to be the main variables of the myth. In order to make our study more clear to comprehend and at the same time technically more easy for operating with large number of the data, we have used these variables to classify many versions of the myth into the main group variants. The classification of the group variants is to be based on one of these variables. We have chosen the variable – specifics of the murder and based on it created the group variants of the story. Our choice was caused by the fact that this variable seemed to us as the most essential element of the myth, and at the same time it appeared to be most convenient to connect with it other data of the myth in more or less chronological order.

The most important element of this variable – the specifics of Apsyrtos' murder seems to be the status of Apsyrtos in the moment of the murder. In the versions of the myth Apsyrtos sometimes is a boy/young baby taken by Medea/Argonauts when they fled from Colchis by the ship; in other versions his murder (he still is a boy) takes place in the palace in Colchis; and in some versions Apsyrtos appears to be a young man being the commander-in-chief of the pursuing Colchians. The scholars mainly agree that the oldest version of Apsyrtos' myth seems to be the one, in which Apsyrtos is a little child. According to this version, Medea takes her younger brother while flying from Colchis. When the Argonauts are pursued by the Colchians, the boy is killed and cut into pieces, which are scattered over a sea/river/fields in order to delay the pursuit. Their assumption is based, on the one hand, on the fact, that the oldest known variant of the myth – Pherecydes' account presents this very version, and, on the other hand, on the suggestion, that the above version presents the

development of the story's events on the most reasonable way.⁴ According to Pherecydes (ca. I half of the V BC) Medea took the baby Apsyrtos from his bed and on Jason's demand brought to the Argonauts. When they were pursued, the baby was killed, dismembered and his limbs were thrown into the river (Pher. FGr Hist 3F 32 a= Schol. Ap. Rh. IV, 223): Φερεκύδης ἐν ἐβδόμῳ/τὴν Μήδειαν φησὶν ἄραι τὸν/Ἄψυρτον ἐκ τῆν κοίτης, Ἰάσονος εἰπόντος αὐτῇ, καὶ/ἐνεγκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας. Ἐπεὶ ἐδιώχθησαν,/σφάξαι, καὶ μελίσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. The second scholium of *Argonautica*, which cites the other fragment of Pherecydes gives the same information (FGr Hist3F 32b = Schol. Ap. Rh., IV, 228): Φερεκύδης ἐν ἐβδόμῳ//, διωκομένος/ἀναβιβᾶσαι ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν τὸν/Ἄψυρτον, καὶ μελίσαντας ῥίψαι εἰς ποταμόν. The problem of the interpretation of these fragments lies in defying of the performer of the murder. Some scholars suggest, that the actual killer of Apsyrtos was Medea⁵ notwithstanding the fact, that in the text Medea isn't named as a killer, the verbs - σφάξαι - killing and ἐκβαλεῖν - throwing stand in infinitives and the word μελίσαντες - the performers of dismemberment is presented by the participium in the plural (the same plural form of μελίσαντες we see in second scholium). All this can only mean one thing - there was more than one killer. The Argonauts, the Argonauts and Medea, Jason and Medea - all are possible candidates for Apsyrtos' murder, but by no means Medea alone.⁶ Especially as the ancient authors themselves, as the scholium to Euripides' *Medea* makes it evident, did not say, that the killer of Medea was only Medea and no one else: "[Apsyrtos] was killed,

⁴ RE, XV, 36 Lesky's article on Medea.

⁵ Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1970, 944-45, article *Medea*; DNP article *Medea*, the author the well-known specialist of Argonauts' myth Drager P.; Page D. L., Euripides' *Medea*, Oxford 1936, n. 1334; Bremmer J., in: *Medea*, 1997, 85.

⁶ The second group of the scholars, who do not ascribe Apsyrtos' murder to Medea, consider the performers of Apsyrtos' murder among these candidates: the Argonauts - Hardt R., *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology*, based on H. J. Rose's *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, London 2004, 393; Jason participated in the murder - *The Library of Greek Mythology* by Apollodorus, with commentaries by R. Hardt, Oxford 1997, n. 54; Braswell interprets the fragment in the following way: "Medea took the baby Apsyrtos and brought him on Jason's advice to the Argonauts. When they were being pursued, they killed the baby... here can be the Argonauts, together with Jason and Medea". Braswell B. K., *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar*, Berlin 1988, 19; The Argonauts - RE, II, 1, 285, the article *Apsyrtos* by Wernike. According to Dyck, from the surviving reports it can not be made out whether Jason or Medea was the actual killer. Dyck A. R., *On the Way From Colchis to Corinth: Medea in Book IV of the Argonautica*, *Hermes*, 117, 1989, 445-70, 461.

according to some authors by Medea, and according to others by the Argonauts" (Schol. Eur., *Med.*, 167).

Now if we turn to the third variable of the myth – the place of Apsyrtos' murder, we'll see that in our oldest version of above mentioned Pherecydes, the baby was killed in a river, which is identified as Phasis⁷. The further argument for this view is Statius *Thebais*, V, 457 and the scholium on this line: "sua iura cruentum Phasis habent" – "Phasis, colored with blood, has its own rules" (Stat., *Theb.*, V, 457), on which the scholiast comments: "The poet calls Phasis bloody because flying from her father's pursuit Medea scattered over it the pieces of killed brother".

In the later variants of this group seeming rather to be reflections of the early accounts, Apsyrtos still is a boy/baby taken away by the Argonauts, though the other variables of the myth – the place of the murder, as well as actual killer are changed. According to Apollodorus (II BC) Aeetes himself pursued the Argonauts. When Medea had seen the approaching Colchians, she killed her brother, cut him into pieces and then threw the limbs into the depth of the sea. Gathering the pieces Aeetes delays the pursuit, buries Apsyrtos and names the place of the burial *Tomeus* (Apoll. I, 9, 24). Thus, the murdered for Apollodorus is Medea and the deed happens to take place in the western part of the Black Sea, in so called "Scythian shore", near the place, where the town Tomi is situated (mod. Konstanz). Almost identical story we see in Tzetze's scholium on Lycophron's *Alexandra* (Tzet., *Lycoph.*, 175). Zenobius' account follows these versions (Zen., *Cent.*, IV, 192).

Ovid presents the grislier tale of Apsyrtos' murder. In his poem little Apsyrtos is also taken away and killed by Medea, though the locale of the murder is slightly changed. This time Medea slaughters his brother not near Tomi, but in Tomi itself. According to Ovid, After Medea had seen the approaching compatriots, she struck the blow to Apsyrtos standing by her, dismembered him and scattered his limbs over the neighboring fields (Ovid., *Tris.*, II, 9, 21-34). Besides, Medea hangs the hands and the head of her brother over the rock to be clearly seen by the Colchians from the sea. The site of the murder – Tomi takes its name from the brutal act – cutting of the body (τομέω). Apsyrtos' dismembered pieces are also scattered over the fields – "spargere per agros" in another poem of Ovid (Ov., *Her.*, VI, 129 foll.)⁸, but this time the fields are not defined concretely. Even

⁷ RE, XV, 35; Hardt, 2004, 393; Dyck, 1989, 461.

⁸ The scholars mainly suggest that these fields are to be the fields near Tomi, though Pearson considers, that the fields in Ovid's *Heroides* (VI) are in Colchis: Sophocles'

more vague is the story in Ovid's *Heroides* XII (Medea's letter to Jason), where Medea only mentions her taken by and dismembered brother (Ov., *Her.*, XII, 113 foll.).

In his article *Tomeus* Stephanes of Byzantium also derives the name of the site from the word *τομέω* (cutting of the body) and localizes the town at the western shore of the Black Sea (Step. Byz. s.v. *Τομέυς* (here Apsyrtos' murderers are Jason and Medea)). It is noteworthy, that *Tomeus* is just one of his versions of the place of Apsyrtos' murder. In other articles of his *Ethnica* three other locales of Apsyrtos' death are named also known to us from the ancient sources. Cicero also places the murder of Apsyrtos on the western coast of the Black Sea (Cic., *De Imp. Pomp.*, 22).

The status of Apsyrtus is same in Seneca's *Medea*, though the murder is mentioned to happen in two different places – in the sea and in the fields of Colchis. In the line 133 Apsyrtus' body is scattered over Pontus – “*sparsum ponto corpus*”, whereas in line 452 Medea asks rhetorically: “Where should I go, to Phasis, the Colchians and to the fields, which I stained with my brother's blood?” (Sen., *Med.*, 133; 145 foll.).

The specifics of the murder is not presented altogether in the stories provided by Arrianus' and Procopius of Caesarea. We have no idea was in their accounts Apsyrtos still a boy/baby or he was the commander of the pursuing Colchians. But still we placed these stories in this group as in these stories the place of the deed – second variable of the myth is also the Black Sea area, the area, in which Apsyrtos' murder is localized in this group. But one thing must be mentioned here – unlike the above sources, the terrible deed is performed in the accounts of Arrianus and Procopius at the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea. The etymology of the toponyme *Apsaros* (the scholars locate the place west of Batumi) in Procopius' and Arrianus' stories is also derived from the place of Apsyrtos' murder.

Moreover, Arrianus informs, that in the past the place *Apsaros* was called Apsyrtos (Arrian., *Peripl.*, 7 (6H)) and Procopius of Caesarea notes, that in Apsaros there was shown Apsyrtos' grave (Proc. Caes., *Bell. Goth.*, IV, 2). The murder of Apsyrtos in Arrianus account is ascribed to Medea, while in Procopius' story this act is ascribed to both – to Jason as well as to Medea.

The site *Apsyrtos* (the place was named like this according to the writer in the early period) as the place where Apsyrtos was killed in the Black Sea is known to Stephanes of Byzantium. The toponyme *Apsyrtos* is

Fragments, edited with additional notes from the Papers of Jebb R. C. and Headlem W. G. by Pearson A. C., Cambridge 1917, 17.

second version of the author of the locale of Apsyrtos' murder (Step. Byz., s. v. Ἀψυρτίδες).

Connecting the toponyme *Apsaros/Apsyrtos* with the periplus of the Argonauts seems to be old one as already the Ionian tradition – the above discussed account of Pherecydes (Pher. FGr H3F32) suggested that Apsyrtos' murder took place in the Black Sea region.⁹

Therefore, in this group variant of the myth, in which Apsyrtus is a little boy/taken away baby the oldest version of the myth or the later reflection of the earlier variant are presented. Apsyrtos' murder here does not exceed the Black Sea area. Apsyrtos is murdered in Phasis or on the western coast of the Black Sea (near Tomi/in Tomi). In the accounts of Arrianus, Procopius of Caesarea and Stephanes of Byzantium, where Apsyrtos' status is not mentioned, the murder takes place on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, namely in Apsaros (near Batumi). Outcoming from these data Wilamowitz's suggestion, that in the oldest version of the myth Apsyrtos' murder took place in the Apsyrtian Island in Adriatic, seems unconvincing. Wilamowitz based his theory on the etymology of the Absortes (the name of the inhabitants of the island of Apsyrtides), which he had derived from Absyrtus. According to him as the toponyme's name is derived from the name of the mythological hero, the connection between two entities should have been very old. Thus, the Apsyrtian Island must have been the original locus of Apsyrtus' death and consequently, the version of the myth presenting this story should be regarded as the oldest one.¹⁰ But in the ancient sources the toponyme Apsirtides is connected with the Apsyrtus' myth in various ways and not only as the locale of Apsyrtos' murder. The Apsyrtian island is also the place, where: a) Apsyrtos' corpse was washed up (see below) and b) the place, where the pursuing Colchians settle (RE, II, I, 285). Therefore, the etymology of the Apsyrtides is not connected only with Apsyrtos' murder. And besides, the fact of derivation of the toponyme's name from the name

⁹ Journal of the Ancient History (Vestnik Drevnei Istorii), XXIII, 267.

¹⁰ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf U. v., Hellenistische dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos, vol. II, Berlin 1924, 193 foll. According to Dyck the attempt of Wilamowitz to establish against the oldest literary sources the Apsyrtian island of Istria as the original locus of Apsyrtus' murder is unconvincing as well. Besides, Dyck suggests, that the major island of the group is called Ἀψωρος – 'free of scurvy' (Herodian I, 200, 17 Lentz) and considers this form to be an original one. The name for the island group – Ἀψυρτίδες he explains as a result of folk – etymological crossing of Ἀψωρος and – Ἀψυρτος Dyck, 1989, 461. But see Tomaschek's articles – *Apsoros* and *Apsyrtides*, RE, II, I, 284, who doesn't mention the form Ἀψωρος.

of the mythic hero does not seem to be enough argument for suggesting, that the oldest version should have been the one showing this derivation. Otherwise, the version of the myth, which places Apsyrtos' murder in Apsaros (previous Apsyrtos near Batumi) according to the same logic, should be considered as the oldest version and the toponyme *Apsaros* must also be considered as the original place of Apsyrtos' murder. Especially because in this version the etymology of this toponyme is derived from the name of the mythic hero much more directly as the ancient writers themselves spoke about this derivation (the accounts of Arrianus and Procopius of Caesarea discussed above).

Our suggestion that Apsyrtos' murder in the oldest strata of the myth does not exceed the Black Sea area¹¹, does not contradict the fact of the settling of the Colchians in Adriatic, as their settling in Adriatic is not connected directly with Apsyrtos' murder. The Colchians continue to pursue the Argonauts in the Adriatic Sea even after Apsyrtos was murdered. For example, in the later reflections of the myth (that of Apollodorus and Tzetzes, which we had placed in this variant group) Aeetes sends out a large number of the Colchians in search of Argo after he had buried Apsyrtos in Tomis. As the Colchians had not achieved their goal, they did not return back and settled in various places of Adriatic area – some settle in the Ceraunian Mountains, others – in Ilyria, in Apsyrtian Island. One part of the Colchians caught up with the Argonauts at Pheacea and demanded Medea from the local king. But as they neither had nor got what they had demanded, they did not return back and settle in Pheacea (Apoll. I, 9, 24; Tzet., Lycoph., 175).

In the second group of Apsyrtos' myth we placed the versions, in which though Apsyrtos is still a baby/boy, the specifics of the murder is slightly changed – the murder happens in Aeetes' palace or somewhere nearby. Therefore, he is not taken away to the Argo. This variant of the crime, as Lesky had suggested, should have been introduced in this myth by tragedy and supposedly it should have been originated from the demand of the dramatic unity.¹² Up to now the 319 fragment of Sophocles' *Colchian Women* is considered as the oldest version of this variant version. According to the scholars, the tragedy most likely described Jason's deeds

¹¹ See also Kaukhchishvili T., *The Old Greek Sources of Georgia's History*, Tbilisi 1976, 22. "In the oldest version Media kills Apsyrtos in Colchis and scatters his pieces in Phasis, it means, that here we can not speak about the long voyage of the Colchians together with Apsyrtos and their settling in the Apsyrtian island."

¹² RE, XV, 36.

in Colchis and Apsyrtos' murder in the palace of Aeetes. The fragment informs us the following Σοφοκλῆς δε: ἐν Κολχίσι φησι: κατὰ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Αἰήτου τὸν παῖδα σφαγῆναι (Sop.fr. 319 TGF Nauck² = Schol. Ap.Rh.IV, 223) - "Sophocles' in *The Colchian Women* tells, that the child was killed in Aeetes' palace". The motive of the crime is not explained. According to Pearson, the motive of the murder of Apsyrtos in the house must be similar to the motive narrated by Pherecydes, namely the delay of the pursuit, for if the reason had been different, it would have been stated by the ancient scholiasts.¹³

Who had killed Apsyrtos in this version? The name of the murder is not given in Sophocles' above fragment. Here as in Pherecydes' account the verb - σφαγῆναι stands in the form of infinitive.¹⁴

Euripides' *Medea* is the first tragedy, where Medea is named as the murderer of her brother. Speaking to the chorus, Medea herself admits this: "O, father, O my native city, From you I was parted in shame, having killed my brother" (Eur., *Med.*, 167) Afterwards, towards the end of the tragedy, during Medea's and Jason's last meeting, Jason reminds her the murder of her brother "... you killed your brother at the hearth and stepped aboard the fair-prowed Argo" (Eur., *Med.*, 1334)¹⁵. Therefore, in Euripidean version Medea not only kills her brother, but performs a sacrilegious deed as murders him in most holly place of the house - at the hearth, what makes her crime more abominable.¹⁶

According to Euripides' scholiast the poet Callimachus also presented Apsyrtos' murder at the hearth of the palace: παρα: την ἐστίαν. κατὰ τὸν βωμῶν ἄνειλε τὸν Ἄψυρτον - ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος φησιν, ἢ ἐποικον ἐν τῇ/ πατρίδι, ὡς Καλλίμαχος - At the

¹³ Pearson, 1917, 17. In Pearson's opinion, the Latin authorities, for example Cic., *ND*, 3, and 67: *Ov.*, *Her.*, VI, 129 etc., in most cases were using the source, which placed Apsyrtos' death in Colchis and not in Scythia as in their accounts the murder of Apsyrtos is mentioned "per agros - in fields". Pearson, 1917, 17. Seneca's *Medea* 453 is to be added to this list. Unlike him, the scholars mostly suggest, that the fields in Ovid's *Heroides* VI are the fields not in Colchis, but around Tomis. See Lesky, *RE*, XV, 36.

¹⁴ See Dyck, who in this fragment sees the same ambiguity towards the agents we saw in Pherecydes' story. Therefore, we can not ascribe this deed to Medea, as is the case with some scholars. Dyck, 1989, 461.

¹⁵ Euripides, *Cyclops*, *Alcestis*, *Medea*, Loeb Classical Library, edited and translated by D. Kovacs, I, Harvard 2001.

¹⁶ As Bremmer notes, the hearth of the private houses or cities were sacred centers like altars and symbolized the solidarity of the family and the community, also they were places were suppliants seek for protection... Euripides took some trouble to represent the murder as particularly sacrilegious (*Medea*, 1997, 85).

hearth. At the altar killed Apsyrtos – either killed at the altar of Artemis, as Apollonius tells, or at the hearth in homeland as Callimachus” (Call. fr. 8 Pf = Schol. Eur., *Med.*, 1334). The murder was performed in the Colchian fields (Sen., *Med.*, 452) in Seneca’s above discussed tragedy. Consequently, this group variant of Apsyrtos’ myth presenting also the old version of the story, places Apsyrtos’ murder in Colchis – in Aetes’ palace or in the nearby fields. The pursuing of the fugitive Argonauts by the Colchians are narrated in these stories as well. Sophocles’ lost tragedy *Scythians*, as some scholars consider, worked out the legend of the Argonauts being pursued by the Colchians and seeking refuge among the Pheaceans.¹⁷ Chase of the Argonauts by the Colchians was narrated also by Callimachus, who speaks about the settling of the Colchians in Adriatic (Call. fr. 377; 563 Schn).¹⁸ According to Dyck, Callimachus described also the confrontation of the Argonauts and the Colchians in Corcyra (Call. fr. 12-13 Pf).¹⁹

Quite a different picture of Apsyrtos’ murder we encounter in those versions of the myth, in which Apsyrtos is an adolescent, himself commands the fleet of the pursuing Colchians. The canonical version of this variant is the epic poem of Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica*. Apsyrtus, a young man, is sent by Aetes to chase the fled away Argonauts. The Colchians pursue them down the river Ister and block off every exit to the sea. The Argonauts sought refuge on two Brygian isles of Artemis in the Illyrian coast of Adriatic. The Minyae decided “to give her in ward of Leto’s daughter apart from the throng, until some of the kings that dispense justice should utter her doom, whether she must return to her father’s home or follow the chieftains to the land of Hellas”. When Medea had heard this decision, sharp anguish shook her heart. She called Jason, reminded him the oath given to her and offered him the guile to distract Apsyrtos. According to her plan she would send false messages to Apsyrtos and promise to give him back the fleece. To get it he had to come alone in the sanctuary of Artemis to speak to her. Trusting his sister, Apsyrtos indeed came alone to the sanctuary at night. When she began to speak with his sister, Jason lying in ambush jumped upon and killed him treacherously (Ap. Rh. IV, 300). Therefore, the actual killer of Apsyrtos in

¹⁷ Urushadze A., *The Ancient Colchis in the Argonauts’ Myth*, Tbilisi 1964, 36. In the interpretation of this tragedy he follows Nauck’s edition - TGF Nauck, 501-505. For the different interpretation of this tragedy see Pearson, 1917, 185-188, who considers that this tragedy presented the murder of Apsyrtos in Scythia, near Tomis.

¹⁸ Gordeziani R., *The Myth of the Argonauts*, Tbilisi 1999, 122; Urushadze A., 1964, 53.

¹⁹ Dyck, 1989, 465.

the poem is Jason, though Medea is main author of this perfidious plot. The locale of the heinous murder is defined concretely – the Illyrian coast of Adriatic. The same version in brief is presented by the scholiast of Euripides' *Medea* (Sch. Eur., *Med.*, 167). Several other authorities consider the Apsyrtian Island as the place, where Apsyrtos' murder took place: Strabo presents Apsyrtos as a pursuer and ascribes the murder of Apsyrtos to Medea (Strab. VII. 5, 5)²⁰. Plinius does not mention the name of the murderer. According to him the island took the name from the murder of Apsyrtus, what happened on it (Pl. NH, III, 151). Stephanes of Byzantium follows Plinius' etymology about the island's name (Step. Byz. s. v. *Ἀψυρτίδες*). At the same time he calls Medea the murderer of Apsyrtos. Note, that this version of Stephanes of Byzantium is already his third version concerning the locale of Apsyrtos' murder.

1318 scholium to Lychophron's *Alexandra* also states, that Medea had killed Apsyrtos, who was pursuing the Argonauts (Schol. Lycoph., *Alex.*, 1318). The locus of the murder is not mentioned here. Eudocia's account combines in some extent the variants of I and III groups. Her Apsyrtos like Apollonius' Apsyrtos is a pursuer of the Argonauts and is murdered on the Adriatic island (III group). On the other hand, it is Medea, not Jason who performs the murder, dismembers and scatters the pieces over the sea like it happened in the variant versions of the I group (*Eud.*, 214). In Eudocia's story the pursuing Colchians do not return back and settle on the island.

In Hyginus' version Apsyrtus' status is the same that of a pursuer, but the Apollonian order of the events is changed here. In Apollonius' poem the development of the events are as follow: a) Apsyrtus is killed in the Brygean islands; b) After many incidents the Argonauts reach Pheacean kingdom at Corcyra, where they are caught up by the Colchians demanding the king to give back Medea; c) the wife of the king Alcinous secretly informs the Argonauts the king's judgment; d) Jason and Medea get married. Medea stays with Jason and the Colchians settle temporarily in Pheacea. According to Hyginus Apsyrtus catches up with the Argonauts in Adriatic, in Istria, at Alcinous' court. Apsyrtus is determined to fight for Medea, but the king intervenes (the king in Apollonius' poem was ruling over the inhabitants of Corcyra). They take the king as an arbiter. The king tells his wife about his proposal how to decide the problem of Medea. Arete then secretly informs the king's decision to Jason

²⁰ It is noteworthy, that the name of the island – Apsyrtides firstly appears in Strabo.

and Medea. The wedding of Jason and Medea follows. Medea stays with Jason in accordance with the king's judgment to what both parties announce their agreement. But despite this agreement, Apsyrtus fearing his father continues to pursue the Argonauts. He catches them up second time on the island of Minerva: "When Jason was sacrificing there to Minerva and Apsyrtus came upon him, he was killed by Jason. Medea gave him burial and they departed. The Colchians fearing Aeetes remained there and found a town, which from Apsyrtus' name they called Absoros". As Hyginus comments, this island was located in Histria, opposite Pola (Hyg., XXIII).

The great popularity of Apollonius Rhodes' poem caused much influence of this poem on the subsequent interpretations of this myth. This influence is evident especially in Valerius Flaccus' poem *Argonautica*. Apsyrtus is here the commander-in-chief of the pursuing Colchians, though they catch up with the Argonauts in different from Apollonius' place. The scene is laid in the Black Sea, near Tomis, at the mouth of the river Istros. There on the island called Peuke Jason and Medea celebrate their wedding before the Colchians appear (it should be noted, that wedding of the couple in this poem does not result from the Colchians demand to give up Medea). Apsyrtus and the Colchians arrive on the island after the wedding ceremony is over and demand the Argonauts to give them Medea. The Argonauts in Valerius' poem like Apollonius' heroes are strongly disposed to hand Medea over to the Colchians and require from Jason the same. Jason does not appear to contradict them. Medea foresees her fate and overwhelmed with an immense rage meets vis-a-vis with her husband and drastically blames him in treacherous decision (Val. Flac., VII, 259 foll.).

As the other versions of the group *Orphic Argonautica* also presents Apsyrtos as a pursuer. Aeetes' son catches up with his sister at the mouth of the river Phasis. Apsyrtos is murdered (the agents stand here in Plural form!) and his corpse is thrown into the mouth of the river. The waves of the sea take the corpse and strand it near the Apsyrtian Island, quite far from the place of the murder (*Orph. Arg.*, 1022 foll.). Therefore, in the poem the Apsyrtides is not the place of Apsyrtos' murder, but the place where his corpse is washed ashore.

Two scholia of Apollonius' poem tell that a pursuer Apsyrtos catches up with the Argonauts near one of the mouths of Istrus: "Istrus has three mouths; one of them is called "the beautiful mouth" as Timagetus tells. The poet narrates that Apsyrtus sailed up here" (Schol. Ap. Rh. III, 306; III, 311). A different version of Apsyrtos' murder we see in the scholium of

Euripides' *Medea*: "According to the orator Leon Apsyrtus was poisoned, not murdered" (Schol. Eur., *Med.*, 167). What is remarkable here is the fact, that the name of the poisoner is not given. We do not see here the name of Medea, the famous poisoner.

Therefore, in this group variant, which presents Apsyrtos as an adolescent pursuer, his killer appeared to be different agents: a) in two main versions the killer is Jason (Ap. Rh., *Arg.*; Hyg., *Fab.*, XXIII); b) in the *Orphic Argonautica* the murder is performed by the agents, whose names are not given. Supposedly, the Argonauts are implied here (*Orph. Arg.*, 1010 foll.). Apsyrtus' murderer is not named in Plinius' account as well; c) the murderer is Medea in Strabo's account as well as in Stephanes of Byzantium's article *Ἀψυρτίδες*. Eudocia's somewhat combined version ascribes this deed to Medea as well. It is noteworthy, that in this group version the murder mainly takes place in Adriatic Area (Ap. Rh. – Brygean isles; Hyg., *Fab.*, XXIII – Island of Minerva; Strabo and Stephanes of Byzantium *Ἀψυρτίδες* the Apsyrtian islands). From this group only in one version that of *Orphic Argonautica* Apsyrtos is killed in Colchis.

Therefore, the analyze of the above date revealed, that the ancient sources did not ascribe the murder of Apsyrtos only to one agent – Medea, though Medea is presented as the performer of this deed in large number of the sources. In I group variant a murderer is either not identified or Medea is named as the killer of her brother. Exception from this is one source – the article *Tomeus* of Stephanes of Byzantium, where this deed is performed by both agents – Medea and Jason. The versions of II group variant (here the evidences are much fewer) either ascribe this heinous act to Medea or they do not identify a killer. In III group, in which Apsyrtos himself is a pursuer, the murderer is: a) Jason (in two major versions); b) Medea (in versions presented above); c) the murderers are not identified (*Orph. Arg.*). Chronologically, as we see, Apsyrtos' killer in the earliest strata of the myth (namely, in the accounts of Pherecydes and the fragments of Sophocles) is not named. The first author identifying Medea as her brother's murderer is Euripides. However, Apollonius of Rhodes offers different story of Apsyrtos' murder despite the immense influence Euripides' tragedy had on the subsequent interpretations of the myth. Interesting is the suggestion of Dyck, who considers that Apollonius strived to divide the responsibility of the murder between Jason and Medea, on one hand, and to provide a plausible motive for Medea's action on the other hand. Apsyrtos in the poem is not an innocent boy, but commander-in-chief of the Colchian fleet demanding the Argonauts to

give up Medea in order to take her back to Colchis to face there her father's ire. With the regard that Medea was in great danger, her behavior seemed to be much more understandable though her role is not played down in the poem, as she is the author of the plan by which Jason kills Apsyrtos.²¹ Hyginus ascribes the deed to Jason alone and does not utter a word about Medea's participation in it. After the period, when Medea's role in Apsyrtos' murder was somehow smoothed, in the accounts of the later authors, we see Medea as the actual killer of her brother. It is Ovid, who most grisly describes the killing by Medea of the innocent little brother (Ovid, *Trist.*, III, 9).

At the end we would like to make just a brief note. The earliest versions of Medea's mythic biography, especially her Corinthian and Colchian stories present Medea as a performer of the villainous acts in lesser degree. This tendency as we saw is revealed in the discussed myth of Apsyrtos. The contradiction between Greek and Barbarian was not as sharp in the early periods of the Greek history as it turned out to be later, from the period of the Greek-Persian wars. But the development of Medea's image in this context is the subject of a separate article.

²¹ Dyck, 1989, 445-470

Manana Pkhakadze, Raul Chagunava (Tbilisi)

THE MYTH OF ARGONAUTS AND COLCHIAN METHOD OF GOLD PRODUCTION

From ancient times, Greek authors paid much attention to one of the cycles of Greek mythology – the legend of Argonauts and the story about the Golden Fleece. Information and comments about the myth regularly emerged in the written sources of the Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Byzantine eras. It is noteworthy that they are numerous and, at the same time, the main object in the myth – the Golden Fleece – is presented in the sources in various manners.

In the text of the early period, the Golden Fleece is identified with golden wool. Back on the verge of the 8th and 7th centuries BC, Hesiod, who systematized Hellenic mythology, mentioned a ram that "had golden skin".¹ It helped Phrixus to travel to Colchis, where he "sacrificed the ram and offered the Golden Fleece to Zeus".² Authors of the later Hellenic period provide similar information. For Pindar the Golden Fleece is "a skin with shining golden wool";³ for Euripides it is "a skin of pure gold",⁴ and so forth.

The aforementioned views proved to be so reliable and viable that they were shared even by authors of the Byzantine era. For example, John Tzetzes effectively repeated Hesiod's story and wrote: "The skin with

¹ Κρίως ... εἶχε δε χρυσοῦν δοράν, Fr. 68. Pseudo-Eratosth. Catast. 19, Fragmenta Hesiodica, ed. R. Merkelbach et M. L. West, Oxford 1967.

² "Phrixum autem perlatum Colchos arietem immolasse pellemque eius auream Iovi sacrasse", op. cit., Schol. Sangerm. Ad Germ. Arat. 224 et Schol., P. 79 sq.

³ "Κῶας αἰγλαῖεν χρυσοῦσιν/θυσάνω", *Pindari Carmina aim Fragmentis*, ed. Bruno Snell, H. Maehler, Pars Prior, *Epinicia* IV, Leipzig 1964, IV, 203-250.

⁴ "ἰάνχρυσον δέρας", *Medeia*, 1-11, Euripidis fabulae, vol. I, ed. J. Diggle, Oxford 1981.

golden wool belonged to a ram that Phrixus took to Colchis. It is said that Phrixus sacrificed it to Zeus there".⁵

It is noteworthy that as time passed, a different opinion was elaborated in Greek literature by Euhemerist authors. Old Greek philosopher of the 4th century BC Euhemerus and his followers searched for rational elements in every myth, story or legend, providing rational explanations. Old Greek author of the 4th century BC Palaephatus was the first among Euhemerists who regarded as unrealistic the events linked to the ram described in the myth of the Golden Fleece. In his opinion, it was impossible for this ram to carry someone on its back to Colchis across the sea and Phrixus could not have been so ungrateful as to kill the ram that saved him and sacrifice his skin to Zeus. He thought that in reality, the Golden Fleece was presumably a golden statue, which Phrixus, who travelled to Colchis by boat (not on the back of the ram!), presented to the King of Colchis Aeëtes. The last sentence by Palaephatus is quite categorical in this regard: "As a dowry, he gave the king a golden statue of Cos, not skin. This is the truth".⁶

Euhemerist authors of the 2nd and 3rd centuries put forward theories different from that of Palaephatus. They believed the sheepskin was for writing – a parchment – and drew appropriate conclusions. In particular, the anonymous author of a collection of myths written in the 2nd century wrote that in reality, the Golden Fleece was a book written on a skin, which gave a description of chemical rules for producing gold. That is why, as the author wrote, "due to the action to be made according to it", it was called Golden Fleece.⁷ At that time, chemistry was first and foremost regarded as the art of producing metals, particularly gold.⁸ Therefore, it is quite natural that the author linked the name that encompassed the notions of skin and gold – Golden Fleece – to a book and chemistry: a book

⁵ "τοῖς θεοῖς χρυσόμαλλον τοῦτο δέρας ἦν τοῦ κριοῦ, ὃς τὸν Φριξὸν εἰς Κολχίδα διεπόρθμευσεν", *Lycophronis Alexandria*, ed. L. Mascialino, Leipzig BT 1964, Ad.v. 175.

⁶ "...δοὺς ἔβρον τὴν χρυσοῦν εἰκόνα τῆς Κω. ὕστερον δὲ Ἰαθάμαντος... τελευτήσαντος Ἰάσων πλεῖ τῆ Ἄργοι ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρυσοῦν τῆς Κω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰ: δέρμα κριοῦ. Οὕτως ἔχει ἠθλήθεια. Palaephati *Περὶ ἀπίστων*, ed. N. Festa, *Mythographi Graeci*, XXXI, Leipzig BT, 1902.

⁷ ... βιβλίον ἐν δέρματι γεγραμμένον, περιέχον ὅπως δεῖ γίνεσθαι δια χειμέας χρυσοῦν, εικότως οὖν οἴποτε χρυσοῦν ὠνόμαζον αὐτοῖς δια τὴν εἴς αὐτοῦ ἐνέργειαν, *Mythographi Graeci*, III, 2: *Experta Vaticana* (vulgo Anonymus *De incredibilibus*).

⁸ It is noteworthy that chronologically, the anonymous collection of myths is the earliest work that mentions the word "chemistry". Chagunava R., *Gold Mining in Ancient Georgia*, Science and Technologies, 10, 1974, 18.

as a source of information written on a parchment and chemistry as the art of producing gold.

Charax of Pergamon also identified the Golden Fleece with a book, noting that it contained rules for chrysography. Taking into account the fact that Pergamon was regarded as the birthplace of parchment ('pergamon' in Greek) and an important centre of art, it is no surprise that the local man considered the issue in connection with writing. Since skin is connected with writing as a material, on which people wrote (parchment), and gold as a means for writing (golden ink), Charax provided such an explanation: "The Golden Fleece is a method for chrysography written on parchment and it is trustworthy that it was the reason for organizing the Argo campaign".⁹

In the following centuries, John of Antioch repeated the information of the anonymous author¹⁰ and later, Soudidas quoted the explanation by Charax of Pergamon in his dictionary.¹¹

The Euhemeristic explanations of the Golden Fleece were based on rational logic, so the mythic elements were replaced by real objects (a statue and books about chemistry and rules for writing). In spite of that, none of the explanations reflected the truth. However, at the same time, all of them said that gold was extracted and processed in Colchis, which undoubtedly had certain grounds.

One of the written sources that have come down to us and that provide direct indications to the practice of gold-mining in the country of Medea is *Geography* by Strabo. Unlike other authors, Strabo knew Colchis well and it is quite possible that he received certain information about Argonauts and the Golden Fleece directly from Colchians.¹² Some fragments from his *Geography* make this quite clear. We will concentrate on

⁹ καίτοι ο χάραξ τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρμα μέθοδον εἶναι λέγει χρυσογραφίας μεμβράνας ἐμπεριλημμένην, δι' ἣν ὡς λόγου ἀξίαν τὸν τῆς Ἄργου καταρτισθῆναι στόλον φησί. Eust. Dion. Per. 689, FGr. Hist.-Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker von Felix Jacoby, II, 482-493.

¹⁰ ...βιβλίον ἐν δέρμασι γεγραμμένον, περιέχον οἷως δεῖ γινεσθαι δια χημείας χρυσοῦν, FHist. Gr. IV, 548.

¹¹ ...ἀλλὰ βιβλίον ἐν δέρμασι γεγραμμένον, περιέχον οἷως δεῖ γινεσθαι δια χημείας χρυσοῦν. εἰκότως οὖν οἱ τότε χρυσοῦν ὠνόμαζον αὐτοῦ δέρας, δια τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, Δέρας, *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. G. Bernhardt, I, 1-2.

¹² The following fact points to the author's close links to the Colchian world: when Mithridates the Eupator conquered the country, he dispatched Moaphernes, his mother's uncle, as the "ruler and governor" of Colchis. Strabonis *Geographica*, I-III vol., ed. F. Meineke, XI, 2, 18, Leipzig 1877.

two of the fragments. The first contains some interesting information: "The city of Aea is still shown on the Phasis, and Aeëtes is believed to have ruled over Colchis, and the name Aeëtes is still locally current among the people of that region. Again, Medea the sorceress is a historical person; and the wealth of the regions about Colchis, which is derived from the mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper, suggests a reasonable motive for the expedition".¹³

Aea could be 'shown' on the Phasis only on the spot – on the territory of Colchis and the person, who showed it was obviously Colchian. The fact that Strabo regards the name Aeëtes as local is an unequivocal indication to the fact that in Colchis of his time, the name was widespread. Later, historian Agathias Scholasticus confirmed this by referring in his work to a Laz nobleman with this name.¹⁴

The quoted fragment makes it clear that Colchians remembered Medea too (unfortunately, their stories comprising local theories of the daughter of the Colchian king have not come down to us). However, it is interesting that on the basis of the Colchian narrators' or Greek eyewitnesses' stories, Strabo managed to explain the real reason for the Argonauts' arrival in Colchis ("the mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper, suggests a reasonable motive for the expedition").

Along with the reason for the campaign of the Argonauts, Strabo also explained the centuries-old secret of the Golden Fleece. This becomes clear from the second fragment of his work, which also seems to be written on the basis of Colchian narrators' or Greek eyewitnesses' stories. According to this description, gold was extracted from mountain rivers in Svaneti, a historic province of Colchis, with the help of fleeces. Strabo describes this process in such a natural manner that the description seems to be made on the basis of information supplied by an eyewitness.¹⁵ Here is the fragment: "In their country the winter torrents are said to bring down even gold, which the Barbarians collect in troughs pierced with holes, and lined with shaggy fleeces; and hence the fable of the golden fleece".¹⁶

This fragment is noteworthy in many respects. It unequivocally confirms the existence and extraction of gold in one of the mountain

¹³ Strabonis *Geographica*, I, 2, 39.

¹⁴ *Georg.*, T. III, Tbilisi 1936, 63-65.

¹⁵ Cf. Note 12.

¹⁶ Παρα τοῦτοις δὲ λέγεται καὶ χρῦσον καταφέρειν τοὺς χειμάρρους, ὁποδέχεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς βαρβάρους φάνταις κατατετρημέναις καὶ μαλλωταῖς δοραῖς ἀπ' οὗ διημευθεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦμαλλον δέρος, Strabonis *Geographica*, I-III, ed. F. Meineke, Leipzig 1877, XI, 2, 19.

regions of Colchis. It follows that torrents brought down gold in Svaneti and it was not extracted from mines. This means that the precious metal was dispersed in the water of rivers and torrents in the shape of small particles. And the troughs lined with fleeces were used to obtain precisely these particles. Having familiarized himself with this method, it would be quite natural for Strabo to identify the Golden Fleece with ordinary fleece used to obtain gold particles.

Many centuries later, prominent German metallurgist Georgius Agricola followed Strabo and identified the Golden Fleece with sheep's skin used to obtain gold. In his fundamental work in 12 books entitled *On the Nature of Metals*, he specially dwelt on the Colchian method of obtaining gold. He wrote that this method was known much earlier in Colchis than in Europe, where cloths or other skins (bull's or horse's) were used instead of fleece.¹⁷

According to Agricola, after crushing and washing gold ore, Colchians spread sheepskins in the bed of flowing water to collect gold particles. Since flowing water was always enclosed by masonry, water flowed through the only exit – over the surface of the fleece, leaving gold particles on it.¹⁸

Together with verbal explanations, Agricola also provided graphics. Argonauts in Colchis: A – exit from a mine; B – part of the fleece visible; C – Argonaut.¹⁹

It is known, however, that Colchians did not collect gold from water washing gold ore. Agricola has certainly ascribed this method to them being under the influence of European practices. Although the details described by the German specialist are not true, it is noteworthy that he identified mythical Golden Fleece with real sheepskin.

Unlike written Greek sources, there is no information about gold mining in ancient times in Georgian sources. However, the lack of information from sources is fully compensated by ethnographic materials, which makes it clear that nowadays, people in Svaneti collect gold particles in rivers on the basis of the rule described by Strabo back in the 1st century AD. Ethnographer L. Bochorishvili obtained the materials in the 1940s, recording the narrations of gold seekers in Svaneti, who described their method. Here is a fragment from the text, which comprises a full description of the method: "Sheepskin stretched or spread in some

¹⁷ Агрикола Г., *О горном деле и металлургии*, 12 книг, Москва 1962, 318.

¹⁸ Ibid., 318.

¹⁹ Ibid., 318 or 319.

other way on a board would be put into water (according to Samsiani, close to the bank and according to Khvistani in the middle of the river) and fixed with the wool up to prevent it from being swept away. 'The wool would keep gold and let water flow'. 'Gold pebbles would stick to the wet fleece'. Since gold is heavier than sand, 'sand would remain on the top of gold'. After a certain time, the skin would be removed from the river and spread to dry. The dry skin would be winnowed to collect gold pebbles".²⁰

It is clear that Svans searching for gold put sheepskins in riverbeds, which means that they collected small particles of gold that found itself in rivers after the main ore at the beginning of a river was washed by water. It is also clear that the Colchians searching for gold acted in precisely the same manner. The fact that they used 'shaggy fleeces' also points to this. It is clear that they should have stretched sheepskins on boards to increase the surface and productivity. It is also clear that other technical details were also identical. Colchians should have placed sheepskins with wool upwards and fix boards with sheepskins firmly to prevent rivers from sweeping them away. They would also have to dry the sheepskin and winnow it to easily remove gold particles.

Svans (and obviously their ancestors) collected gold in upper and middle reaches of rivers, where torrents are very fast. Therefore, skins of all animals were not useful for collecting gold particles. Both written and ethnographic materials suggest that ancient Colchians and modern Svans used only sheepskins to collect gold in rivers. The choice was probably not accidental, as sheepskins are best suited for collecting gold particles due to its wool, which is the main part of the external cover of sheep, while other animals have just short bristle. Unlike smooth skins with bristle, the surfaces of skins with wool are covered with scale like tiles,²¹ which is invisible, but makes the surface coarse. This increases the ability of sheepskins to collect golden particles. In addition, wool has a high potential of sticking things to itself due to the special nature of sheepskins. Compared with other animal skins, sheepskins have more sweat glands and are correspondingly, more porous. Sweat glands secrete lanolin, and are correspondingly, more porous. Sweat glands secrete lanolin, completely drenching wool with this glutinous substance.²² Since gold has

²⁰ Bochorishvili L., Goldsmithery in Svaneti, Bulletin of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, VII, 5, 1946, 285 (*in Georgian*).

²¹ Вагнер Р., Химическая технология, СПб 1892, 431.

²² Химия и технология кожи и меха. Ред. Н. Стрихов, Москва 1979, 3.

a selective capability of sticking to glutinous substances,²³ wool drenched with lanolin has a significantly increased ability of sticking gold to itself.

The effectiveness of fleece as a means for collecting gold in rivers created for Colchis the image of a 'country rich in gold', which is confirmed not only by ancient written sources and modern ethnographic data. Materials of archaeological research are even more impressive.

Otar Lortkipanidze, who has made quite a number of important archaeological discoveries, showed that ancient Colchis fully deserves the image. Numerous golden things have been found in various areas of the country both as accidental discoveries and in regular archaeological excavations. It was in one of such excavations that more than 1,700 golden things were found in a grave of a Colchian woman (5th century BC).²⁴

Modern gold production methods also add to archaeological materials and information found in ancient sources. The modified Colchian method of obtaining gold has found its place also in modern technologies. Most of the gold obtained from sandy grounds is currently being collected by means of thick-pile fabric, particularly felt and broadcloth made of wool that have proved to be most productive.

²³ Потемкин С. В., *Благородный 79-й: Очерк о золоте*, Москва 1978, 49.

²⁴ Cf. for details: Лордкипанидзе О., *Наследие древней Грузии*, Тбилиси 1989.

Robert Schmitt-Brandt (Heidelberg)

BERGE, TÜRME UND TEMPEL IN ALTORIENTALISCHEN UND MEDITERRANEN KULTUREN

Bei der Suche nach Kultstätten der Vorgeschichte stellen wir fest, dass der Mensch sich als Orte der Verehrung der Überirdischen vorwiegend Plätze ausgesucht hat, die sich durch irgendeine Besonderheit von der sie umgebenden Landschaft abhoben. Dabei spielten, neben Quellen, Grotten und Höhlen, Berggipfel eine ganz besondere Rolle. Am stärksten beeindruckten den Menschen einzelne, mitten in der Ebene stehende Berge. Das typischste Beispiel ist der Ayers Rock im Outback Australiens, der religiöse Mittelpunkt der Aborigines. An zweiter Stelle steht der Adam's Peak in Sri Lanka, wo ein menschlicher Fußabdruck im Gestein je nach Glaubensgemeinschaft Adam oder Buddha zugeschrieben wird. Um all dies zu verstehen, müssen wir uns als erstes die Frage stellen, was den Menschen überhaupt bewog, an Götter, Geister und Dämonen zu glauben und warum er sie gerade an solchen Orten lokalisierte.

Als der Homo Sapiens auf Grund der Vergrößerung seines Gehirns die geistigen Fähigkeiten erwarb, mit deren Hilfe er die Eindrücke aus seiner Umwelt immer klarer differenzieren und ordnen konnte und als er lernte, sich einer Sprache zu bedienen, um zu kommunizieren und damit auch begann, abstrakt zu denken, versuchte er als erstes, die Welt zu verstehen, in der er lebte. Er begann – wie heute noch ein kleines Kind – zu fragen: "Warum fällt die Sonne nicht vom Himmel?", "Warum sind die Blumen von gestern verblüht?"

Er bemerkte, dass er klüger war, als die anderen Lebewesen um ihn, dass er aber mit anderen Menschenarten konkurrieren musste und dass es in der Natur Kräfte gab, die stärker waren als er. Er sah die Sonne am Horizont versinken und wenn er eine Nacht in Kälte und Dunkelheit verbracht hatte, erlebte er voller Freude, wie sie sich aus dem Meer oder

hinter den Bergen erneut erhob. Er fürchtete sich, wenn plötzlich grelle Blitze mit lautem Donner aus schwarzen Wolken zur Erde fuhren und gelegentlich einen hohen Baum trafen, der in Flammen aufging. Er erschrak, wenn es tief in der Erde grollte, wenn sie bebte und wenn die Berge Feuer spieen und ihr Rauch die Sonne verdunkelte. Dann suchte er unter Felsvorsprüngen und in Höhlen Schutz vor den Elementen und auch vor den großen Raubtieren, denen er in der Ebene hilflos ausgeliefert war. Und er suchte Erklärungen für das Geschehen in dieser Welt, in die er sich geworfen fühlte.

Bald hatte er gelernt, den Mond als Zeitmesser zu benutzen. Es dauerte sieben Tage, bis er sich halb gefüllt hatte, sieben weitere Tage zum Vollmond und danach wieder jeweils sieben Tage bis zum Halbmond der anderen Seite und zu seinem völligen Verschwinden. In den meisten indoeuropäischen Sprachen benutzt man für Mond bzw. Monat ein Wort, das sich von der Wurzel *mê- "messen" ableitet, z.B. lat. *mêns*, got. *mênôt*, altarmen. *amis* und russ. *mesjaz*. So wurde der Mond neben der Sonne zu einem wichtigen Bestandteil seiner geistigen Welt.

In der Natur unterschied er beseelte und unbeseelte Wesen. Alles was sich bewegte, Mensch und Tier, aber auch Sonne und Mond, Quellen und Flüsse und der bewölkte Himmel über ihm, gehörten für ihn zur beseelten Welt. Einige Sprachen haben Reste dieser Differenzierung noch lange erhalten, z.B. das Hethitische, andere unterschieden später noch zusätzlich zwischen männlich und weiblich, z.B. deutsch *die Sonne* und *der Mond*, griechisch umgekehrt *ho hêlios* und *hê selênê*. In allen Kräften der Natur sah er das Wirken von übermenschlichen Personen. Auch die großen Tierherden, Antilopen, Büffel und die gewaltigen Mammuts schienen einem Geist zu folgen, der ihnen den Weg wies. Alle diese Geister, die die Natur beherrschten, wollte er sich untertan machen. So malte er ihre Bilder an die Wände der Höhlen, die er bewohnte und später wurden einige dieser Höhlen zu Kultstätten, die er nur noch betrat, um diese Geister zu beschwören.

Ein ganz besonders enges Verhältnis hatte der nordeurasische Mensch zum Bär, der wie er in Berghöhlen hauste, ein gutmütiges Tier, das sich aber zu wehren wusste, wenn man ihm seinen Lebensraum streitig machte. Der Teddybär ist vielleicht nicht zufällig das Lieblingsspielzeug unserer Kinder. Die Völker Sibiriens entschuldigden sich noch in historischer Zeit bei dem Geist des Bären, den sie erlegt hatten. Die Ainu auf Hokkaido und Sachalin haben diesen Geist vergöttlicht. *Kamuŷ* heißt bei ihnen noch heute "Bär" und "Gott". Für manche Völker war sein Name tabu. So nannten ihn die Germanen **bero* "der Braune" und die Slaven **medu-êdu* "Honig-esser".

Die furchtbarste Erfahrung für den frühen Menschen war gewiss der Tod, der Tod seiner Eltern und älteren Verwandten und Sippengenossen, die er geliebt hatte und die plötzlich einschliefen, um nicht mehr aufzuwachen, die sich zersetzten und ein furchtbares Aussehen annahmen, so dass man sie begrub und den Ort mit Steinen beschwerte oder sie gar verbrannte, weil man sie nun fürchtete. Bald bemerkte man, dass niemand diesem Schicksal entging, außer jenen Wesen, die jeden Tag neu und unverändert ihre Bahn am Himmel zogen, die das lebensspendende Wasser aus den Quellen strömen ließen, die die Flüsse lenkten und die Richtung des Windes bestimmten. Doch auch die Geister der Tiergattungen starben nicht. So wählte sich mancher Stamm ein Totemtier als Schutzgeist. Man begann, zu den Überirdischen zu sprechen, um sie sich gewogen zu machen. Manche Menschen konnten das besser, als andere. Sie waren es, die die Bilder der Geister und Götter in den Höhlen anbringen ließen, die wir noch ganz frisch im Kakadu-Nationalpark in Nordaustralien besichtigen können. So war die Klasse der Priester geboren.

Sie sollten die Verbindung zu den Unsterblichen herstellen, nach ihren Wünschen fragen, die der Mensch erfüllen musste, um sie zu besänftigen. Da man sie sich als Übermenschen vorstellte, unterstellte man ihnen auch menschliche Wünsche und Begierden. So begann man, ihnen Opfer zu bringen, einen Teil der erlegten Tiere, aber auch Menschen, die ihnen im Jenseits dienen sollten, vor allem Frauen. Dies beweisen die 33 Schädel der Ofnethöhle bei Nördlingen, die man in konzentrischer Lage mit Blick nach Westen in großen Zeitabständen in einer Höhle abgelegt hatte, die man danach jeweils wieder verschloss. Es waren fast alles Frauen und Kinder, von denen man glaubte, sie würden der Sonne nach Westen folgen, um so die Unterwelt zu erreichen. An einer Höhlenwand findet sich sogar die Darstellung eines solchen Opfers, wo eine Frau und zwei Kinder neben ihr inmitten eines Raumes sitzen und von allen Seiten von Männern mit Pfeilen beschossen werden.

Vermutlich dienten die vielen Frauenstatuetten aus der Altsteinzeit, die man weit über ganz Europa verstreut gefunden hat, als Opferersatz für solche Frauen, die man gern behalten wollte, so wie die Griechen und Römer später nur einen kleinen Teil der geschlachteten Rinder und Schafe wirklich für die Götter verbrannten und den Rest lieber selber aßen. Einige dieser Statuetten sind mit gefesselten Händen dargestellt und einige weisen Brandspuren auf, d.h. man hatte sie statt lebender Frauen ins Feuer geworfen.

Der wichtigste Gott war für viele Völker der Wettergott, der Gott mit dem tödlichen Blitzstrahl in der Hand. Seine Bedeutung wuchs noch, als

die Menschen den Ackerbau erfanden und noch abhängiger vom Wetter wurden als zuvor. Dieser in den himmlischen Gefilden waltende Gott musste, da man sich ja die Götter in menschlicher Gestalt vorstellte, einen festen Sitz haben. So dachte man sich ihn an einem möglichst hohen, möglichst himmelsnahen Ort, eben auf dem Gipfel oder zwischen den Gipfeln des höchsten Berges, den man kannte. Dies gilt für die Kassiten, Elamer, Churriter, Hatten und Hethiter und – wie wir sehen werden – auch für die Griechen und ihre Vorgänger auf der ägäischen Halbinsel und auf den sie umgebenden Inseln.

Auch die Hebräer empfingen durch Moses auf dem Berge Sinai die Gebote Jahves, unter welchen dieser, ihr Stammesgott, an erster Stelle alle anderen Götter verdrängte. Über das Christentum und den Islam wurde dieser Gott Israels später zum einzigen Gott auch der großen Weltreligionen von heute.

Als die Sumerer um 3000 vor Christus sich im Schwemmland der Euphrat und Tigris niederließen und sich ihre Kultur über das ganze Zweistromland ausbreitete, entstanden auch inmitten der Städte, die sie gründeten, hohe Stufenpyramiden, auf denen sie ihren Göttern Tempel errichteten. Da es im Tiefland Mesopotamiens keine Berge gab, schufen die Menschen sich künstliche Berge. Sie verehrten den Himmelsgott AN, den Sonnengott UTU, die Mondgöttin NANA, die Kriegs- und Liebesgöttin INNANA und jede Stadt war einer dieser Gottheiten geweiht. Je mächtiger die Stadt wurde, desto höher stieg das Ansehen ihres Gottes. Als die Sumerer längst in den ostsemitischen Akkadern aufgegangen waren und Hammurabi im 17. Jh. v. Chr. die Stadt Babylon zur Hauptstadt seines Reiches machte, baute man immer noch diese Stufenpyramiden. So hatte diese Stadt zur Zeit der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Juden einen Ziggurat, so nannte man diese Gebetstürme, von 100 m. Höhe, unterteilt in sechs Stufen, auf deren höchster der Tempel stand. Den Juden verdanken wir die Legende vom Turm von Babel, den die Menschen bauten, um den Himmel zu erreichen.

Jedes Jahr feierte man in diesem Tempel die "Heilige Hochzeit" zu Frühlingsbeginn, d.h. Die Wiederkehr des jugendlichen Gottes Dumuzu aus der Unterwelt, in die er den Winter über verbannt worden war und seine Vereinigung mit der Göttin der Liebe und Fruchtbarkeit. Die Gottheiten wurden bei diesem Fest von der Hohen Priesterin und dem König vertreten. Für sie wurde im Tempel die Liegestatt ausgebreitet. Ihr Beischlaf garantierte die Wiedergeburt der Natur. Auch bei anderen Völkern wurden um diese Jahreszeit Feste gefeiert, z.B. bei den Germanen das Fest der Frühlingsgöttin, altengl. "Eostrae", deutsch "Ostern". Im

ältesten uns erhaltenen Epos der Menschheit, dem Gilgamesh Epos wird das Schicksal des Königs von Uruk, Gilgamesch und sein Verhältnis zur Göttin INNANA, akkad. *Ishtar* geschildert. Auffällig ist in diesem Epos die negative Darstellung der Götter als wankelmütig, genussüchtig, boshaft und unzuverlässig, während Gilgamesch, ein sterblicher Übermensch und sein Freund Enkidu, ein argloser und ihm treu ergebener Hominide äußerst sympathisch wirken. Gilgamesch ist zuverlässig, wahrheitsliebend und voller Tatandrang. Er möchte durch seine Taten unsterblich werden. Doch niemand versteht dieses Begehren.

Als Enkidu stirbt, ergreift ihn das Grauen vor dem Tod und er beginnt das Kraut zu suchen, aus dem man die Speisen der unsterblichen Götter bereitet. Er besucht Ut-Napischti, das sumerische Vorbild für den Noah des Alten Testaments, doch alles misslingt. Die Tragik des Menschen, der sich stets bemüht und doch keine Erlösung findet, weil die Mächte, die das Schicksal bestimmen, blind und taub sind für seine Gebete, findet hier zum ersten Mal seinen literarischen Ausdruck.

Die griechische Mythologie enthält einige wesentliche Parallelen zu der des Alten Orients. Es beginnt mit der Sintflut, vermutlich eine ferne Erinnerung an die Überschwemmungen am Ende der letzten Eiszeit, die auch den Durchbruch des Mittelmeeres zum Schwarzen Meer und dessen plötzlichen Anstieg bewirkt haben dürften. Deukalion und seine Frau Pyrrha entgehen ihr auf einem Schiff ganz wie Ut-Napischti, der biblische Noah, auf seiner Arche. Beide landen natürlich auf einem Berg, der Sumerer auf dem Ararat (5156 m.) in Armenien, persisch Kuh-i-Nukh "Berg des Noah", der Griechen auf dem Parnass, dem höchsten Berg Mittelgriechenlands in Phokis (2459 m.). Das Schiff des Deukalion hat Prometheus "der Vorsorgende" gebaut, derselbe, der den Menschen gegen den Willen der Götter das Feuer gebracht hatte. Dafür schmiedete ihn Zeus an einen Hang des Kaukasus, wieder ein Berg der Mythologie, unweit von Kolchis, woher Medea kam.

Die Vereinigung von Gott-König und Göttin der Fruchtbarkeit bei den Urgriechen ist an der Etymologie von Poseidon und Demeter abzulesen. Mykenisch hießen sie noch Poseidâôn und Dâmâtêr aus **Poti-gdâ-* "Herr, Gemahl der Erde" und **gdâ-mâtêr* "Erdmutter" (**gdâ-*, phryg. Entsprechung zu gr. **khthô-* "Erde" nach Heubeck). Zu jener Zeit war er der höchste Gott der Griechen, viel wichtiger als Zeus. Die Linear B Texte liefern einen weiteren Hinweis auf die Heilige Hochzeit bei den Frühgriechen, nämlich den Monatsnamen *lekhestoreion* zu *lekhos* "Lager" und *stornyein* "ausbreiten", also die "Bereitung des Lagers".

Die Implikationen dieses Fundes sind enorm. Denn so wird es möglich, die Frauen der homerischen Könige als Hohe Priesterinnen aufzufassen. Wäre Penelope nur die Witwe des Odysseus gewesen, hätte sie durch die Wahl eines Freiers zum Ehemann nicht den neuen König bestimmen können. War Helena die Hohe Priesterin in Sparta, die für die Fruchtbarkeit des Landes unverzichtbar war, so wäre ihr Raub ein verständliches Motiv für den trojanischen Krieg. Übrigens war es schon in Babylon möglich, dass die Hohe Priesterin auch zur Ehefrau des Königs wird und ebenso in Ägypten die Frau des Pharao zugleich als Hohe Priesterin agiert.

Ein griechisches Gegenstück zu Gilgamesch dürfte Herakles darstellen, auch ein sterblicher Halb-gott, den die Götter allerdings letztlich doch in den Olymp aufnahmen, als er auf dem Gipfel des Oita-Gebirges verbrannt wurde. Da man keine Knochen von ihm auf dem Scheiterhaufen fand, nahm man an, er sei körperlich in den Götterhimmel aufgestiegen. Er war es gewesen, der Prometheus befreit hatte, den Zeus an einen Gipfel des Kaukasus schmiedete, weil er den Menschen das Feuer gebracht hatte. Unter dem Kaukasus lag auch die Werkstatt des Hephaistos, des klugen, göttlichen Schmieds und Ehemanns der Aphrodite, eine frühe Verbindung von Schönheit und Geist. Gewiss ist auch die Aphrodite neben Demeter, Hekabe und anderen eine lokale Variante der Göttin der Fruchtbarkeit. Eine mögliche Etymologie bietet die Herleitung aus einer Entsprechung von etruskisch *purth*, *ephrti* "Herrin" und dem Bergnamen *Ida* (bei Troja und auf Kreta) oder auch **dā* "Erde"(?).

Der Parnass, wo Deukalion landete, schaut hinab auf ein Heiligtum, nämlich das Haus der Pythia in Delphi, durch welche Apollo den Fragenden rätselhafte Auskünfte über ihre Zukunft erteilen ließ. Auch hier ist die Etymologie vielsagend: Es handelt sich um eine luwische Adjektivbildung zu *parna*- "Haus", d.h. Parnassos bedeutet "zum Haus gehörig". Die Ausgrabungen in Theben ergaben, dass die mykenischen Griechen schon im 16. Jh. v.Chr. das Wort für "Haus", gr. *woikos*, im Sinne von "Gotteshaus" benutzten. Der Name des Bergs bezieht sich also auf den Tempel des Apollo, wo Pythia weissagte. Luwisch ist eine anatolische Sprache, die höchstwahrscheinlich auch in Troja gesprochen wurde, worauf ein Siegel in dieser Sprache hinweist, das der Tübinger Archäologe Manfred Korfmann in Troja fand.

Den wichtigsten Götterberg der Antike habe ich mir bis zum Ende aufgehoben, den Olymp nämlich (2985 m.), auf dem Zeus und die ganze Götterfamilie residierte. Einen Olymp gibt es auch in Zypern, wohl von den Achäern so genannt, die nach dem Untergang der mykenischen Kultur dorthin geflüchtet sind. Einen weiteren Olymp gibt es in Elis auf

der Peloponnes und hier liegt im Tal darunter Olympia, wo die Griechen Zeus mit ihren sportlichen Wettkämpfen verehrten.

Zeus, nach der Sage in einer versteckten Höhle auf dem Berg Ida (2456 m.) in Kreta geboren, wurde offenbar in früher Zeit als Wettergott verehrt. Nur so erklärt sich der Blitz in seiner Hand, den er auf seine Feinde schleudert. Auch seine Vorliebe für hohe Berge spricht dafür. Schließlich wurde er nicht nur auf dem Olymp verehrt, sondern auch auf dem Ida, dem Lykaion bei Athen, dem Onos auf Aigina und dem Aenosgebirge auf Kephallenia. War der thrakische Zeus mit dem griechischen identisch, so müssen wir auch den Athos hinzuzählen, den Berg der heutigen Mönchsrepublik, wo eine große Statue von ihm stand.

Nach dem Zeugnis seiner Etymologie war Zeus bei den Indoeuropäern ein Licht- oder Himmelsgott wie der sumerische AN. Sein Name wird im Altindischen als *Dyâus-pitâ* und Altlateinischen zu *Diēspater* erweitert, woraus später im Vokativ Juppiter wurde. Das Wort **pater* bedeutete ursprünglich "Schützer, Hüter, Ernährer, Herr" und war wohl die Bezeichnung für den Sippenältesten. **Diēus* ist von einem Verbum **diu-* "leuchten" abgeleitet. Im Lateinischen wurde daraus *diēs* "Tag".

Bei den Germanen wurde er zum Kriegsgott, vgl. engl. Tuesday, "der Tag des Tīw" als Übersetzung von lat. Martis diēs. Später wurde er in dieser Funktion von Wodan, deutsch Wotan, nordgerm. Odin abgelöst, der als rasender Reiter durch die Lüfte jagte. Deshalb hat man ihn mit Merkur verglichen, engl. Wednesday = Mercuris diēs. Die alte Rolle des Tīw, also Juppiter, übernahm offenbar Thor, der nun den Blitz führte, vgl. Thursday für Jovis diēs.

Auch die Häuser der Aristokraten standen im mykenischen Griechenland auf einer Anhöhe, sie bildeten also die Polis, die wir für jene Zeit als Burg übersetzen können, um die sich unten der Wohnbereich des Volkes, damals *wastu* (später *asty*) genannt, ausbreitete. Dies gilt auch für Troja, wie die letzten Ausgrabungen von Korfmann ergeben haben. Was Homer noch für die Mauern eines griechischen Schiffslagers hielt, erwies sich jetzt als ein Teil der Stadtmauern von Troja, das um vieles größer war, als die Burg, die man bisher für ganz Troja hielt.

Ein Bruch in dieser Tradition trat ein, als die Etrusker Rom gründeten. Die sieben Hügel erhielten ein Zentrum im sumpfigen Tal des Tiber zwischen ihnen, wo sie den Sumpf durch die Cloaca maxima trocken legten. Zwar hielten sich auf den Hügeln noch lange die Tempel der dort verehrten Götter, doch die neuen Tempel standen im Forum, im Zentrum der neuen Stadt.

Dies war der Anfang vom Ende der Mythen von den Göttern auf den Gipfeln der Berge.

Irene Tatišvili (Tbilisi)

TRACES OF HATTIAN SYNTAX IN SOME HITTITE RITUAL EXPRESSIONS?

It has been long now that scholars identified in the Hittite religious texts verbs with optional dative or accusative to indicate the recipient or beneficiary of the action (*eku-* / *aku-* "to drink", *šipant-* "to libate, offer", (*šer arḫa*) *waḫnu-* "to whirl").¹

Puhvel was the first to suggest that sentences where the god is the direct object of the verb *eku-* are equal to the structures with *eku-* + divine name in dative and that both structures with *eku-* would mean "to drink to (the honor of)":²

^dUTU-*un ekuzi* (KUB 33.79 IV⁷ 12').

ANA ^dIŠKUR *ekuzi* (KUB 34.77 obv⁷. 8').³

As concerns the verb *šipant-*, it was already Carter⁴ who noticed that its indirect object referring to a deity to whom a sacrifice was offered could appear in dative as well as in accusative:

kedaš DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš šipanti* "He libates for these gods" (KUB 2.13 I 44).

LUGAL-*uš* ... ^d*Ašgašepa* ^dMUNUS.LUGAL ^d*Pirwan* ... *šipanti* "The king libates ... (for) Ašgašepa, "Queen' (and) Pirwa ..." (KUB 2.13 IV 12-13).⁵

¹ See most recently Soysal 2008: 45ff., 56ff.; Goedegebuure 2008a: 67ff. (both with references to older literature). The issues considered in this article are to deal with from different perspectives in my articles published in Georgian language: Tatišvili 1998: 92ff.; Tatišvili 2010a: 28ff.; Tatišvili 2010b: 492f.

² Puhvel 1957: 31ff.

³ Soysal 2008: 48, 50; for more examples see *ibid.* 48ff.

⁴ Carter 1962: 449.

⁵ Ed. Klinger 1996: 548 (Cf. Goetze 1970:85: libate... to (god)...), 560 (Cf. Goetze 1970: 92: "treat a deity with a libation"). For more examples see Goetze 1970: 77ff.

Melchert further corroborated the assumptions on the equivalence of accusative and dative constructions of the verbs by pointing out analogical cases with the verb (šer arḫa) *waḥnu-*:

MUŠEN^N *ḫaranan ERÍN.MEŠ-ann-a LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-ašš-a šer-šemet waḥnumeni* “We whirl the eagle and (the figurines of) the troops over the king and queen” (KBo 17.1 II 20-21).

t-an LÚ AZU IŠTU MUŠEN ḪARRI NA⁴ḫuštīt wetenazzi-ya waḥnuzi “The physician “whirls” him (the king) with the ḫ. bird, with ḫušt- and with water” (IBoT 3.52, 3-5).⁶

Melchert even offered a formula to render the parallelism of the syntax of these three verbs in ritual contexts and an optional syntactic transformation:⁷

NP₁ (acc.) + NP₂ (dat.) + [NP₃ (inst.)] + *eku-* / *šipand-* / *š. a. waḥnu-* ⇒

NP₂ (acc.) + NP₁ (instr.) + [NP₃ (inst.)] + *eku-* / *šipand-* / *a. waḥnu-*

However, are there enough grounds to speak about a uniform syntactic rule in this case?

It has been observed that the distribution of the constructions with optional dative or accusative to indicate the recipient or beneficiary is not the same for these three verbs: *eku-*, unlike *šipant-* and *waḥnu-*, mostly takes accusative and very rarely dative.⁸

As concerns *eku-*, along with dative and accusative, we may also come across nominative structures:

15 DINGIR.MEŠ *ekuzzi* (// *ekuzi*) ^dMAḪ ^dGulšaš GUNNI (// ^dGUNNI) ^dU.GUR Ḫ ^dU.GUR ^{URU}Ḫāyaša ^dEN.ZU MUL-i GE₆-anza ^dḪašammiliš ^dMUNUS.LUGAL Ḫareštaššiš Ḫilaššiš... (KBo 19.128 VI 17'-22' // IBoT 3.15 I 5'-7').⁹

In the case of *šipant-* and *waḥnu-*, the semantic equivalence of dative and accusative structures leaves no room for doubts and their translation is likewise unambiguous. As concerns *eku-*, the interrelationship between different structures and their respective meanings still remains disputable. There are several basic variants of translating or interpreting the phrase

⁶ Melchert 1981: 247f.

⁷ Melchert 1981: 249.

⁸ Goedegebuure 2008a: 70.

⁹ Soysal 2008: 53; for other examples, see *ibid.*, 51. The author notes that the forms with ending *-š* are incorrectly in nominative case; the use of the divine name in nominative “must be considered as simply a mistake and may have no morphological consequences” (op. cit. 54). However, it should be noted that the use of the nominative case is no less recurrent than of dative and can be likewise accounted for, which is attempted later in the article.

^d(GN) *eku-*: give to drink/ tranken,¹⁰ drink to / toast¹¹ and “drink the god” with eucharistic connotation.¹²

The least disputable seems to be the Hattian origin of “drink the god”.¹³ Hence, following Soysal, I find it reasonable to seek solutions to the syntactic issues in question with the help of Hattian. According to the scholar, “...the divine name in the expression ^d(GN) *aku-* / *eku-* with ending *-n* may have been originally constructed in the dative case under influence of Hattian. Since the Hattian dative marker *-n* is formally the same as the Hittite ending *-n* for the singular accusative, it is possible that the Hittites had adopted this cult expression in their language in a manner where the divine proper name would function as accusative. This use may have been transformed later into the real “Hittite” accusative in *-n*.”¹⁴

Though the dative structures with *ANA* preposition are relatively rare than accusative, they are closer to the Hattian phrase that translates as: “drink to the god”.

The use of several syntactic structures to render the same idea in Hittite can indeed be put down to an inaccurate borrowing of the Hattian formula. However, in my opinion, the error is more likely to stem from the unfamiliar structure of the Hattian language rather than from a confusion associated with the formal likeness of case forms.

The structure of Hattian language can be disputable;¹⁵ however, the differences between Hittite and Hattian are obvious at the level of morphology (nominal and verbal) as well as syntax, and also cover the case system.¹⁶ On the other hand, a contact between two languages most naturally suggests mutual influence. The Hattian influence on Hittite first of all can be seen in possessive genitive,¹⁷ while the effects of interaction

¹⁰ See e. g. Hrozny 1917: 85 n. 2; Otten 1958: 132.

¹¹ See e. g. Puhvel 1984: 261ff.; Goedegebuure 2008: 67ff.; most recently Soysal 2010a: 344ff.

¹² See, e. g. Forrer 1940: 124ff.; Friedrich 1952: 40; de Martino 2002: 120. In contrast, Kammenhuber (1991: 222ff.) interpretes the action as libation, which initially was performed only by the king.

¹³ See e. g. Kammenhuber 1971: 152f.

¹⁴ Soysal 2008: 45, see also 55ff.

¹⁵ For example, some speak about the signs of ergativity in Hattian (Diakonoff 1967: 173; Schuster 1974: 106, n. 230; Taracha 1993: 292f., Taracha 1998: 15f.; Goedegebuure 2008b: 143 n. 15; Goedegebuure 2010: 949ff.), while others question it (see e. g. Kammenhuber 1969: 502, 543; Girbal 1986: 137ff.; Klinger 1994: 36ff.; cf. Soysal 2004: 37).

¹⁶ Soysal 2004: 184ff. For the Hattian case system see most recently Soysal 2010b: 1041ff.

¹⁷ For the Hattian influence on the Hittite syntax, see Kammenhuber 1962: 12ff., Kammenhuber 1969: 482ff., Soysal 2000: 114.

among the languages of Asia Minor include, for instance, the split ergative system in Hittite and other Anatolian languages.¹⁸

The explanation of the use of different syntactic variants in Hittite through the interference of a language having a different structure was compelled by my everyday practice. When studying the question, it may prove interesting to recall typical mistakes made by Georgian speaking individuals whose native language belongs to the Indo-European family, including Armenians, Ossetians, Russians, etc. residing in Georgia and European learners of Georgian. Moreover, the same mistakes can be observed in the speech of Georgians living in European countries. Despite their excellent command of Georgian, they may anyway have problems with subject and object markers, while Georgians may find challenging the usage of accusative in Russian, German, as well as in Ancient Greek, Latin or Hittite.

It should also be noted that I do not intend to touch the question of the genetic ties and/or encounters of Hattian with Georgian or any other Caucasian language, and share the opinion that the study is associated with considerable challenges.¹⁹ Even the analysis of typological parallels requires special caution.²⁰ I only refer to Georgian to demonstrate the theoretical plausibility of the hypothesis offered below. While relevant examples could be sought in other languages as well, my choice of the Georgian can be explained by my deeper awareness of it, as compared to other languages.

In Georgian, as well as in other Kartvelian languages, subject and object case forms vary according to the tense form of a respective transitive verb. In the first series (= the Present series), the subjective marker is the same for transitive and intransitive verbs, while direct object appears in dative instead of accusative, which is not present in Georgian at all. For example: მეფე (mepe=king:nom.) სვამს (svams=drink:prs.) ღვთაების (ghvtaeb-is=deity:gen.) სადიდებელს (sadidebel-s=toast/laudation:dat.) –

¹⁸ Watkins 2001: 52ff; on Hattian and Anatolian linguistic encounters see most recently Goedegebuure 2008b.

¹⁹ See e. g. Kammenhuber 1969: 440f.; Soysal 2004: 23f., 30ff.

²⁰ However, parallels between other languages can help unveil the mysteries of the Hattian language. See e. g. Goedegebuure 2008b: 164, 171; Goedegebuure 2010: 958f., 960 n. 22. In methodological terms, an interesting work is Melchert (s.a.), which refers to Mangarayi to explain the ergative in Hattian. According to Soysal, among other tasks, the future Hattological research must also aim at the establishment of typological and genetic (where possible) relations of Hattian with modern languages of the region, including Caucasian, after their critical revision (Soysal 2004: 39).

“The king drinks a deity’s toast” or მეფე (mepe=king:nom.) ადღეგრძელებს (adghegrdzebs=toast:prs.) ღვთაებს (ghvtaeba-s=deity:dat.) – “The king toasts the deity”.

The subject takes the ergative case only with a transitive verb in the second series (= the Aorist series). In this case, the direct object appears in nominative. For example: მეფემ (mepe-m=king:erg.) შესვა (shesva=drink:prs.) ღვთაების (ghvtaeb-is=deity:gen.) სადიღებელი (sadi-debeli= toast/ laudation:nom.) – “The king drunk a deity’s toast” or მეფემ (mepe-m=king:erg.) ადღეგრძელა (adghegrdzela=toast:prs.) ღვთაება (ghvtaeba=deity:nom.) – “The king toasted the deity”.

In the third series (= the Perfective series), the subject of a transitive verb takes dative (unlike the subject of an intransitive verb, which, similarly to the first series, remains in nominative), while the direct object appears in nominative. For example: მეფეს (mepe-s=king:dat.) შეუსვამს (shesvams=drink: perf.) ღვთაების (ghvtaeb-is=deity:gen.) სადიღებელი (sadidebel-i=toast/ laudation:nom.) – “The king has drunk a deity’s toast” or მეფეს (mepe-s=king:dat.) უდღეგრძელებია (udghegrdzelebia=drink:perf.) ღვთაება (ghvtaeba=deity:nom.) – “The king has toasted the deity”.

Thus, the Georgian dative can render direct and indirect objects as well as the subject depending on a sentence structure, while the nominative, apart from the subject, can also render the direct object.

If we assume that in Hattian too subject and/or object case variations could have been caused by the variation of a verb form, a particular ‘case marker’ cannot be considered as the only option for a particular syntactic role of a word.²¹ This may account for different interpretations of some morphemes, for example *-šu* or *-tu*, which can be identified either as a case inflexion or the marker of direct or indirect object.²²

Now, let us return to the Hittite ritual formula *eku-* + the divine name. It can be safely assumed that while borrowing this expression from the Hattian tradition into Hittite, the differences in the syntactic structure of the languages could have entailed several variants with the object in accusative, in dative or even in nominative.

As the use of accusative is most recurrent, the Hittites must have perceived the divine name in the ‘drink the god’ formula as the direct

²¹ Cf. Goedegebuure 2010: 957.

²² Concerning the morpheme, see e. g. Girbal 1986: 66, 138f., 167f.; Klingner 1994: 37; Schuster 1974: 142; Soysal 2004: 241, 255f.; Soysal 2010b: 1042.

object, at least formally,²³ while the use of other case forms for the name of a deity may suggest that in Hattian the direct object could appear in different case forms. Hence, if we agree that the divine name in the Hittite formula is the direct object, an “error” can be seen in the use of nominative, dative or other structures that are unusual for Hittite.

The proposed explanation for dative-accusative alternation in the mentioned formula can be extended to the verbs denoting cult actions – *šipant-*, (*šer arḫa*) *waḫnu-*. Though the texts where the ritual expressions are attested suggest different chronological or ethnic backgrounds, bearing in mind the extent of the Hattian influence on the Hittite religion, we should not rule out the plausibility of a similar type of alternation in other ritual expressions as well.

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²³ Having analyzed its different versions, Soysal (2010a: 348) reconstructed the entire formula in the following way, which in my opinion, sounds quite convincing: “Die Gottheit aus dem Trinkgefäß mittels eines Getränks trinken (= trinkend verehren)”. The formal direct object in this statement, as well as in its brief version, is the deity, though it is obvious that the actual direct object of the verb ‘drink’ and the respective action is the liquid, while the deity, in whose honour the act is performed, is to be understood in dative sense.

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Rusudan Tsanava (Tbilisi)

SOME RELIGIOUS ASPECTS IN PRE-CHRISTIAN GEORGIA

The materials put together in *Caucasus Antiquus*¹ contain important information on mythological and religious conceptions of nations and the historic situation in the Caucasus. It must be clarified from the very beginning what function a text, particularly a literary text may have in researching problems like pagan religions and mythos. It is known that research in pagan religions is based on four main components: written texts, archaeology, ethnology, and linguistics. Any opinion can be expressed as more or less likely only on the basis of comparing and analyzing data belonging to all the four components.

It is also known that research in pagan religions started long ago. Initially, it was based on the analysis of Greek and Roman texts and archaeological data were added later. *The Tale of Two Brothers*, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, *Song of the Harper*, *Poem of the Innocent Sufferer*, *Babylonian Psalms of Repentance*, *Hymns to the Aton*, and *Ugarit and Hittite chronicles* were discovered and deciphered one after another in the 19th century. From the early 19th century, scientists familiarized themselves with ancient Indian epics of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Fragments of the Canaanite legends of Keret and Aqhat were discovered in the 1930s. In addition, there are mythological epic texts of *Enuma Elish* and Sumerian and Akkadian myths, as well as the Hittite-Hurrian *Song of Ullikummi* and other monuments that are too numerous to mention here, which means that we have a huge amount of written materials useful for researching the religions of the East and the period of Antiquity.

One major problem makes research in the pre-Christian religion in Georgia quite complicated: no written monuments of pagan period have

¹ *Caucasus Antiquus*, Encyclopaedia disciplina, vol. I, Tbilisi 2010.

come down to us. First known Georgian written texts are Christian in content. It is true that some of them comprise criticism of paganism, but the material is scarce and can serve only as auxiliary data in research. Instead, ethnology, folklore, archaeological materials, and antique texts in foreign languages can help to reconstruct the Georgian Pre-Christian religion. At the same time, the following three major factors should be taken into account in studying Georgia's Pre-Christian religion: 1. There are several levels of development in the Georgian pagan religion (like in all archaic pagan religions); deities are integrated, functions are divided, and new deities emerge; 2. Common Georgian and regional deities can be found in various regions of Georgia²; 3. Pagan deities were Christianized. Correspondingly, the Georgian Pre-Christian religion is quite a large and complicated issue. For this reason, we will concentrate only on one problem - worship of celestial bodies. We will try to show the role of antique sources in studying this problem.

At the early stage of studies of pagan religions, scientists thought that the worship of the sun is common for the whole humankind. However, well-known ethnologist Adolf Bastian found that the solar religion can be found only in several regions of the world.³ The worship of natural bodies (the sun, the moon, and stars) and elements, and rituals of placating them are known to all nations of the world, but heavenly bodies are not so frequently transformed into subjects of religious worship with all components characteristic of deities. What we describe as the religious worship of the sun is found only in Egypt, Asia, and Europe (in archaic times). On the American continent, the solar religion could be found only in Peru and Mexico.

The supremacy of the cult of the sun in specific regions has been explained in various manners. Various stages of the formation of the cult have also been identified. The only thing that can be said for sure is that

² For example, a mini-theogony similar to Hesiod's *Theogony* was recorded in Khevsureti in the 19th century. Albeit in a fragmented manner, this text describes the birth of the sons of god (meaning pagan deities by sons of god). Deity of order is at the head of the Khevsureti Olympus. His duty is to bring the world in order and give birth to sons. Popular images of the pagan religion are Tergvauli, Baaduri, Kopala, Iakhsari, and others. See: Chikovani M., *Problems of Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi 1971, 166-175 (*in Georgian*). Other deities can be found in Megrelian folklore: Kapunia, Alarti (Alerti), Rokapi, Mesepe, Ochokochi, and others. See: Tsanava A., *Problems of Georgian Folklore*, Tbilisi 1999, 39-82 (*in Georgian*); Tsanava A., *Megrelian Legends*, In: *Caucasus Series*, Tbilisi 1998 (*in Georgian*).

³ Frazer J., *The Worship of Nature*, London 1926, 441.

primeval solar hierophanies are characterized by the perception of reality as a whole and it is possible to gain an understanding of this reality through comprehending the sacral structure.⁴ In the Mediterranean region, the supreme heavenly figure (the sun) is replaced by the ruler of heavenly events and deities of fertility.⁵ In Mesopotamia, on the contrary, supreme solar deities assume the function of fertility, Marduk being one obvious example.⁶

Correspondingly, two trends are identifiable in the formation of the deity of the sun: attribution of the functions of this deity to other deities (the trend found in the Mediterranean region⁷) and, on the contrary, attribution of the functions of other deities to the solar cult (for example, in the Hittite religion⁸). This process can also be found in the religion of the Vedas, and in the Middle East, north Asia, and Africa.⁹

It is characteristic of solar religions to personify heavenly bodies (transform them into anthropomorphic image), make offerings to them, and offer them prayers. The sun plays a significant role in beliefs and conceptions linked to burials. Sunset was not regarded as death. The sun was supposed to descend to the kingdom of the dead, becoming "the sun of the deceased" for that period. Correspondingly, the sun was also a psychopomp and was linked to the cult of ancestors. The rulers of various countries of the world were regarded as the sons of the sun. This tradition can be found with the Hittites, Babylonians, Indians, and others.¹⁰

The religious worship of the sun is most obvious with the Egyptians, where Amon Ra is the supreme god.¹¹ In Mesopotamia, god of sun Shamash was regarded as the son of god of moon Sin and never had any

⁴ Элиаде М., *Очерки сравнительного религиоведения*, Пер. с английского, Москва 1999, 129.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁶ Frankfort H., *Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals*, Irak, 1934, 6.

⁷ Full degradation of the function of the deity of the sun can be found in the Old Greek religion. Helios is not one of the gods on Olympus, his functions being mainly attributed to Apollo. Helios is rather part of mythos than religion. The story of Phaeton is the most well-known among the legends about Helios. In other myths, he is not interesting, the only activity to be discussed later being linked to Helios' Colchian descendants.

⁸ Götze A., *Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1933, 136.

⁹ Элиаде М., *Очерки сравнительного религиоведения*, Перевод с английского, Москва 1999, 130-131.

¹⁰ Perry W. J., *The Children of the Sun*, Adventures Unlimited Press 1927, 138 ff.

¹¹ Williamson R. W., *Religious and Cosmic Beliefs in Central Polynesia*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1933, 302-322.

special rights.¹² In Greece and Italy, the sun always had an auxiliary function. The worship of sun spread in Rome in the times of the empire under the oriental influence, but it did not become a subject of religious worship.

According to most Georgian scientists, there are traces of solar religion in Georgia. Ethnologist V. Bardavelidze devoted a monograph to the worship of the deity of the sun in Georgia.¹³ She found that the sun was a common Georgian pagan deity. The female deity of the sun was called Barbal/Babar/Kal-Babar in various regions of Georgia (Svaneti, west Georgia, and some areas in east Georgia). In the highlands of east Georgia, Sun-Woman(/Day) had the functions of the deity of the sun. According to V. Bardavelidze, the holy of holies of Georgian pagans – Magna Mater Nana – is the hypostasis of Barbal.¹⁴

In V. Bardavelidze's opinion, the solar religion took shape at a high level of the cultural development of Georgians. The holiday devoted to the deity of the sun – Barbaloba – was marked on 4-6 December – the solar equinox. Barbal was supposed to be responsible for harvest and the good fortune and multiplication of families, and the healing of the sick. The golden colour, sparkling things, and gardens with medicinal plants were the attributes of the female deity of the sun and her companion deities (woman emissaries and masters).

Combinations of rotating images similar to swastika can be seen on clay spindle-weights (needle-spinning devices) of the Aeneolithic Age found in West Georgia (Imereti). Scientists believe that they point to solar cults. Precisely such images were widespread among the tribes of Asia Minor.¹⁵

Several artefacts found in the Kura-Aras culture also attract attention. They are images of stags and cranes "followed" by suns on silver diadems. It is noteworthy that a pair of spirals on two discs with a crane close to them has also been found in the same culture. According to researchers, the spirals symbolize astral pairs.¹⁶

¹² Meissner B., *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. 2, Heidelberg 1925, 21.

¹³ Bardavelidze V., *History of Ancient Religion of Georgians (Deity Barbar-Babar)*, Tbilisi 1941 (*in Georgian*); Бардавелидзе В., *Древнейшие религиозные верования и обрядовое графическое искусство грузинских племён*, Тбилиси 1957.

¹⁴ Бардавелидзе В., *Op. cit.*, 107.

¹⁵ Kikvidze I., *Farming and Farming Cult in Ancient Georgia*, Tbilisi 1976, 155-157 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁶ Шаншашвили Н., *Знаки и символы куро-аракской культуры*. Автореферат диссертации, Тбилиси 1988, 7; Khidasheli M., *The Picture of the World in Ancient Georgia*, Tbilisi 2001, 64-67 (*in Georgian*).

The Trialeti culture is the next chronological stage. Trialeti crockery carries images of the world surrounded by cosmic waters with the Sun going around it. Although travelling on the waters of the Sun is a theme well-known in the ancient Middle East, the Trialeti images do not resemble any of these schemes reflecting the rhythmic movement of celestial bodies.¹⁷ Kuftin described images on other types of crockery, which supposedly also depict the route of the Sun.¹⁸ In this case, solar signs are on belts.

Bronze discs dated the 2nd millennium were found in Samtskhe-Javakheti. The discs are decorated with signs denoting the rotating Sun. The signs are in the centre of a composition with various geometrical combinations and astral signs around them. Such discs have been found only in women's graves.¹⁹

Artefacts with astral symbols and Sun discs have been found in the bronze culture of Colchis (the first half of the 1st millennium BC). Analyzing the images, researchers concluded that residents of ancient Georgia believed that land was surrounded by a river-ocean (the river often being represented as a snake) and the Sun travelled along this river-snake, which swallowed the Sun from time to time.²⁰

All the aforementioned means that archaeological materials confirm the existence of solar symbols in Georgia, but this is not sufficient to assert that the religious worship of the Sun certainly existed in ancient Georgia.

Traces of the religious worship of the solar deity can be found in the texts of folklore.²¹ The religious worship of the solar deity is probably reflected in the poem called *Sun at Home*.²² Ancient Svan religious hymns *Lile* and *Barbol Dolash* are particularly noteworthy in this regard. Both hymns are devoted to the Sun. *Lile* glorifies the Sun and *Barbol Dolash*

¹⁷ Куфтин Б., Археологические раскопки в Триаleti, Тбилиси 1941, 74; Gogodze E., The Periodization and Genesis of the Trialeti Culture, Tbilisi 1972 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁸ Куфтин Б., *Op. cit.*, 81.

¹⁹ Surguladze I., *Mythoses, Cults, and Rituals in Georgia*, Tbilisi 2003, 203 (*in Georgian*).

²⁰ Pantskhava L., *Monuments of Artistic Craftsmanship in Colchian Culture*, Tbilisi 1988, 38 (*in Georgian*).

²¹ Javakhishvili I., *History of the Georgian Nation*, vol. I, Tbilisi 1960 (*in Georgian*); Javakhishvili I., *Historic and Ethnological Problems in Georgia, Caucasus, and Near East*, Tbilisi 1950 (*in Georgian*); Chikovani M., *Georgian Mythology and Folk Poetry*, In: *Georgian Folk Poetry*, vol. I, Tbilisi 1972 (*in Georgian*); Virsaladze E., *Barbol-Barbar in Georgian Folklore*, in: *Bulletin of the Georgian Academy of Sciences*, vol. XVI, No 2, 1955 (*in Georgian*); Kotetishvili V., *Folk Poetry*, Tbilisi 1961 (*in Georgian*).

²² Kotetishvili V., *Op. cit.*, 322.

describes a religious march held to praise the deity. These two texts could have been devoted to two different deities and there could be a whole era between them. The female nature of the deity and its fertility and generosity are clearly visible in *Barbol Dolash*. *Lile* is more archaic. It glorifies the celestial body, its luminary (not fertile) force, which undoubtedly belongs to an earlier period and must be linked to the masculine origin of the deity.

The Georgian folklore does not rule out the existence of two Georgian solar deities (regarded at times as a masculine and at times as a feminine) in various periods.²³ And indeed, the Sun is regarded at times as masculine and at times as feminine. For example, the Sun is mostly masculine in magic tales (for example, in *The Sun's Son-in-Law*). Scientists have noted that in archaic conceptions, celestial deities often change gender even within one nation. This is explained in different manners. According to one opinion (described above), there may be deities of two different genders.

In my opinion, the Sun and Moon are unique bodies that do not have doublets. Their uniqueness and perfection are expressed in the ideal form of the luminaries, as both are circular. The two luminaries are not commensurate with each other either, as each of them has its own function. At the level of relations between the genders, perfection implies **androgynous** nature. We do not rule out that this may be an explanation of the alternation of the luminaries' genders: the Sun is at times feminine and at time masculine in emanations; it fertilizes, gives force, causes death, or makes healthy, which means that it is ambivalent, precisely like the most archaic and "unpolished" deities of pagan religions.

We presented a short review of the opinions of Georgian archaeologists, folklorists, and ethnologists on the deity of the Sun. We agree with the opinion that it is difficult to assert only on the basis of Georgian materials that the tradition of the religious worship of the deity of the Sun existed in Georgia. I regard as an additional argument in support of this assumption the information from the myth of Argonauts, which says that mythical Colchis was a kingdom of Helios' descendants.²⁴

Scientists, who study mythos using modern theories of research, are well aware of the fact that despite concrete names, the countries reflected

²³ Tserediani D., Svan Hymns of Cult, In Bulletin, No 6, Tbilisi 1970, 165-166 (*in Georgian*).

²⁴ J. Frazer refers to Colchis as a country "where reigned a child of the sun": Фрэзер Дж., Золотая ветвь, Москва 1980, 326.

in myths are unreal lands situated beyond boundaries.²⁵ An unreal land becomes linked to a concrete geographic area, when a myth is transformed into a tale. After a sacral story – myth – is transformed from its purely preliminary structure (symbol) into a liminary text (epic), mythic geographic areas are "brought down to earth" and linked to real historic lands. Archaeological materials show that in most cases, this trend (i. e. the profanation of myths) is not accidental.

I would also like to explain here my vision of the connection between myths and literary texts. Achilles kills Hector and this is a story, but what Hector told Achilles before dying and what Achilles told him in response is a plot. In the antique literature, "pure" stories are effectively equal to traditional stories – myths. Any story – mythical or real – is transformed into a plot in a literary text and the development of the plot depends on the author's fantasy and literary skills. The authors of Antiquity had ready stories in the shape of myths and they created plots from the stories in their works. Authors did not change the main conception of the story; for example: the Trojan war was to start and Trojans were to be defeated in it; both Achilles and Hector were to die; Clytemnestra was to kill Agamemnon and Orestes was to kill Clytemnestra; Odysseus was to get back home; and so forth. If we take a look at the antique texts, which were written on the basis of these stories and have come down to us, we will see that they are not so few in number. However, although the beginning and the end of these stories are well known, readers show amazing interest in reading them. This is a paradox of fiction, which we are not going to discuss at length here. We will concentrate on mythical structures that remain unchanged.

All literary texts written on the basis of the myth of Argonauts say that the mythical king of Colchis – Aeëtes – was the son of Helios,²⁶ which means that in accordance with ancient ideas, Colchis (both mythical and real) was associated for Greeks and Romans with a country, where the Sun was the supreme deity. It is Aeëtes, the son of the deity of the Sun (Helios), who is the ruler of the country. In this context, it is, of course, very important that Aeëtes' sisters – Circe and Pasiphaë – reigned on most important islands in the Mediterranean – Crete and Sicily. In our opinion,

²⁵ Tsanava R., Prometheus and the Human Race, Mythical Nations, Legendary Singers, Soothsayers, Tbilisi 2003, 24-49; 112-122 (*in Georgian*).

²⁶ Fragments from works of antique authors linked to this issue can be found in the encyclopaedia: *Caucasus Antiquus*, Encycloios Disciplina, vol. I, Fontes, Tbilisi 2010; Urushadze A., Ancient Colchis in the Myth of Argonauts, Tbilisi 1964 (*in Georgian*).

the fact that antique sources are so unanimous in noting that the Sun was the supreme deity in Colchis is one of the most important arguments proving that the religious worship of the solar deity existed in Georgia in that remote era.

Helios occupies an unimportant place in ancient Greek myths. He is not very popular among gods either. Analyzing Greek materials, researchers draw the conclusion that Helios is linked both to earth and the subterranean world. The analysis of Helios' epithets (Pythias and Paeon, which are also Leto's epithets) enables U. Pestalozzi to express the opinion that it is linked to the vegetable world. Helios is also Chthonius and Pluto and, at the same time, Titan. In Crete, Helios adopts the shape of a bull and becomes the partner of Magna Mater. Thus, Helios is not only Pythias, Chthonius, and Titan, but he is also linked to the realm of eternal darkness, magic, and the subterranean world.²⁷ He is offered horses and horse-drawn chariots as a sacrifice and it is known that horses are linked to chthonic symbols. Greek Helios unites a lot of so-called Indo-European signs, but it also contains a lot of Pre-Greek and non-Indo-European elements. The etymology of "Helios" is also not clear. Hesychius regarded the name as a Cretan word, others believe Helios is linked to Indo-European *seh_wel and there is an opinion that Helios may be derived from Proto-Kartvelian *šev-el or šven.²⁸

Helios is the father of Aeëtes, Circe, and Pasiphaë and the grandfather of Medea. The only myth, in which Helios is presented in his full divine glory, is that of Argonauts. Many Greek and Roman authors used the story in their works, creating large epic texts. Tragic playwrights and lyrical poets used separate episodes of the myth of Argonauts. Historians, geographers, and philosophers also wrote about the story of Argonauts.²⁹

Although all sources are unanimous in noting that Aeëtes is Helios' son, the texts do not say anything about Helios himself. The sources point to different deities, when they mention Helios' wife – the mother of Aeëtes, Circe, and Pasiphaë. According to Hesiod, Perse, the daughter of Oceanus was Helios' wife (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 956-959). There are other versions, but Perse is most frequent among them. It underscores

²⁷ Pestalozzi U., *Pagine di religione mediterranea*, vol. 2, Milano-Messina 1945, 22.

²⁸ Argonauts: the World of Greek Myths, Narration and Comments by R. Gordeziani, Tbilisi 1999 (*in Georgian*); Furne E. J., *Paläokartvelisch-Pelagische Einflüsse in den indogermanischen Sprachen*. Nachgewiesen Anhand der spätindogermanischen Reflexe urkartvelischer Sibilanten und Affrikaten, Leiden 1986, 181.

²⁹ Cf. Urushadze A., *Op. cit.*, Argonauts: The World ...

connections between the elements of the Sun and water, which we already discussed above. The texts do not describe rituals of worship of Helios. Most authors note that Helios' descendants bore obvious solar signs (appearance – eyes, voice).³⁰

Hephaestus was favourably disposed towards Aeëtes. The function of bulls is particularly important in the myth of Argonauts. In pagan religious systems of all nations of the world, supreme deities have zoomorphic and vegetable hypostases. In most cases, bulls correlate with supreme deities. Likewise, bull is the holy animal of Zeus. Bulls have a different function only in the myth of Argonauts and the Cretan religion. The opinion has been expressed that there is a correlation between Aeëtes' fire-breathing bulls kept in subterranean stalls and the Minotaur dwelling in the Labyrinth. The well-known Cretan mural painting featuring a bull and acrobats is considered in the same context and we will not continue to discuss this well-known issue.³¹

We will now concentrate on one interesting aspect. Words denoting cattle did not differ in gender in ancient Georgia and Greece. In Georgia, one word – *zroxai* – denoted both *cow* and *bull*, and other words denoting gender – female and male – pointed to the difference.³² The situation was similar in Greek: βοῦς (Doric βῶς, Gen. βο(F)ός) meant both *cow* and *bull*. Semantic differences in words denoting *cow* and *bull* emerged in individual dialects of Indo-European languages a little later. In archaic composites, we encounter the stem without the vowel, for example, in ἐγκατόμ-βη, where βη denotes "offering".

Not only the stem denoting *cow* and *bull* was the same for Indo-Europeans, but also religions involving them as a supreme cosmic deity.³³

³⁰ For example, *Argonautica Orphica* reads: "Aeëtes in his chariot and lustrous golden robes shone like Helios. Ringing his head was a crown fringed with glowing rays. He swung with his hands a sceptre".

³¹ In connection with the cult of bulls and ritual offerings linked to it cf.: Стратанович Г. Г., Ритуальное убийство быка, Сб. Религия и мифология народов восточной и южной Азии, Москва 1970. It is asserted in this work that bulls were sacrificed to the Sun. It also analyzes the symbols of bull-headed gods – bull-men.

³² Okroshidze T., Characters of Georgian Fantastic Tales – Bull. In: Georgian Folklore, vol. III, 1969, 132 (in Georgian).

³³ Гамкрелидзе Т. В., Иванов В. В., Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы, Т. 2, Тбилиси 1984, 575-576; Bull is the supreme cosmic deity in Egyptian, Ancient Semitic, Mediterranean, Anatolian, Hittite, and Greek conceptions. The rituals of bufonia and tauromachia and the sacrifice of pregnant ("eight-legged") cows in Old Indian and Roman rituals confirm this. Cf. Фрейденберг О. М., Поэтика сюжета и жанра, Москва 1936, 95; Пендлбери Дж., Археология Крита, Москва 1950, 238.

Similar ideas are encountered in the life and rituals of Caucasian tribes and in particular Georgians.³⁴ It is possible that this bisexuality of *zroxai* and *βοῦς* is in precise correlation with the androgynic nature of the deities, whose hypostases they are. According to ancient Georgian conceptions, the solar deity is regarded at times as masculine and at times as feminine. In astral symbols, cow correlates with the Moon and bull with the Sun.³⁵ The same is true of the deity of the Moon. Bull plays an important role in rituals dedicated to the latter.

In his *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, Flavius Arrianus wrote: "The statue of Goddess Phasiana is placed to the left of the entrance into Phasis, which deity we may reasonably conjecture, from her figure and appearance, to be the same with Rhea, as she holds in her hands a cymbal, has lions under her throne, and is seated in the same manner as the statue by Phidias in the temple of Cybele at Athens".³⁶

The goddess, whose statue was described by Arrianus, is among the goddesses belonging to the class of so-called Magna Mater. There are traces of the religious worship of Magna Mater in Georgia. According to Georgian conceptions, this goddess is also connected with luminaries (the Sun and Moon). In *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes, the supreme goddess of Colchians is called Hecate. The poem makes it clear that: 1. Hecate was one of the most respected deities in Colchis; 2. There was a temple of Hecate in Colchis; 3. Medea was the priestess of the temple of Hecate and she led secret mysteries and offered sacrifices; 4. A divine garden with a lot of curative and deadly plants growing in it belonged to Hecate; 5. Cattle and humans were offered to Hecate as sacrifices; 6. Prophecies, prophetic trances, soothsaying, and other magic acts were part of Hecate's mysteries.³⁷

Like Rhea-Cybele, statues of Hecate also had the shape of beautiful women, who have a snake, a dog, a dagger, a key, or a torch in their

³⁴ Bardavelidze V., History of Ancient Religion of Georgians (Deity Barbar-Babar), Tbilisi 1941 (*in Georgian*); Abakelia N., Symbols and Rituals in Georgian Culture, Tbilisi 1977 (*in Georgian*); Бардавелидзе В., Древнейшие религиозные верования и обрядовое графическое искусство грузинских племён, Тбилиси 1957.

³⁵ This correlation was reflected also in the symbolism of the horns of cows and bulls. A luminary can often be seen between horns in iconography. Бидерманн Г., Энциклопедия символов, Перевод с немецкого, Москва 1996.

³⁶ *Caucasus Antiquus*, 304.

³⁷ Цанавა Р., Мотивы и образы сказания об аргонавтах в грузинском фольклоре. Автореферат кандид. диссерт., Тбилиси 1983, 7-10.

hands.³⁸ We can see that the image of Hecate as a goddess is presented fully (unlike Helios). The name Hecate is not linked to the Georgian world, but due to the functional signs accumulated in this deity, Professor A. Urushadze regarded it as a Colchian deity.³⁹ According to some explanations, Hecate (Ἑκάτη) means "someone coming from far away".⁴⁰ Presumably, in Greece, the cult of Hecate dates from the 7th century BC. It is believed that the cult was borrowed from Asia Minor (Caria) or Thracia. As a cosmic deity, Hecate is often identified with Rhea-Cybele. It is also often associated with Egyptian Isis.

Hecate is first mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 409-452). According to this text, Hecate is a great goddess, who rules over almost everything in the world. She is a universal goddess elevated to the level of Magna Mater or the mother of gods. In pagan religions, Magna Maters are creators, who bring everything in order in the world: they regulate life and death and the well-being of humans and award and punish them. Magna Mater ends the most important stage of the development of pagan religions. Although Magna Maters have multiple names, the identity of their functions, iconography, and rituals enabled researchers to conclude that Magna Maters played the role of an identifying formula in the development of faiths and conceptions of various nations.⁴¹ In Oriental countries, Magna Mater is the protector of both fertility and war, and light and darkness. It is this ambivalence that defines their ancient age. Both virgins and whores worshipped Ilithyia, Ishtar, Cybele, Anahita, and other Magna Maters. Numerous small clay images of deities with big eyes and large hips and breasts have been found on the sites of Aeneolithic settlements in the Middle East and South Caucasus.

Cosmic rhythms are subordinated to two luminaries – the Sun and Moon. The Moon regulates tides and precipitations, influencing land,

³⁸ Эгейское искусство, Москва 1972.

³⁹ Urushadze A., Op. cit., 66. Materials on the origin of Hecate are collected in this work. Hecate was mentioned by Pherecydes (5th century BC); Demetrius, Bacchylides, Dionysius of Scytobrachion (2nd -1st centuries BC), Dionysius of Miletus (4th century BC), Diodorus of Sicily, and, of course, Apollonius of Rhodes.

⁴⁰ Беляев Ю., Зверобогии древности. Мифологическая энциклопедия, Москва 1998, 203-207.

⁴¹ Nilsson M. P., *The Minoan-Mycenaeen Religion and its Survivals in Greek Religion*, London 1970; Evans A., *The Palace of Minos and Knossos*, Oxford 1921; Rose H. J., *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks*, London 1957; Eliade M., *Le Yoga. Immortalité et Liberté*, Paris 1954.

plants, and life in general. Dying, diminution and growth of force (alternation of phases) are also associated with the Moon. It is also known that the Moon has a special impact on women's physiology. Connecting Magna Mater with the Moon is one of the greatest logical gains of the "observational" mythos.

The transition from the worship of luminaries as elements of nature to anthropomorphism points to the establishment of an astral religion. The entire knowledge of primitive human beings – practical, sensual, and intuitive – was generalized in the religious worship of the Sun and Moon. As regards the fact that the deities of the Sun and Moon were sometimes masculine and in other times feminine in the conceptions of not only various nations, but even within one nation, it was explained above that they were regarded as androgynous. In faiths and conceptions of various nations, supreme cosmic goddesses were linked sometimes to the Sun and sometimes to the Moon. As public institutions took shape and developed, the Sun started bearing signs of a masculine deity and the Moon of the signs of a feminine deity.

The myth of Argonauts says that Helios' descendant rules over Colchis. At the same time, the supreme deity Colchians worship is Hecate that corresponds to the deity of the Moon in Greek texts. According to Greek conceptions, three goddesses are linked to the Moon: Selene, Artemis (the sister of Sun-Apollo), and Hecate. Researchers think that they embodied three different lunar phases. Three colours corresponded to the Moon: white to the new moon, red or purple to the crescent, and black to the full moon. These lunar phases corresponded to the three biological conditions of woman; virginity, womanhood, and old age. According to some researchers, the three natures of the lunar goddess can be explained not only by their connection with the lunar phases, but also by their ability to "own" the three worlds (Underworld, Middleworld, and Skyworld). Hecate was the embodiment of the full moon and the last day of the month was named after her. On that day, she was offered eggs, fish, and onions. Dogs, snakes, mules, and lions were the animals linked to her. In magic texts, she is referred to as a dog. It is white dog Hecate that nursed Asclepius. Hecate is the master of the dead and she can summon the souls of the dead. The idea of revival and resurrection is also linked to her.⁴²

In the full moon, Hecate's dogs (/wolves), who constantly accompanied the goddess, gained new force. Hecate was particularly popular among Thessalian magicians, who were able to transform humans

⁴² Грейвс Р., Мифы древней Греции, Перевод с английского, Москва 1992, 89.

into animals and stones. Hecate was the lady of the chthonic world and often replaced Persephone and Erinyes (or is referred to as Erinyes herself). According to some theories, Empusas (Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 294 and further) and monster Scylla are Hecate's children. In Late Antiquity and the Hellenistic period, Hecate was regarded as the protector of magicians and evil forces. It is with his function that she became established in the conceptions of Europeans. Among others, this is confirmed by the fact that Hecate is referred to in Shakespeare's plays as the protector of magicians and evil forces.⁴³

Hecate and Artemis were often completely identified with each other in the nations residing on the Black Sea coast. For example, Artemis of Taurus had several epithets: Tauropola, Dictina, Orthia, Hecate (/Roman Trivia) (Diod. IV, 44; Paus. I. 23, 9; Soph., *Ai.*, 172. Serv. *Coment.*, *Verg.*, *Aen.*, II, 116). She needed bloody sacrifices just like Artemis Brauronia and Artemis Orthia. Residents of Taurus called Iphigenia Artemis or Hecate (Eur. *I. T.*, 784; 1045; Ovid., *Pont.*, III. 2, 45; Herod., IV, 103).

Artemis is one of the most prominent figures in Greek myths. Two aspects are noteworthy in the development of the character: 1. Artemis is the deity of fertility (correlated with Magna Mater); 2. Artemis is the deity of the Moon. Studies make it clear that several local gods were united within the image of this goddess that incorporated several functions. She was the protector of flora and fauna and that who granted childbearing. Humans were sacrificed to this deity.

There were about 80 temples of Artemis in Greece, the centre of worship being in Ephesus. Scientists assume that the cult of Artemis emerged in Asia Minor (Ephesus) and spread to the European part of Greece. According to G. Thomson, the image of Artemis developed from the ancient Pelasgian "bear goddess", which reached Greece from the Black Sea area – the Caucasus.⁴⁴

Many-breasted Artemis (πολύμαστος) was worshipped in the well-known temple in Ephesus. This deity had the function of Magna Mater

⁴³ Our opinions on the gradations of Hecate's image and her connection with the Moon can be found in: Tsanova R., *The Motives and Images of the Myth of Argonauts and the Georgian World*, Postgraduate thesis, Tbilisi 1984 (*in Georgian*); Tsanova R., *Mythical Aspects of the Image of Hecate and the Myth of Argonauts*. In: *Georgian Folklore*, vol. XIII, 1983 (*in Georgian*); Tsanova R., *The Problem of Gradation of Hecate's Image*. Theses of the International Conference, Tbilisi-Jena 1990.

⁴⁴ Томсон Дж., *Исследования по истории древнегреческого общества*, Т. 1, Москва 1958, 277.

and at the same time, was associated with the Moon.⁴⁵ The correlation between Hecate and Artemis raises no doubts. This opinion is further supported by the fact that Hecate is replaced by Artemis in *Argonautica Orphica*.⁴⁶ Aeschylus also identifies Hecate with Artemis.⁴⁷ Greeks offered the same sacrifices to Hecate and Artemis – round loaves with candles in the middle of them. The sacrificing ritual was held on crossroads on the 16th day of the month in the old Moon.⁴⁸ Romans identified Hecate with their own goddess Trivia, the goddess of crossroads, where her images were erected. She was offered sacrifices also on crossroads (Soph., Frg., 492).

In the imagination of primitive people, the constant lunar cycles were linked to the rhythms of life. Lunar phases helped people to discover time in the concrete meaning of this phenomenon. The symbolism of the Moon as a measure of rhythmic changes and fertility was expressed from ancient times in the shape of a spiral, snake, or lightning.⁴⁹ As regards time, it was always measured in accordance with lunar phases everywhere. The ancient Indo-European stem denoting luminaries is ***me** "moon". In Sanskrit, it has the shape of **mami** "I measure". All Indo-European words denoting the Moon originate from this stem: Sanskrit **mas**; Avestan, Old Prussian **mah**; Lithuanian **menu**; Gothic **mena**; Greek **mene**; Latin **mensis**.⁵⁰

Symbols linked to the Moon represent the Moon itself. Spiral is the hierophany of the Moon (expressing the alternation of light and darkness) and lightning is its kratophany (along with symbolizing force, it heralds rain). This and other symbols create a common cosmic net. When speaking about the religious worship of the Moon, everything has equal importance – starting with the symbols of pearl and lightning and ending with such well-known deities of the Moon as Babylonian Sin or goddess Hecate.⁵¹ The symbol of snake in the images of the goddesses of the Moon (Magna

⁴⁵ Ibid., 278.

⁴⁶ *Argonautica Orphica*, Georgian translation and comments by N. Melashvili, Tbilisi 1977, 123.

⁴⁷ Томсон Дж., Op. cit., 226.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 226.

⁴⁹ Furlani G., *La Religione babilonese assira*, vol. I, Bologna 1929, 155.

⁵⁰ Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2nd ed. Jena 1883, 443-450. In Megrelian, "tuta" means both "moon" and "month".

⁵¹ Элиаде М., *Очерки сравнительного религиоведения*, Перевод с английского, Москва 1999, 157-158.

Maters) is due to the functions of fertility and renovation conferred by the Moon.

According to Georgian conceptions, the Moon had the image of a male god. This is how it is seen in written and ethnographic materials. The same is true of folklore.⁵² M. Chikovani believes that the Moon's image of a male god emerged after the emergence of patriarchy. The researcher notes that a code of worshipping the Moon existed in Georgia, including the tabooing system. A lot of things linked to the new, full, and overturned Moon were forbidden. The Sun, however, was not so tabooed and restricted through magic actions.⁵³

According to Academician I. Javakhishvili, anthropomorphically, the Moon has the masculine image.⁵⁴ The analysis of religious, ethnographic, linguistic, and folkloric materials has made it clear that wherever Georgians lived, there are traces of worshipping the Moon. Therefore, the worship of the Moon as the chief Lord and deity should be regarded as the ancient faith of all Georgian tribes. In Javakhishvili's opinion, St George

⁵² Chikovani M., *Problems of Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi 1971, 127 (*in Georgian*).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵⁴ The literary and naming traditions are very important in analyzing this problem. A layer of myths and tales can clearly be identified in *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* (12th century). At the same time, the text contains a lot of metaphors, some of which can be regarded as symbols. In this context, we are interested in clarifying links between the protagonists of the poem and the Sun and the Moon. This context is most obvious in the following line: "They saw the Moon released by the Snake to meet the Sun" (1428), where the Sun is Tariel (a protagonist of the poem), the Moon is Netsan-Darejan (Tariel's beloved woman), and the Snake is the fortress of demons. In another line, we can read: "The Moon is waiting for you, the Lion" (413), where the Lion is Tariel and the Moon is Nestan-Darejan. Another female protagonist of the poem, Tinatin, is also compared with the Moon. This is how Tinatin's slave summons Avtandil to the palace: "It is the order of the one, who has a body like a poplar tree and a face like the Moon" (124). At the same time, female protagonists are often compared in the text with the Sun: "Tinatin found fault with the Sun, but the Sun behaved like Tinatin" (52). Male protagonists are compared both with the Sun and the Moon. This issue is discussed at length in: Nozadze V., *The Sun in The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, Santiago de Chile, 1957. It is also noteworthy that Mzia, Mzevinar, Mtvarisa, and Tuta, comprising stems that denote the Sun and the Moon, are popular woman's names in Georgia. Badri, which is the constant epithet of the Moon and is often used separately to denote the Moon is a man's name. Mangia (mangi means "moon") is also a man's name, as well as Mzechabuki (/Chabua). The aforementioned means that both the epic and naming traditions point to dualism in the perception of the gender of luminaries.

replaced the deity of Moon in Christian Georgia.⁵⁵ He studied rituals linked to St George and found pagan elements in them. The holiday was marked on 14 August, in the full Moon. I. Javakhishvili paid attention to the names of week days extant in Megrelian and Svan. Monday is called in Megrelian *tutašxa* (Moon's day) and in Svan *došdiš*. Sunday is called in Megrelian *žašxa* (Sun's day). According to Pre-Christian conceptions, Monday was Moon's day and a holiday. A children's disease, which is called *tutaš* (Moon's) in Megrelia is also linked to the pagan deity of the Moon.⁵⁶

In the opinion of Georgian linguist R. Pataridze, elements of the pagan cults of the Moon and the Sun were reflected in the Georgian Asomtavruli alphabet: "The first letter in the Asomtavruli alphabet is the ideogram of the Moon. Correspondingly, the letter is called *an*, which means the deity of the Moon".⁵⁷

The opinion of Georgian scientists is confirmed by Strabo: Iberians "worship the Sun, Zeus, and the Moon, but the Moon above the rest. She has a temple near Iberia. The priest is a person who, next to the king, receives the highest honours. He has the government of the sacred land, which is extensive and populous, and authority over the sacred attendants, many of whom are divinely inspired, and prophesy. Whoever of these persons, being violently possessed, wanders alone in the woods, is seized by the priest, who, having bound him with sacred fetters, maintains him sumptuously during that year. Afterwards he is brought forth at the sacrifice performed in honour of the goddess, and is anointed with fragrant ointment and sacrificed together with other victims. The sacrifice is performed in the following manner. A person, having in his hand a sacred lance, with which it is the custom to sacrifice human victims, advances out of the crowd and pierces the heart through the side, which he does from experience in this office. When the man has fallen, certain prognostications are indicated by the manner of the fall, and these are publicly declared. The body is carried away to a certain spot, and then they all trample upon it, performing this action as a mode of purification of themselves".⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Javakhishvili I., *History of the Georgian Nation*, vol. I, Tbilisi 1960, 50, 59 (*in Georgian*).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 121-124; Javakhishvili I., *Historic and Ethnological Problems in Georgia, Caucasus and Near East*, Tbilisi 1950, 167-168 (*in Georgian*).

⁵⁷ Pataridze R., *Georgian Asomtavruli*, Tbilisi 1980, 375-376 (*in Georgian*). This hypothesis may be supported by epitaphs in Asomtavruli found in Nekrisi in 2010. Researchers assume that they were written in the pre-Christian era.

⁵⁸ Strabonis *Geographica*, I-III, vol. XI; 4, 7, in: *Caucasus Antiquus*, 228.

We will now raise the most disputable aspects of the issue we are analyzing. How possible is it to regard the deities of the Sun and Moon as androgynous? Why does the Georgian tradition link both deities to Magna Mater? The research in the problem of Magna Mater has made significant progress over the past 50 years. There are now numerous archaeological materials and scientific works. It was believed previously that Magna Mater were the archetypes of all more or less well-known goddesses. However, advanced research raised the problem of an archetype of Magna Mater proper. Scientists came to androgynes in search of an archetype.⁵⁹ Every nation regards its supreme deity as an absolute power, perfect essence, and completeness. Any deity that has supreme power, cannot a priori be perfect if it is only masculine or feminine. Given this, the only essence that is undivided can only be androgynous.

It is known that nations residing on the territory of Italy addressed their gods in this manner: *Sive deus sis, sive dea* ("whether god or goddess"), *Sive mas, sive femina* ("whether male or female"). This form of address makes it clear that the deity was absolutely unperceived to the supplicants. Egyptians, Indians, nations in Asia Minor, the aborigines of Australia and Europe recognized the androgynous nature of their deities.⁶⁰ Indian Dianus, Purusha, and Shiva Kali, Egyptian Horus, Nun, and Ra, Scandinavian Loki, Odin, Tuisto, Imir, and Netrus, and Iranian Zurvan are all androgynous or have extant androgynous signs. The Chinese supreme god that regulates light and darkness is also androgynous.

In this regard, the situation is quite interesting also in Greek mythology. Hera gives birth to Hephaestus and Tithonus parthenogenetically. In Caria, people worshipped bearded Zeus with six breasts positioned triangularly. Zeus "gives birth" to Athena and Dionysus. In Cyprus, people worshiped bearded Aphrodite called Aphroditus. There are numerous deities that give birth individually during the creation of the world described in Greek mythology. For example, Chaos bears Erebus, Erebus bears Nyctes, and so forth.

⁵⁹ For a convincing substantiation of opinion cf.: Кифишин А. Г., "Страшный гнев" богов и "исход народа". К реконструкции одного ритуального мифа, in: Жертвоприношение, Москва 2000.

⁶⁰ Bertholet A., *Das Geschlecht der Gottheit*, Tübingen 1934; Wallis Budge E., A. *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 1934; Eliade M., *Mephistopheles et l'Androgyne*, Gallimard 1962.

Androgyne cannot be expressed in an iconographical manner. The problem is that androgynes and hermaphrodites are clearly divided from each other. In hermaphrodites, the signs of both genders coexist (which can clearly be seen in antique sculptures and paintings). In the meantime, androgynes are ideals of perfection and no signs of an opposite gender can be seen in them. The only ideogram androgynes can have is circle (mandala), which is the most perfect geometric shape.

In the opinion of scientists, there are several rituals, where we can see the androgynous nature of deities, including the "change of clothes" (females putting on masculine clothes and vice versa) and initiation. Preller, Nilsson, and Crowley note that the change of clothes is directly linked to the worship of the cult of androgynous deities. The aim of the ritual is to become similar to a perfect creature – a deity – and become perfect. Ernest Crowley described the tradition of the change of clothes in India, Iran and other Asian countries. He concludes that this ritual is most important in the cults linked to agriculture. Meyer describes several Greek holidays and orgies, when women put on men's clothes.⁶¹

The analysis of the initiation ritual provides grounds for scientists to conclude that a stage of androgyne was part of the ritual. Many archaic traditions confirm that children were not regarded as having a concrete gender before initiation. For example, the gender of the Greek word *παῖς* can only be established together with an article. As regards the words *ὁ νεανίας* (I declination, masculine) and *ἡ παρθένος* (II declination, feminine), they denoted the age of boys and girls before they became men and women. Before initiation, the word denoting "boy" has the ending of the feminine gender and the word denoting "girl" has the ending of the masculine gender.

Popular deities of pagan religions become "fragmented" as consciousness and life of people develop. This is first and foremost expressed in their division into feminine and masculine deities. The androgynous unity was preserved only in mysterious religions and secret teaching. In accordance with the teaching of the Gnostic sect of Naasites, the celestial archetype of man – Adam – is an androgyne. Since God created Adam in his own image, God is also an androgyne.⁶² First man was an androgyne also in Plato's *Symposium*. According to Clement of Alexandria, asked

⁶¹ Preller L., *Griechische mythologie*, Bd. 1. Nilsson M. P. *Griechische Feste*. 49; Meyer J. J., *Trilogie Altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*. Bd. I. Zürich 1937; Crowley E., *The Mystic Rose*, vol. I, London 1927.

⁶² Schwally F., *Die biblischen Schöpfungsberichte*, 1906. Bd 9.

when his rule would be established, the Saviour answered: "When you trample on the robe of shame, and when the two shall be one, and the male with the female, and there is neither male nor female" (*Stromata*, III, 13, 92).

We attempted to show the importance of antique sources in studying pre-Christian faiths and conceptions in Georgia. To make this study more concrete, we confined ourselves to the worship of luminaries and the cult of Magna Mater linked to it. We tried to explain the dualism in the anthropomorphisation of the Sun and Moon. The most essential reason for regarding the same luminary at times as masculine and at times as feminine was that initially, they were thought to be androgynes. Another reason why the antique sources regarded the Colchians' supreme deities – the Sun (Helios) and Moon (Hecate or Magna Mater) – as masculine and feminine was the antique tradition itself. According to Greek-Roman conceptions, the deity of the Sun is masculine and the deity of the Moon is feminine.

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Part II

Medea Abulashvili (Tbilisi)

SOME REMARKS ON THE GENESIS OF GREEK AND GEORGIAN NON-RITUAL SONGS

The search for the common cultural and linguistic roots of various peoples is impossible without examining folklore. Georgian verse, with its vocabulary and symbolic images, sometimes accompanied by visual and emotive forms of expression (tune, dance, games, ritual), best of all conveys not only civil consciousness, moral norms and national identity, but also intercultural logic and even the encounter of civilizations and cultural migrations and integrations.

In this article, I will dwell on the folk lyrics, which now have lost their ritual significance, but may presumably have stemmed originated from a ritual. As time passed, along with the abandonment of customs, they broke off from their roots and were modified following the development of artistic vision. As the question is very subtle and cannot be covered in one article, I will only confine myself to several observations and hypotheses. The most expected theme to open the discussions obviously is immurement lyrics, so widespread among many peoples. However, I will not dwell on it as the topic has been covered in my earlier article *Folk Fancy or Reminiscences Shaped as a Legend?*, published in one of the issues of *Phasis*.¹

In my opinion, a number of Greek songs known as allegorical songs² must be associated with the archaic age. This assumption is prompted by their content, vocabulary and the conversational genre. I believe the allegories and metaphors found in the lyrics stem from old beliefs, pagan cults and animal or bird totems. The most recurrent bird image found in

¹ Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 9, Tbilisi 2006, 7-13.

² Πετρόπουλος Δ., Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια 1959, 83-101.

the texts is partridge, while among the images of plants prevail role, dandelion, cypress, apple tree, bay tree and lemon bush, which can be found in allegorical, as well as in love, wedding, mourning and didactic songs.

I will dwell on the tree cult, as the respective examples are more vivid and illustrative.

A number of non-ritual Greek songs are devoted to a tree which is believed to be absolutely special:

*Δέντρο έιχα στην αυλή μου,
τι κλαράκι δεν το ξέρω,*

I had a tree in my yards,
So thickly branched I never knew
(can hardly be imagined)

*πράσινα, ξανθά'ν'τα φύλλα
κι ασημένια τα κλωνάρια.³
Και δεν ξέρω τι δέντρο ' να
πόχ' ολόχρυσα τα φύλλα...
και στη ρίζα κρύα βρύση...⁴*

Green, fair leaves
And silver limbs.
And I do not know what tree it is,
Whose leaves are gilt (golden) all over ...,
And there is a cold spring at its foot ...

In one of the songs, the tree is decorated with a gold cross, which is worshipped:

*Στη Ρουμέλη ένα δέντρο
πλατύφυλλο και δροσερό
έχει στη ρίζα κρύο νερό
και στην κορφή χρυσό σταυρό,
που πάνε οι ναύτες για νερό
κι ορκίζοντ' όλοι στο σταυρό.⁶*

In Rumelia⁵, one tree,
broadleaved and young,
Has a cold spring at its foot
And a gold cross on its top
Where sailors go for water
And all swear an oath on before cross.

Some lyrics specify the species of the tree and even present a dialogue with it:

*Μωρή κοντούλα λεμονιά με τα πολλά λεμόνια,
low lemon tree bearing many lemons,
πότ' άυξησες και πλατώνες και απόλυσες κλωνάρια
When did you bloom and became large and grew branches
κι όλο τον κόσμο σέπασες και όλην την οικουμένη...⁷
And covered the whole land and the whole world...*

³ Ibid; 93, 112.

⁴ Ibid; 112

⁵ Continental Greece.

⁶ Πετρόπουλος Δ., 94, 113/1-6.

⁷ Ibid; 97, 122.

The tree of the Greek songs is distinguished not only by its appearance and by being an object of human respect⁸, but also because it can impose prohibitions to men. For example, in one of the lyrics, an apple tree would not give out its fruits to men: (*Μηλιά δεν αφήνει να πάρω μήλο*).⁹

Another detail of no less significance is a tree standing in a yard or near a gate, which serves as a presentiment of the death of a close person:

Δέντρο είχαμε στην πόρτα μας και πύργο στην αυλή μας

We had a tree by our door and a tower in the yard

*και ξεριζώθη το δένδρο και πλάκωσε τον πύργο...*¹⁰

And the tree withered and the tower collapsed ...

Είχα μηλιά στην πόρτα μας και κλήμα στην αυλή μας...

I had an apple tree by the door and grapes in the yard,

*τώρα μηλιά μαράθηκε το κλήμαν εξεράθη...*¹¹

Now the apple tree and the grapes have withered ...

*Καήκανε τα δύο δένδρα που ήσαν αδελφωμένα*¹²

Two trees have burnt down, which had grown together

στη μέση του περιβολιού μας κάη το κυπαρίσσι,

In the middle of our yard, cypress is burning,

*Που'χε στη ρύζα κρύο νερό και κρυσταλλένια βρύση...*¹³

This had cold waters at its foot and a pure spring...

In the Georgian folklore, the death of a close person is likewise associated with a damaged tree:

ქალმა სთქვა: ვნახე სიზმარი ღამღეგს ენკენისთვისახა,

A woman said: I have dreamt a dream as September was coming in;

ცა წითლად-ყვითლად ელაგდა, სეგყვას ისვრიდა ქვისახა,

The sky was glowing red and yellow, it was hailing stones;

ძიღში მიმგვრევედა ხეხილსა, დარგულსა აღვის ხისახა...

I dreamt it was smashing down a tree in my yard, the poplar tree ...

⁸ According to Greek songs, man has a special attitude to partridge, which, like the above-mentioned tree, is covered with gold. The hunter does not kill it, but feed it with sugar, showing particular respect. In some songs, it is referred to as “mother” (Πετρόπουλος Δ., 107, 114, 132). A similar image is dandelion, which is presented exactly like the tree in the above-mentioned songs (wide-leaved, sprouting, covering the whole area). The songs also contain a call for treating a dandelion in a special way, while its stealth or disappearance from the yard causes sorrow (Ibid., 116, 117, 118).

⁹ Ibid., 99, 129.

¹⁰ Ibid., 243.

¹¹ Ibid., 245.

¹² Ibid., 65.

¹³ Ibid., 64.

*ვნახე და კიდევ შევესწარ სიკვდილსა თავის ქმრისასა.*¹⁴

Having had such a dream, I indeed witnessed the death of my husband.

According to Georgian scholars, the poplar tree of the Georgian folklore is a cypress. It obviously was a cult tree in Pre-Christian Georgia and was later quite naturally adopted in Christianity.¹⁵

The following Greek song, which Greek scholars assign to the mourning cycle, seems especially interesting and relevant in this regard:

Κυπρισσάκι μ'όμορφο, που θές να σε φυτέψω ...

My beautiful cypress, where do you want me to plant you?¹⁶

Θε να σε βάλω φύτεμα μεσ' στο νεκροταφείο,

I will plant you in the grave yard,

να απλώσεις κλώνους και κλώνια, κλώνους και περικλώνια,

So that you could grow boughs, branches, limbs and twigs,

και στα περικλωνάρια σου καντήλια θα κρεμάσω,

And I will hang an icon lamp on your branches,

და შენს განმტოებებზე კანდელებს ჩამოვკიდებ,

για να 'ρχεται η μανσοლა σου, δάκρυα να τα γιομίζη,

So that you mother could come and fill it with tears,

რათა მოვიდეს დედაშენი და აავსოს ცრემლებით,

*να 'ρχοντα και τ'αδέλφια σου, για να το απογιομιζουσ.*¹⁷

And your brothers and sisters could come and fill it up to the rim.

The special attitude to a tree expressed in the beginning of the quoted song evidently reflects the ancient custom of worshiping a tree, which is characteristic of many peoples of the world. In the following lines, this repercussion of the pagan cult acquires Christian tints as they mention an icon lamp, an important church attribute. The text also conveys an ancient tradition of planting a tree on the burial ground, while at the end, the tree is identified with the deceased. This could be interpreted as an unambiguous expression of totemism on the one hand and as the starting stage of the metaphorization of flora on the other – i. e. the tree totem is the grounds that fostered the poetic symbolism of plants. An analogical example can also be found in Greek love songs, full of metaphors and similes. No one argues that in love songs a metaphor is the way of

¹⁴ Kotetishvili V., Folk Poetry, 2nd ed., Tbilisi 1961, 70 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁵ Georgian Folklore, vol. 3, ed. By M. Chikovani, Tbilisi 1964, 158-176 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁶ Some versions of this song continue with reasoning on why the teller cannot plant the cypress in the yard, at the sea-side or in the river.

¹⁷ Πετρόπουλος Δ., 245.

rendering emotions. However, if folk festivities and ceremonies are assumed to be the best environment for expressing the feelings, the traces of rituals and archaic beliefs can be discerned even in love songs, which passed such a long way of evolution and modification that may appear somewhat detached when presented from this particular perspective. It can only be said that when looking for the genetic tie and the ritual import of love lyrics, one might find especially interesting the phrases inviting the listeners outdoors for some news (e. g. *Ευγάτ' αγόρια στο χορό, κοράσια, στα τραγούδια, να ιδήτε και να μάθετε, πως πιάνετ' η αγάπη*).¹⁸ Such phrases are obviously attuned to the content of Greek ritual lyrics, which must be indicative of the genetic ties between seasonal and love songs, with ritual serving as their common grounds.

Another genre of non-ritual folk lyrics is lullabies. As lulling children to sleep cannot be called a ritual, the accompanying songs cannot be considered ritual songs either. On the other hand, they undoubtedly contain the elements of blessing and magic. During child's ailment, the Greek lullaby could be performed for ritual purposes. This assumption is suggested by one of the versions of the song:

Κοιμήσου με την Παναγιά και με τον Άι-Γιάννη
Go to sleep (together) with Virgin Mary and John the Prophet
 και με τον Τιμιο Σταυρό και όπου πονεί να γιάνει...¹⁹
And the Holy Cross, and your pain will be relieved...

Words with nan stem, found in the lullabies of some nations (e. g. Georgian *ianana vardovanana, ias gik'reb, vards gik'onav, nana, nana, nana, bat'ono, nanaia, nana-shvilo, nanas ch'irime, nana, nana, nanishana, iananinao, nana, nanas getqiana, nana nana mamasa, gazrda gakharebasa, etc.*)²⁰ are typical of the Greek lullaby as well:

<i>Νάνι του και νάνα του,</i>	Nani to him and nana to him,
<i>όσο νά'ρθ'η μάνα του...²¹</i>	Till his mother comes ...
<i>Νάνι το λέγ' αυγερινός,</i>	Nani is said by the morning star,
<i>νάνα το λέγ' η πούλια,</i>	Nani is said by a bird,
<i>νάνα το λέγ' η μάνα μου...²²</i>	Nani is said by my mother ...

¹⁸ Greek Love Folk Songs, Tbilisi 1999, 10-11.

¹⁹ Μαγκλη Μ., Καπελλά Θ., Λαογραφικά Καλύμνου, Αθήνα 1997, 123.

²⁰ Georgian Folk Treasury, vol. 1, Tbilisi 1991, 245-249.

²¹ Πετρόπουλος Δ., 1959, 147.

²² *Ibid.*, 150.

*Νάνι, που τό' σπερνε αϊτός...*²³

Nani to (him) who was con-
ceived by an eagle ...

*Νάνι, νάνι, το παιδάκι
που κοιμάται σαν τ' αρνάκι...*²⁴

Nani, nani to the child,
Who is sleeping like a lamb ...

According to the widely accepted theory, worlds with *nan*-stem must have denoted an ancient idol.²⁵ If we share this assumption, we could argue that lullabies must have once had an unambiguously ritual import.

Greek akritic lyrics, genetically related to mourning songs, may also have been associated with rituals. As links between laments and the heroic poetry are quite common in folk art, the idea expressed in the present article cannot be considered as a test for methodological novelty. Therefore, I will only confine myself to highlighting that the songs of the klefts and *armatoloi* do not show any affinity with lamentations although they are reckoned among the Greek heroic poetry along with akritic songs. I believe this has a simple explanation: akritic songs are much earlier than kleftic and therefore, clearly convey the traces of genetic links established upon their creation or at the early stage of development. These links are sometimes so vivid that whole formulae repeat unaltered in songs and mourning lyrics related to Digenes Akritas and other akritians.²⁶

Greek love songs have phrases that may suggest associations with the remote age of the sun cult:

Παρακαλώ σε ήλιε μου να γοργοβασιλέψεις...

Please, Sun, be late to set down ...

*να βρω ψωμί, να βρω κρασί και ρούχα για να βάλω...*²⁷

So that I could earn some bread and wine, and clad myself,

*Έογα ήλιε για να βγώ, να λάμψεις για να λάμψω...*²⁸

Come up, Sun, so that I could come out and light up so that I could light up ...

*Εγώ τον ήλιο αγαπώ, τον κουρνιαχτό ζουλεύω...*²⁹

I love the Sun and envy the cloud ...

²³ Σαρεγιάννη Φ., *Νανουρίσματα, ταχταρίσματα, παιχινδάκια*, Αθήνα 1953, 92.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

²⁵ Georgian Folklore, 99.

²⁶ Saunier G., *Is There such a Thing as an Acritic Song? Problems in the Classification of Modern Greek Narrative Songs in New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed., by Beaton R., Ricks D., London 1993, 12-16.

²⁷ Πετρόπουλος Δ., 52.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

I believe these verses must be the vestiges of hymns to the Sun, which have nowadays lost the function of supplication. In this connection, it seems to be highly appropriate to remember the following Georgian folk verse:

*მზეო, ამოდი, ამოდი, ნუ ეფარები ვორასა,*³⁰
Sun, rise, rise, do not hide beyond the hill.

Or a Pre-Christian Georgian song, performed when child was going to sleep or had woken up:

მზე შინა და მზე გარეთა,
The Sun inside and the Sun outside,
მზევ, შინ შემოდიო!
Sun, come in!

... წითელ კაბას შევიკურავ,
I will sew for you a red dress,
მზევ, შინ შემოდიო!
Sun, come in!

სანაგრელსა, ფრიალასა,
A wonder dress, a wavy dress
*მზევ, შინ შემოდიო!*³¹
Sun, come in!

Here is another wonderful Georgian folk verse:

მზე ღელაა ჩემი,
The Sun is my mother,
მთვარე – მამა ჩემი,
The Moon is my father
მოციმციმე ვარსკვლავები
Twinkling stars are
*და და ძმას ჩემო*³²
my sisters and brothers

The following Greek love song also reflects the animistic world view:

Ἥλιε, γιατί'σαι κίτρινος, γιατί'σαι μαραμένος;
Sun, why are you yellow, why are you bleached?
Μάννα μ', μιὰ κόρη που είδα γώ στον αργαλειό και υφαίνει...
My mother, a girl I saw by a loom weaving ...
*εκείνη με βάλαντωσεν, εκείνη με μαραίνει.*³³

³⁰ Georgian Folk Treasury, 7.

³¹ Ibid., 10.

³² Ibid; 9.

³³ Πετρόπουλος, 37 α', β'.

She tires me, makes me feeble.

Celestial bodies figure in Georgian love songs as well:

ცაზე მზე დაბნელებულა,

The Sun has eclipsed in the sky

მთვარე აყრიდა შაქარსა,

The Moon was strewing sugar at her,

მთვარე, ნუ აყრი შაქარსა,

Moon, do not strew sugar,

არავინ მოგცემს მაგ ქალსა,³⁴

No one will give you he lady (in marriage).

When discussing the sun cult, one should not ignore an extract from a folk verse about the personified sun deity called Barbol, who is attended personally by the Holy Virgin:

ლამარია³⁵ სეფას ვიშლის,

Lamaria lays for you a table under the arbor branches

ლამარია სურნელს გიკმევს,

Lamaria burns incense for you,

შეგვეწიე ბარბოლ ღოღაშ,

Come to our help, Barbol Dolash,

რა გამოლევს, ვიდრე გვწყალობ,

Until your benevolence rests with us,

საღმრთო ქვევრში წმინდა ღვინოს,

We will not run out of the holy wine in the divine jar

სასხვერპლოზე – წმინდა მვარაკს³⁶

And the sacred offering on the sacrificial alter.

Here is another Svan prayer to the Sun, called Lile:

დიდება შენდა, დიღო ღმერთო,

Glory to you, great God,

დიდება შენდა, მეციერო!

Glory to you, the heavenly being.

ოქროსი ვიღვას სრა სასახლე,

You have a golden palace,

მღუღე გავლია ოქროვანი³⁷

With a gold wall around.

³⁴ Georgian Folk Treasury, 8.

³⁵ Virgin Mary.

³⁶ Georgian Folk Treasury, 11.

³⁷ Ibid., 10.

Though Greek and Georgian relations are attested at the latest from the age of colonization, I do not aim to assert that the cult texts found in folklore are the result of mutual influence. However, it should be noted that in the Greek mythological thought Colchian Medea is presented as the descendent of the Sun god, while etymological links between *Helios*, *Lile* and *lelo - lelo* being an ancient Georgian game related to the sun cult, the prototype of rugby - are beyond doubt.

I believe the cited texts provide enough grounds to assert that songs nowadays assigned to non-ritual corpora are rooted in ancient pagan beliefs and magic rituals. When the latter were forgotten, the songs, having lost their ritual function, reshaped the relics of the past and laid the foundation for new genres.

Tamar Aptsiauri (Tbilisi)

THE THEORY OF ἀποκατάστασις
IN *THE LIFE OF MOSES* BY GREGORY OF NYSSA

The term "apocatastasis" (ἀποκατάστασις) which now expresses the Origenistic teaching of universal salvation, used to imply return to the original condition and restoration. In this meaning, it was initially used in various fields of natural sciences. In medicine, for example, it meant the recovery of sick people and in astronomy – the rotation of planets and the cyclic tides. This astronomical interpretation of the term then moved to the teaching of Stoics, denoting the condition, where planets revert to their original position and ἐκπύρωσις takes place, which is followed by the restoration of the old world – apocatastasis.

Neo-Platonists perceived apocatastasis as the restoration of an individual soul.¹ This term is encountered very seldom in the Holy Scripture. In particular, it can be found twice in the *Old Testament*: in the first case, it denotes the return of the Jewish people to the Promised Land (*Jeremiah*: 16, 15; 50, 19) and in the other, the restoration of long-suffering Job to the original condition (*Job*: 8, 6; 33, 25).²

In the *New Testament*, this term acquired a new connotation. According to the Gospel of St. Matthew it implies the coming of Elijah, who will restore everything ("Elijah comes and will restore all things" – *Matthew*: 17, 11-12). Acts of the Apostles are of particular importance: "so that there may come times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and that he

¹ Ludlow M., *Universal Salvation: Eschatology in the Thought of Gregory of Nyssa and Karl Rahner*, Oxford 2000, 30-31. Since Neo-Platonists regard salvation as complete liberation from matter, not reincarnation, and apocatastasis implies cyclic reincarnation in future times, it has almost no soteriological connotations with Neo-Platonists.

² For the history of the term "ἀποκατάστασις" see Ludlow M., *Op. cit.*, 38-44.

may send Christ Jesus, who was ordained for you before, whom heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things (ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων), which God spoke long ago by the mouth of his holy prophets.³ It is quite clear that in this case, apocatastasis acquires an eschatological meaning, implying the end of the world in accordance with the divine plan.

According to the dictionary by Friedhelm Mann, the term ἀποκατάστασις and the verb of the same root ἀποκαθίστημι can be encountered in 40 episodes in the works by Gregory of Nyssa⁴ and are used in almost all meanings in the works of the Cappadocian father. The theological perception of apocatastasis by Gregory of Nyssa is the most disputable issue in his theology. Gregory himself defined the most important aspect of the concept in the following manner: Resurrection is nothing other than restoration in the original (αρχαῖον) condition (ἀποκατάστασις).⁵ Thus, apocatastasis is peoples' restoration to their perfect original condition, which, according to the divine plan, has become possible through the mystery of resurrection. At the same time, the apocatastasis theory of Gregory of Nyssa has a universal context and it is this second aspect that gives rise to a dilemma in his theology: how can the idea of universal salvation be combined with individuals' ability of making a free choice and its role on the path of individuals' spiritual activities and their communion with God?

The idea of universality becomes most obvious in several works, in particular in the dialogue *De anima et resurrectione*, in which Macrina explains Psalm 118 and then the Epistle to the Philippians 2, 10.⁶ Another work is *The Life of Moses*, which is precisely about the idea of universal salvation (ἀποκατάστασις). In particular, the Cappadocian father explains the Egyptian Plagues.⁷ According to Gregory of Nyssa, the solar eclipse is an image of Hell (γεέννα) separated from the bosom of Abraham. The context makes it clear that the term γεέννα comprises the meaning of intermediate eschatology, as it is the Purgatory.

³ Acts 3, 20-21: ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (21). ὅν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μεν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὃν ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰνῶς αὐτοῦ προφητῶν.

⁴ Mann F., *Lexikon Gregorianum I*, Leiden 1999, 473-475.

⁵ Eccl., GNO V, 296,16-18; De hom. op. PG 44, 188C.

⁶ An et res., PG 46, 96C.

⁷ VM 57, 8-15; as well as: VM 58, pp. 7-13.

Having looked into Gregory's eschatological teaching, Italian scientist Salvatore Taranto concluded that in the 2nd century, the term "γεέννα" had the same meaning of intermediate purgatory as in Gregory of Nyssa's *The Life of Moses* and *De hominis opificio*. The scientist says that terms ἄδης and χάσμα differ from it, as the former denotes eternal Hell in Gregory's work. According to Gregory's allegorical explanation, in this episode, ashes (ἡ καμινιαία κόνις) are an image of the fire in Hell (διὰ τοῦ πυρός κατὰ τὴν γεένναν).⁸ In another episode, Gregory calls it purifying fire (καθάριστος πῦρ), which will melt and destroy evil.⁹

We can speak about two kinds of purgation with Gregory. One is ascetic life and moral perfection, when people purify themselves in their life in this world by means of their own choice and second is punishment after death, which, according to Gregory, continues for a certain period.¹⁰ Explaining the punishments allegorically, he, on the one hand, makes clear his idea that all kinds of passions and evil originate only from the free will of people, but on the other hand, he speaks about the possible (τάχα τις) ultimate salvation of the souls that find themselves in the darkness and fire of Hell.

There is a problem linked to this episode in Greek manuscripts. Most manuscripts are about apocatastasis – renewed restoration, which is to be expected after the purgatory punishments are administered. However, in the 8th century, Germanus of Constantinople regarded it as a false Origenistic insertion into Gregory's text. Based on this, the text is changed in some later manuscripts and it tells about movement from sin to virtue through belief in the Crucified and prospects for those, who previously lived like the Egyptians. In this regard, it would be interesting to simultaneously consider the critically established Greek text, an Old Georgian translation of the early 11th century, and a later Greek text with changes represented in a critical apparatus:

GNO VII/I VM 57, 8-58,13:

εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τριήμερον ἐν σκότῳ κακοπάθειαν γίνεται καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἢ τοῦ φωτὸς μετουσία, τάχα τις ἀπὸ τούτων ὀρμώμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν προσδοκωμένην τῶν ἐν τῇ γεένῃ καταδεδικασμένων ἀγάγοι τὸ νόημα.

⁸ The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa, ed. By L. F. Mateo-Seco, G. Maspero, Brill 2010, 57.

⁹ Cf. Holl K., *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den Kappadoziern*, Darmstadt 1969, 208.

¹⁰ Ludlow M., *Op. cit.*, 97-99.

καθώς φησιν ἡ ἱστορία, πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἐξώτερον τὸ ψηλαφητὸν ἐκεῖνο σκότος πόλλην ἔν τε τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τῷ νοήματι τὴν συγγένειαν ἔχει. Λύεται δὲ τούτων ἐκάτερον τοῦ Μωϋσέως, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου νενοήται, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ τᾶς χειρας ἐκτείναντος. ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ καμινιαία κόνις ἐκεῖνη, ἡ τὰς ὀδυνηρὰς φλυκτίδας τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπάγουσα κατὰ λόγον ἄν νοηθεῖη διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτῆς καμίνου αἰνίγματος, ἡ διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς κατὰ τὴν γέννηαν ἀπειληθεῖσα κόλασις, ἡ μόνων ἀπτεται τῶν Αἰγυπτιαζόντων κατὰ τὸν βίον. εἰ δέ τις ἀληθῶς Ἰσραλίτης ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ υἱὸς καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τῷ βίῳ βλέπει ὡς δεῖξαι τῇ προαιρέσει τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἀγχιστεῖαν τοῦ γένους, οὗτος ἀπαθῆς φυλάσσει τῆς καμινιαία ἐκεῖνης ὀδύνης. γένοιτο δ' ἄν κακεῖνοις ποτὲ ἡ ἀποδοθεῖσα τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν Μωϋσέως χειρῶν ἐρμηνεῖα, θεραπεία τῆς ὀδύνης καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν κολάσεων.

Georg. (P3, 363v):

As Moses stretched out (v) his hand, the Egyptians saw light. **Those alike, who entreated the true lawmaker, as we said above, were given the light and rescued from the darkness of sins and put under the light by Him.** And the ashes of the furnace, which brought a blister upon Egyptians, are an image of the torments by the fire of Gehenna, which hits only those, who live like the Egyptians. And if a genuine Israelite and a son of Abraham is similar to him, showing that he is a true son of outstanding parents, he will be immune to the torments of the furnace. **And those, who deserved the furnace with their deeds, may deserve healing and deliverance from the punishment by the stretching of the hand of Jesus, who is the genuine lawmaker.**

GNO VII/I 57

10 GNO VII/I 57

10-14 post ὀρμώμενος loco πρὸς ... σκότος sequitur πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ κακίας πρὸς ἀρετὴν δι᾿ ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ σταυρωθέντος καὶ μετανοίας μετάστασιν τῶν πρὶν κατὰ τὸν βίον Αἰγυπτιαζόντων ἀγάγοι τὸ νόημα. τὸ γὰρ ψηλαφητὸν ἐκεῖνο σκότος, καθὼς φησιν ἡ ἱστορία, πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας σκότος.

Jean Daniélou clarified the problem of authenticity of the idea of apocatastasis. He concluded that the change was added later to observe the holiness of the theological teaching of Gregory of Nyssa, because some doctrines of Origen were condemned in 543 and 553.¹¹

¹¹ Jean Daniélou, *Apocatastasis*, translated into Georgian by Magda Mchedlidze. In: *Attitude to Death in European Culture*, Tbilisi 2008, 163-184.

I would also like to touch on the Georgian translation of this episode here. Taking into account the fact that the translation was done in the 11th century by well-known figure Ephthymius of Athos, it is no surprise that he made changes in the original text. The Georgian translator abridged the original, eliminating the idea of apocatastasis and inserting instead a phrase, which indicates once again that genuine salvation is a result of genuine repentance (the first part of the translation in bold: those alike, who ... under the light by Him). However, the translator's last phrase is absolutely unexpected. On the one hand he replaced "the stretching of the hand of Moses" with the stretching of the hand of the genuine lawmaker – Jesus, which serves as an additional explanation and clarification of the soteriology of Gregory of Nyssa. On the other hand he translated the final phrase with a minor change, effectively agreeing to the salvation of those, who are in Hell or the idea of universal soteriology on salvation through the crucifixion of the genuine lawmaker (the second phrase in bold in the translation: (And those, who deserved ... the genuine lawmaker).

It is noteworthy that according to the critical edition by Werner Jaeger, a change was made in the first part of the episode and the last phrase remained unchanged. Presumably, the Georgian translator worked on the corrected version of the text by Gregory of Nyssa, which means that he translated the last sentence in accordance with the original text without changing it. However, the minor change made by Ephthymius in the translation points to a nuance: the translator seems to be speaking not about the dead, but about people living in this world, who are still able to avert punishment with God's mercy.

As regards the theory of apocatastasis and the theological issues that arise in connection with this teaching, the problem is that considering this idea in *The Life of Moses* or in other works, Gregory of Nyssa himself does not speak about its basis or connection with other theological problems. Gregory's teaching of universal salvation – ἀποκαταστάσις - originates from Origen. A. Mosshammer, who studied works by Gregory of Nyssa, considers his ideas diachronically, showing the evolution of his reasoning. In particular, Gregory is close to Origen at the initial stage, becoming mostly autonomous and original later.¹²

Differences between Gregory's and Origen's ἀποκαταστάσις teachings can be viewed from various angles. The difference lies first and foremost in Gregory's idea of transcendence and infinity of the divine nature. Man's

¹² Mosshammer A. A., *Historical Time and the Apokatastasis according to Gregory of Nyssa*, St. Patr 27, 1991, 70-93.

endless spiritual advancement towards the Almighty continues even after resurrection, i. e. the termination of the spatial and temporal diastemity, as the divine nature is always transcendent. It is possible for man to easily revert to God even after death through purification and perception of divine virtue. Therefore, the idea of universal salvation does not suppress human freedom.¹³ The idea of the infinity of divine nature rules out the adiaSTEMIC confluence of creatures with the genuine essence and Origen's theory of reach the Almighty, saturation (κόρος), and cyclic perfection. The Alexandrian theologian's teaching of the reversion of spiritual creatures to the initial holy intellectual state is absolutely incompatible with Gregory's theological system, as Gregory's anthropological teaching in general and his teaching of man's resurrection implies the preservation of the identity of body contrary to Origen's spirituality. According to Daniélou's observation, the Cappadocian theologian speaks about different states of resurrected and earthly body, while Origen regards psychical and spiritual bodies as two different bodies.¹⁴

Some researchers hold the opinion that the teaching of the unity of human nature does not provide grounds for universal salvation in the theory of Gregory of Nyssa.¹⁵ Numerous researchers studying his works confirm that he uses the concept of universal salvation in the theology of Genesis, but not in soteriology.¹⁶ The role of universal nature should be understood as a means for salvation, but not as a reason or foundation for salvation. The main foundation for the salvation of the world lies in the existential non-existence of evil and its defeat by the unlimited divine virtue. Evil is a space limited by boundaries (πέρας 201C, 208A op. hom.) and extreme edge, which is enveloped by opposite reality.

Apocatastasis or reverting to the initial blissful state and crossing this boundary are an act marked with the all-encompassing divine goodness. Providing an allegorical explanation of the punishments for the Egyptians in *The Life of Moses*, Gregory, on the one hand, clearly defines the idea that all passions and evil derive only from man's free will and on the other hand, speaks about possible ultimate salvation of the souls of those, who are in the darkness and fire of Hell. The genuine free will, which differs

¹³ Ludlow M., op. cit., 98.

¹⁴ Daniélou J., op. cit., 178-179.

¹⁵ Cf. Holl K., op. cit., 207-208. In: Kees R. J. Die Lehre von der Oikonomia Gottes in de Oratio Catechetica Gregors von Nyssa, Leiden-New York-Köln 1995, 271-277; Hübner R. M., Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa, Leiden 1974, 63, 225-226.

¹⁶ Ludlow M., Op. cit., 89-95; Zachhuber, The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa, 59.

from man's ambivalent free will, implies its absolute compatibility with divine will if only after death, which can be regarded as a certain resolution of this dilemma.

In *The Life of Moses*, this contradiction (free will/universal salvation) is weakened by the vivid image of crucified God in the context of salvation: the Egyptians, or the people living in infidelity, are relieved of punishment by the stretching of Moses' hand – allegorically, the crucifixion of the Messiah. Gregory's theology of cross put forward in *De Tridui ... spatio* makes it clear that the heavenly, earthly and subterranean worlds are ultimately presented to the almighty divine essence as a harmonious unity, not as a contradictory variety.¹⁷

Gregory of Nyssa describes a similar image of the universal return of creatures to the divine bosom and their unification in *The Life of Moses*, in which he contemplates ultimate purification of sinful souls and their elevation in the boundless goodness of God together with people of free will inclined to virtue, which means that the force of salvation of the Cross will finally destroy evil. This is Gregory's doctrine of the eschatology *συμφωνία* of united world (τὴν τοῦ παντὸς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν συμφωνίαν – An et res.), harmonious recognition of divine greatness and, correspondingly, destruction of evil.

¹⁷ The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa, Cross, 191-195 TRID SPAT 739-742. In addition: Dolidze T., *κίνησις* – Begriff der griechischen Philosophie bei Gregor von Nyssa (Die Lehre über die kosmische Bewegung), in: Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies on the Batitudes*, Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa, ed. R. Drobner, A. Viviano, Brill/Leiden/Boston, Köln 2000, 436-437.

Svetlana Berikashvili (Tbilisi)

ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΝΗΣ

Εισαγωγή

Η αντιπαραβολική ανάλυση είναι πολύ σημαντική κατά την εκμάθηση ξένης/δεύτερης γλώσσας κυρίως γιατί στρέφει το ενδιαφέρον των επιστημόνων στο σημαντικότερο ρόλο της μητρικής γλώσσας. Ο διδασκόμενος πάντα χρησιμοποιεί τη μητρική του γλώσσα ως σημείο αναφοράς στην προσπάθειά του να κατακτήσει το νέο γλωσσικό σύστημα. Η θεωρία αυτή αμφισβητήθηκε σοβαρά από διάφορους επιστήμονες,¹ όμως παραμένει μια από τις πιο σημαντικές προσεγγίσεις κατά τη διδασκαλία ξένης/δεύτερης γλώσσας. Στην ανακοίνωσή μας θα παρουσιάσουμε τις συντακτικές ιδιαιτερότητες της Ελληνικής και της Γεωργιανής και θα προσπαθήσουμε να ορίσουμε κάποια κοινά στοιχεία που είναι σημαντικά αφενός από τη διαπολιτισμική και αφετέρου από τη διδακτική άποψη.

Η μελέτη μας θα εστιαστεί στα εξής θέματα: α) η γραμμική διάταξη του Υποκειμένου (S), Ρήματος (V) και Αντικειμένου (O), β) η τοποθέτηση του προσδιορισμού (επιθετικού και ετερόπρωτου) πριν ή μετά από το ουσιαστικό που προσδιορίζει, γ) διάφορες συντακτικές δομές: η εργαστική και η ονομαστική σύνταξη (ergative and nominative construction). Μερικά απ'αυτά τα συντακτικά σχήματα είναι τα λεγόμενα καθολικά (universalia) της γλώσσας, που απαντούμε σε όλες γλώσσες παγκόσμια.

¹ Βλ. σχετικά Gass S., Selinker L., *Second Language Acquisition: An Introductory Course*, London: Elbraum 2001; Zobl H., *The Formal and Developmental Selectivity of L1 Influence on L2 Acquisition*, *Language Learning* 30, 1980; Odlin T., *Language Transfer: Cross-linguistic Influence in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989 και άλλα.

Σύντομη περιγραφή της έρευνας

Η παρούσα εργασία αποτελεί μέρος ευρύτερης μελέτης με θέμα αντιπαραβολική ανάλυση Γεωργιανής και Ελληνικής γλώσσας. Σκοπός της μελέτης αυτής είναι η σύγκριση των διαφόρων συστημάτων των δύο γλωσσών, καθώς και η ανάλυση των λανθασμένων επιλογών από τους γεωργιανούς διδασκόμενους κατά την εκμάθηση ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας. Η μελέτη μας αποτελούνταν από διάφορα στάδια:

1. η συγγραφή του βιβλίου *Αντιπαραβολική γραμματική Ελληνικής και Γεωργιανής γλώσσας*² με έμφαση στην περιγραφή του ονοματικού συστήματος και στις δύο γλώσσες.
2. η διεξαγωγή των σεμιναρίων με θέμα στοιχεία αντιπαραβολικής ανάλυσης Ελληνικής και Γεωργιανής στο Ινστιτούτο Κλασικών, Βυζαντινών και Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών του Κρατικού Πανεπιστημίου Τιφλίδας, καθώς και
3. η συλλογή και η ανάλυση δεδομένων που πραγματοποιήθηκε με βάση ερωτηματολόγια και διάφορες ασκήσεις των μη-ελληνόφωνων φοιτητών.

Μεθοδολογία

Για την επίτευξη των στόχων μας, όσο θεωρητικών τόσο και πρακτικών χρησιμοποιήσαμε τις εξής μεθόδους: συγχρονική, περιγραφική, συγκριτική, αντιπαραβολική και μέθοδο ανάλυσης λαθών.

Θεωρητική βάση

Ως θεωρητική βάση χρησιμοποιήθηκε το πρότυπο παραδοσιακής αντιπαραβολικής ανάλυσης της δομής (Structural Contrastive Grammar Model) και όχι μετασχηματιστικής-γενετικής γραμματικής.³ Διότι οι συγκρίσεις στα πλαίσια της παραδοσιακής γραμματικής αποφάνηκαν να είναι πιο χρήσιμες για τις πρακτικές διδακτικές ανάγκες, παρά εκείνες της μετασχηματιστικής-γενετικής, που ωστόσο είναι πολύ σημαντικές για κάποια θεωρητικά συμπεράσματα.

Η γραμμική διάταξη των λέξεων σε μια φράση

Για να σχηματιστεί σωστή πρόταση οι λέξεις πρέπει να ακολουθούν μια ορισμένη σειρά. Αυτό φαίνεται πιο έντονα στις γλώσσες όπου τα ουσιαστικά δεν διαθέτουν καταλήξεις πτώσεων και γι' αυτό η θέση τους

² Η συγγραφή του βιβλίου πραγματοποιήθηκε στα πλαίσια του προγράμματος, το οποίο χρηματοδοτήθηκε από το Ίδρυμα Γεωργιανών, Ανθρωπιστικών και Κοινωνικών Σπουδών (Rustaveli Foundation, Grant N Y-01-10).

³ Για θεωρητικά ζητήματα της αντιπαραβολικής ανάλυσης βλ. Fisiak J., *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V. 1980; Krzeszowski T., *Contrasting Languages. The Scope of Contrastive Linguistics*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter 1990.

μέσα στην πρόταση είναι αυστηρά καθορισμένη. Στην περίπτωση μας και οι δύο γλώσσες, και η ελληνική και η γεωργιανή, έχουν τις καταλήξεις των πτώσεων γι' αυτό το λόγο, υπάρχει μεγάλη ελαστικότητα στη συντακτική σειρά. Δηλαδή η τάξη των λέξεων δεν επιτελεί κάποια συντακτική λειτουργία, όπως συμβαίνει π. χ. στην αγγλική, όπου σε μια πρόταση είναι σχεδόν πάντοτε υποχρεωτική η σειρά SVO (ΥΡΑ).⁴ Απ' αυτή την άποψη η ελληνική κατατάσσεται στις γλώσσες με διάταξη SVO (ΥΡΑ) ή με εναλλακτική συντακτική σειρά VSO (ΡΥΑ), π. χ. *ο Ελότης πήρε το Νόμπελ*, ή *Πήρε ο Ελότης το Νόμπελ*,⁵ ενώ η γεωργιανή – στις γλώσσες με διάταξη SOV (ΥΑΡ), και εδώ με δυνατότητα αλλαγής της διάταξης.

Θα μπορούσαμε να παρουσιάσουμε αυτό με εξής σχήμα:

L₁ (VSO → SVO)

L₂ (SOV)

Πρέπει να σημειωθεί επίσης ότι η θέση του ρήματος στις γλώσσες αυτές δεν είναι αυστηρά καθορισμένη, άρα η θέση του υποκειμένου και κατηγορήματος εναλλάσσεται ελεύθερα. Γενικά, σύμφωνα με την καθολική γραμματική του N. Chomsky, οι γλώσσες που επιτρέπουν την παράλειψη του αντωνυμικού υποκειμένου (pro-drop), εφόσον αυτό μπορεί να δηλώνεται από τις αντίστοιχες καταλήξεις του ρήματος⁶ και σε περίπτωση μας, και οι δύο γλώσσες είναι pro-drop, π. χ. *μιλάω ελληνικά – ვλεπებრჯობ ჯბროვლავ*, χαρακτηρίζονται με τη δυνατότητα αντιστροφής υποκειμένου και ρήματος. Στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα το ρήμα συνηθίζεται να είναι στο τέλος της πρότασης ή φράσης, αλλά ούτε εδώ είναι αυστηρά καθορισμένη αυτή η θέση.

Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι στα παλιά γεωργιανά υπήρχαν περιπτώσεις όταν από τη γραμμική διάταξη των λέξεων εξαρτιόταν το νόημα της πρότασης, στη σύγχρονη γεωργιανή γλώσσα αυτό το φαινόμενο δεν υπάρχει πια. Αλλά παρόλο που η σειρά των λέξεων στην πρόταση δεν είναι αυστηρά καθορισμένη, το ρόλο της θέσης των λέξεων είναι πολύ μεγάλο από τη στυλιστική ή υφολογική άποψη. Πολύ συχνά η σειρά των λέξεων εξαρτάται και από το λογικό τόνο στην πρόταση,⁷ Το ίδιο φαινόμενο μπορούμε να παρακολουθήσουμε και στην ελληνική γλώσσα, αν κάποιος

⁴ Mackridge P., Η Νεοελληνική γλώσσα. Περιγραφική ανάλυση της νεοελληνικής κοινής. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη 1990, 335.

⁵ Το παράδειγμα είναι από την αναφερόμενη μελέτη του Peter Mackridge.

⁶ Μπέλλα Σπ., Η Δεύτερη Γλώσσα. Κατάκτηση και διδασκαλία. Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα 2007, 88.

⁷ Για λεπτομερή ανάλυση βλ.: კვაჭიძე ლ., თანამედროვე ქართული ენის სინტაქსი. თბილისი 1996, 11-17.

τήμα της πρότασης τονίζεται ισχυρότερα κατά την ομιλία, μπορεί να αλλάξει η σειρά των λέξεων.

Υπάρχουν λίγες περιπτώσεις όταν η ελληνική γλώσσα προστρέχει στη διάταξη των λέξεων για να δηλώσει τις ποικίλες συντακτικές σχέσεις. Έτσι, π.χ. στην περίπτωση όπου τα σημαίνοντα της ονομαστικής και της αιτιατικής συμπίπτουν ο προσδιορισμός της λειτουργίας Υποκείμενο και Αντικείμενο γίνεται με θέση των λέξεων, π. χ. *μια αλεπού ένα φίδι σκότωσε*.⁸

Η τοποθέτηση του προσδιορισμού

Ανάλογα στην περίπτωση του προσδιορισμού σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις όταν η μορφή της γενικής και της αιτιατικής συμπίπτουν, π. χ. *ξενόδοχος αποζημιώνει πελάτη κουρέα* ή *ξενόδοχος αποζημιώνει κουρέα πελάτη*, η συντακτική λειτουργία του προσδιοριζόμενου και του προσδιορίζοντος καθορίζεται με θέση των λέξεων. Παρά το ότι στα ελληνικά η θέση των λέξεων στην πρόταση είναι ελεύθερη, υπάρχουν, ωστόσο, κάποιες «προτιμήσιμες» θέσεις. Έτσι συνήθως όταν έχουμε τον ετερόπρωτο προσδιορισμό στη γενική πτώση, το προσδιοριζόμενο προηγείται του προσδιορίζοντος.⁹ Στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα αντίθετα ο ετερόπρωτος προσδιορισμός χρησιμοποιείται πριν από το ουσιαστικό που προσδιορίζει. Π. χ. *βιβλίο του ανθρώπου - ვადთადხვს წიგნა*.

Απ' αυτή την ιδιαιτερότητα εξαρτάται και άλλο χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο των δύο γλωσσών. Εννοούμε τα καθολικά στοιχεία τα λεγόμενα *universalia* των γλωσσών. Γενικά, οι γλώσσες διαίρονται σε δύο κατηγορίες: οι γλώσσες που χαρακτηρίζονται με την τοποθέτηση της πρόθεσης πριν από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζει (*Preposition*), όπως είναι στην περίπτωσή μας η ελληνική, γενικά χαρακτηρίζονται και με την τοποθέτηση του ετερόπρωτου προσδιορισμού στη γενική πτώση, μετά από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζει, ενώ αντίθετα οι γλώσσες που έχουν στη γλώσσα προθέσεις μετά από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζουν (*Postposition*), δηλαδή επιθέσεις και όχι προθέσεις, όπως είναι στην περίπτωσή μας η γεωργιανή, γενικά χαρακτηρίζονται και με την τοποθέτηση του ετερόπρωτου προσδιορισμού στη γενική πτώση, πριν από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζει.¹⁰

Πρέπει να επισημανθεί εδώ επίσης ότι σε περίπτωση του επιθετικού προσδιορισμού η σειρά των λέξεων είναι η ίδια και στις δύο γλώσσες. Επομένως σ' αυτή την περίπτωση έχουμε θετική παρεμβολή, π. χ. *ωραία*

⁸ Σελλά-Μάζη Ε., Στοιχεία Αντιπαραβολικής Γραμματικής Ελληνικής-Τουρκικής. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση 2004, 262.

⁹ Σελλά-Μάζη Ε., ο. π., 263.

¹⁰ ვამერელაძე თ., კვიციანი მ., შადური ი., შენგელაია ნ., თეორიული ენათმეცნიერების კურსი. თბილისი 2008, 422.

κορίτσι – *εξοδωδο γρογο*, ενώ σε περίπτωση ετερόπτωτου προσδιορισμού – αρνητική).

Από τις διάφορες ασκήσεις με τους φοιτητές του τμήματος Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών του Κρατικού Πανεπιστημίου Τιφλίδας, αποφάνθηκε ότι χρησιμοποιώντας τη Γενική οι φοιτητές κάποτε επιβάλουν τη σειρά των λέξεων από μητρική γλώσσα, αλλά αυτό γίνεται περισσότερο στο επίπεδο αρχάριων. Περισσότερο αυτή την παρεμβολή έχουμε στην προφορική γλώσσα και όχι γραπτή. Την ίδια παρεμβολή παρατηρούμε και σε περίπτωση των κτητικών αντωνυμιών.

Γενικά οι τυπολογικές συγκρίσεις σε ό,τι αφορά προσδιοριζόμενο και προσδιορίζον θα μπορούσαμε να παρουσιάσουμε ως εξής:

1. Η σειρά των λέξεων σε περίπτωση του επιθετικού προσδιορισμού είναι ίδια και σε δύο γλώσσες: προσδιορίζον προηγείται του προσδιοριζόμενου. (θετική παρεμβολή)
2. Η σειρά των λέξεων σε περίπτωση του ετερόπτωτου προσδιορισμού είναι διαφορετική, στην ελληνική γλώσσα η χαρακτηριστική σειρά είναι όταν προσδιοριζόμενο προηγείται του προσδιορίζοντος, ενώ στη γεωργιανή αντίθετα προσδιορίζον προηγείται του προσδιοριζόμενου. (αρνητική παρεμβολή / συνήθως στην προφορική γλώσσα)
3. Οι κτητικές αντωνυμίες στην ελληνική γλώσσα χρησιμοποιούνται μετά από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζουν, ενώ στη γεωργιανή πριν από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζουν. (αρνητική παρεμβολή / συνήθως στην προφορική γλώσσα)
4. Οι δεικτικές αντωνυμίες και στις δύο γλώσσες χρησιμοποιούνται πριν από τη λέξη που προσδιορίζουν. Η διαφορά είναι μόνο στη χρησιμοποίηση του άρθρου, που στην ελληνική γλώσσα είναι απαραίτητο μετά από τη δεικτική αντωνυμία, ενώ στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα το άρθρο δεν υπάρχει. (αρνητική παρεμβολή)
5. Σε περίπτωση όταν χρησιμοποιούνται μερικοί προσδιορισμοί που δηλώνονται με διάφορα μέρη του λόγου, όπως είναι δεικτικές αντωνυμίες, αριθμητικά και επίθετα, πάντα θα είναι η ακόλουθη σειρά των λέξεων και σε δύο γλώσσες: δεικτικές αντωνυμίες, αριθμητικά και επίθετα. (θετική παρεμβολή)
6. Σε περίπτωση όταν προσδιορίζον δηλώνεται με αριθμητικά το προσδιοριζόμενο στην ελληνική γλώσσα είναι στον πληθυντικό αριθμό, ενώ στη γεωργιανή στον ενικό αριθμό. (αρνητική παρεμβολή)
7. Προσδιορίζον και προσδιοριζόμενο στην ελληνική γλώσσα κλίνονται όπως ξεχωριστά κλίνονται τα ονόματα, ενώ στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα έχουν ανώμαλη κλίση. Εδώ καθορίζονται δύο περιπτώσεις: α) όταν το θέμα προσδιορίζοντος τελειώνει σε φωνήεν, τότε κλίνεται μόνο το

προσδιοριζόμενο όνομα. β) όταν το θέμα προσδιορίζοντας τελειώνει σε σύμφωνο, τότε κλίνονται και τα δύο, απλώς το προσδιορίζον έχει ανώμαλη κλίση.

Διάφορες συντακτικές δομές: εργαστική και ονομαστική σύνταξη

Η τυπολογική ιδιαιτερότητα της γεωργιανής γλώσσας είναι η ύπαρξη της εργαστικής σύνταξης που εξαρτάται από την μεταβατικότητα του ρήματος. Στην ελληνική γλώσσα, όπως στην ινδοευρωπαϊκή γλώσσα έχουμε αντίθετα η ονομαστική σύνταξη (ή με την άποψη μερικών μελετητών αιτιατική σύνταξη)¹¹ που είναι πιο εύκολη για την κατανόηση κατά τη διδασκαλία μιας γλώσσας. Ο σημαντικότερος παράγοντας κατά την ονομασία της σύνταξης πρέπει να είναι μαρκάρισμα, σε περίπτωση όταν είναι μαρκάρισμένο υποκείμενο έχουμε - εργαστική σύνταξη, ενώ σε περίπτωση όταν είναι μαρκάρισμένο αντικείμενο - αιτιατική σύνταξη και όχι ονομαστική όπως συνηθίζεται να ονομάζεται στις παραδοσιακές γλωσσολογικές μελέτες. Γενικά θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι οι δομές αυτές ανήκουν σε μια τυπολογική τάξη, η οποία έχει στην ουσία τη σχέση υποκειμένου-υποκειμένου, και την αντιπαράθεση μεταβατικών και αμετάβατων ρημάτων. Επομένως η ύπαρξη των διάφορων συντακτικών δομών είναι επιφανειακή εκδήλωση των βαθύτατων αλλαγών που έγιναν στις γλώσσες. Δηλαδή, σύμφωνα με τη μετασχηματιστική γραμματική του Chomsky, έχουμε τη βαθιά δομή και την επιφανειακή.

Η εργαστική σύνταξη είναι χαρακτηριστική για τη Βασκική γλώσσα, για περισσότερες καυκασιανές γλώσσες και για μερικές άλλες. Αξιοσημείωτο όμως είναι, ότι σύμφωνα με μια υπόθεση ακόμα και η πρωτοινδοευρωπαϊκή γλώσσα είχε εργαστικό σύστημα.¹² Τέτοια συστήματα έχουν μια εργαστική πτώση για τον υποκείμενο των μεταβατικών ρημάτων και μια απόλυτη (ονομαστική) για το υποκείμενο των αμετάβατων, καθώς και για το αντικείμενο. Δηλαδή υπάρχει μια πτώση που δηλώνει το δρών πρόσωπο. Το σύστημα αυτό ισχύει για τον αόριστο, ενώ στον ενεστώτα το υποκείμενο των μεταβατικών ρημάτων μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί και στη δοτική.

Την εργαστική σύνταξη θα μπορούσαμε να παρουσιάσουμε σχηματικά ως εξής:

¹¹ Вл. Гамкрелидзе Т., Иванов Вяч., Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы. Реконструкция и историко-типологический анализ праязыка и протокультуры, I. Тбилиси: Издательство Тбилисского Университета 1984, 313-319.

¹² Beekes R., Εισαγωγή στη συγκριτική ινδοευρωπαϊκή γλωσσολογία. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] 2004, 278-280, 348-353.

μεταβατικό ρήμα

	σύστημα με ονομαστική	σύστημα με εργαστική	σύστημα με εργαστική	
	αόριστος, ενεστώτας	αόριστος	ενεστώτας	
υποκείμενο	ονομαστική	εργαστική	ονομαστική	δοτική
αντικείμενο	αιτιατική	ονομαστική	δοτική	ονομαστική

Επομένως, το χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο του κλιτικού συστήματος στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα είναι η έλλειψη της Αιτιατικής πτώσης και η ύπαρξη της Εργαστικής. Πρέπει να θυμηθούμε όμως όταν μιλάμε για πτώσεις στη γεωργιανή και την ελληνική γλώσσα, οι πτώσεις αυτές δεν είναι ταυτίσιμες παρόλο που μπορούν να έχουν ακόμα και την ίδια ονομασία π. χ. η ονομαστική πτώση είναι αρχική πτώση και για τις ινδοευρωπαϊκές και για τις καυκασιανές γλώσσες, αλλά στις ινδοευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες η πτώση αυτή είναι η πτώση του υποκειμένου (λεγόμενη ορθή πτώση) που αντιπαρατίθεται με την πτώση του αντικειμένου την αιτιατική (πτώση του άμεσου αντικειμένου). Στις περισσότερες καυκασιανές γλώσσες δεν υπάρχει αιτιατική, δηλαδή δεν υπάρχει μια πτώση για το άμεσο αντικείμενο, ενώ η ονομαστική δεν είναι μόνο η πτώση του υποκειμένου, αλλά με τα μεταβατικά ρήματα, είναι η πτώση και του άμεσου αντικειμένου. Επομένως, η Ονομαστική στις καυκασιανές γλώσσες δεν είναι ορθή πτώση, όπως είναι στις ινδοευρωπαϊκές.¹³

Εκτός απ' αυτό έχουμε να σημειώσουμε ότι στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα για τη λειτουργία του υποκειμένου χρησιμοποιούνται τρεις πτώσεις: ονομαστική, εργαστική και δοτική. Όπως αποφάνθηκε από τη διδασκαλία τις περισσότερες δυσκολίες έχουμε κατά την απόδοση του υποκειμένου που στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα είναι στη δοτική πτώση. Με βάση τις ασκήσεις που έχουν συμπληρώσει οι φοιτητές καταλήξαμε στα εξής συμπεράσματα:

1. Υπάρχουν δυσκολίες κατά την απόδοση των γεωργιανών προτάσεων με εργαστική σύνταξη στα ελληνικά.
2. Όταν το υποκείμενο είναι στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα στην εργαστική πτώση τα λάθη είναι ελάχιστα λόγω λογικής κατανόησης. Όμως σε περίπτωση όταν οι φοιτητές δεν βλέπουν παραδείγματα και έχουν να απαντήσουν απλώς τι πτώση πρέπει να χρησιμοποιήσουν για να δηλώσουν την εργαστική σύνταξη, τότε δυσκολεύονται να απαντήσουν και προσπαθούν να βρουν κάποια άλλη λύση αντί ονομαστικής.

¹³ ნიქოზა ა., იბერიულ-კავკასიური ენათმეცნიერების შესავალი. თბილისი 1979, 135-136.

3. Τις περισσότερες δυσκολίες έχουμε κατά την απόδοση του αντικείμενου της εργασιακής σύνταξης που είναι στην ονομαστική πτώση. Εδώ έχουμε τρεις περιπτώσεις: α) Πρώτα σε περίπτωση των ουδετέρων ουσιαστικών οι δύο πτώσεις μορφολογικά συμπίπτουν, γι' αυτό το λόγο δεν μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε εδώ για κανένα λάθος. β) Το ίδιο μπορούμε να πούμε και για θηλυκά, η διαφορά εδώ είναι μόνο στο άρθρο. Αξιοσημείωτο όμως είναι ότι σε μερικές περιπτώσεις οι φοιτητές εδώ δεν χρησιμοποιούν το άρθρο, ακόμα και εκεί που το άρθρο απαιτείται από τα συμφραζόμενα. Εφόσον στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα δεν υπάρχει άρθρο, γενικά και το έχουν παρατηρήσει οι γλωσσολόγοι και στους σπουδαστές στις μητρικές γλώσσες των οποίων δεν υπάρχει άρθρο,¹⁴ χαρακτηριστική είναι η υπεργενίκευση της χρήσης του άρθρου. Εδώ όμως έχουμε άλλη περίπτωση. Παρόλο που το φαινόμενο της υπεργενίκευσης ή υπερβάλλουσας χρήσης του άρθρου είναι χαρακτηριστικό και για τους γεωργιανούς φοιτητές, εδώ οι φοιτητές μη τυχόν κάνουν λάθος αποφεύγουν τη χρησιμοποίηση του άρθρου. Π.χ. *ο Νίκος αγόρασε (την) εφημερίδα*. Λοιπόν εδώ έχουμε αποφυγή (avoidance) χρήσης άρθρου, δηλαδή του τύπου της γλώσσας-στόχου που δεν υπάρχει στη μητρική γλώσσα. γ) Όσων αφορά τα αρσενικά, εδώ έχουμε να σημειώσουμε ότι μόνο τα αρσενικά ονόματα Νέας Ελληνικής στον ενικό εμφανίζουν και μορφολογική διάκριση [-ς ή ∅] αντίστοιχη με τη συντακτική τους διαφοροποίηση σε υποκείμενο ή αντικείμενο.¹⁵ Αυτό που δεν φαίνεται σε θηλυκά και ουδέτερα. Γι' αυτό το λόγο εδώ έχουμε περισσότερα λάθη. Η αιτία των λαθών είναι η παρεμβολή της μητρικής γλώσσας, όπου το αντικείμενο είναι στην Ονομαστική πτώση αντί της Αιτιατικής της ελληνικής. Π. χ. *θάθη βιβλία (Εργ.) ζωοβιβλίο δασκάλου (Ον.), Ο πατέρας μου (Ον.) γνώρισε τον Έλληνα διπλωμάτη (Αιτ.)*

Συμπεράσματα

Ο σκοπός της εργασίας μας ήταν να παρουσιάσουμε τις διαφορές ανάμεσα σε δύο γλώσσες, ώστε να ορίσουμε μερικά στοιχεία απαραίτητα στη διδασκαλία ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας στους γεωργιανούς σπουδαστές. Παρά τις διαφορές που υπάρχουν στη γραμμική διάταξη της φράσης, στην τοποθέτηση του προσδιορισμού, στην ύπαρξη προθέσεων σε μια γλώσσα και επιθέσεων στην άλλη, και στις διάφορες συντακτικές δομές τις περισσότερες δυσκολίες κατά τη διδασκαλία και επομένως και εκμάθηση ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας, βρίσκουμε στην απόδοση της εργασιακής σύνταξης και της τοποθέτησης ετερόπρωτου προσδιορισμού. Και πρέπει να εστιάσουμε την προσοχή μας σ' αυτά τα συντακτικά στοιχεία κατά τη

¹⁴ Μπέλλα Σπ., ο. π., 36.

¹⁵ Mackridge P., ο. π., 115.

διδασκαλία γιατί εδώ αισθάνεται περισσότερο η αρνητική παρεμβολή της μητρικής γλώσσας διδασκόμενων. Με την ανακοίνωσή μας υπογραμμίσαμε ακόμα μια φορά τη σπουδαιότητα της αντιπαραβολικής ανάλυσης κατά τη διδασκαλία ξένης γλώσσας καθώς και το ρόλο της παρεμβολής γλωσσικών ιδιοτήτων και συνηθειών από τη μητρική γλώσσα του σπουδαστή στη ξένη γλώσσα.

Rusudan Burjanadze (Tbilisi)

ANTIQUITY IN MODERN GEORGIAN LITERATURE

“Homo homini lupus est” – says Latin proverb. “Man is a bridge for another man” – responds Georgian. If we transfer those two proverbs into an interrogative form we’ll get two philosophical questions and almost as many answers as much people live in this world, people who are separated from each other by time, centuries and space and humans of different nationality, age and intellectual potential accept worse as a tool of achievement in a search and rush of better tomorrow.

Antique world for modern human besides some delighted epithets first of all is a world of myth and legend. World, where divine passion rages on the verge of impossible and wakes up modern consumers sleeping soul, and unbelievable diversity of irrational colors effortlessly conquers ones mind and when it happens, he or she doesn’t even want to return in real world. May be that’s the reason what made K. Gamsakhurdia to say, that losing the hero is not just a crises for a writer, but nonexistence. “Myth was the utmost intension of human-god and art” – he says. His three best novels are based on mythology: *Tabu*, *Bold Gakhu* and *Khogais Mindia*.

Search for mythological topic serves to reveal irrational world at one hand, and helps to describe reality at another. Thing is, myths had been created in certain environment, under certain conditions, been influenced by various religious or everyday life’s circumstances, describing and explaining those reasons creates base for realism in writer’s work. Comparison of those three novels highlights and explains the mission which writer defines for myth during the period of his philosophical and creative maturity.

Tabu is an expressional novel and most vividly brings out a trail of fantasy and mirage in form and in content. Family feud between

Karbedia's and Biskaia's ends when, Akumi Khvaramze gives a birth to scorpion. That's the plot of the novel, but in this plot there is hidden idea mixed with mythology - human's cruelty, destiny's inevitability, helplessness of man's will. Modernism in whole and expressionism in particular case often uses myth and legend in literature to develop the theme. The depth of emotional experience in this novel, highlighted naked reality is very typical for expressionism. Khvaramze's dream about reddish man and the scene of birth of the scorpion is so vivid and horrific, that it could be compared to Kafka's novels horrifying expression.

Bold Gakhu is built on mythological plot although in this novel there are some imaginary scenes, it is most realistic picture of 'had been mans' tragic comedy.

Tagu Samugia and bold Gakhu - ugly break offs of Manuchar Dadiani remained in new reality as an unattractive shadows of the past. Tagu is a cruel sign of feudal class, bold Gash is a symbol of degradation of same society. Deep inside of their soul settled strict irreconcilability, unbroken stubborn spirit, huge internal pain and revenge directed against their own self. In some of Gamsakhurdia's novels we wouldn't find defined character, because the writer needs particular character just to bring up an issue or to illustrate his ideas. Those characters are not active; they are not engage in conflict with events and therefore are not reveal their nature.

In *Bold Gakhu* we have two marvelously defined characters. Tagu Samugia - adventurer from romantic days stuck in "our time" is flexible, crook, predator with fine manners. "Long, aristocratic hands" - are Dadian's heritage. "Scar from knife on his longish, prince like face"-remainder of his unknown, violent past. Despite duality of this character his personality is strictly monolithic: full of hate toward modern life and silenced because of fear.

Not less interesting is Gakhu's character, he is called village's moron and nobody suspects that stupidity is just a tool, mask to save Temra. Very moving the scene of Temra's death, where Gakhu mourns, cries quietly, tears ran down on his face, this huge man becomes tiny and repeats tender words ... After that day he doesn't care any more about anything, he reaps off the mask of moron, life becomes senseless and he hangs himself.

In novel *Khogais Mindia* mythological plot carries highest ideas of humanism. The novel is based on adventure of snake eater Mindia, which earlier became the foundation of Vaja-Pshavela's famous poem, but in difference in Vaja's poem Mindia's wisdom became reason and defining factor of his loneliness and tragedy, in this poem we see whole severity of estranging low, deep pain as a result of isolation from society. In

Gamsakhurdia's novel *Mindia* deliberately isolates himself from humans, they couldn't understand the necessity of kindness, love, compassion and unity. Gamsakhurdia's character is a lone fighter for the highest human kindness and ideals and as every loner doomed for defeat. But I have to note, the existence of this type of people defines progress of humanity. Unfortunately, their life and effort becomes appreciated only after they pass away and like most geniuses usually never end with natural death. May be because, that life resilience of mankind hugely depends on existence of myth and legend, which are fed by misfortune and personal tragedy of "different" people. That's how was created myth about Medea, who killed her own kids, Mozart and Salieri, Tsvetaeva and Rilke, Jana and Modigliani, Galaktion and Olga and etc.

Galaktion Tabidze wrote beautiful prayer in verse to save his love one. Sadly, this prayer couldn't protect her, the addressee of this poem – Galaktion's only love and friend, candid supporter of his poetry, lifeline and connection to outside world. Olga Okujava as many other singled out person from grey crowd, fell victim of ugly punishing machine, but remained myth about Soviet reality and it would take long time for researchers to separate lies of that period from truth.

In my opinion, Galaktion fell there, when only connection to the world was cut off and began exhausting, mechanical wander in the desert, where blade of grass wouldn't grow ... And don't forget, even his dreams were "not like ours"...

In different periods of human history mankind was loosing, regaining and loosing again antique world, it's myths and legends, values which were main force and feeding source for philosophy, psychology, art and literature, values which already had become so organic for civilization that it is impossible to erase it from human memory and mind.

That's why it is little bit naïve to ask or discuss if it still up to date, do we still need to keep alive myths and legends? Would modernized forms, steps or streams of literature recognize and join what existed before? The answer is simple: what existed before is still exists and there is no way to get rid off it, and some conventions, which we, humans created, keep creating and often becoming victims of our creation – will pass by, like so many others past by.

In the beginning of 20th century antique themes and mythology in general once again became topical in Georgia. Modernism for a while grew more popular than realism and some of its trail and representatives could be found in today's literature.

When Gamsakhurdia pointed out that “being without a myth means nonexistence” modernistic literature directions and streams were already widely using antique world’s symbols and outlooks as in poetry, as well in prose. Often, of course, usage of those themes and ideas were mechanical and wouldn’t add any value or importance to literature.

It wasn’t rare when modernistic tendencies would mix and tangle with different creative methods sometimes even with same authors (for example: symbolism – impressionism – expressionism – naturalism – realism).

That’s natural if we consider that to search and establish new forms of expression at certain stage of development was kind of risky, especially in literature where flexibility of word is inferior to resources of color or musical sound. But still, different writers would search and find the word or fraise, which would come in conformity with musical sound or with bright or pale color.

One of directions of modernistic literature was impressionism and relationship with beauty of its followers reminds us antique world’s admiring stare at revelation of beautiful in art and in nature. Understanding the beauty with impressionists is very unique and doesn’t require searching for reasons of its creation.

“I don’t know how to take care of flower and don’t like that kind of activity, I just admire color of flower, the smell, especially velvet of leaves” (*Coffee Shop of Artists*, N. Lortkipanidze, Federation, 1934, 257).

Characters of miniatures of Jaju Jorjikia are antique Creek mythological heroes migrated in modern days.

Venera noticed that her beloved one, powerful Marce stood near the lake, overwhelmed by a beauty of unknown woman, kept motionless and stared at her.

“Don’t you have any shame?” – asked Venera, “Why? I was staring from far ... far”, Marce stumbled and looked down. “That’s exactly the point you really were enjoying the beauty of her – nervously said Venera, grabbed his hand and forever took him away from those places” (Jorjikia J., *Staring from Far*, Etudes, Kutaisi 1919, 85).

The beauty for impressionists is goddess, real and unreal both deserve to be admired, it’s unique, and “everything compare to it is nothing” (*Portrait of Dorian Grey*).

Cult of beauty is so big with impressionist writers that even biblical plot and themes get different realization in their work. In his novel *Judas* Aristo Chumbadze explained Judas hater ness toward Christ with judas admiration to Maria from Magdalene (same motivation gave little earlier

Shio Aragvispireli in his novel *Judas*). The desire to conquer the beauty made Judas to commit a crime. Even in final minutes of his life only thing he regrets about is beautiful woman, who became the reason of his horrible sin and instead of enjoying life he ended up dead.

“Swinging traitor’s beautiful body and beyond tender music of leaves, a grey world left somewhere far behind seems to him pink” and still: “Oh, so sweet, sweet her love” (Chumbadze A., *Judas*, Novels, Tbilisi 1960, 29).

Omnipotent of beauty is main idea of Jaju Jorjikias miniature *Beautiful Woman*. In this miniature is described how change and become alive tired and exhausted crowd when they see beautiful woman walking down the street.

Same theme is developed in miniature *Beauty of Wife*, written with light humor. Woman of striking beauty approached crowded and congested trolley, her beauty and smile made crowd to move away, create some space, somebody even offered his seat and she set down, then pulled head out of window and called little boy to get on the board, the boy apparently was her son, he was followed by a large man, who appeared to be her husband and the “owner of the beauty”.

“Have a seat somewhere, please” – asked somebody to him and the husband got a seat next to her. After they brought up a goat with them and still, nobody protested. All those men in the trolley who appreciated her beauty ended up traveling with goat.

Same kind of approach impressionists had to love, art and we could bring lots of examples, but I’d like to bring to your attention the main theme, what unites best representatives of antique world with Georgian writers: attitude, common feeling toward motherland and human being.

Because European modernism mostly cosmopolite by its nature, national feelings regarded as backwardness. Knut Hamsun’s characters wander around the world and the place, where they feel good becomes their home. Alitenberg never had home but never been bothered because of it. When asked where his home was, to set up an interview, he named certain café and his motherland was bohemia.

The Love of family, homeland, national pride, personal honor those are traits which makes common ground for Antique-Georgian space. May be because, that intelligent man understands simple truth – each of our life and story reflected in countries history, and explanation of word “nostalgia” in dictionaries defined as following: “Serious deacease caused by inability to return to homeland”.

Infamous Marcus Aurelia wrote: “I call perfect man one, who during his life recognized fakeness and vanity of all sins and turned his back to

them. Intoxicated air kills cattle, intoxicated soul threatens human" (Aurelia, *Thoughts*, 24).

He had every possibility, condition and temptation to satisfy his passions and desires instead he is thankful to gods for giving him kind ancestors, parents, friends, relatives and teachers. He is thankful for father – emperor, who pulled out vice from his soul and planted simplicity and humbleness instead. He taught that even the ruler in the palace doesn't need guards, rich cloth and fireworks, he could lead simple life only under condition, that his simplicity wouldn't hurt obligations people and state assigned to him. For Marcus Aurelius the most important things were state interests and person's individual traits.

Plutarch wrote about Hercules, who has been known as "Olympus of Athens", "Despite of his great power and influence he stayed very dignified, humble and unsoiled person, which was reflected on countries interests too".

Mostly, main motive of Hellenistic space is history of individuals or fictional characters, who dedicated their lives to motherland and state. That's what defines great respect toward this diverse and unique world.

20th century is an era of masses, philosophers say, so called non heroic time, where heroism loses its value. But heroism is spiritual condition, way of life, and when it disappears something very important and valuable vanishes too. Human being grows and influenced by examples and ones spiritual, intellectual and moral development heavily depends on time, heroes, society and family values.

21st Century the heir of 20th century, which was full of global cataclysms, social, political and economical changes continues downgrading an individual and this process even more obvious throughout post soviet space, and already painful process of birth of something new from histories depth became so complicated that it threatens to completely destroy national identity and person's individuality.

Literature always brings out and establishes epoch's moral and ethical norms. That's why literature's main concern is to take inner conflicts to a new light and to search for solutions for rebuilding.

There is one novel *Unnamed Marathoner*, the theme and idea of this novel fits content of our lecture and in particular general feeling of motherland. T. Chkuaseli describes a parallel between two equally exciting and moving events. One had happen centuries ago in Athens, another some thirty plus years ago in Tbilisi.

Greek troops won the battle on Marathon field and sent a runner to Athens to deliver the news of victory. He ran forty two kilometers,

reached his destination, fulfill the mission and fell dead. The Joy for free motherland had killed him, not exhausting distance he covered, explains writer and tells us second story to prove his point.

One participant of 1924 rising escaped abroad to avoid harsh punishment from Bolsheviks, and returned back only in 1970s, already aged man had lay down and stayed in bed for 10 years, nobody saw him walking. In 1981 soccer team from *Dinamo Tbilisi* won European club's cup. Ocean of people rushed out on Tbilisi streets to celebrate, crowd was chanting "Georgia! Georgia!"

Nobody knows what has happened, what kind of strength an old man had gotten, but he got up, brought out his old suitcase, took out old Georgian national cloth and dressed up, put on silver belt and dagger and came out on balcony, smiled at chanting crowd, raised right hand and fell down. That's how he was found: all dressed up, with smile on his face and raised arm.

The greatness of feeling killed both marathoners, concludes writer.

"Georgia is for sale" – complained N. Lortkipanidze in the beginning of 20th century – it is selling everywhere, sells everyone who wants to, and only mourner is helpless, sees everything what's happening to his country and unable to do anything for help, but write about it.

"You'll become refugee in your own country", professed Javakhishvili, but nobody heard him. For sure, Marathoners has extinct. And Soviet ideology destroyed every intelligent patriot and there was nobody who would come for their help, the world was blind and deaf. Ironically, around the same time Lortkipanidze wrote that one human being values as much as whole humanity.

Character of Grishashvili fills up a cup with wine and before drinks it makes a speech: "Let's drink for the moon, which brightens the road in the dark for a man who got lost and tells him: hey, move here, don't go there, there is a ravine, don't fall!"

So, at the end which is right? Man for man is a wolf, or man is a bridge for another man? Which of this proverb would suit human history – first or second? May be both.

Irine Chogoshvili (Tbilisi)

THE LANGUAGE OF GODS AND THE USE OF FOREIGN WORDS WITH HOMER

One of the interesting problems in the studies of Homer's language is the language of gods, a notion encountered in his epic. According to the mythic tradition, Old Greeks believed that gods spoke a language different from that of ordinary mortals. Of course, people treated this language with special esteem and respect. Such an opinion is clearly expressed in Plato's *Cratylus*, where Socrates says: οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ καλοῦσιν πρὸς ὀρθότητα ἅπερ ἔστι φύσει ὀνόματα ("Gods must clearly be supposed to call things by their right and natural names").¹

Thus, the language of gods or, in our terminology, the meta-language is a language spoken by gods. Homer was the first to make an attempt to translate words of the meta-language into Greek. There are two categories of words in his epic: first, derivatives that are translated and second, words that cannot be translated. As a rule, words in the language of gods have equivalents in the language of mortals in Homer's epic. However, there are two exceptions, which will be considered in more detail below.

There are not many words from the language of gods mentioned by Homer. It is possible to regard no more than seven or eight of them as

¹ Bader G., *Die Emergenz des Namens, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie*, Tübingen 2006.
http://books.google.ge/books?id=MtesocD5JeEC&pg=PA129&lpg=PA129&dq=Dionymien&source=bl&ots=Krkd9onVz&sig=8bf08hlTWUxCuSK2HSz78kKKI8E&hl=ka&ei=OPfuTdnrMs_o-gaPk8z-Bw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBQQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Dionymien&f=false

such, but they belong to various spheres, denoting geographic, mythological, botanical, and other notions. For example, gods' name in their own language of one of the mythological Hecatonchires giants, specifically Διγαίων, is Βριάρεως (A, 403). Σκάμανδρος a river in Troy, was called Ξάνθος in the language of gods (Y, 74). The meaning of Πλαγκταί (M, 61), also a geographical name, is quite unclear. Βατίεια, a place name in Troy, is replaced with σήμα Μυρίνης (B, 813). There was a bird called κύμνιδις, which gods named χαλκίς (X, 291). A kind of magic grass was called μῶλυ (K, 305) in the language of gods, but the language ordinary people did not have a corresponding word at all. Divine blood is mentioned only as ἕχωρ (E, 340, 416), but *Iliad* usually refers to human blood as αἷμα.

Researchers have argued for a long time now about what Homer calls the language of gods. The first important thing to do is to establish whether these words are Homer's fiction or something that really existed. To clarify this issue it is necessary to look into the etymological studies of these words.

According to A. Heubeck, who studied in detail the language of gods with Homer, argues that the dionyms in the language of gods may be either ancient obsolete words linked to Indo-European stems or new poetic inventions.² However, below we will consider a couple of words and their etymologies and parallels that show that they may have existed historically or may represent altered versions of ancient words. What is most important for us, some of them may belong to the Pre-Greek world. At any rate, the words that Homer regards as belonging to the language of gods, must be a reflection of the words that existed in his time. Considering below the etymology of each of the words, we will see that most of them are linked to the Pre-Greek world and some bear signs of being connected with Kartvelian languages.

The first word is Σκάμανδρος usually considered with another word with identical meaning in the language of gods – Ξάνθος. A lot of well-known scientists have expressed their opinions on the pair. U. Wilamowitz believes that the name of the river was Barbaric and inconvenient, so some poets replaced it with a more convenient Greek name.³ P. Kretschmer divides non-Greek “Scamandros” in the human language from “divine” “Xanthos”, presuming that the phoneme Ξ in the

² Heubeck A., *Die Homerische Göttersprache* 7 Würzburger Jahrbücher, für die Altertumswissenschaft, 4, 1949/50, 94.

³ Wilamowitz U., *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916, 381, I.

word may be coming from sk- in Ξάνθος.⁴ According to one opinion, the stem σκ- initially meant "yellow", which is precisely one of the meanings of the adjective ξάνθος. According to S. Bugge,⁵ Ξάνθος means "lustrous" and stems from Phrygian and Armenian.

P. Kretschmer cites in detail the history of the river that has two names with Homer. In the times of Hittites, a city situated on the river was called Arina. This is how the place is referred to in Hittite texts and it is called Arna in Lycian. At the same time, it is noteworthy that initially, Arina could have been a river – the Xanthos river, where the city of Arina then stood, particularly as Arina also denoted "spring, pool, and water". During first contacts between Greece and Lycia and before the start of the Greek colonization in Homer's era, when close cultural relations developed, the adjective ξάνθος was used together with the Lycian-Phrygian name of the river Sibros as its Greek synonym and translation, which explained the name of the river. Ξάνθος developed later into an independent name.

Thus, there is no doubt that in Homer's time, the river already had a double (Lycian-Phrygian) name and it was after the river that the city was also called Ξάνθος, like in the case of Arina. A. Heubeck concludes that Xanthos as a name of the river was invented by Homer, who used the double Lycian name of Xanthos-Sibros as a source. Correspondingly, Xanthos is a Greek translation of Sibros and Σκάμανδρος corresponds to it in the human language.

It is noteworthy that the forms of *Scamandros* and *Xanthos* are regarded as being linked to each other. They are believed to be coming from a source in Asia Minor with a Hellenic ending, like in *Maiandros*, *Myriandros*, and others. According to H. Jacobsohn, *Myriandros* may comprise a 'theophoric' element – μανδρος.⁶

A. Heubeck gives examples of the Indo-European stems with initial s-. Many of the stems comprise s+guttural or guttural+s. For example, ξηρός (ξερός), σκηρός, σχηρός > χηρός, σκίφος, ξίφος and so forth. H. Jacobsohn notes that the initial 'sk' sounds in 'Scamandros' could have replaced some phoneme, which existed before, but it is still unclear, which phoneme it could have been.⁷

A. Heubeck believes that both Σκάμανδρος and Ξάνθος may have the same root. He thinks that Σκάμανδρος is definitely a Pre-Greek name, but

⁴ Kretschmer P., *Glotta* 13, 1924, 266.

⁵ Bugge S. *Lykische Studien*, I, 1897, 39.

⁶ Jacobsohn H., *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Berlin 1912, 953.

⁷ Jacobsohn H., *Hermes*, 45, 1910, 81.

obviously refrains from maintaining the same regarding Ξάνθος.⁸ It is noteworthy that R. Beekes also describes Ξάνθος as being of unclear etymology, noting that it may be coming from Pre-Greek sources.⁹ It is noteworthy that Ξάνθος can be found in Mycenaean sources in the form of *ka-sa-to*. According to one theory quoted by R. Beekes, it is linked to Greek ξουθός with one of the meanings denoting 'yellow' and is represented in Mycenaean as *-ko-so-u-to*. Homer mentions it in connection with the wings of Dioscuri (*Iliad*, 33, 13). According to yet another opinion, Latin *canus*- is derived precisely from 'Xanthos'.

It is noteworthy that W. Brandenstein links Ξάνθος to Etruscan *zamθic*. Although H. Frisk rejects the opinion¹⁰ and R. Beekes also regards it as not very convincing, it should be taken into account that Etruscan *zamθi* 'gold' and *zamθic* 'golden' are indeed similar in meaning and can be linked to them also with their form.

At least one researcher believes that *Scamandros* and *Xanthos* are etymologically linked to each other, but the situation is quite different with Greek words αἷμα and ἵχωρ encountered with Homer. Of the two, αἷμα denotes blood of ordinary mortals and ἵχωρ blood of gods. It is believed that αἷμα replaced in the Greek language the word ἕαρ, which also denotes blood. According to one opinion, it is linked to ἵχωρ. Others link it also to Old Germanic **seim* (Proto-Indo-European root **-sei*) "honey of virgins" and Sanskrit *-is-* "renovation, restoration of forces". However, in this case, the etymology of ἵχωρ denoting "divine blood" is more interesting.

The word ἵχωρ denoting "blood, the liquid part of blood" has the form of ἵχω in acc. sing. with Homer and with Strabo it means "the blood of giants" According to P. Chantraine, the word has no identical morphological parallels and is presumably a foreign word.¹¹ Composed words like ἵχω(ρο)ρρορεω - "bleeding" and others are derived from it.

According to H. Güntert, the two words meaning "blood" were used as synonyms in Proto-Greek. One was ἵχωρ, which denoted the fluid part of blood, and the other was αἷμα denoting thicker blood. It is no surprise, that for Homer, gods should have had thinner blood than mortals. That is why it is possible that Homer used the word initially denoting thin blood

⁸ Heubeck A., Op. cit., 99.

⁹ Beekes R., *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Brill Academic Publishers 2010, 1033.

¹⁰ Frisk H., *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1966, 333.

¹¹ Chantraine P., *Grammaire homérique*, Paris: C. Klincksieck 1942, 212.

for "divine blood".¹² It is interesting that we encounter ἵχωρ "thin blood" with authors of later period (Aristotle, Plato, and others). It is used particularly frequently as a scientific term, but has never been widespread in the colloquial language. It is unlikely that scientists could have managed to establish the meaning of ἵχωρ without any knowledge of Homer and the meaning of the word he used.

According to A. Heubeck's observation, it was the appropriate passage from *Iliad*, which could have made it clear that "divine blood" had special characteristics, that ἵχωρ was later introduced in medicine and biology to denote lymphatic fluid and similar notions. It is common knowledge that ἵχωρ was a borrowed word in Greek, coming from Hittite *išhar* (*ešhar*) "blood",¹³ which is for its part linked to *Alat. aser* and Greek ἔαρ, εἶαρ "id". Taking into account the Hittite language, it can also be linked to Tocharian *ysar*.

As H. Güntert notes, ἵχωρ as well as another word from the language of gods alone – μῶλυ – is presumably an earlier form of a Greek word, which Homer knew from the religious language. In *Odyssey* (K 305), μῶλυ means "magic plant with unknown force" and does not have a corresponding word in the language of mortals. There is an opinion that this plant is completely from the sphere of fantasies and is linked to the Pre-Greek world. Güntert believes that it is the same as the Old Indian *mulam* "root".¹⁴ However, A. Heubeck refers to P. Kretschmer, Walde-Pokorny, and H. Güntert, noting that the word is Greek and was formed from Inro-European **mulo/mo(u)lo*, which later developed into μῶλυζα "a sort of garlic" like κορυ > κόρυζα, κνυ > κνῦζα, which must be derived from the name of a plant – κόρυζα, and μῶλυζα was formed on the basis of the model. It is possible that μῶλυ found with Homer is an earlier form or was restored by the poet on the basis of μῶλυζα.¹⁵ According to G. Neumann, μῶλυ was borrowed from Hittite-Luwian. Albeit various opinions have been expressed in connection with μῶλυ, the assumption that the word is of Pre-Greek origin sounds most convincing.

The next two words with interesting etymology are κύμνιδις and its equivalent in the language of gods – χαλκίς. With Homer (X, 291), κύμνιδις denotes a bird of unknown origin. Aristophanes also uses the word. It was widespread in Greek in the form of κυβήναις (κύβινδις) that

¹² Heubeck A., Op. cit., 109-110.

¹³ Friedrich J., Kurzgefaßtes hethitisches Wörterbuch, 1991, 33.

¹⁴ Güntert H., Op. cit., 92.

¹⁵ Heubeck A., Op. cit., 111.

was presumably borrowed by Latin, which has *cybindis*, *cibinnus* ('hawk'). The word was regarded as having the same meaning as *κικνω* ἰς (*κικνωος*) which gave rise to the tradition of regarding it as denoting 'owl'. R. Beekes believes that the word was borrowed from Anatolian or Pre-Greek, an opinion based first and foremost on the presence of the suffix *nd*.¹⁶ Its equivalent in the language of gods – *χαλκίς* – comes from *χαλκός* ('ore', 'copper', 'bronze') and is regarded as a polysemantic word of unclear origin. It can be found in Mycenaean documents in the shape of *-ka-ko*, *ka-ke-u*, denoting, in addition, a kind of fish.

Both *Χαλκίς* and *κύμινδης* are used by Homer, as well as Aristophanes, as the name of a bird. Given the colour, it later denoted a plant and a kind of lizard. R. Beekes regards *χαλκίς* as a word extant in ancient Indo-European languages with the meaning of 'ore' and 'copper' and as linked to Latin *aes* 'copper' and Sanskrit *ayah*. R. Beekes notes that it is no accident that it is similar to words denoting 'purple' – *κόλλη*, *χάλλη*, *χάλλη*. Initially they could have been used to denote red metals. The word is also linked to Baltic-Slavic words denoting 'iron', for example, Lithuanian *geležis* and Russian *želézo*, a comparison, which R. Beekes deems unconvincing phonetically, but adds that they may be independent borrowings from common oriental sources. In this case, *χάλλη* could be the initial form, which is linked to a Hittite (Hattian, Hurrian) lexeme, which means 'iron' – *hapalki-apalki*.¹⁷

According to Homer, in the language of gods, *Αἰγαίω* was called *Βριάρεως* (A, 403). There is no doubt that *Αἰγαίω* is linked to the Aegean Sea and words related to it. In H. Güntert's opinion, the water demon bearing this name was later transformed into Poseidon, and some viewed him as Poseidon's son. In the appropriate passage with Homer, *Αἰγαίω* was closely linked to Thetis, the goddess of water, which is yet another proof that *Αἰγαίω* was linked to water.

It is noteworthy that its divine name is *Βριάρεως*, who is a giant with hundred hands in *Iliad*. As we know, the adjective *βριαρός* means 'powerful', which Hesiod used in the form of *Ὀβριάρεως* 'the one, who damages'. The word *βριαρός* is derived from the root *bri*, which R. Beekes believes was Pre-Greek.¹⁸ It is also encountered in Mycenaean in the form of *pi-ra-ta-wo*. The word frequently makes part of composites. E. J. Furnée assumes that the root

¹⁶ Beekes R., Op. cit., 802.

¹⁷ Beekes R., Op. cit., 1611.

¹⁸ Beekes R., Op. cit., 239.

found in βριαρός is also linked to βριμός 'hard, difficult', which is also Pre-Greek.¹⁹ The word ἄβρις is derived from the same root.

It would be interesting to see, whether the words from the language of gods encountered with Homer that obviously comprise a Pre-Greek substrate correlate with the opinion developed by E. J. Furnée and R. Gordeziani on the connection between Pre-Greek components and Kartvelian and whether it is possible that some of the aforementioned words comprise Kartvelian components.

For example, according to one theory mentioned above, Etruscan *zamθi-* 'gold' is linked to *Xanthos*. R. Gordeziani considers this Etruscan word, which could mean both 'gold' and 'fibula' or 'jewellery' and 'decoration' in general. The inscription, where this word is found, is dated 7th century and is made on a golden fibula. The inscription reads as follows: "I am Arath Velavesna's gold (fibula, decoration) I was given by Mamurke Tursikina". Interestingly, the word has the form of *zamaθi* in this text, while *zamθi-* may be linked to Old Georgian *mzitev-/zitev-*, which denotes a property that should be given to someone. This word may also be linked with Persian *zatt* and Armenian *ozit*.²⁰

R. Gordeziani²¹ links ἔχωρ to the Kartvelian root **zixl* (Georgian *sisxl-*, Megrelian *zixsir-*, Laz *dixir/dincxir-*, Svan *zix-* 'blood'). In his opinion, the Greek word could have been derived from it in the following manner: Kartvelian **zixl-* > Pelasgian **sisxl-/sioxor-* > Greek ἔχωρ > ἔχωρ.

As regards μῶλυ, R. Gordeziani assumes that it is linked to Kartvelian **mol-* (Georgian *mol-*, Svan *muel-/melu-* 'grass, lawn').²² Later, however, R. Gordeziani himself regarded it more convincing to link it to another Kartvelian root - **bol*, which can be found in all three Kartvelian languages: cf. Kartvelian *bol-k'o-*, *bol-ok'-*; Georgian *bol-kv-i* 'bulb', Megrelian *bul-ek'-i*, Laz *bul-ek'-i/bul-eč'-i*, Svan *bol-ek'* 'radish'.

M. Chukhua found a Nakh correspondence - **bon* - to the Kartvelian root. It also means "garlic". Ichkerian *bo* (pl. *bon-aš*), Ingush *bo* (pl. *bon-aš/ž*) "(mountain) garlic", Batsbi *bo* "garlic". The Nakh root is better preserved in the plural forms - *bon-*. The Kartvelian **bol-* and Nakh **bon-* show a

¹⁹ Furnée E. J., Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen, The Hague 1972, 168.

²⁰ Gordeziani R., Mediterranean-Kartvelian Relations. Etruscan. Final Comments, Tbilisi 2008, 306 (in Georgian).

²¹ Gordeziani R., Proto-Greek and Kartvelian, 1985, 60 (in Georgian).

²² Gordeziani R., Mediterranean-Kartvelian Relations, II, 2008, 235 (in Georgian).

regular correspondence and the semantic side is also comparable – "radish" and "garlic".²³

As regards Βριάρεως, E. J. Furnée expressed the opinion that in case of Proto-Greek βρι- and βριαρός-, we have the root **ph* with the added element *r*, which is found in Georgian proverbs *priad-* and *upro-* "more, very". Pelasgian probably had the root **bri* and **briar*.²⁴

Given the aforementioned, we can assume that words from the language of gods found with Homer are often linked to the Pre-Greek world. Homer showed in his epic that people in his era believed that gods had their own language and he decided to use the words belonging to gods. Since the words were rarely used in the popular language in Homer's era, the poet could ascribe them to the language of gods.

²³ Chukhua M., *Comparative Grammar of Ichkerian-Iberian Languages*, 2008, 288 (*in Georgian*).

²⁴ Furnée E. J., *Paläokartvelisch-pelasgische Einflüsse in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leiden 1986, 33.

Lela Chotalishvili (Tbilisi)

MINOAN SA-RA₂ AND MYCENAEAN TEXTS

(One Instance of Linguistic Encounter)

In the Minoan texts, the most recurrent formative is ku-ro (found 37 times). It can be found only in A linear economic texts, presumably, as a closing of a list of goods, weapons or manpower. It is generally interpreted as «sum».¹

The second most recurrent formative of A-Linear texts is the combination of signs 31-76 (sa-ra₂), which, like ku-ro, is used only in economic texts. It can be found 21 times (HT 11b, HT 18, HT 28a, HT 28b, HT 30, HT 32, HT 33, HT 34, HT 36a, HT 90, HT 93a, HT 94a, HT 99a, HT 100, HT 101, HT 102, HT 105, HT 114a, HT 121, HT 125a, HT 130): 8 times before the ideogram 120 (presumably, "wheat"), 5 times before the ideogram 303, which V. Georgiev identifies with the Linear B ideogram 125 ("cypress"). In other cases, the formative is used separately, while in HT 93a and HT 11b texts, it is immediately followed by the number 20 (see fig. 1).

HT 93a

1. 56-ni-na . 120-56 . 515 **12** di-
2. ri-na **10** 502 43 ki-di
3. ni **5**< a-se . 28b
4. 574 **26**< sa-ra₂ **20** qa-qa-
5. ru . 28b 574 **5** 100/102-28b
6. **6** de-65-ku **1**< ?-ti
7. [.] **3** da-ri-da 407 **2** 343 **2**
8. 56-ni-na [] pa-se-ja **20**

¹ See Chotalishvili L., *The Aegean Writing Systems*, Tbilisi 2003, 99-101 (*in Georgian*).

9. 100/102 107 []- ka 4

Cosani and Negri identify sa-ra₂ as a personal name.² On the other hand, Fachetti finds it a non-onomastic term and while making no reference to its possible meaning, associates the formative with ration.³

A word *sarapedo* is attested in Linear B texts Un 718 and Er 880. A part of mycenologists believe that *sarapedo* refers to a characteristic feature of a particular type of land, while others consider it a place name.⁴ The majority of scholars find the tablet Er 880 to be the continuation of Er 312. According to the text Er 312+880, e-ke-ra₂-wo (who scholars believe to be the king of Pylos) owns te-me-no + ki-ti-me-na + sa-ra-pe-do pe-pu₂-te-me-no.⁵ Referring to Furumark, Lindgren notes that *sarapedo* is a technical term stemming from sa-ra of Linear A texts and can be synonymous with the Greek *τέμενος* that is, a plot in the possession of king and lavagetas.⁶ It should be noted that *sarapedo* can only be found twice in Linear B texts, while sa-ra₂, as mentioned, is the second most recurrent formative in Linear A texts.

As known, Linear A and B economic records have the same structure. In Linear B texts the most recurrent word used before the ideogram 120, which is common for all series of Class E, is pe-mo / pe-ma (σπέρμα),⁷ while in Linear A texts sa-ra₂ takes its position. Some scholars believe that the formula pe-mo GRA (120) or to-so-de pe-mo GRA must refer to the quantity of seed grain⁸ and was used as a measure of a plot size. It would be interesting to find out if sa-ra₂ 120 of Linear A texts can be described as having the same symbolic sense. The analysis revealed that in Linear A texts sa-ra₂ is preceded by various words: de-nu, ru-si-ka, u-mi-na-si, i-ku-

² Cosani C., Negri M., Testi minoici trascritti, Roma 1999, 297.

³ Fachetti G. M., Non-onomastic Elements in Linear A, Kadmos 38, 1999, 121-136, 122-124.

⁴ Diccionario Griego-Español. Anejo I. Diccionario micénico. I-II. Redactado por F. Aura Jorro, Bajo la dirección F. R. Adrados, Madrid, II-1993, 282.

⁵ Parousis M., Les listes des champs de Pylos et Hattusa et le régime foncier mycénien et hittite, Paris 1985, 30.

⁶ Lindgren M., The Interpretation of Personal Designations in Linear B. Methodical Problems, Colloquium Mycenaeanum, 81-86, 1979, 85.

⁷ This idea was first expressed proposed by E. L. Benett in his The Landholders of Pylos, American Journal of Archaeology, 1956, 119.

⁸ Benett E. L., 1956, 119; Parousis M., 1985, 44.

ri-na, a-du, ka-pa, ki-ri-ta.⁹ sa-ra₂ 120 is used independently before a list of different goods.

HT 90
i-ku-ri-na sa- ra₂ 120
20 ni **10** 608 **3** si-
ru-ma-ri-ta₂-120 **1** ni
1 622 **1** 304 **1**

On two occasions sa-ra₂ follows a summarizing formative (ku-ro) (HT 94a.3, 100.4). Besides, in the Mycenaean texts the pe-mo GRA (120) formula mainly is followed small figures, the largest being 42, or 94 in an incomplete version of the formula pe-ma 94.¹⁰ sa-ra₂ 120 is followed by quite big amounts (e. g. 976, 58, 40, 41...), which enables us suppose that in Linear A texts sa-ra₂ 120 did not indicate a plot size (see fig. 3).

HT 102
1. ka-pa- sa-ra₂ 120 **976**
2. 56-ni 574 **33**[
3. 100/102 574 **33** di-ri-na **10** ma
4. 321 **3** wi **10** i-ka **5**
5. ku-ro **1060** [

As Linear A and B economic records are similar in terms of structure, in order to find out the possible meaning of sa-ra₂ I attempted to rely on Linear B texts, which can be classed into the following groups:¹¹ 1. Lists of manpower and position holders, united by a human ideogram (Classes A, B), 2. The description of palace (goods) inventory including groups of cattle, plot statuses, (classes C, E, S, T), 3. The incomes and expenses of the palace. The latter group on its part can be divided into the following two types: a) manpower ration (Class F), which according to scholars, was sometimes given out in specified amounts in the form of a "salary"¹²; b) taxes and offerings to deities (Class U, Ma Series).

⁹ The interpretation of Linear A texts is presented taking into account the meanings of Linear B signs.

¹⁰ See Gordeziani L., DO-E-RO of Liner B Texts in the Context of the Social History of the Ancient World, Tbilisi 1999, 27-40 (*in Georgian*).

¹¹ For the classification of B Linear texts, I used the Pylian texts (E. L. Bennett, J.-P. Olivier, *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed. Part. I, Texts and Notes*, Roma 1973 and L. Gordeziani 1999).

¹² See Gordeziani L., 1999, 109-110.

I attempted to find out to which group of records we could assign Minoan texts containing sa-ra₂. It can be observed that they are similar to the B Linear records that deal with the incomes and expenses of palace. The Mycenaean texts referring to manpower ration or a “salary” issued by the palace normally consist of two or three components – mainly grains or some other products. Though sa-ra₂ most frequently precedes the account of economic goods, there is hardly any reference to a particular standard as sa-ra₂ can be followed by a ligature denoting various kinds of dishware (HT 32, HT 33, HT 103), or a human ideogram (see fig. 4).

HT 103

1. ka-pa []
2. 100/102 **234**
3. sa-ra₂ .100/102 **235**
- 4-5.]

As concerns taxes and offerings to deities, scholars identify two types of state tributes attested in the Mycenaean texts: taxes and labour obligation.¹³ There are cases when the records include terms that must be indicative of the type of obligation. S. Shelmerdine assumed that there must have been various systems of duties: ta-ra-si-ja / a-pu-do-si, o-pa, wo-ze-e.¹⁴ Presumably, any tax or offering was designated by do-so-mo / a-pu-do-si, which sometimes were substituted by o-pa. The term for labour obligation must have been wo-ze-e, which, according to Levan Gordeziani, could be removed after receiving a special deed ta-ra-si-ja.¹⁵ The quantitative ratios of various goods recorded in series PY Ma and KN Mc are stable and more or less alike, which prompts J. P. Olivier to speak about “the Mycenaean tax law”.¹⁶ He believes that each tax had its respective ratio, which, if multiplied by the indicated amount, would give the number of the population concerned.

We cannot say that the Minoan texts allow us to establish the system of state obligations. However, the records that include sa-ra₂ are closer to the Linear B texts describing taxes and offerings (e. g. Fg 253, Ma 120, Un 718).

Un 718

1. sa-ra-pe-da , po-se-da-o-ni , do-so-mo

¹³ See Gordeziani L., 1999, 98.

¹⁴ Shelmerdine C. W., *Industrial Activity at Pylos, Tractata Mycenaea*, 1987, 333-342, 337ff.

¹⁵ See Gordeziani L., 1999, 109.

¹⁶ Olivier J.-P., 1974, 23 ff.

2. o-wi-de-ta-i , do-so-mo , to-so , e-ke-ra₂-wo
3. do-se , GRA 4 VIN 3 BOS^m1
4. tu- ro₂ TURO₂ 10 ko-wo , *153 1
5. me-ti-to , V 3 TURO₂
6. *vacat*
7. o-da- a₂ , da-mo , GRA 2 VIN 2
8. OVIS^m 2 TURO₂ 5 a-re-ro , APERA V 2 *153 1
9. to-so-de , ra-wa-ke-ta , do-se,
10. OVIS^m 2 me-re-u-ro , FAR T 6
11. VIN S 2 o-da-a₂ , wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo , ka-ma
12. GRA T 6 VIN S 1 TURO₂ 5 me-ri[
13. *vacat* [] 1 V 1

The analysis undertaken revealed that in two cases sa-ra₂ follows a summarizing formative (ku-ro). In some Linear A texts sa-ra₂ can be found before or after an account of various goods, which is once again followed by a list of the same goods (e. g. HT 28b, HT 90). Besides, in two texts, sa-ra₂ is immediately followed by the numeral 20 (HT 93a, HT 11b). Especial attention should be paid to HT 11b text, where the combination sa-ra₂ 20 precedes an account, but the value of sa-ra₂ is not specified upon presenting the sum total. Consequently, the text can be understood as follows: 20 sa-ra₂ = 40 ka + 30ka + 50ka + 30ka + 30ka = 180 (ka) (see fig. 5).

HT 11b

1.] de-nu . sa-ra₂ **20**
2. 86 ka **40** ka **30**
3. ka **50** ru-79-na
4. ka **30** sa-qe-ri
5. ka **30** ku-ro
6. **180**

The above discussion may lead us to conclude that sa-ra₂ was a conventional measurement for taxes (or for duties in general), which was not limited to a particular tax and in various texts is applied to different goods and labour.

HT 95a

- 1. $\text{H} \times \times \bar{\text{I}} \cdot \Phi \text{H} \cdot \Psi \cdot \text{I} \bar{\text{H}}$
- 2. $2 \bar{\text{I}} \cdot \Psi :: \text{IL} \Delta \times \bar{\text{H}}$
- 3. $\times \times \text{III} \lambda \text{H} \text{H} \cdot \text{H} \bar{\text{H}}$
- 4. $\Phi : \text{IIII} \gamma \text{Y} \gg : \text{H} \text{H}$
- 5. $\text{H} \cdot \text{H} \Phi \text{III} \text{H} \text{H} \bar{\text{H}}$
- 6. $\text{III} \times \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$
- 7. $[\cdot] \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$
- 8. $\text{H} \times \times \bar{\text{I}} [] \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} :$
- 9. $\text{H} \cdot \text{H} [] - \oplus \text{H}$

Fig. 1

HT 90

- 1
- 2 =
- 3
- 4
- 5 vacat

Fig. 2

HT 102

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Fig. 3

HT 403

- 1 $\oplus \neq [\quad]$ Investigia
- 2 $\text{H} \circ = - \text{II}$
- 3 $\text{Y} \text{??} \cdot \text{??} \circ = - \text{III}$
- 4-5 $] \text{vacant}$

Fig. 4

HT 41b

- 1 $] \text{H} \text{??} :$
- 2 $\text{H} \oplus = - \oplus = -$
- 3 $\oplus = - \text{H} \text{??} \text{?}$
- 4 $\oplus = - \text{Y} \text{?} \cdot$
- 5 $\oplus = - \text{??} +$
- 6 $\circ = - = -$

Fig. 5

Maia Danelia (Tbilisi)

ZUR AKTUALISIERUNG DER KAUKASISCHEN THEMATIK VON APOLLONIOS RHODIOS BIS VALERIUS FLACCUS

Die Argonautensage wurde schon in der Antike immer wieder bearbeitet; auch Homer kannte sie bereits. Seither fand diese Sage großen Anklang in fast allen Gattungen der griechisch-römischen Literatur. In dieser Hinsicht ist vor allem die *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios zu nennen, der die Sage als Erster systematisch bearbeitet und in epischer Form dargelegt hat. In flavischer Zeit wurde dann ein wichtiges episches Werk über den Argonautenzug von Valerius Flaccus verfasst, der bei der Behandlung des Stoffes freilich die ganze vorausgehende griechisch-römische Literatur wie auch die alte mythologische Tradition berücksichtigt hat. Einige Forscher, die sich mit der Argonautenproblematik befassen, entdecken bei den Bearbeitungen der Argonautensage einige Gesetzmäßigkeiten aufgrund derer sie behaupten können, dass es verschiedene Versionen dieser Sage gibt. Ich stimme Herrn R. Gordesiani zu, nach dessen Meinung es sich hier vielmehr um unterschiedliche Interpretationen der Sage als um verschiedene Fassungen handelt.¹ In der griechischen Literatur wurden einzelne Stoffelemente dieser Sage bezüglich bestimmter historischer Interessen behandelt, jedoch verlor dieser Aspekt in der römischen Literatur seine Aktualität und galt als nebensächlich. So versucht z. B. Eumelos die Sage mit Korinth zu verknüpfen, und wohl auch deshalb hat Pindar besonderes Gewicht auf das Königtum des Battos, des Königs von Kyrene, gelegt, um die Parallelen zwischen Arkesilaos und seinem Vorfahren herauszustreichen, er war doch der Nachfolger der Mynier. Bei Apollonios wird der Argonautenzug nach Kolchis und die längere

¹ Gordesiani R., *Argonauten, Die Welt der griechischen Mythen*, Tbilisi 1999, 136 (*in georgischer Sprache*).

Heimfahrt der Mannschaft detailliert geschildert; Wie bekannt, ist das wissenschaftlich-ätiologische Interesse für die hellenistisch-alexandrinische Gelehrsamkeit charakteristisch. Die römischen Schriftsteller fanden die Argonautensage interessant vor allem im Hinblick auf historisch-geographische und kunstliterarische Aspekte. Der erste Aspekt war für die Römer besonders wichtig, da die Route der Argonautenfahrt in gewissem Maße mit der römischen Expansion nach Anatolien und Schwarzmeergebiet zusammentraf. In den die Argonautensage behandelnden griechischen Fassungen erhaltene historisch-geographische Informationen gewannen für die Römer ganz konkrete Bedeutung.

Für die Beurteilung des valerianischen Umgangs mit dem vorgegebenen Stoff stellte sich der Vergleich seines Werkes mit dem Apollonios Rhodios als unabdingbar. Wie gesagt, das Poem von Apollonios diente dem römischen Epiker als Vorbild, aber es sind auch viele wesentliche Unterschiede zwischen ihnen leicht erkennbar. Beide erzählen uns über den Argonautenzug nach Kolchis. Während Apollonios jedoch die Route als Gelehrter *poeta doctus* wiederzugeben versucht, sind bei Flaccus Akzentverschiebungen auf andere Themen zu vermerken. Die griechische Version ist bei Valerius Flaccus teilweise verändert, weniger hinsichtlich des Inhaltes, als vielmehr in der Abänderung der Motivationen der handelnden Personen. Die Transformation der traditionellen Motivationen und die Umgestaltung der einzelnen Episoden sind es, was für uns in erster Linie Valerius Flaccus' Poem originell und interessant macht.² So sieht z. B. die Entscheidung Iasons ganz anders aus, wenn er die gefährliche Seefahrt nach Kolchis plant. Valerius Flaccus übernimmt nicht das Antiherosbild von Apollonios, sondern formt die Iasongestalt grundlegend um. Als Ergebnis dieser Umgestaltung besitzt Iason als wesentliches Charaktermerkmal *virtus*. Streben nach Ruhm – von dieser Idee sind Iason und alle Argonauten besessen. Um seine herausragende Bedeutung zu verdeutlichen, fügt Valerius Flaccus in die Handlung sogar eine „neue Episode“ ein, die uns über den Krieg zwischen Aeetes und seinem Bruder Perses berichtet. Im Unterschied zu Apollonios ist auch Medeas Verhalten ganz anders motiviert, wenn sie dem Fremden Hilfe leistet. Ungeachtet dessen – das sei hier unterstrichen – dass zweifellos alles durch das Schicksal und die Götter vorausbestimmt ist, ist Medea

² Wacht M., Zur Motivierung der Handlung im Epos des Valerius, *Ratis omnia vincet*, Untersuchungen zu den *Argonautica* des Valerius Flaccus, Hildesheim, New York 1991, 101; Gigauri Ts., *Colchis in der römischen Literatur*, Tbilisi 1985, 49-79 (in georgischer Sprache).

trotzdem über das Unrecht des Vaters höchst empört. Auch die Absyrtusszene ist etwas anders dargestellt. Gemäß der Tradition lässt Medea den Geliebten ihren minderjährigen Bruder umbringen, bei Valerius ist er aber ein tapferer, grausamer Kämpfer, der der Schwester gnadenlose Vorwürfe macht und droht Iason umzubringen (8.270-9).

Mit diesem Aufsatz versuchen wir einen wichtigen Aspekt zu betrachten: Inwiefern ist bei Valerius Flaccus die kaukasische Thematik aktualisiert, durch welche Faktoren sind bei ihm die Erweiterung der kaukasischen Thematik und der mit dem Kaukasus verbundenen Informationen verursacht.

Im Unterschied zu Apollonios Rhodios interessiert sich Flaccus nicht nur für Ost Schwarzmeergebiet, sondern auch für Nordkaukasus. In den *Argonautica* des Valerius Flaccus gewinnt an großer Bedeutung der sogenannte Weltenplan *ordo rerum* Jupiters, den wir als seine Innovation betrachten können (1.531-560).³ Die Leitidee, die das Gesamtwerk des Valerius Flaccus durchzieht, ist nicht die Gewinnung des goldenen Vlieses, sondern der Argonautenzug selbst – der Beginn der Seefahrt, die ihrerseits die Möglichkeit zur Selbstbehauptung und der Kriegführung mit den verschiedenen Völkern eröffnet.

Gegenüber dem Apollonios Rhodios, der auf die Schilderungen der Kriegsgeschehnisse verzichtet, zeigt Valerius großes Interesse an der Kriegsthematik. Aus dem traditionellen Mythos übernimmt er nur die Nyktomachie auf der Insel Cyzicus und die mit Aeetes Auftrag verbundenen Ereignisse. Der größte Teil des fünften Buches (5.217-695) ist der Vorgeschichte des Krieges und das ganze sechste Buch den Kriegseignissen in Kolchis zwischen Aeetes und Perses selbst gewidmet (insgesamt 1238 Zeilen). Diese Episode, die wiederum als seine Innovation gilt, ist länger als die übrigen und von größter Bedeutung. Weder bei Apollonios noch bei anderen mythologischen Quellen finden sich hier von Spuren. Vermutlich könnte Valerius Flaccus von einer kleinen Andeutung bei Apollonios Rhodios inspiriert worden, wo Iason dem kolchischen König anbietet, als Gegenleistung für das Vlies, die Sauromaten zu unterwerfen (Ap. Rhod. 3.392-395). Bei Apollonios ist in dieser Hinsicht der Handlungsfaden nicht mehr weitergesponnen. Valerius Flaccus aber fand den Krieg zwischen den Brüdern Aeetes und Perses so anziehend, dass er ihn aufgegriffen, umgestaltet und in das Werk eingeführt hat.

³ Lefèvre E., Der *ordo rerum* in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, in: U. Eigler & E. Lefèvre, in Zsarb. mit G. Manuwald (edd.) *Ratis omnia vincet. Neue Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*, Zetemata 98, München 1998, 223-32.

Meiner Meinung nach gewinnen im Poem einige als Abschweifungen betrachtete Passagen an Bedeutung, die sich auf die Kriegsszenen beziehen und so künstlerisch in sie eingeflochten sind, dass sie ohne die Berücksichtigung der dem epischen Text charakteristischen Eigenschaften kaum zu verstehen sind.

a) Gesander und der Iazygerritus. Im sogenannten Skythenkatalog erwähnt Valerius Flaccus die Iazyger und verbindet sie mit dem Brauch, wonach sie langes Greisenalter durch freiwilligen Tod abkürzen (6.123-128, 282-314): Wenn der Mensch alt wird, die Waffen nicht mehr beherrschen kann und seine Kräfte nachlassen, tötet ihn sein Nachfolger mit dem Schwert. Damit verhindern beide das quälende Ende. Im Poem ist mit diesem Ritus die Geschichte über den kolchischen Priester Aquites verbunden, der sich um die Sicherheit seines Sohnes Cynrus bemüht und versucht, den Sohn seinem gefährlichen Los zu entziehen (6.296-300). Gesander tötet den Alten und befreit ihn so von seinem schändlichen Leben. Meiner Meinung nach könnte diesem Ereignis das aus dem sogenannten mythischen Jagdritual stammende Zerstückelungsmodell zugrunde liegen. Das Zerfleischen von Menschen war, bekanntlich, bei vielen skythischen Völkern verbreitet.

b) Die Zerspaltung des Ariasmenus. Ariasmenus, der auf dem Kampffeld mit einem Sichelwagen heranrückt, wird vom Dichter besonders gewürdigt und hervorgehoben. Die Art und Weise seines Todes zeigt Beziehungen zu dem s. g. „Sparagmos-Modell“. Die Nachricht über seine Zerspaltung folgt der Gesander-Aquites-Geschichte, was auch nicht zufällig sein dürfte, ihr vorausgeht aber noch die Zerfetzung des Argonauten Canthus, was für die Auslegung ebenfalls wichtig ist. Canthus ist wohl das Substitut für Iason, sein Tod dient als Ersatz für Iasons Tod – das Sterben oder Hinabgehen zu Hades eines Haupthelden bekanntlich gilt als beliebtes Thema im Epos. Meiner Ansicht nach handelt es sich bei dem oben beschriebenen Ereignis um den s. g. Gruppen-Sparagmos, wobei die Zerspaltung von Ariasmenus besonders hervorgehoben wird. Bestimmt hatte Valerius Kenntnis von diesem Brauch und verknüpft ihn mit den Skythen. Bekanntlich waren das Menschenopfer, Zerstückelung und Zerstreuen oder Begraben der Glieder eines Menschen auf der Wiese für die im Schwarzmeergebiet, im Norden des Kaukasus, auf dem Balkan, im westlichen Europa und im Nahen Osten wohnenden Völker bezeugt.⁴

⁴ Шилов Ю. А., Человеческие жертвоприношения в мифоритуалах Северного Причерноморья IV – I тыс. д. н. э., Жертвоприношение, Москва 2000.

c) Der Tod des Styrus. Die Geschichte von dem albanischen König Styrus, einem Freier, der Medea heiraten will, erinnert uns an ein mythisches Ritual der Herrschaftsgewinnung. Sein Tod ist im Poem besonders akzentuiert – er ertrinkt im Meer in der Nähe der Peuce-Insel, wo sich die aus Kolchis geflohenen Argonauten befinden.

Die Geschichten von Aquites, Ariasmenus, Canthus und Styrus sind so künstlerisch ins Poem hineingeflochten, dass sogar den geschulten Lesern ihre Bedeutung auf den ersten Blick verborgen bleibt und nicht begreifbar ist. Eins ist jedoch sicher – ohne Berücksichtigung des mythisch-rituellen Aspektes wäre es kaum möglich den Sinn der oben behandelten Passagen des Poems zu begreifen. Bei jedem Fall ist das Opfer vorherbestimmt und besonders ausgewählt: Die Opfer zeichnen sich gegenüber anderen Menschen entweder durch ihr Äußeres, Kraft, oder Herkunft aus (Aquites ist ein Kolcher, Ariasmenus – ein Skythe, Canthus – ein Grieche, Styrus – ein Albaner). Nach der Sühne stand das Opfer zur Verfügung der Götter. Das Opfern selbst begeht eine Gottheit bei allen vier erwähnten Fällen (Bellona, Athena, Iuno). Was aber das Unbegrabenbleiben der Leichname betrifft, so war das ursprünglich keine Bestrafung oder Sühne, sondern eine Urform der Bestattung, gemäss der die ewige Substanz – die Knochen – die Fähigkeit zur Wiedererstehung gewannen. Erst später wurde dieser Ritus desakralisiert und zu einer Form der Bestrafung. Wenn das Ritual den Herkunftsfaden und seine ehemalige Bedeutung verliert, ist es als Vandalenakt aufzufassen. Auch bei Valerius Flaccus sind diese Mytho-Rituale desakralisiert worden und tragen einen profanen Charakter.

Besonders bemerkenswert ist, dass uns Flaccus bei der Darstellung des Konfliktes höchst wichtige und interessante Informationen über die im Norden des Kaukasus und im Schwarzmeergebiet wohnenden Völkerschaften in einem sogenannten Skythenkatalog liefert, wo man neben verschiedenen repräsentativen Anführern auch viele geographische und ethnographische Angaben finden kann.

Die im Skythenkatalog angeführten Völker lassen sich in folgende Gruppen aufteilen: 1. Die Völker im Nordschwarzmeergebiet: Acesinische Truppen, Thyrsageten, Iazyger, Kimmerier, Satarcher, Sarmaten, Hilaeer; 2. Die im Nord- und Westschwarzmeergebiet hausenden Völker verschiedener Herkunft: Auchater, Arimasper, Batarner, Byssalter, Coealater, Coraller, Messier, Neurer; 3. Die Nordkaukasischen Völker: Alaner, Exomater, Toryner, Sinder, Heniocher; 4. Die Völker an der Kaspischen Meerküste: Kaspiaden, Hirkanier; 5. Die Völker asiatischer Herkunft: Gangarider, Dranger, Caeser, Mykeer; 6. Vermutlich von Valerius Flaccus erfundene Völker: Balloniter, Centorer, Choathrer. Die Erwähnung einer

Reihe von historisch bezeugten Völkern innerhalb des Katalogs konnte bei den Lesern des Valerius entsprechende Assoziationen hervorrufen. Dass er manche Völkerschaften selbst erfunden hat, bezeugt sein großes Interesse an der Kaukasusthematik. Mit der Erwähnung der Centorer und Choathrer und ihres Anführers Coastes greift Valerius gleichzeitig auf das Vlies- und Medeamotiv zurück, wobei, meines Erachtens der Name Coastes nicht zufällig gewählt wurde (κῶας "das Vlies"). Die zeitgeschichtlichen Anspielungen, die Valerius Flaccus mit der Darstellung der skythischen Völker verbindet, sind zu vage und allgemeiner Natur, um die Kämpfe in Kolchis mit den Taten der flavischen Dynastie typologisch zu verknüpfen. Besonders hervorgehoben wurden die Sarmaten (6.162. 231-238), die in flavischer Zeit aufs neue in Rom eindringen. Einen solchen historischen Bezug zeigen auch die Iazyger und die Bisalter, die das Feldzeichen der *legio XII fulminata* führen, der Legion die im jüdischen Krieg vor Jerusalem unter der Leitung Vespassians und später des Titus stand.⁵

Neben den verschiedenen Völkerschaften figurieren in den *Argonautica* des Valerius Flaccus viele Gestalten, die mit dem Kaukasus verbunden sind, wobei die meisten in der Tradition gut bekannt sind. Es muss aber unterstrichen werden, dass auch bei der Darstellung dieser handelnden Personen Valerius Flaccus von der Tradition abgewichen ist und sie uns etwas anders präsentiert. Mit "etwa anders" meinen wir die Eigenschaften, die diese Gestalten meistens von denen des Apollonios Rhodios unterscheidet. Neben den bekannten sind in den *Argonautica* neue handelnde Personen anzutreffen, die zum ersten Mal bei Valerius Flaccus bezeugt sind. Im Unterschied zu Apollonios Rhodios sind bei ihm etwa 110 erwähnt, von denen 79 am Konflikt des Bruderzwistes beteiligt sind.

Weshalb aber hat Valerius Flaccus das Kriegsgeschehen in die *Argonautica* eingefügt und so viele unbekannte am Kampf beteiligte Gestalten erfunden? Man kann behaupten, dass er mit der Intensivierung der Kriegsthematik sein Epos für sein zeitgenössisches Publikum aktuell gemacht hat. Dies wurde von zwei Faktoren verursacht: 1. von der historischen Wirklichkeit und 2. von dem ständig wachsenden Interesse am Kaukasus. Durch die Einbettung des Kriegsgeschehens in die

⁵ Schenk P., Studien zur poetischen Kunst des Valerius Flaccus: Beobachtungen zur Ausgestaltung des Kriegsthemas in den *Argonautica*, C. H. Beck Verlag, München 1999.

Handlung sind bei Flaccus märchenhafte Episoden reduziert und die Kaukasusthematik weitergesponnen worden.

Da wir den kolchisch-skythischen Konflikt in unserem anderen Aufsatz behandelt haben,⁶ bietet sich hier die Gelegenheit die Episode der Befreiung des Prometheus durch Hercules näher zu betrachten, die einen weiteren wichtigen Ansatzpunkt für unsere Forschungsfrage darstellt. Natürlich könnte Valerius Flaccus auch in diesem Fall von Apollonios Rhodios inspiriert worden, allerdings kommen auch wesentliche Abweichungen zutage.

Bei Apollonios Rhodios wird berichtet, wie die Argonauten in die Phasismündung hineinfahren, am Kaukasus vorbeifahren, den zu Prometheus fliegenden Adler sehen, das Stöhnen des Helden hören und nach einer Weile wieder den zurückfliegenden bluttriefenden Adler bestaunen (Ap. Rhod. 2.1246-1259). Wahrscheinlich lässt sich Flaccus von Apollonios beeinflussen, wenn er die Geschichte von Prometheus mit dem Argonautenzug verknüpft, im Unterschied zur griechischen Version aber wird bei ihm nicht nur das Plagen des Prometheus, sondern auch seine Befreiung durch Hercules detailliert geschildert. Mit dieser Geschichte wird die Herkunft des Titanen und der kaukasischen Völker überhaupt verkündet und noch einmal, wie auch im Fall der Hesione, Hercules' Bedeutung für den Argonautenzug unterstrichen, da Hercules durch die Befreiung des Prometheus eine sozusagen weltgeschichtliche Mission erfüllt. Dazu bemerkt H. J. Tschiedel: "Der an den Felsen gekettete und vom Adler zerfleischte Kulturstifter bedeutet für eine Welt, die dabei ist, sich öffnen und einer neuen Ära entgegenzugehen, ein Ärgernis. Die Strafe und das Leiden dessen, der die Menschen fördern, ihr Dasein verschönern wollte, wird ganz und gar unerträglich dort, wo die Ausdehnung kultivierter und sittlich höherer Lebensart gleichsam zum Programm erhoben ist".⁷

Hinsichtlich der Behandlung der Argonautensage weisen die *Argonautica* des Valerius Flaccus unbestreitbar einen eigenständigen Ansatz auf. In diesem Aufsatz sollte die Beziehungen des römischen Dichters zu der kaukasischen Thematik zu bestimmen. Die Hauptergebnisse der Studie werden folgendermaßen formuliert:

1. Valerius Flaccus einerseits berücksichtigt alte Traditionen und erweist sich andererseits als Novator. Die traditionelle Information äußert

⁶ Danelia M., Colchian-Scythian War in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 12, Tbilisi 2009, 129-140.

⁷ Tschiedel H. J., Prometheus und die Argonauten, Ratis omnia vincet. Untersuchungen zu den *Argonautica* des Valerius Flaccus, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1991, 302 ff.

sich nicht nur im Verhältnis zu den *Argonautika* von Apollonios Rhodios, sondern auch im Vergleich sowohl mit griechischer als auch mit der römischen dichterischen und mythologischen Überlieferung. Auf die innovative Behandlung der Sage verweisen: a) Die Erweiterung und Umgestaltung von traditionellen Episoden; b) Die auffällige Vielfältigkeit der Charakterdarstellungen der Hauptpersonen und die Umgestaltung des Iason-Bildes von Antiheros zu Heros.

Die innovativen Ansätze sind besonders ersichtlich an der Erweiterung von mit dem Kaukasus verbundenen Episoden und Motiven sowie an der Erfindung von neuen quasi-mythologischen Figuren, welche der Dichter unter Verwendung vielfältiger Prinzipien vollzogen hat:

a) Die Erweiterung von mit dem Kaukasus verbundenen Episoden:

Durch die Einfügung des Aeetes-Perses Konfliktes hat Valerius Flaccus bewusst oder unbewusst die mit dem Kaukasus verbundenen Wirklichkeiten, die Beziehungen zwischen den kaukasischen Völkern und ihre Bräuche sehr ausreichend gezeigt, und zwar sowohl was den Kaukasus als auch die einzelnen Länder dieser Region angeht. Bei ihm sind einerseits Nordschwarzmeergebiet (Skythien, Hyrkanien, Kimmerien, Maeotis) und andererseits Süd- und Ostschwarzmeergebiet dargestellt (Kolchis, Albanien, Amazonien, hierzu sind noch die sieben Länder zu erwähnen, aus denen die Verbündeten Aeetes stammen, deren Abstammung leider der Dichter im Poem nicht präzisiert);

b) Das Exponieren der Kaukasier und seiner benachbarten Völker:

Flaccus lässt am Konflikt zwischen Aeetes und Perses viele verschiedene Anführer und Völker teilnehmen (Alanen, Heniocher, Bisalten, Kimmerier, Gangariden, Hyrkanier, Coelaleten, Sinder, Coraller, Batarner, Drakanter, Kaspiaden, Neurer, Iazyger, Myceer, Caeseer, Arimasper, Auchaten, Thyrsageten, Exomaten, Toriner, Satarcher, Centoren, Choathrer, Balloniter, Maesier, Sarmaten, Sauromaten, Gelonen, Hiberier), von denen der größte Teil in dem sogenannten Skythenkatalog exponiert ist. Flaccus ist der erste Dichter, der die meisten der oben aufgezählten Völker mit der Argonautensage verknüpft und über sie sogar ethnographische Angaben übergibt, die er wahrscheinlich von den hellenistischen oder posthellenistischen geographischen oder historischen Quellen (Strabo, Plinius) entlehnt hat. Einige Völker hat Valerius aus poetischen Gründen selbst erdichtet (Centoren, Choathrer);

c) Die Erfindung der neuen Figuren, die am kolchischen Konflikt beteiligt sind: von ungefähr 150 handelnden Personen sind 51 Argonauten, die Übrigen – Kaukasier oder mit dem Kaukasus verbundene

Figuren, von denen 85 für die vorvalerianische Tradition unbekannt sind, weshalb wir vermuten, dass sie Valerius selbst erfunden hat.

2. Es ist besonders interessant, die Prinzipien der Namenableitungen dieser erdachten Figuren zu betrachten. Valerius versucht fast immer die Personen verschiedener Herkunft auch auf der linguistischen Ebene voneinander zu unterscheiden. Außer der aus der Tradition entlehnten Namen (Phrixus, Zetes) erfindet er auch eigene, die wir schon oben näher betrachtet haben.

3. Die Erweiterung von mit dem Kaukasus verbundener Information wird bei Valerius Flaccus durch Faktoren verursacht, von denen folgende die wichtigsten sind:

a) **Historische Wirklichkeit.** Die Grenzen des Römischen Reiches wurden zu Valerius Flaccus' Zeiten weit ausgedehnt und das Schwarzmeergebiet geriet ins Interessenfeld des Reiches. Das Wiederbeleben des vorher viel behandelten traditionellen Mythos von der Argonautensage spiegelt einerseits das Bestreben der Römer nach entlegenen Gebieten wider und andererseits das nicht übersehbare Interesse von seiner Zeitgenossen an neu eroberten Ländern. Die meisten der von Valerius Flaccus erwähnten Völker und Figuren sind in den griechischen Versionen der Argonautensage nicht bezeugt und das wäre auch nicht möglich, weil sie unter der schöpferischen Einbildungskraft des römischen Dichters entstanden sind. Damit vollzieht Valerius Flaccus in gewisser Hinsicht eine Synthese der aus von Apollonios Rhodios und aus verschiedenen griechischen Quellen entlehnten Angaben und der realen vorhandenen Kenntnis, die die Römer nach der römischen Expansion nach Osten erlangten, um seiner Erzählung sozusagen eine quasi-historische Ausstrahlung abzugewinnen. Entsprechend bezeugt Valerius Flaccus differenzierte Beziehungen zu der geographischen und narrativen Information; während er realistisch treffend die Topographie des Kaukasus beschreibt, handelt er ganz eigenwillig im narrativen Bereich, indem er neue Episoden und Figuren schafft und in die Handlung einfügt;

b) **Das wachsende Interesse am Kaukasus.** Eine der wichtigsten strategischen Aufgaben Roms bestand darin, sich einerseits die neuen Handelsrouten und Kommunikationswege anzueignen und andererseits diese Gebiete und Pässe zu kontrollieren, um Überfälle der außerhalb des Reiches und *Pax Romana* hausenden nomadischen Völker zu verhindern und damit den Römern und den mit dem Reich befreundeten Völkern Sicherheit zu gewährleisten. Dementsprechend hätte man annehmen können, dass die von Valerius Flaccus überlieferte Situation tatsächlich den in Kaukasien vorhandenen Verhältnissen entspräche. Hinsichtlich der

historischen Zuverlässigkeit hätte er einige Ungenauigkeiten begehen können, wenn er die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen einigen Völkern darstellt, die kaum feindlich zueinander eingestellt waren, und sich damit von der historischen Zuverlässigkeit entfernt, aber er schildert das adäquate Abbild eines Sachverhaltes in Kaukasien – die unruhige Seele der Kaukasier und ständig existierende Bedrohung durch Instabilität;

c) Flaccus' Wille, bei der epischen Behandlung des traditionellen Mythos hinsichtlich seiner Vorgänger gleichzeitig Nachfolger und Novator zu sein. Während er einerseits in seinem Werk bei der Behandlung einiger Episoden und Passagen Homer, Apollonios Rhodios und Vergil rezipiert, versucht er andererseits wie möglichst eigenständig zu sein. Es ist unumstritten, dass der römische Epiker sowohl in semantischer wie auch in ästhetischer Hinsicht als innovativer Dichter zu bezeichnen ist und dass er dank seiner erstaunlichen Fähigkeit zur eigenständigen Aneignung und Umgestaltung des Argonautenmythos die kaukasischen Episoden der Sage durch innovative Umsetzungen und Erfindungen wesentlich bereichert hat.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

GREEK MANI AND GEORGIAN SVANETI
(Typological Similarities)

A lot has been written and said about centuries-long multifaceted relations between Georgia and Greece since ancient times. However, there are so many various aspects of links between the two countries and the roots of these aspects are so deep and far-reaching, that it is not easy to exhaust what you have to speak and think about.

This article is devoted precisely to such kind of similarities and links. Mani, a region sharply different in many respects from other regions of modern Greece, was known until recently only to a very narrow circle of Georgian Hellenists. However, an increasing number of Georgians are speaking about it now mostly because of its strange similarity with the Georgian province of Svaneti. I will make an attempt in this article to analyse two of the similarities between Mani and Svaneti.

How do modern Greeks view Mani? They regard it as one of the most ancient regions of Greece, which is, at the same time, different from other regions. Rigid climate and nature, peculiar churches and mural paintings, towers that have no analogue in Greece, traditions not characteristic of other Greek regions, and people, who are known for their rigid character that is sometimes merciless, make the region different from other regions. I think it is no mistake to say that we, Georgians, would describe Svaneti approximately in the same manner.

It is noteworthy that Mr Avtandil Mikaberidze, the founder of the Georgian Institute in Athens, was the first to start disseminating ideas on the interrelations of Mani and Svaneti. It is remarkable that my colleague Ani Udzilauri recently started research on Mani-Svaneti ties. Her Master Thesis is devoted to links between Mani and Svaneti and she has already

found a number of typological similarities between Svan and Maniot towers and settlements, public order, blood feud, beliefs and rituals linked to death, burial, mourning, the world of the deceased, and the next world.¹

I suppose research on the wedding ritual widespread in Mani and Svaneti would be also interesting. In this article, I touch on one detail linked to marriage, which I think is important – a kind of bigamy.

Mani has a number of traditions not found in any other Greek region. It is noteworthy that some exclusive traditions of Maniots can be found in Svaneti, but not in other Georgian regions. A good example of the aforementioned is the institution of bigamy or so-called "co-matrimony" (θεσμός της σύγκριας), a term I will consider again below.

According to Greek ethnologists, the so-called institution of σύγκριας is one of the strangest traditions that is, at the same time, extremely interesting from legal and social viewpoints. It was practiced for many centuries and was alive even at the start of the XX century.²

The word σύγκρια has different meanings in different regions of Greece. For example, on the islands, σύγκρια is the wife of an unfaithful husband (η μοιχευομένη σύζυγος) and the unfaithful husband is ironically referred to as σύγκριος. In other Greek regions, σύγκριες means "sisters-in-law" (συννυφάδες).

The etymology of the word σύγκρια is also interesting. Greek linguists have different opinions in this regard. According to A. B. Daskalakis, the word σύγκρια (συγκορία, συγκορά, σύγκρια) consists of two parts - prefix συν- ("with, together with") and the noun κορία/κορά ("woman, lady, wife, spouse"). So σύγκρια can be translated as "co-spouses".

According to the philologist and historian Anargyros Koutsilieris, σύγκρια seems to be derived from σύγκρια, with a semivowel before and after ρ.

Lawyer St. Petropoulakos offers yet another etymology. He believes that σύγγρια is the correct form, not σύγκρια and the former consists of two parts: συν- ("with, together with") and γριά ("old woman"). A Maniot man would never refer to his wife as woman, wife, spouse, or particularly lady. He used to call her "my old woman" irrespective of her age.

¹ Cf.: Udzilauri A., Ψηφίδες από τη Μάνη και ψηφίδες από το Σβάνετι που ψάχνουν να ενωθούν, Επιβλέποντες της μεταπτυχιακής εργασίας: Καθηγητής Μηνάς Αλεξιάδης και Λέκτορας Γιώργος Θανόπουλος (Manuscript).

² For details of the aforementioned tradition cf.: Δασκαλάκης Απόστολος Β., Ο Θεσμός της Σύγκριας εις την Μάνην, Αθήνα 1974.

My personal opinion is close to the first version and I believe that *σὺγκριᾶ* is to be translated as "co-spouse".

The word *σὺγκριᾶ* had two meanings in Mani. First, the second wife of a Maniot would use it to refer to the deceased first wife of her husband. Although sisters-in-law (*συννυφάδες*) usually do not have good relations with each other even today, the second wife of a Maniot was usually very respectful to the memory of her husband's first wife, establishing very close relations with the family and children of the deceased woman.

The second use of *σὺγκριᾶ* is quite different. It reflects an ancient tradition that must be traced many centuries back in the past. In this case, the word must be translated as "co-spouse". A young Maniot from a wealthy aristocratic family of Niklianos' had the right to marry another woman if his first wife gave birth only to daughters.

Of course, there were no traditions that would prohibit a childless or sonless Maniot to marry another woman, but the tradition was effectively restricted for the use by the economically more powerful Niklianos' layer and was rare in the lower strata of Maniots called *φαμέγιος*. Researchers suspect that in this case, *σὺγκριᾶ* was simply a disguise of marital unfaithfulness.

Researchers have two explanations for this double standard. The ancient ancestral tradition was of special importance for both the social stratum of Niklianos' and the socio-political purpose of survival of ordinary Maniots. The strength and political power of every family depended on the number of sons and the reduction of their number was tantamount to the extinction of the ancestry or the so-called *πατριᾶ*.³ As regards the remaining strata of Maniots - *φαμέγιος* - the number of sons was not politically so important for them and that was not their purpose either, as a big number of sons would create problems in dividing a small property.

It should also be said that the young women, who became a "co-spouse" and agreed to a role that was to a certain extent humiliating, was usually from the stratum of *φαμέγιος*. By entering a wealthy and powerful family, she could ensure a higher social status and well-being of her children. "Co-spouses" were usually found in families that remained without children for a long time and they were much rarer in families that had only daughters.

³ *Πατριᾶ* is a family uniting blood relatives in a broad sense. "Ancestry" can be used as an equivalent.

The Maniots' tradition of "co-matrimony", which, as researchers argue, is contrary to Greek traditions and the Christian faith of Maniots, becomes understandable if we take into account the geographic, historical, and social peculiarities of Mani. It was mostly a highly hierarchic belligerent and militant society that constantly fought with weapons in their hands to protect their freedom. According to Greek researchers, it is natural for such a militant society, which constantly had to be vigilant, live in houses with gun-ports, and search for refuge in the inaccessible peaks of Taygetus, a society with no governmental organisation and power, to create its own traditions and customs, which were gradually transformed into unwritten laws.

It is noteworthy that this tradition, which is so unacceptable to the Christian faith, could also be found in Christian Svaneti. Here is a quotation of Georgian scholar Besarion Nizharadze: "I would like to mention a rare case here: if a man had no children with his wife or had only daughters, he could take another wife, but only if his wife and her parents allowed him to do so. Although the man kept his first wife at home, from the day he married a second wife, there would be no matrimonial relations between them. I deem it necessary to add that marrying a second wife was very rare. The main reason for a Svan to marry a second wife, while his first wife was alive, was the Svan's desire to protect his family from extinction, which was a major misfortune for Svans. A man could even marry his brother's widow".⁴

In this article, I would also like to consider one interesting problem linked to Mani that has remained without attention of scientists up to now. It would seem that the family names of Maniots do not differ from the names in other Greek regions.⁵ Maniots' family names had no specific ending before 1600. This is particularly true of genuine family names, not the so-called patronymics.

The most widespread ending of family names in Mani is -άκης (later -άκος), which comes from Byzantine -άκιος (E. g. Σταματάκος, Λεωτσάκος, Πουλικάκος etc.). It is noteworthy that later, Maniots changed the ending -άκης into -άκος, which was not accidental. This was a way to separate themselves from other Greek regions, where the ending -άκης became widespread. This means that those with names ending in -άκης, would

⁴ Nizharadze B., *Free Svan*, in: *Historic-Ethnographic Studies*, Tbilisi University Publishers, Tbilisi 1962, 111 (*in Georgian*).

⁵ For Maniot family names cf.: Κυριάκος Δ. Κάσσης, *Μοιρολόγια της Μέσα Μάνης Α'*, Αθήνα 1979.

change the ending to -άκος and this used to happen even before 1960. For example, Μιχαλόλιας became Μιχαλολιάκος in 1930, but reverted to the old ending in 1960. There were cases, when the names of members of one family had different endings, for example: Λεοντακιανάκης and Λεοντακιανάκος.

Here is a list of the endings of the family names found in Mani:

1. **-έας** is found only in Mani from 1800 (Messenian Mani). For example: Αχειλαρέας (αυτός πούχει μεγάλη χείλη), Κοιλαρέας, Παδαρέας, Μυταρέας, Καβλέας, Χορταρέας, Χρηστέας, Χριστοδουλέας, Σαραντέας, Βαχαβιολέας, Κουρέας, Αρκουδέας, Κατσουλέας, and so forth.
2. **-όγιαννης** points to its origin from Inner Mani. For example: Φραγκόγιαννης, Βαβουλόγιαννης, Βιτσιλόγιαννης, Γιωργουλόγιαννης, Λυκόγιαννης, Αγριόγιαννης, Λιόγιαννης, Ψουρόγιαννης, Κλεφτόγιαννης, Καλογερόγιαννης, and so forth.
3. **-όλιας** is a purely Maniot ending. For example: Μπουρόλιας, Πετρόλιας, Μιχαλόλιας, and so forth.
4. **-όδημας** is found in some Maniot family names. For example: Γιαννακόδημας, Χουλόδημας, Παπαδόδημας, and so forth.
5. **-όγγονας** is also purely Maniot: For example: Παπαδόγγονας, Δημαρόγγονας, Λιακόγγονας, and so forth.
6. **-έλος** is found in some Maniot names. For example: Ταυραντζέλος, Μπαθρέλος, Καπαρέλος, Κατσιβαρδέλος, and so forth.
7. **-άρος**. For example: Καλονάρος (Καλονιοί), Λαουνάρος, Κατσικάρος, Τσιμπιδάρος, Καπερνάρος, Τορνάρος, Σκανταλάρος, Αντώναρος, Κουτριγάρος, Καναβάρος, Κοντράρος, and so forth.
8. **-ούρος**. For example: Κουμουνδούρος, Μουσούρος, Γιαννακούρος και Φατούρος, Φερεντούρος, Πατσούρος, and so forth.
9. **-ούτσος**. For example: Μαυρούτσος, Καρλούτσος, and so forth.
10. **-άτσος**. For example: Κουβάτσος, and so forth.
11. **-ώτσος**. For example: Κοτρώτσος, Βρώτσος, and so forth.
12. **-όννος**. For example: Μπουφόννος, Τσατσαρόννος, and so forth.
13. **-ούζος**. For example: Κωσταντούζος, Αραούζος, and so forth.
14. There are Italian-style family names. For example: Κοβορίνος, Μπαλίνης, Κάσσης, Δεκούλος, Αλετουράνος, Μονέδας, Μαντούβαλος, Ρίτσος, Καντήρος, Ρόζος, Βεντικός, Μπουρικός, Σάσσαρης, Μαγγιόρος, Μπαλιτσάρης, Τσαπατσάρης, Βαραμέντης, Δραγουμάνος, Ντουρέκας, Μέντισης (=Γιατράκης), and so forth.
15. The following family names are of foreign origin: Κοβορίνος, Μπαλίνης, Κάσσης, Δεκούλος, Αλετουράνος, Μονέδας,

Μαντούβαλος, Ρίτσος, Καντήρος, Ρόζος, Βεντικός, Μπουρικός, Σάσσαρης, Μαγγιτόρος, Μπαλιτσάρης, Τσαπατσάρης, Βαραμέντης, Δραγουμάνος, Ντουρέκας, Μέντισης (=Γιατράκης), and so forth.

16. The following names are believed to be Byzantine: Κοσμάς, Πόθος, Πάτρος (Πάτρων), Μόφορης, Δεμέστιχας, Γερακάρης, Μεσιόκλης, Λυμπέρης, Παντελέος, Καπηλωρύχος, and so forth.
17. **-αίος**. For example: Κουτσιλαίος, Κοτιλαίος, Γιαμπαίος, and so forth.
18. **-όπουλος** (patronymics). For example: Γεωργόπουλος, Μιχαλόπουλος, Δικαίοπουλος, and so forth.⁶

One more peculiarity of Maniots is especially interesting for us. They have official family names and in addition, they are called by each other in a different way using, let's say, an Italian-style ending **-ιάνος** (**-ιάνοι** in plural, pronounced as [-iani]), which denotes the unity of blood relatives (γένος). For example:

Μιχαλίτης, το μέλος της οικογένειας: Μιχαλιτσιάνος, Μιχαλιτσιάνοι [Mikhalitsis, the member of the family: Mikhalitsianos, Mikhalitsiani];

Δρακουλάκος, το μέλος της οικογένειας: Δρακουλιάνος, Δρακουλιάνοι [Drakoulakos, the member of the family: Drakoulianos, Drakouliani];

Λεφατζής, το μέλος της οικογένειας: Λεφαγγιάνος, Λεφαγγιάνοι [Lephadzis, the member of the family: Lephagianos, Lephagiani];

Κάσσης, το μέλος της οικογένειας: Καχιάνος, Καχιάνοι [Kassis, the member of the family: Kakhianos, Kakhiani];⁷

Μπράτης, το μέλος της οικογένειας: Μπραϊτιάνος, Μπραϊτιάνοι [Bratis, the member of the family: Braitianos, Braitiani];

Λιόπουλος, το μέλος της οικογένειας: Λιοπουλιάνος, Λιοπουλιάνοι [Lioroulos, the member of the family: Lioroulianos, Liorouliani].

Thus, all Maniots, irrespective of the ending of their official family names, call each other differently, using the word (adjective) ending on **-ιάνος/-ιάνοι** [-ianos/-iani], which denotes belonging to this or that family.

The names of settlements linked to specific families usually end in **-ιάνικα**. For example: Κριελιάνικα, Σκαφιδιάνικα, Μερμηγκιάνικα. According to one opinion, such endings found in some other Greek regions point to the fact that people originating from Mani live there.

⁶ The name Βουδικλάρης does not belong to any of the categories, but is also a Maniot name.

⁷ Similarity with Georgian family name Kakhiani is obvious.

I would like to stress again that Maniots are referred to with the words (adjectives) ending in *-ίανος* only in Mani proper, not in other Greek regions. I have even heard from one Maniot that they differ from other Greeks in that they refer to each other in a manner different from other Greeks, which confirms that the ending *-ίανος*, *-ίανοι* [*-ianos*, *-iani*] is for domestic use in Mani.

The similarity between the Maniot ending with the ending of Svan family names - *-ian-* - is quite obvious and can easily be seen. However, to look into the problem deeper, it is necessary to take into account materials from other languages. It should be born in mind that a similar suffix is widespread in Italy and also in neighbouring Armenia.

According to Georgian researchers, the ending *-ian-* denoted in Georgian provenance from someone. Later, its meaning broadened and it is now added to a lot of names to denote possession of something (ცოლი-ო [*tsoli-i*] "wife" - ცოლი-იანი-ო [*tsoli-ian-i*] "married", თავი-ო [*thavi-*] "head" - თავი-იანი-ო [*thav-ian-i*] "clever", წვერი-ო [*tsveri-i*] "beard" - წვერი-იანი-ო [*tsver-ian-i*] "bearded", ნაბად-ო [*nabad-i*] "felt cloak" - ნაბად-იანი-ო [*nabd-ian-i*] "wearing felt cloak", and so forth). The initial meaning of *-ian-* can be found in family names: დადებქელიანი [*Dadeshkel-ian-i*], დადიანი [*Dad-ian-i*], კახიანი [*Kakh-ian-i*], კვიციანი [*Kvits-ian-i*], ჟორჯოლიანი [*Jhorjhol-ian-i*], ასათიანი [*Asath-ian-i*], გორდეზიანი [*Gordez-ian-i*]. Such names are now mostly widespread in Svaneti and partially in another region of Georgia, in Racha-Lechkhumi. Family names ending in *-ia* widespread in Samegrelo and Abkhazia have the same suffix, but without *n*. For example: კობალია [*Kobal-ia*], კეცბაია [*Ketsba-ia*], and so forth.⁸ This was substantiated in the studies by Z. Kvitsiani, Z. Chumburidze, and R. Topchishvili.

Incidentally, the aforementioned is linked to the Greek world and specifically, Greek derivation of names of provenance, the so-called *nomina gentilia* or εθνικά ονόματα. Greek has the following suffixes to derive names: *-ανός*, *-ανή* (< Ancient Greek), *-ιανός*, *-ιανή* (< ι of the stem + *-ανός*). For example, Αφρικανός, Αφρικανή, Βενετσιάνος, Βενετσιάνα and so forth. Interestingly, the suffix *-αν(ο)/-ην(ο)-* is linked to Georgian -

⁸ Topchishvili R., *Ethnology and History of Names*, Universali, Tbilisi 2010, 213-229 (in Georgian); Kvitsiani Z., *Kvitsiani Family* (Manuscript in Georgian).

an, which can be traced back to the common Kartvelian level (Megr.-Chan. *-a(n)*, Svan. *-an*), as substantiated by Rismag Gordeziani.⁹

It should also be mentioned that the connection or similarity between the suffix *-iav-* spread in Mani with the ending in Svan names gives rise to a number of questions. For example, there is one thought-provoking circumstance: "The nominative case has no morphological sign in the Svan language. It is an unmarked member of the opposition".¹⁰ However, scientific debate on the ending of the nominative case in the Svan language with the participation of such scholars as A. Shanidze, V. Topuria, T. Sharashenidze, G. Klimov, I. Chantladze, M. Kaldani, and Z. Chumburidze is not relevant here. The only thing that needs to be said is that the vowel *-i* is reconstructed as the ending of the nominative case both in singular and plural in all three Kartvelian languages. In different cases, it underwent different changes. It is also known that in Kartvelian languages, this case ending is linked to a pronoun.¹¹

Given the aforementioned questions and circumstances, a deep study of the connection between the Maniots "domestic names" (words denoting the origin, belonging to the family) and Svan family name is still to be done in the future.

What can be said as a conclusion on the similarities and connections between Maniots and Svans? Everything can be easily explained as a typological similarity of the two regions caused by almost identical natural conditions and similar social and cultural factors that have led to the similar paths of historical and cultural development. To support my statement, I would like to quote an excerpt from Ani Udzilauri's work: "Both Greek Mani and Georgian Svaneti are closed patriarchal societies based on the existence of **tribes** and **communities** and reigned by a strict social hierarchy. Due to historic, geographic, and social conditions, specific laws of **traditional justice** developed in both Mani and Svaneti. In both regions, community councils and councils of elders supervised the implementation of the law. It is known that the two regions have common traditions like blood feud (vendeta), burial rituals, mourning songs, establishment of relations through sworn brotherhood, and child

⁹ Gordeziani R., Pre-Greek and Kartvelian, Tbilisi University Publishers, Tbilisi 1985, 112 (*in Georgian*); Gordeziani R., Mediterranean-Kartvelica. Mediterranean-Georgian Links, II, Pre-Greek, Publishing Programme Logos, Tbilisi 2007, 64-65 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁰ Chumburidze Z., The Svan Language (Grammatical Survey, Texts, Glossary), Petiti Publishers, Tbilisi 2007, 85 (*In Georgian*).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

adoption. In addition, both regions are famous for their numerous dwelling towers¹²

Ani Udzilauri specially notes that her study did not aim at researching genetic connections between the two peoples, which is quite understandable, acceptable, and logical. However, when similarities are so comprehensive and systemic, how can we speak about typological similarities alone? Why can we not think that these connections are more far-fetched and deep? Is it possible to consider similarities between Mani and Svaneti not only in the context of typological similarities, but also in the context of Greek-Georgian historic relations? These are questions that are to be answered in the future.

It is particularly noteworthy that together with the concrete instances of typological similarities that have already been found, interesting materials could also be discovered in the fields of linguistics, church architecture, mural paintings, marriage, traditions of celebrating Christian holidays, ritual dances, and so forth.

I think it is necessary to conduct an interdisciplinary study of the similarities with active involvement of Georgian and Greek scholars working in various fields. Special attention should be given to the investigation of every link in the Greek and Georgian anthropological contexts. It is necessary to see what the two extremely peculiar regions have in common in linguistics, architecture, art, music, ethnography or mentality and to what extent the common features are present in other Greek and Georgian regions. In other words, it is necessary to unveil what draws Mani and Svaneti closer on the one hand and what makes them different from other Greek and Georgian regions on the other.

¹² Udzilauri A., *Op. cit.*, Conclusions.

Μαρία Δημάση, Ιλίνα Μανελίδου (Κομοτηνή)

**ΛΟΓΟΤΕΧΝΙΚΕΣ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΑΚΙ ΤΣΕΡΕΤΕΛΙ
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΟΣ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ.
ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΑΝΑΦΟΡΙΚΟ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟ ΩΣ ΣΧΟΛΙΟ
ΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΗ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ
ΤΣΕΡΕΤΕΛΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΑ ΕΛΥΤΗ**

Α. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

1. Λογοτεχνία, μετάφραση και διαπολιτισμικός διάλογος.

Η λογοτεχνία, συνιστώντας καινοτομική σχέση της γλώσσας με τον κόσμο, αποτελεί μέρος της κάθε κουλτούρας. Το λογοτεχνικό έργο είναι φορέας πολιτισμικών αξιών. Με τη γνωστική, τη συγκινησιακή και την παρωθητική του λειτουργία - δύναμη συμβάλλει στη διαμόρφωση των στάσεων των αναγνωστών. Η λογοτεχνία μπορεί να υπηρετήσει την καλλιέργεια διαπολιτισμικής συνείδησης με τη συνδυαστική ενεργοποίηση πολλών χαρακτηριστικών της, όπως είναι η πολυσημική γλώσσα της, η συγκινησιακή της επίδραση στον ανθρώπινο ψυχισμό και η αδιαμφισβήτητη σύνδεσή της μ' αυτό που ονομάζουμε πολιτισμικό (Φρυδάκη, Αραβανή, Ραυτοπούλου, 2004: 1). Το ανθρωπολογικό στοιχείο, μέσα από την πολυσημική και συγκινησιακή λογοτεχνική γλώσσα, χάνει τον πληροφοριακό του χαρακτήρα και καλεί τον αναγνώστη σε μία συνομιλία, βιωματική και ταυτόχρονα κριτική. Υπάρχει, εξάλλου, η άποψη ότι κάθε λογοτεχνική ανάγνωση είναι εξ' ορισμού διαπολιτισμική, εφόσον, ακόμη και αν μένει στο εσωτερικό μιας κουλτούρας, «μας προσκαλεί να αναγνωρίσουμε μια ταυτότητα και μια μνήμη, συσκοτισμένες κάτω από την εφήμερη ταυτότητα του παρόντος» (Bertrand, 1993: 53, στο: Φρυδάκη, κ. ά, ό. π.).

Στην εποχή της επικοινωνίας, της επανάστασης της πληροφόρησης και της τεχνολογικής προόδου που κατέστησαν οικεία την αλληλεπίδραση

μεταξύ των διαφορετικών γλωσσικών συστημάτων και των πολιτισμών, πρέπει να δούμε πώς η λογοτεχνία ενός πολιτισμού μπορεί να «ταξιδέψει» και με ποια αλλοίωση ή απώλεια της γένεσης του (Krieger, 1996, στο: Dimasi M. & Charatsidis E., 2011).

Η μετάφραση εργάζεται ως αποτρεπτική δύναμη της τάσης για απομόνωση μιας γλωσσικής κοινότητας, που μένει προσκολλημένη στις ιδιαίτερες παραδόσεις της. Αναγνωρίζεται ως μέθοδος γεφύρωσης των πολιτιστικών και των γλωσσικών φραγμάτων, απαραίτητη για την επικοινωνία. Αποτελεί, ουσιαστικά, ένα ισχυρό πολιτιστικό όπλο (Σελλά-Μάζη, 1996: 225-236). Παρέχει στους λαούς γενικότερα και στο άτομο ειδικότερα το απαιτούμενο μέσον για να επικοινωνήσουν, να διακοινωνήσουν τη φύση, τα πιστεύω, τα ιδανικά τους έτσι ώστε, αφού κατανοήσουν, να αποδεχτούν οι λαοί αλλήλους (Μπατσάλια και Σελλά-Μάζη, 1994).

Οι μεταφράσεις λογοτεχνικών έργων, επομένως, καθιστούν δυνατή την επικοινωνία τους και σε αναγνώστες που δεν είχαν πρόσβαση στην πρωτόλεια γλωσσική μορφή τους. Ο ίδιος ο διάλογος γύρω από τις δυσκολίες της μετάφρασης των λογοτεχνικών έργων και την απώλεια ή τη διατήρηση πολιτισμικών στοιχείων κατά τη μεταφορά του νοήματος στη γλώσσα-στόχο αποτελεί συμβολή στον ευρύτερο διαπολιτισμικό διάλογο με σημείο αναφοράς τη λογοτεχνία.

2. Ακάκι Τσερετέλι: ο ποιητής και οι μεταφράσεις έργων του στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

Η προσέγγιση του ποιήματος του Γεωργιανού ποιητή Ακάκι Τσερετέλι αποτελεί αποκλειστικά ενδοκειμενικό εγχείρημα. Τα στοιχεία της βιογραφίας και της εργογραφίας του αντλήθηκαν από περιορισμένες πηγές. Παραθέτουμε κάποιες πληροφορίες στη συνέχεια, όχι προς τεκμηρίωση της ανάλυσης που περιλαμβάνεται στην εργασία αλλά ως σημείο αναφοράς κάθε αναγνώστη της με απώτερο στόχο (ευχή!) την ενεργοποίηση του επιστημονικού ενδιαφέροντος για τη μελέτη του έργου του και στην Ελλάδα.

Ο Ακάκι Τσερετέλι γεννήθηκε στο χωριό Σχβιτόρι του Ιμερέτι (τόρα νομός Σάτοχερε της Γεωργίας) στις 9 Ιουνίου 1840. Καταγόταν από την ομώνυμη Γεωργιανή πριγκιπική οικογένεια. Το 1850 φοίτησε στο κλασικό γυμνάσιο αρρένων της πόλης Κουταΐσι, από όπου δεν αποφοίτησε. Στο διάστημα 1859-1962 συνέχισε τις σπουδές του στη Σχολή Ανατολικών Γλωσσών του Πανεπιστημίου της Αγίας Πετρούπολης. Από τα φοιτητικά του χρόνια και ως το τέλος της ζωής του είχε ένα όραμα: τον τέλει άνθρωπο, χωρίς ταξικές διακρίσεις, «τον ανθρώπινο άνθρωπο». Μετά την επιστροφή από την Αγία Πετρούπολη στην πατρίδα του το 1862

ασχολήθηκε με τη συγγραφή. Αγωνίστηκε εναντίον του τσαρισμού και της δουλοπαροικίας από τις στήλες πολλών εντύπων¹. Στη δεκαετία του 1890 έγινε επικριτικός απέναντι στους διανοούμενους – ηγέτες λόγω της απομάκρυνσής τους από τον απλό λαό². Για πολλές δεκαετίες αγωνιζόταν για την αναβίωση του γεωργιανού τύπου, του θεάτρου και του συνόλου του γεωργιανού πολιτισμού. Οι μελετητές της γεωργιανής λογοτεχνίας θεωρούν ότι με το έργο του προμήνυσε την τάση για δημοκρατικοποίηση της ποίησης και για ένταξη της στην υπηρεσία του έθνους (Τσικοβάνι, Νόλλας, 2002: 19).

Τα λογοτεχνικά έργα του Ακάκι Τσερετέλι αποτελούν κλασικά παραδείγματα του ιδεαλισμού και του πατριωτισμού. Είναι ο συγγραφέας εκατοντάδων πατριωτικών, ιστορικών, λυρικών και σατιρικών ποιημάτων, χιουμοριστικών ιστοριών και βιογραφικών μυθιστορημάτων. Για παράδειγμα, τα έργα *Εργατικό τραγούδι*, *Το τραγούδι των θεριστών*, *Η εξομολόγηση ενός αγρότη* κ. ά. κυριαρχούνται από μια βαθιά αγάπη για τους εργαζόμενους με μια διαμαρτυρία ενάντια στην κοινωνική αδικία. Τα έργα *Μπλαγκράτ ο Μέγας*, *Τόρνικε Εριστάβι*, *Το διήγημα του Κικόλα* κ. ά. υμνούν το ηρωικό παρελθόν του γεωργιανού έθνους. Το ιστορικό μυθιστόρημα *Μπάσι-Ατσούκι* ανήκει στα καλύτερα έργα της γεωργιανής πεζογραφίας. Οι ριζοσπαστικές ιδέες-προθέσεις του αποκαλύφθηκαν στα ποιήματα *Άνοιξη* (1881, δολοφονία του Αλέξανδρου Β'), και *Στιλέτο*, που διαδόθηκε παράνομα τη δεκαετία του 1880 και αποτέλεσε τη γεωργιανή «Μασσαλιώτιδα», *Κάτω*, *Επιθυμία*, *Στη Νεολαία*, που χαιρέτησαν την επανάσταση του 1905-1907, στην οποία ο Τσερετέλι συμμετείχε ιδεολογικά κ. ά.³

Ο Ακάκι Τσερετέλι, όπως έχει διαφανεί από όσα αναφέρθηκαν, δεν ήταν μόνο ποιητής, αλλά και στοχαστής. Εκπροσωπεί τον γεωργιανό Διαφωτισμό (Berikashvili, 2006). Η ανθρωπιστική φιλοσοφία του και η ρεαλιστική αισθητική του επηρέασαν το ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο του απελευθερωτικού κινήματος της Γεωργίας. Αρκετές δημοσιεύσεις του προωθούσαν

¹ Μέχρι τη δεκαετία του 1870: περιοδικό «Tsiskari», εφημερίδες «Droeba» και «Τιφλίδα Gazette». Στη δεκαετία του 1880 αρθρογραφούσε για να ενημερώνει τον γεωργιανό λαό με στόχο την εθνική και κοινωνική απελευθέρωση της «κατώτερης» τάξης: «Beria» και «Shroma» («Εργασία») και «Imedi» («Ελπίδα»).

² Έγραφε στη ριζοσπαστική-δημοκρατική εφημερίδα «Kvali» («Ίχνος»)

³ Για τον Γεωργιανό ποιητή χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ενδεικτικά: Αμπζιαντζε Γ. Ν. (1959). Ακάκι Τσερετέλι, Τιφλίδα.; Абзианидзе Г. Н., Акакий Церетели, Тб., 1959. Αοσιάνι Λ. Ν. (1971). *Η ζωή (βίος) του Ακάκι Τσερετέλι*. Τιφλίδα. Асагиани Л. Н., Жизнь Акакия Церетели, пер. с груз., Тб. Rayfield, D. (2000), *The Literature of Georgia: A History*, p. 159-168: The luminaries: Ilia Chavchavadze & Akaki Tsereteli. Second edition. England: Curzon Press.

την αναγκαιότητα της εκμάθησης και της χρήσης της γεωργιανής γλώσσας από τους Γεωργιανούς (Berikashvili, 2006) και τεκμηριώναν τη στροφή της λογοτεχνίας του προς το παρελθόν: *θέλουμε να δείξουμε αυτούς τους ήρωες στη νεολαία μας, για να μάθουνε από τους παλαιούς πώς πρέπει να αγαπήσουν την πατρίδα, και να θυσιάσουν τον εαυτό τους στην πατρίδα και να απαντήσουν σ' όλες τις ερωτήσεις της μοντέρνας ζωής μας, έτσι όπως το έκαναν οι προγονές μας στις παλαιές μέρες* (Τσερετέλι, 1991: 101, στο: Berikashvili, 2006).

Ποιήματα του Γεωργιανού ποιητή μεταφρασμένα στην ελληνική γλώσσα υπάρχουν στην «Ανθολογία Γεωργιανής Ποίησης» (Τσκοβάνι, Νόλλας, 2002: 64-69). Συγκεκριμένα παρατίθενται τα ποιήματα *Ο ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ* και *Η ΑΥΓΗ*. Επιλέξαμε το πρώτο για να επιχειρήσουμε μία συν-ανάγνωση με τη Μάγια του Οδυσσέα Ελύτη και να αναδείξουμε τη συμβολή του στο διαπολιτισμικό διάλογο.

Β. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΥΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΤΣΕΡΕΤΕΛΙ ΤΑ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΑ

Η Μάγια	Ο Ποιητής
<p><i>Η Πούλια πόχει εφτά παιδιά μέσ' απ' τους ουρανούς περνά. Κάποτε λίγο σταματά στο φτωχικό μου και κοιτά.</i></p>	<p><i>Άλλοτε είμ' ανόητος, καμιά φορά σοφός Και τότε τότε τίποτ' απ' τα δυο! Είμαι των περιστάσεων η φλογέρα Ούτε στη γη ανήκω μήτε στον ουρανό.</i></p>
<p><i>-Γεια σας τι κάνετε; Καλά; -Καλά. Πώς είναι τα παιδιά; -Τι να σας πω εκεί ψηλά τα τρώει τ' αγιάζι κι η ερημιά.</i></p>	<p><i>Να μην αναρωτιέσαι χαμένο σαν με βλέπεις Κι απ' τη σοφία μου ποτέ μην εκπλαγείς Είν' άλλος εντελώς ο κυβερνήτης Του μυαλού μου, της καρδιάς.</i></p>
<p><i>-Γι αυτό πικραίνεσαι κορά, δε μου τα φέρνεις εδωνά; -Ευχαριστώ μα 'ναι πολλά θα σου τη φάνε τη σοδειά.</i></p>	<p><i>Αυτή η καρδιά φτιαγμένη σαν καθρέφτης Της φύσεως πλάσμα είναι Δείχνει εκείνες τις μορφές Που μέσα της κοιτιούνται.</i></p>
<p><i>Δώσε μου καν την πιο μικρή τη Μάγια την αστραφτερή. -Πάρ' την κι έχει λοιπόν στο νου πως θα 'σαι ο άντρας τ' ουρανού.</i></p>	<p><i>Η γλώσσα λέει όσα Της φέρνει το αυτί Κι αυτά που σωστά έχει μετρήσει Όσα είδαν τα μάτια και ο νους.</i></p>
<p><i>Λάμπουνε γύρω τα βοννά, τα χέρια μου βγάνουν φωτιά. Κι η Πούλια πόχει εφτά παιδιά φεύγει και μ' αποχαιρετά.</i></p>	<p><i>Δεν είμ' αυτός που εσείς νομίζετε Ούτε εκείνος που νομίζουν άλλοι! Ένας απλός μεσίτης είμ' εγώ Πότε στη γη ανήκω τότε στον ουρανό.</i></p>

1. Η Μάγια (Οδ. Ελύτης, Τα Ρω του έρωτα, 1972⁴).

*Μία ανάγνωση για την αναζήτηση της αυτοαναφορικότητας*⁵.

Ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση

Στην ανάγνωση του ποιήματος θα ακολουθήσουμε την επισήμανση του Χαραλαμπίακη: δε θα επιμείνουμε στον εντοπισμό της συχνής επανάληψης γλωσσικών τύπων αλλά θα επιχειρήσουμε την αποκρουπιτογράφηση στις εναλλασσόμενες εικόνες μέσα από την ανεξάντλητη αμφισημία των εκφωνήσεων σε μία ευρύτερη πολιτιστική και διαπολιτισμική προοπτική (Χαραλαμπίακης, 1999: 176-177).

Ο Χάρης Σακελλαρίου σε μία προσέγγιση του ποιήματος κατέληξε στην άποψη *ότι είναι αυτοβιογραφικό* του ποιητή (Σακελλαρίου, 1987: 131), καθορίζοντας έτσι και την αυτοαναφορικότητα στη σχέση συγγραφέα ποιήματος και στην ανάδειξη του υποκειμενικού εγώ του στην προβαλλόμενη πραγματικότητα των στίχων με συνηγορούντα τα ακόλουθα στοιχεία:

- την πρόδηλη γνώση της μυθολογίας, την αρχαιογνωσία του (Σακελλαρίου, ό. π.: 122, Δανιήλ Ι, 2000:19-78), καθώς και

⁴ Τα ποιήματα της συλλογής αξιοποιούν τον έμμετρο ρυθμό και την ομοιοκαταληξία για να εκφράσουν με σχετικά απλό τρόπο τις ιδέες του Ελύτη, αλλά ο υπαρξιακός πυρήνας της ανθρώπινης υπόστασης...δεσπόζει και σ' αυτά (Κόκορης, 2011: 421-422).

⁵ *αυτοαναφορικότητα*: Οι συγγραφείς, κυρίως αφηγηματικών κειμένων, στρέφονται προς την υποκειμενικότητά τους, προς τη συνείδηση και την ευαισθησία τους: τη δική τους εμπειρία. Τη θεωρούν ως τη μόνη πραγματικότητα, την αλήθεια της οποίας μπορούν να καταθέσουν. «Οποιαδήποτε απόπειρα να αναπαρασταθεί η πραγματικότητα μπορεί μόνο να παράγει επιλεκτικές οπτικές αυτής της πραγματικότητας, δηλαδή μυθολασίες» (Pfeifer, 1996: 7). Ο αυτοαναφορικός άξονας: συγγραφέας – συγγραφή.

Η σχέση αφηγητή-χαρακτήρα είναι ομόλογη προς τη σχέση συγγραφέα-συγγραφής και οριοθετεί τον αυτοβιογραφικό άξονα.

Από τη μεταμοντέρνα πλευρά, *αυτοαναφορά* είναι το λογοτεχνικό φαινόμενο κατά το οποίο μία πρόταση, μία λεκτική φόρμουλα ή ένα κείμενο αναφέρονται άμεσα στον εαυτό τους. Η λογική οργάνωση ενός κειμένου παράγει τον εαυτό της και έτσι προβάλλεται στον αναγνώστη δημιουργώντας μία παραδειγματική κατάσταση αυτοαναφορικότητας που αποδίδεται ως «αυτοποίηση» (Ζήκου, Καψάλης, 2007: 4). Στην πράξη της ανάγνωσης ο αναγνώστης βρίσκεται στην παράδοξη θέση να *αποβαίνει ο συνδημιουργός του αυτοαναφορικού κειμένου και ταυτόχρονα αποστασιοποιείται απ' αυτό λόγω της αυτοαναφορικότητάς του* (Τζιόβας, 1987: 137-141, στο: Ζήκου, Καψάλης, ό. π.)

Για την εννοιοδότηση της αυτοαναφορικότητας βλ.: Alter, R. (1978). *Partial Magic. The Novel as a self-conscious genre*. Los Angeles and London: University of California Press Berkeley, Hutcheon, L. (1984). *Narcissistic Narrative. The Metafictional Paradox*, New York and London, Methuen, σ. 2 και σ. 19, Τζιόβας, Δ. (1987), *Μετά την Λισθητική: Θεωρητικές Δοκίμες και Ερμηνευτικές Αναγνώσεις της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας*, Γνώση, Αθήνα, σ. 291-293, Waugh, P. (1984). *Metafiction. the Theory and Practice of Self-conscious Fiction*. London: Methuen.

- τη βαθιά γνώση του λαϊκού και του θρησκευτικού πολιτισμού (Σακελλαρίου, ό. π.: 113-114, Μερακλής, 1984) όπως αποτυπώνονται στους στίχους
- τους ρηματικούς και αντωνυμικούς τύπους
- την εικονοποιία των στίχων. Όλα αυτά χαρτογραφούν τη συμμετρία ανάμεσα στον Ελότη – ποιητή και στον πρωταγωνιστή του ποιήματος.

Η διαχείριση των γλωσσικών πόρων στο πλαίσιο των κύκλων εννοιών του ποιητή δημιουργεί δώνυμα οικείου-ανοικείου με βάση τα οποία διαπιστώνονται⁶:

- η προσωρινή διασάλευση της συμπαντικής τάξης
- η επιλογή του «φτωχικού» του από το ουράνιο σώμα: αναλογία με κοσμογονικά συμβάντα από την ιστορία των θρησκειών-γέννηση ή νεκρανάσταση κάποιου θεού
- η προσωπική επικοινωνία του πρωταγωνιστή με το ουράνιο σώμα: ο ποιητής διαμεσολαβεί μεταξύ ουρανού και γης
- η οικειότητα «εκμηδενίζει» την απόσταση-διαπιστώνεται αμοιβαία αναγνώριση
- η θεογαμία. Ο «άντρας» του ποιήματος παντρεύεται τη Μάγια. Μάγια δεν λέγεται καμιά από τις κόρες της Πούλιας του λαϊκού μας πολιτισμού. Όμως ήταν το όνομα της μητέρας του Βούδα (του φωτισμένου) μιας αιγυπτιακής θεότητας (προσωποποίηση της μαγείας, της αυταπάτης, του αντικατοπτρισμού)

-της μητέρας του Βούδα (του φωτισμένου)

-μιας αιγυπτιακής θεότητας (προσωποποίηση της μαγείας, της αυταπάτης, του αντικατοπτρισμού)

-της θεότητας της γονιμότητας στο ρωμαϊκό πάνθεο. Η σανοκριτική λέξη σημαίνει κυριολεκτικά απάτη, οφθαλμαπάτη (Σακελλαρίου, 1987: 123). Η Μάγια μπορεί να συνδεθεί και με τη Μαία, την ωραιότερη των Πλειάδων κατά τους αρχαίους ποιητές. Ελικοβλέφαρη – ιοπλόκαμη κατά τον Σιμωνίδη, η οποία κατά τη μυθολογία γέννησε τον Ερμή, τον κερδωό αλλά και λόγιο, επινοητή των γραμμάτων και θεό του λόγου (Ησιόδου, *Θεογονία*: 938-939, Ρισπέν, 1953: 232, στο Σακελλαρίου, ό. π.: 124). Η

⁶ Ο Μαρωνίτης αναφέρεται στην «αρχή του διδύμου», η οποία με την ποικίλη λειτουργία της διασφαλίζει την αντιθετική ισορροπία κατά περίπτωση, αφού *τα κατά παράδοση αντίθετα συμπληρώνουν το ένα το άλλο και συγκροτούνται σε ένα νεότερικό ποιητικό όλο* (Μαρωνίτης, 2011: 404). Στην περίπτωση της Μάγιας τα αντιθετικά ζεύγη είναι δηλούμενα: άντρας-γυναίκα, γη-ουρανός ή υποδηλούμενα: σιωπή (ουράνιο περιβάλλον Πούλιας)-επικοινωνία (οπίτι ποιητή), κρύο (αγιάζι-ουράνιο περιβάλλον Πούλιας) – ζεστασιά – οικειότητα (οπίτι ποιητή), σκοτάδι μοναξιάς (πριν την επίσκεψη) – το φως (θεογαμία – ποιητική παραγωγή).

ερμηνευτική σύνδεση στοιχείων της λαϊκής κουλτούρας και της μυθολογίας δημιουργούν προϋποθέσεις εξελισσόμενης πολυσημικής προσέγγισης της λέξης και ουσιαστικά οροθετεί την έννοια της ποίησης (ό. π.: 124)⁷.

Ο πρωταγωνιστής γίνεται ο άντρας του ουρανού⁸. Από τη θεογαμία προκύπτει κάτι εκπληκτικό:

Λάμπουνε γύρω τα βουνά,
τα χέρια μου βγάνουν φωτιά.

Ο άντρας και η γυναίκα με την ένωσή τους δημιούργησαν το ιδεατό ανδρογόναιο (βλ. Γιατρομανωλάκης, 2002: 62). Η φύση και η νόηση έσμιξαν και παρήγαγαν μία ιβρυδική υπερφυσική ιστορία. Ο ποιητής (άνθρωπος) και η Μάγια (θεότητα) συγχωνεύτηκαν σε έναν λυρικό εγκόσμιο θεάνθρωπο (τον ταλαντούχο, αναγνωρισμένο ποιητή).⁹ Ο Ελύτης σε όλο το ποίημα υποστηρίζει την παραγωγή και την ανα-παραγωγή μιας μυστηριακής εμπειρίας για τα δρώντα πρόσωπα της αναγνωστικής πράξης

Ο αντίκτυπος της θέωσης είναι προφανής: το ταλέντο και η καλλιτεχνική δημιουργία-παραγωγή. Η φωτιά – το φως υπερβαίνει τη διάσταση του αισθητού. Συμφύρεται με μία άλλης τάξης, ενδότερη, ορατότητα και η υλικότητα ανασυγκροτείται με όρους διαφανούς χωρικότητας και μιας διαστελλόμενης ή / και συστελλόμενης χρονικότητας που δεν υπάγεται στη λογική του χρονολογήσιμου (Δόικος, 2011: 450). Στη Μάγια ο Ελύτης δημιουργεί μία οραματική μορφή πραγματικότητας, οντολογικά ενδιάμεση (μεταξύ αισθητικής-αισθησιακής και νοηματικής

⁷ Ο Ελύτης, ακολουθώντας σε γενικές γραμμές τα διδάγματα του υπερρεαλισμού, πιστεύει ότι η ποίηση είναι μία ιδιότυπη κατάσταση, απαλλαγμένη από οποιαδήποτε λογική αντίφαση, αποτελεί «μία πρώτη γραφή» των πραγμάτων του κόσμου που προκύπτει από την απεριόριστη χρήση των αισθήσεων και της φαντασίας. Αυτή η γνήσια επικοινωνία με το περιβάλλον χαρακτηρίζεται από το αποκάλυπτο κοίταγμα πραγματικότητας και φύσης που εκφράζεται στην ποίηση με την απροσδόκητη σύζευξη λέξεων και τη δημιουργία νεόκοπων εικόνων και μεταφορών, εκ πρώτης όψεως ασυμβίβαστων με την εμπειρία μας (των αναγνωστών) και αντίθετων προς τη λογική (Δανυήλ, 2000: 19-20).

Ο Ελύτης απορρίπτει την απλοϊκή μυθολογική μέθοδο χωρίς να καταργεί τον μηχανισμό της «μυθογένεσης» και δημιουργεί μία προσωπική μυθολογία προσανατολισμένη προς τη φύση και τα φυσικά στοιχεία, η οποία τον διαφοροποιεί από οποιονδήποτε νεοέλληνα ποιητή (ό. π.: 21).

⁸ Η Μάγια δεν έγινε γυναίκα της γης. Ο ποιητής έγινε άντρας του ουρανού. Η γυναίκα πραγματοποιεί το θαύμα: μεταδίδει την ουράνια ιδιότητά της (Μερακλής, 1984: 19). Το «υπερφυσικό» δεν είναι αφηρημένα μεταφυσικό για τον ποιητή. Είναι μία εξιδανικευμένη μορφή του έργου και του προϊόντος των αισθήσεών μας (ό. π.: 11). Για τον αναγνώστη αποτελεί τον τρόπο αποδοχής του «εξιδανικευμένου» ποιητικού λόγου.

⁹ Μαρωνίτης, 2011: 409.

εμπειρίας) που αυτονομείται στη συχνότητα του δικού της μη έγκλειστου σύμπαντος (ό. π.: 251).

Το ποίημα, λοιπόν, μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως αυτοβιογραφικό του ποιητή (Σακελλαρίου, 1987: 131). «Τα ρω του έρωτα» εκδόθηκαν το 1972. Υπήρχαν ήδη προσμαρτυρίες για το ταλέντο του¹⁰. Ο Ελύτης παρουσιάζεται να έχει την εντύπωση πως είναι χαρισματικός ποιητής. Παίζοντας με τα υποδηλούμενα και τα συν-υποδηλούμενα στη Μάγια αποδίδει το ταλέντο του, την έμπνευση και την επιμονή στο θείο χάρισμα που απέκτησε, όπως οι σίχτοι αφηγούνται. Δηλώνει «ένθους» με την πλαισίωση και πάλι της λαϊκής δοξασίας που διακηρύττει ότι κάποια πράγματα δεν αποχτούν μαγικές ιδιότητες παρά αν μείνουν εκτεθειμένα και τα δει η Πούλια το βράδυ (Πολίτης, 1921, στο Σακελλαρίου, 1987 128). Έπαρση και σεμνότητα διαπλέκονται στο παιχνίδι φανταστικού και πραγματικού για την τεκμηρίωση της αξίας της ποίησης του Ελύτη που όμως γνωρίζει τα όρια. Η συμπαντική τάξη αποκαθίσταται. Η Πούλια φεύγει με τα εφτά της παιδιά. Ο ποιητής στο φτωχικό του συνεχίζει να αγωνιά μεταξύ ουρανού και γης:

*Κι η Πούλια πόχει εφτά παιδιά
φεύγει και μ' αποχαιρετά¹¹.*

2. Ο ποιητής (Ακάκι Τσερετέλι, 1886).

Μια ανάγνωση για την αναζήτηση της αυτοαναφορικότητας.

Η προσέγγιση επιχειρείται με βάση τις αναγνωστικές θεωρίες και στοιχεία της νεοκριτικής και της φορμαλιστικής.

- Το ποίημα είναι διάχυτο από την ανάγκη του ποιητή-συγγραφέα να προσδιορίσει την ποιητική του ιδιότητα στο όνομα του ποιητή-πρωταγωνιστή του ποιήματος. Η συμμετρία είναι πρόδηλη.

• 1η στροφή

*Άλλοτε είμ' ανόητος, καμιά φορά σοφός
Και τότε τότε τίποτ' απ' τα δυο!*

¹⁰ Μαλάνος, 1940, Καραντώνης, 1958, Παναγιωτόπουλος, 1973, Vittì, 1977, Ζωγράφου, 1997 (Σακελλαρίου, 1985: 126, υποσ. 12-16).

¹¹ Στο συγκεκριμένο ποίημα ο Ελύτης φαίνεται να ακολουθεί όσα δηλώνει για την ποίηση: *Λέξεις πρέπει να 'ρθουνε. Μα πριν φτάσουν στην άκρη της πένας να μην είναι πια πέντε ή δέκα γράμματα μήτε κι άλλοι τόσοι ήχοι, μα τσαμπιά εικόνων, αρμαθίες αντικειμένων, δέσμες ιδιοτροπιών της μνήμης· λέξεις- πεταλούδες, λέξεις- ρουκέτες, λέξεις-χειροβομβίδες* (Ελύτης, 1996. Τα Κορίτσια. Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά) και ... *στην ποιητική έκφραση θα έπρεπε να υπάρχει η έκπληξη. Η αντίδρασή μας θα έπρεπε να είναι: 'Κοιτάχτε, κανείς άλλος πριν δεν σκέφτηκε να βάλει κοντά τούτες εδώ τις λέξεις»* (Ελύτης, 1979: 193, στο: Κοκόλης, 2011: 414).

Η διανοητική αδράνεια, η περιστασιακή νοητική εγρήγορση καταγράφουν την οδυνηρή θέση του ποιητή που προσπαθεί να προσεγγίσει τη σοφία. Η αγωνία τονίζεται από την ισχυρή στίξη.

*Είμαι των περιστάσεων η φλογέρα
Ούτε στη γη ανήκω μήτε στον ουρανό.*

Η ποίηση ορίζεται: υφίσταται για να αποδίδει (*τραγουδά – υμνεί*) ό,τι «ίσταται περί», περί τον ποιητή... που βρίσκεται μεταξύ ουρανού και γης.

Επιχειρούμε μία διαφορετική ανάγνωση:

<p><i>Άλλοτε είμ' ανήγος, καμιά φορά σοφός (1) Και τότε τότε τίποτ' απ' τα δυο! (2)</i></p> <p><i>(Άλλοτε ανήκω στη γη, άλλοτε στον= ουρανό Και τότε τότε σε τίποτ' απ' τα δυο)</i></p> <p><i>Είμαι των περιστάσεων φλογέρα (3).</i></p>	<p><i>Ούτε στη γη ανήκω μήτε στον ουρανό (4)</i></p>
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Αντιπαραβολή στίχων = ζεύγη:

- *ανήγος-γη*
- *σοφός-ουρανός.*

Ο ποιητής-εκπρόσωπος της ανθρώπινης αυτογνωσίας αγγίζει διανοητικά και συναισθηματικά και τα ανθρώπινα και τα θεία.

*Να μην αναρωτιέσαι χαμένο σαν με βλέπεις
Κι απ' τη σοφία μου ποτέ μην εκπλαγείς
Είν' άλλος εντελώς ο κυβερνήτης
Του μυαλού μου, της καρδιάς.*

- **2η στροφή:** *Αλλαγή ρηματικού προσώπου*

Στους δύο πρώτους στίχους απευθύνεται είτε στον κάθε αναγνώστη είτε στον εαυτό του σε μία διαλογική επικοινωνία του συγγραφέα-ποιητή με τον ποιητή-κειμενικό πρόσωπο.

Η διαφορά στο χρόνο των ρημάτων επιτείνει την αγωνία ή την υποψία του ποιητή για τη διαρκή αμφισβήτηση και την κατά καιρούς αναγνώριση του έργου του. Μεταθέτει την ευθύνη για την ποιότητα της ποίησής του.

Και αιτιολογεί:

*Αυτή η καρδιά φτιαγμένη σαν καθρέφτης
Της φύσεως πλάσμα είναι
Δείχνει εκείνες τις μορφές
Που μέσα της κοιτιούνται.
Η γλώσσα λέει όσα
Της φέρνει το αυτί*

Κι αυτά που σωστά έχει μετρήσει

Όσα είδαν τα μάτια και ο νους.

Ο ποιητής μεταξύ ουρανού και γης. Η καρδιά του καθρέφτης: καθρεφτίζει ανθρώπινες και θεϊκές μορφές.

Καθρεφτίζει! Δεν δημιουργεί! Δεν επιλέγει!

Τις νιώθει όμως και τις τραγουδά (φλογέρα). Η γλώσσα (σαν ανεξάρτητη από τα νόση του ποιητή!) αποδίδει λεκτικά όσα καθρεφτίζει η καρδιά¹².

Δεν είμ' αυτός που εσείς νομίζετε

Ότε εκείνος που νομίζουν άλλοι!

Ένας απλός μεσίτης είμ' εγώ

Πότε στη γη ανήκω πότε στον ουρανό.

- Η διαδικασία παραγωγής του ποιητικού λόγου έχει εξηγηθεί.
- Αφοριστικά απορρίπτει ο ποιητής την άποψη των αναγνώστων για τον δημιουργό και το έργο του, όπως αναφέρθηκε στην πρώτη στροφή (ανόητος-σοφός).
- Αυτό-προσδιορίζεται: είναι μεσίτης. Η φλογέρα του, ο ίδιος-φλογέρα μπορεί να αποτελέσει τον κρικό στην αρμονική σύζευξη Θεού-ανθρώπου.

Στοιχεία της λογοτεχνικής κριτικής πλαισιώνουν θετικά τις προαναφερόμενες απόψεις που προέκυψαν από την ενδοκειμενική προσέγγιση του ποιήματος: *Η ουμανιστική του άποψη σχετικά με την ενότητα της πνευματικής και της κοσμικής ζωής, του ουράνιου και του γήινου, σχετικά με το πλεονέκτημα του πατριωτικού και του ανθρώπινου σε σύγκριση με το ομαδικό και το ταξικό φαινόμενο υπήρξε το μέτρο των αξιών για τα κοινωνικά φαινόμενα. Κατά την άποψή του, η εκδήλωση μιας αδιαίρετης ενότητας του ουρανού και της γης είναι, συγκεκριμένα, η καλλιτεχνική δημιουργικότητα* (Στιχοтворения, 1940. Избр. произв., Тб., 1960).

¹² Ο Ακάκι Τσερετέλι φαίνεται να ακολουθεί την εποχή του (19^{ος} αιώνας) αναφορικά με το σημαντικόμο της λογοτεχνίας γενικά και της ποίησης ειδικότερα. Η λογοτεχνία ως μίμηση της πραγματικότητας έχει προσληφθεί για πολύ μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα, από την εποχή του Αριστοτέλη ο οποίος τη θεωρεί ως έναν καθρέφτη της πραγματικότητας (Δανήλ, 2004: 17-18, στο: Μανούκα, 2010: 4) και με διαρκείς επαναφορές μέχρι τον 19^ο αιώνα. Η μίμηση της πραγματικότητας, η δημιουργία ενός μυθοπλαστικού κόσμου με αληθοφάνεια και πειστικότητα, αποτέλεσε κεντρική ιδέα της δυτικής πεζογραφίας (Stonehill, 1988: σ. 1, στο: Μανούκα, 2010: 4).

Γ. ΔΙΑΠΙΣΤΩΣΕΙΣ

Τα κοινά στοιχεία στη Μάγια και στον Ποιητή.

Η συγκριτική μελέτη των στοιχείων τα οποία προέκυψαν από την προσέγγιση αναζήτησης της αυτοαναφορικότητας στα δύο ποιήματα οδηγεί στις εξής διαπιστώσεις:

Και οι δύο ποιητές πιστεύουν ότι:

- Η ποίησή τους απολαμβάνει τη θεϊκή εύνοια.
- Οι ίδιοι είναι (ήταν) άνθρωποι ξεχωριστοί, προικισμένοι: εκλεκτοί. Ήταν αλαζόνες και υπερβολικά σίγουροι για το ταλέντο τους;
- Ο εγωιστικός αυτοπροσδιορισμός μάλλον είναι φαινομενικός: καλύπτει την αγωνία της ανταπόκρισης των αναγνωστών, της επικοινωνίας ποιητή-αναγνώστη.
- Τσερετέλι και Ελύτης συστήνονται στα δύο ποιήματα. Επιθυμούν την ευρεία αναγνώριση της ποιητικής τους αξίας και ουσιαστικά του ίδιου τους του εαυτού ως «προσώπου».
- Γνωρίζουν ότι το έργο τους θα κριθεί: το επενδύουν με ένα επικουρικό θείο ένδυμα.
- Ο Ελύτης μέσα από ένα «αφηγηματικό» ποίημα με εύθυμο, χαριτωμένο ύφος.
- Ο Τσερετέλι μέσα από μία αφοπλιστική εξομολογητική διάθεση.

Αν η διακειμενικότητα, πολύ επιγραμματικά, ορίζεται ως ο,τιδήποτε θέτει σε σχέση, ανοικτή ή μυστική, το κείμενο με άλλα κείμενα (Genette, 1982: 7, στο: Καλογήρου, 2011: 1) ή ως η διείσδυση ενός κειμένου σε ένα άλλο (που μπορεί να εμφανιστεί σε ποικίλες μορφές)¹³ (Παπαντωνάκης, 2009: 244) και στην περίπτωση των δύο ποιητών δεν μπορεί να υποστηριχτεί ότι ο Ελύτης γνώριζε το έργο του Τσερετέλι, η αυτοαναφορικότητα σε σχέση με την εννοιοδότηση των λέξεων ποιητής και ποίηση ως αιτούμενο αποδεικνύεται ως πολύ ισχυρό, διαχρονικά ενοποιητικό, θεματικό μοτίβο. Οδηγεί σε κοινά σημεία αναφοράς του ποιητικού λόγου και έτσι υποστηρίζει ουσιαστικά τον διαπολιτισμικό διάλογο με την ανάδειξη αντίστοιχων στόχων αξιοποίησης της διδασκαλίας της ξένης λογοτεχνίας από μετάφραση.

¹³ Η συγκριτική μελέτη κειμένων λογοτεχνίας με σκοπό τον εντοπισμό ομοιοτήτων και διαφορών μπορεί να έχει τις ακόλουθες μορφές:
 σύγκριση δύο ή περισσότερων κειμένων του ίδιου συγγραφέα
 σύγκριση δύο ή περισσότερων κειμένων που ανήκουν στο ίδιο λογοτεχνικό γένος
 σύγκριση δύο ή περισσότερων κειμένων γραμμένων περίπου την ίδια εποχή, ίδιου ή διαφορετικού γένους, αλλά όμοιας θεματικής κατηγορίας (Παπαντωνάκης, 2009: 244-245).

Το κείμενο προσφέρεται στους αναγνώστες ως πολυδιάστατος τόπος στον οποίο ενεργοποιείται το ατελείωτο διακειμενικό παιχνίδι (Καλογήρου, 2011: 1). Τα συγκεκριμένα ποιήματα μέσα από τη συγκριτική τους ανάγνωση οδηγούν στη διαπίστωση για την ύπαρξη κοινών στοιχείων σε επίπεδο υποκειμενικού εγώ και στις δύο περιπτώσεων. Η μαγεία της ποίησης είναι να διαλέγεται με τον κάθε αναγνώστη αυτόνομα. Η αγωνία του ποιητή αποτελεί ένα θέμα που διαχρονικά ενέπνευσε τους ποιητές. Η ανίχνευση των αυτοαναφορικών στοιχείων τροφοδοτεί έναν διαρκή γοητευτικό διάλογο, ο οποίος ευελπιστούμε ότι θα συνεχιστεί.

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Tina Dolidze (Tbilisi)

CHRISTLICHES UND HELLENISCHES IN DER EPISTEMOLOGIE DES ORIGENES

Dem Leser der verschiedenen origeneischen Schriften wird ins Auge fallen, wie der Autor die erkenntnistheoretische und hermeneutische Problematik in den verschiedenen Vergleichen behandelt: Einsicht durch den Glauben – rationales Begreifen, Zeugen – Beweisen, Christliche Theologie – Griechische Philosophie, Gedanke – Aussage. Diese Oppositionen haben eine axiologische Bedeutung für die Annäherung an Gott.

Als Grundlage origeneischer Erkenntnistheorie gilt ein christlich-platonisches ontologisches Modell. Aus der biblischen Dichotomie – Gott als unerschaffener Schöpfer und die Welt als von ihm Geschaffenes – prägt Origenes die ontologisch-gnoseologische Grundstruktur, der zufolge der trinitäre Welterschöpfer ein transzendentes Prinzip des Seins und Denkens ist: Selbst ein ursachenlos Seiendes ist er die Grenze aller Schöpfung, die er umfaßt; in seiner göttlichen Allwissenheit läßt er sich aber in keiner Weise von beliebigen Vernunftgeschöpfen erfassen, da er gemäß seiner göttlichen Natur nur sich selbst bekannt ist.¹ In seiner

¹ Vgl. Origenes, *Vier Bücher von den Prinzipien (De Principiis)* (hrsg., übers. und erläutert von H. Görgemanns / H. Karpp), Darmstadt 1976 (im folgenden: *Peri archon*) 4,4,8: 359,20-360,1. Auf die griechische Philosophie zurückgreifend versteht Origenes die Idee der Begrenztheit Gottes im Sinne der metaphysischen Dialektik: vgl. 2,9,1: 164,10; räumlich kennt Gott keine Grenze (4,4,2-4: 351,18-353,8; 1,4,3: 188,1; 1,1,6: 111,1f.). Über die transzendente Geschlossenheit des philosophischen Gottes und die in der offenen Dynamik enthaltene Transzendenz des christlichen Gottesbegriffes: T. Dolidze, *Der Begriff der Bewegung in der Gotteslehre Plotins und Gregors von Nyssa*, in: *Selbst – Singularität – Subjektivität. Vom Neuplatonismus zum deutschen Idealismus* (hrsg. von T. Kobusch / B. Mojsisch / O. F. Summerell), Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2002, 41-75 (zu Origenes als Initiator der christlichen Auffassung vgl. ebn. 71).

kognitiver Begrenztheit entgeht dem menschlichen Verstand nicht nur der trinitäre Gott, sondern ihm bleibt auch die doppelte Natur des offenbarten Logos Gottes geheimnisvoll, ebenso die Geschichte seines Lebens, seines Todes und der Auferstehung. Vergeblich sucht die menschliche Vernunft nach einem Anhaltspunkt, auf den sie sich stützen kann, um nachvollziehbare Belege (*manifestae adfirmationes*) für diese Dinge zu liefern, so daß ihr Denkvermögen sich mit Vermutungen (*suspiciones*) beschränken muß.² Sogar die Teilhaber am Mysterium Gottes und diejenigen, denen Gottes Gnade in ihrem geistlichen Eifer beisteht, wie beispielsweise Paulus, Salomo oder Jesaja, greifen etwas aus dem unermesslichen Schatz des göttlichen Wissens, gelangen aber nicht zur innersten Erkenntnis (*intima cognitio*) Gottes. Der Sinn dieses Strebens ist jedoch, gemäß Origenes, insofern erfolgreich, als daß die Wißbegierigen mehr erhabenes Wissen über Gott gewinnen als diejenigen, die weniger Eifer in der Erkenntnis Gottes gezeigt haben.³

Wenn Gott nach seiner Natur dem Menschen und allen vernunftbegabten Geschöpfen verborgen bleibt und weder in sinnlicher Wahrnehmung noch in rationaler Überlegung dem Menschen sich offenbart, tritt er ihm im Glauben als einem anderen Denktyp entgegen: der Glaube gilt gerade für den Bereich des Unsichtbaren als ein immanentes Einsichtsmittel.⁴ Die ontologische Grundlage dafür findet Origenes – mit Paulus und Platon übereinstimmend – in der Idee der Gottbildlichkeit des geistigen (d.h. inneren) Menschen und seines Anteils an Gott als Geist.⁵ Neben dieser subjektiven Grundlage gehört zur Voraussetzung des

² Vgl. *Peri archon* 2,6,2: 141,8.

³ *Peri archon* 2,11,4: 187,9f.; 4,3,14: 345,11f.; 1,3,8: 62,13. Wenn Paulus nicht zu einer vollkommenen Kenntnis Gottes gelangte, war er doch „dem König nah“ oder „folgte Ihm“, oder war in „Seinem Gemach“ oder stand vor ihm eben an der Schwelle. In diesem Sinne sollte man auch Origenes' Worte in *De oratione* (MPG 11, col. 416B) verstehen, daß nämlich Paulus in seiner mystischen Vision das Himmlische aufspürte. Übrigens ist auch die Paulinische Erkenntnis im Hinblick auf die himmlische und vollendete Erkenntnis eine Torheit (*Comm. in Jer.* 8,7: 61,26 GCS 3 [hrsg. von E. Klostermann, Leipzig 1901]; vgl. Origenes. *Die griechisch erhaltenen Jeremiahomilien* [eingl., übers. und erläut. von R. Schadel], Stuttgart 1980, 111). Die echte *theoria et intellectus dei* können die Heiligen nach der Heimkehr erhoffen (*Peri archon* 2,11,6-7: 189,9f.; 192,11); vgl. *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 2, 140,26-142,6 (nach *Commentarii in Epistulam ad Romanos* [hrsg., eingel. und übers. von T. Heither = *Fontes Christiani* 2/1]).

⁴ *Peri archon* 2,6,1: 139,10: ... *fide quoque invisibilibus contemplatis, quia non omnia vel oculis videre potest humana fragilitas vel ratione complecti, pro eo quod omnium rationabilium infirmus et fragilissimus animal nos sumus homines*; vgl. z.B. *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 2, 226,15f.

⁵ Vgl. z.B. *Peri archon* 4,4,9: 361,14f.

Glaubens die ökonomische Intention der Trinität, in der der Vater das Seinsprinzip, Christus-Logos das Prinzip der Vernunftbegabtheit und der Heilige Geist die Gnade der Teilhabe an der göttlichen Heiligkeit sind. Die Mitwirkung der drei göttlichen Personen am geistlichen Aufstieg des Menschen gemäß dieser gnoseologisch-ontologischen Struktur meint zuerst den Anteil an der Heiligkeit durch den Heiligen Geist als die in göttlicher Freiheit gegebene Gnade. Damit wird eine Weisheit erworben, Christus als *iustitia Dei* zu sehen und an seiner *sapientia, scientia* und *sanctificatio* teilzuhaben. In dieser geistlichen Perspektive nimmt der Mensch den Vatergott evidentener als Grund der Existenz an, und wird durch das Mitwirken des Heiligen Geistes in der erworbenen Weisheit und Erkenntnis immer reiner und würdiger. So erreicht der Mensch jene Lauterkeit, daß seine Existenz dem, der ihm das reine und vollkommene Sein verliehen hat, würdig wird.⁶ In der Fachliteratur ist diese ethisch-sittliche Erkenntnis Gottes mit guten Gründen als „praktische Metaphysik“ oder „Metaphysik als Lebensform“ bezeichnet. Dabei wird Origenes die Begründung dieser eigentlich christlichen Metaphysik zugewiesen.⁷

In dem gegebenen *Ascensus*-Schema ist nicht wichtig, daß das Kontemplative im Menschen zusammen mit dem Streben nach *opera meliora* einhergeht – worüber man schon in der antiken Philosophie, insbesondere im Stoizismus auf eigene Art und Weise nachdachte –, sondern daß die Nachahmung des inkarnierten Wortes Gottes in konkreter Handlung die metaphysische Einsicht (*intellegere deum et sentire*) verwirklicht; dies kann aber nie erlangt werden, wenn der persönliche Glaube an die Wahrheit der Menschwerdung und *Oikonomia* Gottes nicht als eine Erkenntnisform das Leben der jeweiligen Menschen bestimmt.

Die Offenbarung des göttlichen Wortes in der Geschichte, sein paradigmatisch-irdisches Leben, sein Tod und seine Auferstehung sind die entscheidenden Ereignisse für die Erkenntnis Gottes, was sich häufig

⁶ *Peri archon* 1,3,8: 60,22-62,9. Siehe dazu ebd. 181, Anm. 28. Zur Teilhabe 4,4,5: 356,6. Die ideale Nachahmung Gottes ist es, die eigenen Werke mit dem eigenen Wort zu verbinden, wie es beim göttlichen Logos der Fall ist (*Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 190,26).

⁷ Siehe z.B. von T. Kobusch's späteren Schriften: *Christliche Philosophie: Das Christentum als Vollendung der antiken Philosophie*, in: *Metaphysik und Religion*. Zur Signatur des spätantiken Denkens (hrsg. von T. Kobusch / M. Erler), München / Leipzig 2002, 239-259; *Christliche Philosophie. Die Entdeckung der Subjektivität*, Darmstadt 2006. Siehe zum Thema auch L. Perrone, *Christianity as "Practice" in Origen's Contra Celsum*, in: *Origeniana Nona. Origenes and the Religious Practice of his Time*, Papers of the 9th International Origen Congress Pécs, Hungary, 29 August – 2 September 2005, d. by G. Heidl, R. Somos, Leuven 2009, 293-317.

toposartig in Origenes' Werk findet; es wird jedoch einmal knapp mit den ersten einleitenden Worten aus *De oratione* auch heilsgeschichtlich formuliert: Was dem vernunftbegabten, sterblichen Geschlecht wegen einer gewaltigen Überlegenheit unbegreifbar ist, das wird von Gott mit Christus und dem mitwirkenden Geist nach dem Willen Gottes ermöglicht, der nicht mehr Herr, sondern Freund der Menschen geworden ist.⁸

Ein Wissen, das nicht erst durch die Fähigkeit des Suchenden erlangt wird, sondern durch einen Gnadenakt der in Liebe den Menschen zugewandten Gottheit, ist tatsächlich mit einer sicheren Hoffnung an die erwartete Gabe gleichzusetzen, und es erfordert deshalb, abzuwarten, um Zeuge des eigenen Innewerdens sein zu können.⁹ Aus der Sicht des Origenes ist der generelle ‚Ort‘, an dem man dem geoffenbarten Logos begegnet und ihm zu dienen lernt, die schriftlich hinterlassene göttliche Worte, nämlich die Bibel. Über die Begründung des neuen Denktyps mit seinem Wahrheitskriterium spricht unter anderem eine Stelle aus *Peri archon*. Sie besagt, das in dem Glauben erworbene Wissen sei insofern eine unmittelbare und unvermeidliche Wahrheit, da sie selbst von Gott verkündigt sei:

*Omnes qui credunt et certi sunt quod gratia et veritas per Jesum Christum facta sit, et Christum esse veritatem norunt, secundum quod ipse dixit, Ego sum veritas' (Joh, 14,6), scientiam quae provocat homines ad bene beateque vivendum non aliunde quam ab ipsis Christi verbis doctrinaque suscipiunt.*¹⁰

Neben der Rezeption des platonisch-aristotelischen Philosophems, nach dem von den phänomenalen Dingen aus die Schlussfolgerungen über Gott zu deduzieren seien, kommen bei Origenes die Schriftzeugnisse als Wahrheitsbelege vor.¹¹ Diese werden wiederum bevorzugt, weil die gottinspirierte Schrift für Christus – Gottes gesprochenes Wort – zeugt, der sich nicht nur im Neuen Testament, sondern auch im Alten Testament

⁸ Vgl. *Peri archon* 1,3,8: 62,10; 4,4,2: 351,7-352,3; 4,4,4: 354,6; 4,4,9: 362,17.

⁹ Vgl. z.B. *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 190,4; *Comm. in Cant.* 216,25-31 (hrsg. von W.A. Baehrens [GCS 8], Leipzig 1925).

¹⁰ *Peri archon* 1,1: 7,9.

¹¹ Eine eingehende Untersuchung der Origenischen Argumentation zur Ausprägung der Rationalität des christlichen Glaubens siehe bei C. Reemts, *Vernunftgemäßer Glaube. Die Begründung des Christentums in der Schrift des Origenes gegen Celsus* (Hereditas. Studien zur alten Kirchengeschichte 13), Bonn 1998; speziell zur Plausibilisierung von Zeugen, Evidenz, historischen Fakten, Beispielen und anderen nicht logisch-diskursiven Beweismitteln siehe ebd. 71-109.

durch die Propheten und Heiligen verkündet. Da Christus seinen Vater am besten kennt, vermag er so unmittelbar und am besten, den Menschen seiner inne zu machen.¹² Was Origenes damit meint, ist eine komplizierte kognitive Struktur, für die er eine konsequente Methodologie anwendet. Die Wechselbeziehung zwischen diskursiver und religiöser Denkweise ist einer der Schwerpunkte dieses denkerischen Systems.

Das Einführungskapitel zur göttlichen Eingebung der Heiligen Schrift in *Peri Archon* gibt uns Auskunft darüber, was den Verfasser der Bibelhermeneutik eigentlich zu solcher Unternehmung veranlaßt hat: Er soll die Glaubensbelege, die θεῖαι γραφαί durch Vernunft (λόγῳ) erhärten bzw. eine wissenschaftliche Lehre von der richtigen Auslegung der Schrift begründen.¹³ Von dem Spezifikum des Themas ausgehend – zu betrachten ist hier das Göttliche – genüge nicht, worauf Origenes hinweist, κοινὰ ἔννοια (die diskursiven Begriffe) oder Evidenz der sichtbaren Dinge, sondern zu evidenten Beweisführungen finden Glaubenszeugnisse aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament Verwendung.¹⁴ Dabei werden die Zeugnisse der Geschichte mit einbezogen, da sie die Schriftzeugnisse widerspiegeln. Der ganze Komplex aus schriftlichen und historischen Belegen mit den Vernunftfolgerungen ermöglicht es dem Schriftleser, die göttlichen Geheimnisse durch eingehende Untersuchungen nach seinem eigenem geistigen Vermögen aufzuspüren. In Hinsicht auf den entworfenen methodologischen Ansatz sind die Schlußworte der methodischen Einleitung von *Peri Archon* von fundamentaler Bedeutung. Origenes begründet damit faktisch die wissenschaftliche Methodologie des christlichen Glaubens bzw. die reflexive Theologie des Christentums:

¹² *Peri archon* 1,3,1: 49,10. Die subordinatianische Deutung der Trinität läßt aber bei Origenes eine kognitive Abstufung; siehe *Peri archon* 4,4,8: 360,2-8; *Hier. Ep.* 124,13; *Fr.* 39; vgl. 1,2,13: 47,11; *Fr.* 6; 1,3,5: 55,3; *Fr.* 9; anders in der vermutlichen Interpolation 1,3,7: 60,1-19 (dazu *Peri archon*, S. 179, Anm. 24-26), wo über die Gleichwürdigkeit gesprochen wird. Über die mittel- und neuplatonischen Anklänge dieser Ansichten: R.D. Williams, *The Son's Knowledge of the Father in Origen*, in: *Origeniana Quarta* (hrsg. von L. Lies), Innsbruck / Wien 1987, 146-153.

¹³ Origenes' Ansatz hat auch die apologetische Richtung, den Sinn und die Vernünftigkeit der Schrift vor den Angriffen der Juden, Platoniker, Gnostiker und Anhänger des Markion zu verteidigen. Trotzdem führt er seine Erforschung nicht in polemischer Ausformung durch. Es ist nötig für ihn einen methodischen ‚Schlüssel‘ zum Bibeltext zu finden, da auch die Anhänger des kirchlichen Glaubens an mehreren schwierigen Stellen Anstoß nehmen könnten.

¹⁴ *Peri archon* 4,1,1: 292,8; vgl. auch oben Anm. 4; zu κοινὰ ἔννοια und ἐναργεῖα: *Peri archon* 669, Anm. 2.

„Man muß also gleichsam von grundlegenden Elementen ... ausgehen ..., wenn man ein zusammenhängendes und organisches Ganzes aus all dem herstellen will; so kann man mit klaren und zwingenden Begründungen in den einzelnen Punkten die Wahrheit erforschen und, wie gesagt, ein organisches Ganzes herstellen aus Beispielen und Lehrsätzen, die man entweder in den heiligen Schriften gefunden oder durch logisches Schlußfolgern und konsequente Verfolgungen des Richtigen entdeckt hat“.¹⁵

Die gesamte ontologische und erkenntnistheoretische Struktur läßt sich ebenfalls in der Glaubenswissenschaft zeigen. Daß Origenes hier auf den Intellekt abhebt und ihn auf den Bereich der göttlichen Dinge ausdehnt, ist aus seiner Sicht gerechtfertigt. Ganz nah steht der alexandrinische Meister der spätplatonischen Denkweise, wenn er die menschliche Vernunft, *imago intellectualis* Gottes' nennt, ihr Gottes Wahrnehmung (*sentire*) zuschreibt und dafür dem Strebenden eine Abstrahierung vom Körperlichen empfiehlt.¹⁶ Immerhin grenzt ihn von der Erkenntnistheorie platonischer Prägung die von ihm erarbeitete neue Denkmethode ab. Obgleich, so Origenes, der kirchliche Glaube es für wichtig halte, die Glaubensfragen in logischer Folgerichtigkeit zu untersuchen, ergebe es sich, daß den logischen Schlußfolgerungen in diesem Bereich lediglich der Status von Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweisen zugewiesen wird. Jene wechseln sich mit Schriftzeugnissen in der diskursiven Erwägung ab, um jeweils die Wahrheit über die Glaubenslehre feststellen zu können. Der Alexandriner ist bestrebt zu zeigen, daß das Schriftzeugnis (*μαρτύρια*) als Wahrheitskriterium dazu wissenschaftlich viel präziser ist als die logische Abfolge, da es einfacher sei, eine Denkhypothese durch eine rationale Schlußfolgerung zu beweisen, als durch die Schriftzeugnisse dieselbe zu bestätigen.¹⁷

Daß sich das Christentum bis zu seiner Zeit trotz der starken Verfolgung ausgebreitet hatte, ist für Origenes ein überaus be-

¹⁵ *Peri archon* 99. 1 Praef. 10: 16,9-15: *Oportet igitur velut elementis ac fundamentis ... uti ... omnem qui cupit seriem quandam et corpus ex horum omnium ratione perficere, ut manifestis et necessariis assertionibus de singulis quibusque quid sit in vero rimetur, et unum, ut diximus, corpus efficiat exemplis et affirmationibus, vel his, quas in sanctis scripturis inoenerit, vel quas ex consequentiae ipsius indagine ac recti tenore reppererit.* Vgl. mit der Regel der apodiktischen Schlußfolgerung in Aristoteles, *Anal. post.* 2,12,99b 15f. Vgl. dazu *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 6, 36,9.

¹⁶ *Peri archon* 1,1,7: 24,9-21 und 117, Anm. 22.

¹⁷ *Peri archon* 1,7,3: 90,2: *Nam per coniecturam facilis assertio esse videbitur, scripturarum autem testimoniis utique difficilius adfirmatur;* siehe bis 91,10.

weiskräftiges Argument, ein historisches Zeugnis, für die Wahrheit dieses Glaubens. Dabei weist er auf den ökumenischen Charakter der Gesetze Moses' und der Lehre Christi hin im Gegensatz zur nationalen Begrenztheit der griechischen oder barbarischen Gesetzgeber und Philosophen. Die göttliche Überzeugungskraft Moses' und die der Lehren Christi sei im Gegensatz zur großen Menge der logischen Apodiktik bei denen zu sehen, welche über die Wahrheit zu philosophieren versuchten.¹⁸ Die Wirkung der göttlichen Kraft des in der Welt sich durchsetzenden Wortes ist nach Origenes wohl auch im Erfolg der apostolischen Verkündigung des Evangeliums zu spüren: Die neue Lehre und ihre fremden Reden (ξένοι λόγοι) – wie Origenes einprägsam die Einstellung der der apostolischen Verkündigung zuhörenden Menge charakterisiert – brachten den Frieden Gottes mit sich, so daß folglich diejenigen, die zur Annahme fähig waren, vom Feind zum Anhänger des Glaubens gemacht wurden. Ein weiteres historisches Wahrheitskriterium ist für Origenes die in der Nachahmung Christi erworbene Gewißheit, wodurch viele Bekenner des Christentums durch ihren Märtyrertod wiederum zu geschichtlich-lebendigen Zeug(niss)en des Wortes wurden.¹⁹

Am Ende des Entwurfs seiner hermeneutischen Untersuchung differenziert Origenes zusammenfassend die menschliche und göttliche Weisheit, um die Eigenschaft der letzteren im Ganzen zu definieren: Es verhält sich nicht so, daß der Leser der gottinspirierten Schrift durch die überredenden Beweisführungen der menschlichen Weisheit begeistert ist. Ihm wird das Wort gerade als eine bloße Verkündigung zuteil. Es zwingt ihn nicht, ihm kraft Beweis zu folgen, sondern erzählt etwas, dem er sich freiwillig mit ganzer Seele hingibt:

„Wenn sich nämlich in den Schriften die ausgetretenen Pfade der menschlichen Beweise fänden und sie die Menschen bezwungen hätten, dann würde unser ‚Glaube‘ mit recht aufgefaßt (als ein Glaube) ‚in Menschenweisheit‘ und nicht ‚in Gotteskraft‘. Nun aber ist es jedem, der seine Augen erhebt, deutlich, daß ‚das Wort und die Botschaft‘ sich bei der Menge durchgesetzt hat, nicht in überredenden Worten der Weisheit, sondern im Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft“.²⁰

¹⁸ Die apologetische Zielgerichtetheit des Origenes nimmt hier die rhetorische Kategorie der Überzeugungskraft in Anspruch (siehe Aristoteles, *Rhet.* 1356a,1ff.); vgl. dazu C. Reemts, *Vernunftgemäßer Glaube* 89 und Anm. 85.

¹⁹ Für die ganze Erwägung: 4,1,1-6: 292,8-302,3. Vgl. *Contra Celsum* 1,27: 78,29 GCS 1 (hrsg. von P. Koetschau, Leipzig 1899).

²⁰ *Peri archon*, S. 693, 4,1,7: 304,5. Vgl. 1Kor 2,4-5.

Was Origenes hier so allgemein äußert, basiert letztlich auf der Gegenüberstellung der griechischen Philosophie als ‚Weisheit der Welt‘ und dem christlichen Glauben als ‚Weisheit Gottes‘.²¹

Ziehen wir in Betracht, daß der kirchliche Glaube des Christentums nach Origenes eine perfekte Denkensform für den zur Unsterblichkeit strebenden Menschen ist und die durch die logische Schlußfolgerung erörterten Zeugnisse das beste Kriterium für die Auffindung der göttlichen Wahrheit ist, so läßt sich leicht daraus schließen, daß die biblische Theologie und die sich auf diese stützende reflexive Theologie, welche er wissenschaftlich zu begründen unternommen hat, eine unüberwindbare Priorität gegenüber der griechischen Philosophie besitzen. Ein überzeugendes Beispiel, wie Origenes die Verschiedenheit der philosophischen und theologischen Denkweisen – zunächst in ihrem methodischen Ansatzpunkt – versteht, bietet eine Stelle im ‚Römerbriefkommentar‘:

Origenes interpretiert die Reminiszenz des Psalms 115/116,11 – „Jeder Mensch ist ein Lügner“ – im ‚Römerbrief‘ 3,1-4: Es gebe hier die Rede von zwei Denkweisen. Die eine beginnt den Denkprozeß, also die Suche nach Wahrheit, ohne einen a priori vorausgesetzten Glauben zu haben, und deswegen resultiert sie logischerweise in infinitum – in eine von den vielen und verschiedenen Lehrmeinungen über die Wahrheit, wie es bei den Philosophen der Fall ist. Wer aber zum Wissensprinzip und Ausgangspunkt seiner Erwägungen den Glauben an Christus macht und nur damit die Wahrheit zu suchen anfängt, erreicht das Gesuchte auch. Als Argument für diese These fungiert wieder das glaubensmäßige Zeugnis (*Martyrion*): Ein solcher Mensch, das heißt der Gläubige, erreicht deswegen sein Ziel, weil er dem Sohn Gottes folgt, der in allen Fragen der Wahrheit Vorrang hat und den Menschen Anteil daran durch sein Wort gibt. Es ist durchaus natürlich, daß jemand, der Anfang und Ende seines logischen Diskurses nicht in der eigenen Vernunft findet, sondern in den gotterfüllten *Logoi* der Heiligen Schrift, kein Selbstwertgefühl seines Denkens besitzen kann, weil er sich bewußt ist, daß die von ihm erworbene Erkenntnis und sein Verstand nicht von ihm, sondern von Gott stamme.²²

Die Kontroverse mit dem Platoniker Celsus zielt auf die Verteidigung eben dieser Denkweise, weil sie dem philosophisch geprägten Platoniker unwissenschaftlich schien. Nach dessen Auffassung war auch die Aussageform der religiösen Sprache der Heiligen Schrift zu einfach

²¹ Vgl. *Contra Celsum* Prooem. 5: 54,9.

²² *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 320, 1f.

geartet, denn sie paßte nicht in sein Ideal der intellektuellen Beredsamkeit. Celsus warf den Christen vor, ihre Lehre wiederhole im wesentlichen die Ergebnisse der griechischen Philosophie, aber in viel primitiverer Weise. Mit apologetischer Absicht betont der alexandrinische Theologe die soteriologische Zielgerichtetheit der religiösen Denk- und Ausdrucksweise: Sie orientiere sich darauf, eine möglichst große Menge von Menschen zu heilen, während die platonische Philosophie – so greift seinerseits Origenes an – mit ihrem elitären Intellektualismus und ihrer kunstvoll ausgebildeten Sprache nur auf die intellektuelle Ausbildung eines engen Zirkels gerichtet ist, sich kaum darum kümmernd, zur geistigen Initiative der Einfältigen beizutragen.²³

Origenes kritisiert die griechischen Philosophen und insbesondere Platon, den er für den besten von ihnen hält – mit gewissem Vorbehalt, was die *theoria* Gottes betrifft. Seiner Meinung nach hatte Gott ihnen viel Wahres offenbart, was sie ebenfalls einem Teil der Menschen zum Nutzen gebracht haben, jedoch haben sie, so Origenes mit Paulus übereinstimmend, keine Entschuldigung, denn sie haben sich nicht bemüht, eine ihrer theoretischen Kenntnis entsprechende kultische Praxis zu finden.²⁴

Wie Origenes die praktische heilsgeschichtliche Absicht der Heiligen Schrift schätzt und in diesem Sinne der Philosophie gegenüberstellt, zeigt schlagend die Allegorese der Stelle aus dem Lukasevangelium über die blutflüssige Frau: Nach Origenes ist es eine menschliche Seele, von der hier die Rede ist: Im Glauben Christus berührend wurde sie geheilt, nachdem die Philosophie sie vorher lange nicht hat heilen können.²⁵

Außer dem objektiven Sachverhalt, daß das, was in der Bibel geschrieben ist, sich ebenso in der Geschichte durchsetzt, zeugt von ihrem gottinspirierten Charakter auch ein subjektiv-mystisches Kriterium. Es hat seine Ursache in der inneren Objektivität des Textes, aber es aktiviert sich erst in der Mitwirkung des begreifenden Subjekts: Wer sich aber tiefgreifend den prophetischen Worten hingeebe, erfahre bereits beim Lesen eine Spur der Begeisterung und wird durch seine eigene Erfahrung davon überzeugt, daß das, was nach christlichem Glauben für Worte

²³ *Contra Celsum* 6,2: 71,5-72,13, GCS 2 (hrsg. von P. Koetschau, Leipzig 1899).

²⁴ *Contra Celsum* 6,2: 71,21; *Contra Celsum* 6,3: 72,20; *Contra Celsum* 5,2,42: 193,4. Vgl. *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 136,6. Vgl. Röm. 1, 18f.

²⁵ *Hom. in Luc., Fr.* 63: 448,19 (Edition: *In Lucam homiliae* [hrsg., übers. und eingel. von H.-J. Sieben, *Fontes Christiani* 4/2], Freiburg u.a. 1992).

Gottes gehalten wird, tatsächlich keine Schriftwerke aus Menschenhand sein können.²⁶

Diese Außergewöhnlichkeit des Textes erhebt als erstes den Anspruch auf eine geistliche Deutung des geistlichen Gegenstands. Auf der Ebene des Diskurses, wie wir gesehen haben, versteht Origenes sie im Sinne der methodisch gerechtfertigten Synthese des religiösen Textzeugnisses mit der logischen Überlegung, um den Sinn dieses Zeugnisses zu erklären. Eine derartige methodische Verknüpfung zweier Denktypen stützt sich ihrerseits auf eine spezifische Auslegungsmethode, die wir ‚origeneische Hermeneutik‘ nennen. Eine ihrer gedanklichen Voraussetzungen ist, daß das Sprachliche der Bibel nicht eine sich-selbst-zeigende Gegebenheit ist, sondern etwas in-sich-selbst-Beharrendes. Somit proklamiert sie kein Vertrauen auf den begrifflichen Inhalt des sprachlichen Ausdrucks, sondern sie bedient sich dessen lediglich deshalb, um durch ihn zu einem anderen, von dem Ausdruck qualitativ verschiedenen Sinn überzugehen, wo sie den eigentlichen Sinn des Gesagten zu erlangen erhofft. So haben wir mit Origenes‘ Hermeneutik offensichtlich ein Erkenntnischema an der Hand, in dem eine transzendente Sprachmetaphysik wirksam ist.²⁷

Origenes mit seiner hermeneutischen Methode wiederholt mehrmals, die biblische Redeweise sei lediglich scheinbar einfach und das von ihr Ausgesagte scheinbar unmittelbar faßbar. Es sei naiv zu denken, in den göttlichen Schriften befänden sich geheimnisvolle Heilsmaßnahmen (οἰκονομίαι μυστηραί) an der Oberfläche des Textes. Aussageweisen dieser

²⁶ *Peri archon* 4,1,6: 302,3-23; vgl. Rufinus: *certum est quod ab aliquo diviniore spiramine mentem sensumque pulsatus agnoscat non humanitus esse prolatos eos, quos legit, sed dei esse sermones; et ex semet ipso sentiet non humana arte nec mortali eloquio sed divino, ut ita dixerim, coturno libros esse conscriptos*. Wie tief diese intuitive religiöse Gotteserkenntnis in dem hermeneutischen Vorgang der Schriftlesung auch sein mag, es ist trotzdem nicht eine direkte Schau Gottes, wie sie Paulus und andere Visionäre erlebt haben. Dazu M. Harl, *Le langage de l'expérience religieuse chez les pères grecs*, in: ders., *Le Déchiffrement du Sens. Études sur l'hermeneutique chrétienne d' Origène à Grégoire de Nysse* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Serie Antiquité 135), Paris 1993, 29-58, spez. 37.

²⁷ Siehe z.B. *Peri archon* 4,1,7: 304,1; 4,3,4: 328,11. Der Schlußsatz des hermeneutischen Konzepts von *Peri archon* akzentuiert noch einmal diese Idee: *Ad quam regulam etiam divinarum litterarum intelligentia retinenda est, quo scilicet ea, quae dicuntur, non pro vilitate sermonis, sed pro divinitate sancti spiritus, qui eas conscribi inspiraverit, censeantur* (4,3,15: 347,27). Darin besteht gerade die Aufgabe des Exegeten, nämlich τοῖς βάζεαι τοῦ νοῦ τῶν λέξεων sich hinzugeben und den Buchstaben mit seiner geistigen Intention zu überwinden: siehe die ganze Erwägung in *Peri archon* 4,2,7-3,5: 318,2-330,13; vgl. *Comm. in Joh.* 1,8: 13,17 GCS 4 (hrsg. von E. Preuschen, Leipzig 1903).

Art sieht Origenes nicht nur in einem metaphorischen Text wie der ‚Offenbarung‘ des Johannes, sondern auch in den ihrer Sprache nach so einfachen Schriften wie den Evangelien. Nun ist – bei dieser Auffassung des Bibeltexes – Paulus für Origenes die höchste Autorität. Sich an ihn anlehnend erklärt Origenes, daß eine überall in der Bibel geheimnisvoll verhüllte Wahrheit (σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ/τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην) zu suchen sei,²⁸ da beide in dieser Weise die Äußerungsform des Heilsplans Gottes sehen.²⁹ In den Worten des Origenes ist aufgrund der starken Verhülltheit des sakralen Textes dem Leser lediglich ein kleiner Anhaltspunkt (ἀφορμὴ) gegeben, um sich zu hohen geistlichen Gedanken zu erheben.³⁰

Eine erhebliche Nachwirkung für die origenäische Auffassung der sakralen Verhülltheit läßt sich auf die Paulinische Schattentypologie

²⁸ Die Termini technici für die Andeutung des mysteriösen Charakters der Schrift sind etwa: ἀσάφεια, αἰνισσόμενος ὁ λόγος, τὸ σκοτεινόν, τὸ ἀπόκρυφον, τὸ ἔνδυμα τῶν πνευματικῶν, κάλλυμα. Das dritte Buch des hermeneutischen Entwurfs in *Peri archon* ist dem Sprachphänomen der gedanklichen und sprachlichen Unklarheit (ἀσάφεια) der Schrift gewidmet. Wie M. Harl vermutet, findet man ἀσάφεια mit positivem Sinn als Bezeichnung der Sakralität des Textes zum ersten Mal bei Origenes (M. Harl, *Origène et les interprétations patristiques grecques de l' 'obscurité' biblique*, in: *Le Déchiffrement du Sens* 89-126, spez. 91). Die Hülle-Semantik ist ambivalent und hat dementsprechend auch eine pejorative Bedeutung, insofern sie von der Sünde erworbenes Unwissen bedeutet (siehe etwa *Comm. in Jer.* 5,8: 37,16f.; 38,28; *Comm. in Joh.* 1,6: 11,8, mit der parallelen Anwendung dieser Termini). Dies widerspricht selbstverständlich nicht der in der Hermeneutik verarbeiteten positiven Deutung dieses Begriffs. Die Termini des mystischen Dunkelheitsvokabulars beinhalten die Perspektive der etappenweisen Enthüllung. Vgl. dazu die Bild/Abbild- und Schattenterminologie, die die ontologische Seite derselben Fragestellung betrifft.

²⁹ Vgl. etwa 1Kor 10,11; 13,12. Infolge dessen ist der Sprachskeptizismus des Origenes wie auch der des Paulus nicht kategorisch, wie man es z.B. im Falle der betreffenden Parteien der Sprachtheorie Platons feststellen kann. Auf die besondere Deutung der Paulinischen Aussagen für die Rechtfertigung der hermeneutischen Methode des Origenes hat H. de Lubac hingewiesen: siehe H. de Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène*, Paris 1950, 69-77. Es ist vielfach untersucht worden, welche Anregungen Origenes aus den verschiedenen Strömungen der jüdisch-palästinischen Bibelauslegung und auch aus der philosophischen Tradition in seine spirituelle Exegese aufgenommen haben könnte. Wenn viele Einzelfragen hinsichtlich der denkerischen Prämissen auch umstritten bleiben, scheint doch in erster Linie die typologische Allegorese des Paulus, dann aber auch die Nachwirkung der spirituellen (moralischen) Allegorese Philons nachweisbar, besonders was die Synthese der platonischen Spiritualisierung und der hellenistischen Allegorisierungstheorie angeht.

³⁰ Vgl. *Peri archon* 4,3: 310,7-311,4; 4,3,11: 340,15-341,5; 4,1,6: 301,13; 4,1,7: 305,1; 4,2,2: 308,9; *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 80,19.

zurückführen. Im Gefolge der Paulinischen Bibeldeutung erkennt Origenes die Heilsgeschichte als ein System der Vorausbilder (τύποι) der Zukunft, die zugleich für die zukünftigen Güter Abbilder (ὑπόδειγμα) und Schatten (σκιά) sind.³¹ Die gesamte menschliche Geschichte verläuft in der stufenweisen Erleuchtung vom Schatten zum Licht: Die Ankunft Christi ließ das Licht aufleuchten, das durch eine Decke in Moses' Gesetz verborgen (καλύμματι ἐναποκεκρυμμένον) war;³² die evangelische Wahrheit ihrerseits sei als der Schatten der zukünftigen Wahrheit zu verstehen. So hat im Sprachgebrauch des Origenes der Schatten des Evangeliums den Schatten des alttestamentlichen Gesetzes erfüllt, wie seinerseits das ewige Evangelium den Schatten dieses Evangeliums erfüllen wird. Wie die Ankunft Christi den Schatten des Gesetzes erfüllte, so wird seine glorreiche Ankunft den Schatten dieser Ankunft vollenden.³³ Das Sprachliche der gottinspirierten Schrift enthält insofern einen Anhaltspunkt für das Nachdenken, als daß es innerhalb der paulinisch-origenesischen heilsgeschichtlichen Schattenordnung einen Status der σκιά hat, also ein Zeichen der göttlichen Güte ist.³⁴ In diesem positiven Sinne sollte man die Funktion der Allegorese – ein Herzstück der Origenesischen Hermeneutik – verstehen. Die schon lange vor Origenes weithin verwendete Allegorese ist im Kontext der Idee über die prinzipielle Verhülltheit des Textes bereits in einen anderen Sinnzusammenhang versetzt.³⁵ In

³¹ *Peri archon* 4,2,6: 315,15; *Comm. in Jer.* 18,2: 152,25; vgl. Hebr 8,5; 9,23; 10,1; Kol 2,17. ὑπόδειγμα und σκιά sind mithin hermeneutische Termini mit gleicher Bedeutung. Der paulinische Schattenbegriff ist eines der Lieblingsworte in der Theologie und Hermeneutik des Origenes. Seine Metaphorik ist vieldeutig, läßt sich aber im allgemeinen charakterisieren als teilweise Erscheinung eines Ganzes. Siehe zu σκιά und ὑπόδειγμα H. Crouzel, *Origène et la 'Connaissance mystique'*, Paris 1961, 217-220.

³² *Peri archon* 4,1,6: 302,7-10. Vgl. 2Kor 3,14-16.

³³ *Peri archon* 4,3,13: 343,23-344,7; *Comm. in Joh.* 1,7: 12,12; 1,8: 13,11.

³⁴ *Peri archon* 4,1,6: 302,9; Vgl. Hebr 10,1. Übrigens fußt die ganze origenesische Idee tieferer geistlicher Betrachtung in hohem Masse auf den Äußerungen des Paulus. Manchmal sind Paulinische Worte als ein bloßer Kommentar vorgetragen, manchmal sind sie aber im sprachtheoretischen Sinn umgedeutet, wie etwa in der hier angeführten Stelle. In Hebr 10,1 spricht Paulus von der Beziehung der alttestamentlichen Deutung des Opfers zu dem neutestamentlichen Opfer Christi; der erste ist der Schatten des zweiten.

³⁵ Wie M. Harl bemerkt, war die Bibel, obwohl im Judentum und auch bei Philon üblich, allegorisch oder tropologisch zu verstehen, der Bibeltext war nicht seinem Wesen nach verhüllt und geheim (*Origène et les interprétation patristiques grecques de l'obscurité biblique*, in: ders., *Le Déchiffrement du Sens* 96); H. de Lubac hat gezeigt, wie eigenständig Origenes in der Intensivierung der spirituellen Motive und in ihrer

diesem metaphysischen Ansatz kann sie aber keinen konkreten Inhalt herausfiltern, sondern präsentiert sich ausschließlich als eine allgemeine Umschreibung des unbekanntem, transzendenten geistlichen Sinnes. Sie deutet die Bibelsprache als ein kompliziertes System von Konnotationen, die in ihrer konkreten Sprachäußerung nicht exakt und endgültig expliziert werden können. Da die gleiche Allegorese erst metaphysisch ‚vertikal‘ nachdenkbar ist, kann sie wohl ebenso im Sinne der Typologie verstanden werden.³⁶

Das Konnotationsprinzip der religiösen Sprache kommt üblicherweise zum Ausdruck, wenn Origenes die Mannigfaltigkeit der Benennungen Gottes erklärt. Für den menschlichen Intellekt ist es kennzeichnend, daß er die einfache Fülle Gottes nicht anders als von verschiedenen Aspekten aus differenziert sich vorstellen kann. Dies zeigt sich auch auf der Sprachebene,³⁷ wenn wir die einfache Fülle Gottes nur verschiedenartig charakterisieren können. Ist diese Struktur unseres Intellekts und des Sprachlichen in uns ein schlagendes Argument dafür, daß der Mensch die göttlichen Güter nicht fassen kann, so entsprechen doch die in konnotierendem Zusammenhang hervorgetretenen Aspekte (ἐπίνοια) einer Wahrheitdimension, wenn man den eigenen Verstand übt, die vielfältigen Anschauungen ständig als Einheit nachzuempfinden. Im ‚Johanneskommentar‘³⁸ zählt Origenes die ἐπίνοια Christi gerade als objektive Prädikate des in der untrennbaren Einheit sich befindlichen Ganzen auf. Zusammenfassend sagt er:

„Man soll sich nicht verwundern, wenn wir behaupten, unter der Vielzahl der Namen von Gutem werde Jesus verkündigt. Wenn wir die Dinge aufzählen an Hand der Namen, mit denen der Sohn Gottes bekannt wird, dann erfahren wir, wie vieles Gute Jesus ist ... Selig sind nun jene, die diese Güter fassen und sie annehmen von denen, die sie verkündigen

systematischen, metaphysischen Prägung ist (siehe: *Histoire et Esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* 150-194).

³⁶ Bei Origenes meint ἀλληγορία das gleiche wie τύπος κατὰ τὸν τύπον oder τυπικῶς (wie bei Paulus [Gal 4,24; 1Kor 10,11], siehe 4,2,6: 316,5-318,7); vgl. 717, Anm. 26; seinerseits korrespondiert mit ihnen das Wort προτυπικῶς (bildlich) (vgl. 4,3,1: 324,3). Textbelege zu τύπος bei Origenes: H. Crouzel, *Origène et la Connaissance mystique* 221-225. Zur gleichen Bedeutung von ‚Allegorie‘, ‚Tropologie‘ und ‚Typologie‘ siehe R. Gögler, *Zur Theologie des Biblischen Wortes bei Origenes*, Düsseldorf 1963, 359f. Eine allegorische oder typologische Deutung heißt bei Origenes auch „mystischer Sinn“ (*mysticus intellectus*), siehe: *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 2, 128,18; *Comm. in Joh.* 10,28: 201,22.

³⁷ *Quae quidem quamvis intellectu multa esse dicantur, re tamen et substantia unum sunt, in quibus plenitudo est deitatis* (Peri archon 4,4,1: 350,12). Vgl. *Comm. in Jer.* 8,2: 57,5-9.

³⁸ *Comm. in Joh.* 1,9-10: 14,12-16,20; siehe dazu M. Harl, *Origène et la fonction révélatrice du verbe incarné*, Paris 1958, 121-123.

... Man darf aus diesen kaum aufzuzählenden Schriftstellen über Jesus entnehmen, welche Fülle von Gütern Er ist, und man darf ahnen, was in Jesus gewährt ist ... das ist freilich nicht von Buchstaben einzufangen“.³⁹

Vor dem Hintergrund der vorgetragenen These – es sei gerade bei einer Aussage mehr das zu beachten, was bezeichnet wird, als mit welchem Wortgebrauch es bezeichnet wird – weist Origenes auf die verschiedene begriffliche Ausstattung ein und derselben Idee in verschiedenen Sprachen und Kulturbezirken hin. Um die Sinnfülle des Gemeinten zu erfassen, hält er es für zweckmäßig, in diesen Fällen die konnotativen Bezeichnungen nah zueinander zu stellen, um ein möglichst integrierendes Bild der nicht affirmativ faßbaren Einheit wiederzugeben.⁴⁰ Keine Äußerung der religiösen Sprache scheint in diesem Sinne dem

³⁹ Die Übersetzung nach: *Origenes. Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (eingel. und übers. von R. Gögler), Zürich / Köln 1959, 105-107. Die Struktur der Differenzierung des Erkenntnisobjekts tritt ebenso im Intellekt der Heiligen (Vollkommenen) in Erscheinung. Dies rührt faktisch daher, daß der Mensch nur teilweise die Erkenntnis der Dinge besitzt. Wer in Richtung des partitiven Nachdenkens über den einheitlichen Gott geht, entfernt sich von Gott. So nahm auch Paulus' Intellekt von den Dingen etwas Vielteiliges, d.h. Unendlichteiliges, auf (πολλοστημόριον καὶ, εἰ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπειροστημόριον βλέπων καὶ καταλαμβάνων τῶν πραγμάτων). Dies ist die Gesamtstruktur unserer Vernunft, doch ist sie gleichzeitig relativ anwendbar auf verschiedene Menschen: Alle Menschen sind Tore im Hinblick auf absolutes Wissen, aber das Wort ‚Tor‘ ist nicht im absoluten Sinne anwendbar auf verschiedene Subjekte des Erkennens (*Comm. in Jer.* 8,7: 61,15-20; vgl. dazu *Origenes. Die griechisch erhaltenen Jeremiahomilien* 110 und S. 279, Anm. 86). Richtig bemerkt E. Schadel betreffs dieser Theorie über die Verteilung des erkenntnistheoretischen und sprachphilosophischen Gegenstands in unserer Vernunft, daß wir es hier „mit einem zentralen Gedanken der theologischen Hermeneutik des Origenes zu tun haben“ (*Origenes. Die griechisch erhaltenen Jeremiahomilien* [eingl., übers. und erläut. von E. Schadel], Stuttgart 1980, 277-278, Anm. 79).

⁴⁰ Die gleiche Intention des menschlichen Geistes wirkt bei der Abfassung der Evangelien (*Joh* 10,5: 175,27-30). In Nachahmung dieser Intention rechtfertigt Origenes die Einführung des philosophischen Begriffs ‚Unkörperliches‘ für die Bezeichnung der geistigen Substanz neben dem biblischen Terminus ‚Unsichtbares‘. Beide Worte treffen zu für Gott (im absoluten Sinne) wie auch für unsichtbare und unkörperliche Geschöpfe (im relativen Sinne). Die beiden aus der philosophischen und religiösen Tradition stammenden Worte erklären also zusammen besser die Sinnfülle, die mit dem Begriff ‚die metaphysische Welt‘ gemeint ist (*Peri archon* 4,3: 347,5; vgl. 4,4,1: 349,7). Im ‚Hohenliedkommentar‘ gibt Origenes die Idee der mystischen Fülle mit komplexhafter Metaphorik wieder, wo eine Gestalt aus dem Liebesdrama viele Sinndeutungen hat.

Alexandrinern überfüßig, da Christus in jeder von ihnen dem Bibelleser entgegenkommt.⁴¹

Es stellt sich die Frage, welche geistigen Kräfte wirken müssen, um in den erstrebten Bezug mit der in der Sinnfülle verhüllten gottinspirierten Schrift einzutreten. Als erstes soll der Bibelexeget anders als der die Wahrheit suchende Philosoph sich nicht auf sein Begriffsvermögen verlassen oder eigenständig in seiner Suche sein. Immer wenn er sich als zu wißbegierig erachtet, in das Göttliche zu gelangen, soll er den christlichen Glaubensanspruch im Gedächtnis halten, daß er eine distanzhafte Pietät einzuhalten hat, da er bei der Lektüre der gotterfüllten Schrift mit einem nach seinem Grund unerklärbaren Geheimnis in Berührung kommt.⁴² Das Innwerden des Gesagten wäre lediglich dann möglich, wenn der Bibelausleger sich streng an die vom kirchlichen Glauben aufgezeigten Wege hält und sich vorsichtig durch die dunklen, verborgenen Sinnschätze der Weisheit seinen eigenen Weg bahnt.⁴³

Neben diesem dogmatisch bedingten Kriterium des rechten Lesens weist Origenes wiederum auf ein subjektives Kriterium hin, ein Kriterium, das vom Leser eine besondere Einstellung des Denkens erfordert: Insofern die göttliche Wirklichkeit in der Schrift sprachlich nicht reflektierbar ist, kann sie mehr mit der blossen Einsicht (*simpliciore intellectu*) erschlossen werden als mit beliebigen Worten. *Simplicior intellectus*, verbindet Origenes mit der sittlichen Kategorie der Einfachheit und Reinheit des Herzens. Sie rezipiert den in der Heiligen Schrift wirkenden göttlichen Geist, um aus den göttlichen Worten das Verständnis Christi zu gewinnen und so in Ehrfurcht Gott in sich rein und vollkommen zu empfangen.⁴⁴

Origenes wirft den Häretikern wie auch den Juden vor, sie seien geistlich der Aufgabe nicht gewachsen, die in der Schrift verborgene

⁴¹ *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 200,11; 220,4; 110,11 und Anm 36.

⁴² Vgl. *Peri archon* 4,2,2: 309,1-310; 4,3,14: 345,5.

⁴³ Die in *Peri archon* 4,2,2: 308,12-14, angegebene hermeneutische Formel verdeutlicht, wie dieser Erkenntnisweg durch die Autorität der kirchlichen Glaubenslehre und durch die apostolische Überlieferung determiniert ist: ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀναγεγράφαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι, τὰς φαινόμενας ὁδοὺς ὑποδεικτέον, ἐχομένοις τοῦ κανόνος τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας. Vgl. auch 4,2,7: 318,7.

⁴⁴ Vgl. *Peri archon* 4,3,15: 347, 26; IV 4, 9: 363, 8; *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 312, 20; 314,11 ; *Comm. in Cant.* 77, 23. – *simplex intellectus* / *simplex intelligentia* bezeichnet bei Origenes auch das vordergründige Verständnis der Heiligen Schrift, wenn man es dem tieferen Verständnis gegenüberstellt, z.B. *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 2, 230,25-232,6; Bd. 1, 200,3; *Peri archon* 4,2,6: 315,4.

Weisheit spirituell zu verstehen, weil sie das Geschriebene nach dem bloßen Buchstaben aufnahmen.⁴⁵ Mit ihrer Vorliebe zum Buchstaben des Gesetzes haben die Juden, wie es der ‚Römerbriefkommentar‘ weithin thematisiert, Ehebruch zwischen dem Wort Gottes und seinem Volk begangen. Was den Juden weggenommen und den Heiden gegeben wird, ist die Gnade des echten Glaubens, was den Menschen vom geschriebenen Buchstaben zu den lebendigen Worten der gottinspirierten Schrift hinübergehen läßt.⁴⁶ Wie rigoristisch die proklamierten Worte des Origenes auch scheinen mögen, sie sind doch durch die Überzeugung eines Mannes bedingt, der die Wahrheit in dem systemhaft abstrahierenden *intuitus mentis* sieht.

Es ist eine Äußerung systematischen heilsgeschichtlichen Denkens, wenn Origenes die aus drei Stufen konstituierte Lesemethode und den dreistufigen Bildungskursus gestaltet. Die dreistufige Sinndeutung der Heiligen Schrift ist in einen direkten Bezug zu den drei Büchern Salomons – *Proverbia*, *Ecclesiastes* und *Canticum canticorum* – gesetzt. Als Gegenstück zur Gliederung der Philosophie in Ethik, Physik und Epoptie korrespondieren die *Proverbia* in dem hermeneutischen Ordnungssystem mit der Ethik und gerade am Anfang mit der Logik; der *Ecclesiastes* korrespondiert mit der Physik, und das ‚Hohelied‘ mit der Epoptie. Hierbei bereiten die *Proverbia* durch die praktische Unterscheidung des Guten und Bösen, und der *Ecclesiastes* durch die Verachtung der sinnlichen Welt den Menschen auf die Kontemplation Gottes in reiner Liebe im ‚Hohelied‘ vor.⁴⁷ Die hermeneutische Lesens – und Erziehungshierarchie entspricht der aus Platon rezipierten anthropologischen Ausstattung des Menschen und bezweckt, die menschlichen Seelen gemäß der Freiheit ihres Willens und Vermögens sittlich und geistlich zu formen. In gerade diesem hermeneutischen Triadensystem geschieht die stufenweise Transformierung des äußeren Menschen in den inneren.

⁴⁵ Die jüdisch-palästinische Auslegung des Alten Testaments kannte eine typologisch-allegorische Deutung des Textes, betonte aber stark die Bedeutung des Literalsinnes, was aus dem Blickwinkel des Origenes eine prinzipiell falsche Methode ist. Siehe R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event*, London 1959, 24-25.

⁴⁶ Siehe *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 116, 12-118, 13; Bd. 1, 312,1f. Die göttliche Gnade ist der Erkenntnisgrund für die richtige Annahme der Schriftworte, dabei ist sie entscheidend auch im richtigen Vortragen der Worte; überhaupt ist das ganze menschliche Leben von ihr bewirkt; vgl. *De orat.* 417A-421A; 421D-424A; *Comm. in Rom.* Bd. 1, 62,11; 200,11. Siehe weitere zahlreiche Textbelege zum Thema bei B. Drewery, *Origen and the Doctrine of Grace*, London 1960.

⁴⁷ *Comm. in Cant.* 77,30 f.

Tea Dularidze (Tbilisi)

THE INSTITUTION OF ENVOYS WITH HOMER – ORIGIN OF DIPLOMACY IN ANTIQUITY

The institution of envoys emerged in times immemorial. It was quite developed in the ancient East, which is confirmed by numerous written documents. Suffice it to mention the truce between the Egyptian and Hittite kingdoms of Ramses II and Hattusili III, which is one of the best examples of international law.¹ The truce signed in the 13th century BC made a fundamental change in the policy of confrontation and put an end to a futile war that lasted 17 years.

It is noteworthy at the same time, that the institution of envoys took a distinct shape with all its nuances in ancient Greece. It was the institution of envoys developed in Greece that was inherited first by Rome and then the whole of Europe. Although the Greek language did not have a word equivalent to the modern term of diplomacy, Greeks nevertheless managed to develop the kind of activities that can be described as diplomacy, which included methods of resolving conflicts peacefully, the art of holding negotiations and searching for ways of agreement between sides in conflict, establishment of allied relations, exchange of envoys, etiquette, oratorical skills, and other terms linked to this field of activities.

The term "diplomacy" is derived from the name of envoy's document (δῖπλωμα) traced back to late antiquity. The document was used as a travel

¹ Межгосударственные отношения и дипломатия на древнем востоке. Ответственный редактор Стучевский И. А. Наука, Москва 1987, 79; Darsania N., Pharaoh Ramses II. Tbilisi 2007, 77-78; Giorgadze G., The Acadian Version of the Truce between Ramses II and Hattusili III, Georgian Diplomacy, Annua, 3, edited by Roin Metreveli, Tbilisi 1996, 16.

"passport" and enabled its holders to cross borders and visit foreign countries.²

The epic by Homer is of a paradigmatic importance for looking into the stages of development of the foreign relations service in ancient Greece and the Greek culture in general. Hence, it is a most important source for us too. It is interesting to see how Homer managed to place quite a specific sphere – diplomacy – in the context of his poetic world. It is noteworthy that ambassadorial affairs are quite comprehensive in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is known that the functions of envoys and their missions in post-Homer Greek society were quite differentiated, which is confirmed by the special terminology linked to the phenomenon.

About 10 words denoting "envoy" can be found in Old Greek: ἄγγελος, ὁ ἄγγαρος, ὁ κήρυξ, ὁ πρεσβευτής, ὁ ἀγγελιαφόρος, ὁ περιφθεῖς, ὁ θεωρός, ὁ διάκτορος, ὁ ἀπόστολος and ὁ ἡμεροδρόμος. At a glance, they seem to be synonymous, but they are quite different in meaning. Of course, it is now difficult to define the precise meaning of each term or the time of their emergence, but one thing is definitely clear: back in the times of Homer, words of this group were used quite frequently. Although some of them are used in the meaning we are now considering with authors of later periods, it is possible to assume that the words were used in the colloquial language earlier too. As time passed, their semantic side underwent changes that may seem insignificant now.

Homer mostly uses two of the aforementioned words: ἄγγελος and κήρυξ and διάκτορος is a substantivized adjective, which is confirmed by the expression used to describe Hermes: "διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης". This expression is used to denote the messenger of gods, it seems to have the meaning of someone showing the path.³

Being an envoy as a function is clear-cut with Homer. The notion implied not only messengers, who communicated news, but also people dispatched as ambassadors to fulfil a special mission. As regards ἄγγελος, which was mostly used for gods' messengers, it could have had a broader meaning of informers or reporters, which is confirmed by the fact that Homer used the verb ἀγγελλω and the form ἀγγελίης "being a messenger,

² Der Naue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike, H. Schneider, Stuttgart, Weimar 1991, 683.

³ Autenrieth/Kaegi. Wörterbuch zu den Homerischen Gedichten. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1999¹⁴, 64.

ambassador".⁴ The word is used in *Iliad* five times (III, 206; IV, 384; XI, 140; XIII, 252; XV, 640) in the meaning of acting as ambassador.⁵

Ἄγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέω/Ὀδυσῆϊ
(Came as envoy with godlike Odysseus)
Il., XI, 140

Ἄγγελίης οἴχνεσκε βίη/Ἡρακλείη
([Periphetes] went as an envoy to mighty Heracles)
Il., XV, 640

In the antique era, the words acquired concrete semantic overtones. A lot of words linked to the activities of envoys in general – both nouns and verbs – were derived from ἄγγελος. In addition, composed words with the stem were also quite frequent in Old Greek. Some of them were found only in Old Greek, others in the Byzantine era, and Modern Greek has inherited most of them.

The word used more frequently than others (90 times) in the epic by Homer is κήρυξ. Correspondingly, its semantic is quite broad, which points to the comprehensive nature and importance of the function of messengers. In poems, messengers are usually noble mortals, who serve kings or noblemen. Homer did not use a special word for the news or information conveyed by messengers. Presumably, words denoting it – κήρυγμα, κηρύγμα and others – emerge no earlier than the classical era. The word κηρύγμα was first used by Sophocles (*Ihn.* 13, ect.) to denote a statement or message conveyed by a messenger. The law Creon issued in *Antigone* by Sophocles is called κηρύγμα:

καὶ νῦν τί τοῦτ' αὔ φασι πανδήμωι πόλει
κήρυγμα θεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρτίως ...⁶
(And now what new edict is this of which they tell,
that our captain hath just published to all citizens?)
Antigone, 8-9

As time passed, the frequency of the use of this word increased and its meaning also became broader. In Modern Greek, κήρυγμα means "public statement, announcement; preaching."⁷

⁴ Liddell H. G., Scott R., Jones H. St., McKenzie R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996, 7; Passow F., *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1841, 11.

⁵ Gehring A., *Index Homericus*, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, New York 1970, 4.

⁶ Sophoclis *Tragoediae*, vol. II, Edidit R. D. Dawe, Leipzig 1985, 47.

⁷ *Scholia Vetera*, ed. P. N. Papageorgiou, Leipzig 1888, fr. 314.

In Greek literature and sources, Greek envoys are often referred to as *πρέσβεις*. This word is derived from *πρέσβυς* (Nom. pl. *πρέσβεις*, which means "old, aged". It is noteworthy that Homer used it as an adjective and not in the meaning of "envoy". In poems, we can see only the feminine form of the word – *πρέσβα* (γ 452). The poet also uses its comparative and superlative forms – *πρεσβύτερος* and *πρεσβύτατος*.

πρεσβύτερος δε; σὺ ἔσσι ...
 (You are older [than Achilles])
Il. XI, 787

Words derived from *πρέσβυς* underwent certain evolution. Along with the meaning of "elder, oldest", *πρεσβύτερος* was also used in the meaning of "most respected, most important". The word united everything linked to respected titles and missions. In Sparta, *πρέσβυς* was a political title.⁸ It was from this root that a word denoting envoy – *πρεσβευτής* – was derived later. In plural, it had the form of *πρέσβεις* (more seldom *πρεσβευται*). The word – *πρεσβευτής* – gradually became used in sources in this unchanged form. Its meaning became narrower and came to denote "envoy" in Modern Greek. Words composed and derived from *πρέσβυς* emerged in the language with semantic links to the function of envoys and professional diplomacy.

Thus, the terminological analysis has shown that with Homer, the function of envoys had gone quite far even at the level of nuances. It is also noteworthy that it is difficult to divide with Homer messengers and envoys in the modern sense, as *ἄγγελος* and *κηρύκες* fulfilled the functions of envoys and there was no term at that time to denote professional envoys. It emerged later albeit the functions and obligations of envoys are quite diversified in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

It is particularly interesting that with Homer, any prominent figure can assume the responsibilities of an envoy, doing so in accordance with the requirements of the moment. The 9th song of *Iliad* is a good example to illustrate this, as it mentions a representative group of envoys comprising non-professionals. Agamemnon sent mediators to convince enraged Achilles to participate in the war. It is noteworthy how the aforementioned group is staffed. Nestor mentions envoys, who he regards as best. He names Phoenix "loved by gods" (*δίφιλος*) as the leader, then "great" (*μέγας*) Ajax and Odysseus "equal to gods" (*δῖος*). All the three

⁸ Liddell H. G., Scott R., Op. cit., 1462.

selected personalities have different functions. Odysseus is the most experienced and astute. Phoenix is a friend of Achilles' father and he cannot be rejected. And Ajax is an incarnation of courage, whose straightforwardness and sincerity are highly assessed by Achilles. Homer recognizes the possibility of any prominent personality acting as an envoy. The poet uses the epithet κλητοί "selected, renowned" for all the three. However, at the same time, he makes an allusion to professional envoys. In the poem, Talthybius, Eurybates, and Idaius are messengers with special functions and titles. Homer describes them as "messengers of Zeus and men" (Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἦδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν). At the same time, there are also messengers in the poem with the main function of just conveying a message.

One more issue that is of importance in this connection is the immunity of envoys. They are the people who enjoy protection from Zeus. Traditionally, messengers were believed to be coming from the divine ancestry of Zeus and their role was of particular significance in the developments.⁹ It follows that they were under the protection of the supreme god, not the international law. It is noteworthy that not a single episode can be found in the poem, where envoys are insulted or come under physical pressure even in most extreme situations. In the first song of *Iliad*, Agamemnon sends his personal envoys – Talthybius and Eurybates – to Achilles to deliver Briseis. Although Achilles is infuriated because of Agamemnon's behaviour and the envoys themselves are afraid of meeting Achilles, the latter is quite polite towards the mediators. Achilles' address bears obvious signs of reverence and even respect for them.

Χαίρετε, κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι δεῖ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ...
 ("Cheer up, heralds, messengers for gods and men")
Il., I, 334

Achilles notes that it is the son of Atreus who should be blamed for the capture of Briseis, not he. It is clear that a long tradition of receiving envoys existed in Greece, because even in such a critical situation, Achilles is reserved and expresses his benevolence towards them. There are a lot of such examples in antique literature, which may mean that the rights and inviolability of envoys (in modern terminology – immunity) were guaranteed although it emerged later as a legal norm.

Homer knew that there must have been some criteria to select envoys. The criteria could be different: in some cases, professional experience and

⁹ Adcock S. F., Mosley D. J., *Diplomacy in Ancient Greece*, Thames and Hudson 1975, 183.

wisdom and in others, personal experience gained with age. Envoys dispatched to Achilles were selected precisely on the basis of these criteria. However, the envoys were also accompanied by two professional envoys – Odius and Eurybates, who do not interfere in the conversation with Achilles and do not express their position.

A third important factor characteristic of envoys is eloquence. In this regard, speeches made by Phoenix and Odysseus are excellent examples of Homer's art of rhetoric. Although the speech by Ajax is quite short compared with the two, it has quite a significant impact on Achilles due to its straightforwardness. Interestingly, professional and non-professional envoys are never young in the epic. Homer regards experience, wisdom, and age as particularly important. It is noteworthy that in later ages, people under 50 were never regarded as candidates for becoming envoys.¹⁰ This is probably how the term "elder" – *πρεσβευτής* – emerged with another meaning of "respected". In addition, an envoy was to be a calm, considerate, reasonable person with good oratorical skills.

In Homer's poems, there are envoys among both mortals and gods. Although every god can act as an envoy and they do so too, professional envoys can also be found in the divine circles. They are Hermes and Iris (ἀλλ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέουσα: Διὸς δέτοι ἄγγελος εἶμι – "I come with a message from Zeus who cares," Iris says; *Il.*, XXIV, 173.) They are protected by Zeus personally, serving him when performing their duties. All that happens in the poem is linked to "fulfilling Zeus' will".¹¹

Homer gives examples of long speeches (Phoenix) and very short ones. However, messengers are able to convey information in such a manner as to cause amazing emotions in the other side. It is known that except for rare exceptions, most tragic scenes did not take place in Greek tragedies before the eyes of viewers.¹² It was messengers, who had the mission of communicating news about some trouble and they were supposed to impress viewers verbally, speaking in detail and emotionally. Homer seems to be describing messengers' speeches with particular skill. Of course, a question arises whether it was so necessary for Homer to depict professional messengers as skilful orators, as none of the professional messengers made long speeches in the poem. Their obligation was to

¹⁰ История дипломатии, том 1, под редакцией В. П. Потемкина, Москва 1941, 38.

¹¹ Gordeziani R., *Greek Literature. Epic, Lyric Poetry, and Drama of the Hellenic Era*, I, Tbilisi 2002, 105.

¹² Gordeziani R., *Op. cit.*, 313.

convey information precisely, which was often achieved through short phrases.

In the following ages, the functions of orators and envoys were clearly divided in the Greek culture. Orators could assume diplomatic functions in some cases, but professional diplomats did not try to excel in eloquence. In Homer's epics, it is also clear that professional envoys fulfil only the missions commissioned by rulers. They do not have the right to make long speeches unlike ordinary heroes, who become envoys only in certain situations. However, it is also noteworthy that in such cases, people are more impressive, because they are free. The speech by Priam, who visits Achilles for his son's dead body, is a good example in this regard.

Thus, it can be said that with Homer, the institution of envoys is a kind of system that has distinct shapes both in terminology and functions. Relations between polises in ancient Greece promoted further development of diplomacy and can be regarded as the establishment of diplomatic relations on a micro system. What took shape at the level of polises gradually rose to the level of Hellenic and non-Hellenic levels, acquiring a truly global nature after the formation of the Roman state. My opinion is that, the experience of ancient envoys is quite interesting for the development of modern international relations, as a lot of interesting connections can be found between modern diplomacy and its ancient prototype.

Iamze Gagua (Tbilisi)

MORAL CODE OF EPIC HEROES

(*Iliad*, *Aeneid*, and *The Knight in The Panther's Skin*)

Every era and every nation produce their heroes. The names of ideal heroes immortalized in arts and literature are transmitted from generation to generation. What are the features of heroism? What are the criteria used to identify it? What are the norms of behaviour universally acceptable or unacceptable for all eras and nations?

War as the greatest of evils promotes such features in people (cruelty, rage, ruthlessness) that are inadmissible in peacetime, but war introduces its moral laws. What are the parameters of war ethics? What are the features of a kind fighter? Answers to the questions can be found in literary masterpieces like Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Rustaveli's *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*.¹

To highlight features of ideal heroes, it is necessary to concentrate on the following issues: 1. Outward appearance and physical force; 2. War and justness; 3. Temperance in cruel war; 4. Approach to loot; 5. Tolerance; 6. Repentance.

Outward appearance and physical force are indispensable for heroes. Heroes stand out with their appearance, force, and courage. Armed

¹ Examples quoted in this article are taken from the following editions: Homer, vol. I, *Iliad*, Books 1-12, translated by William Wyatt, A. T. Murray, 1924; Homer, vol. II, *Iliad*, Books 13-24, translated by A. T. Murray, 1925; Virgil, vol. I, *Eclogues, Georgics; Aeneid*, Books 1-6, revised edition, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, Revised by G. P. Goold, 1916; Virgil, vol. II, *Aeneid*, Books 7-12, Appendix Vergiliana, edited and translated by H. R. Fairclough, Revised by G. P. Goold, 1918; Shota Rustaveli, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, Tbilisi 1987 (according to the anniversary edition of 1966) (*in Georgian*).

Achilles is bathed in light like Ares. He is outstanding among Achaean fighters. Odysseus describes him as an unequalled fighter and no one can be compared with him in courage, although Odysseus is wiser (XIX, 155; XIX, 216-219). Achilles admits that no one is equal to him in the battlefield, but he is no better than others in the agora. Achilles' appearance in the battlefield terrifies enemies. His fearlessness and appearance can be compared with those of the god of war (X, 45-47). Achilles is powerful (VIII, 553), fierce, fearless (VIII, 589), terrible, rabid (XIII, 589), and stalwart (XVIII, 121) and his constant epithet is swift-footed (ποδῶρης). Not only Achilles' appearance, but also his sharp and piercing voice leaves enemies awestruck (XVIII, 221-223).

Like Achilles, the protagonist of *Aeneid*, Aeneas, stands out among Trojans with his beauty. He looks like very beautiful god Apollo. The poem refers to his manly and divine beauty on a lot of occasions (IV, 141-144; I, 588-589). Beauty and courage are equally visible in Aeneas' appearance. Queen of Carthage Dido was immediately charmed by the Trojan hero, when she saw him (IV, 3-5; IV, 11). Aeneas stands out with his other features: he is *pius* (I, 220; XII, 175), very just (I, 544-545), and great-hearted (I, 260), and his constant epithet is father (*pater*) (I, 580; VIII, 28).

The protagonist of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, Tariel, is also enticing with his build. He attracts attention immediately (628). Tariel's appearance is described in the poem on many occasions. He is compared with the sun and his force with that of lion's. Like Achilles, Tariel stands out with his force and voice (1, 416).

Other heroes in *Iliad*, *Aeneid*, and *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* are also good-looking, courageous, bold, and fierce in battle, but protagonists nevertheless stand out with something that makes them better than others and that is not only their outward appearance or particular force.

Heroes must definitely be strong, courageous, and bold, but these are external features. Physical force is a gift from God and has little to do with heroes' internal world. In *Iliad*, Agamemnon reproves Achilles, telling him that although he is powerful – *κρατερός*, that is gods' gift (I, 178).

Rustaveli also thinks that people should not be proud of their physical force, as it is a gift from God. A mortal cannot win a victory with this force without God's will (1046).

As regards courage and boldness, they also depend on God's will. When Avtandil decides to fight against pirates alone, he explains to surprised caravan owners that his courage and boldness are due to God's will (1038).

The merchants, whom he saved, thank Avtandil, but he believes that this is just God's gift and he should not be credited (1050).

That is why arrogance and pride in his courage are alien to Avtandil.

War and Justness. Not only courage, outward appearance and physical force are among heroes' features. What is war and what role does it play in the life of heroes? What are the purposes and motives of Achilles, Aeneas, and Tariel? For the protagonists of Homer, Virgil, and Rustaveli, war is an internal need and activity indispensable for the existence and strength of the state, a means for self-assertion, and an arena to show their courage. It is just for Hellenes to fight against Troy, because they are to take revenge for Helen's abduction, but Trojans are also right, as they protect their homeland. Achilles' personal purpose in the Trojan War is fame. He knows that he will prolong his life, if he does not participate in the campaign, but he will not become glorious (IX, 412-415). That is why Achilles, who is infuriated by Agamemnon, is in no hurry to go back home and suffers from remaining idle. This is why he is thrown into turmoil.

Aeneas' struggle in Italy is just, because he fulfils gods' will. Aeneas tries to obtain permanent residence in Latium peacefully. He addresses the king of Latium, Latinus, whom gods told that he would marry his daughter off to a foreigner and this union would strengthen and glorify his kingdom, but the glory would be followed by a war (VII, 79-80). Aeneas entreats Latinus to give refuge to fleeing Trojans, promising that instead, they will fight to protect and strengthen Latinus' kingdom (I, 229-240).

It is noteworthy that Aeneas asks Latinus not to scorn them, because they came to him with words of prayer and peace-ribbons (VII, 237-240). Why should this be demeaning to Aeneas? He seems to be afraid that appearing before the king with his head bowed can be taken as cowardice, but there is no other way out for Aeneas. He has to entreat and ask for what has been decided by gods. However, Turnus does not allow Trojans to settle peacefully. He forces King Latinus to violate the truce with Aeneas. Aeneas also fights to support some Italian tribes oppressed by Etruscan King Mezentius and Rutulians. In spite of this, Aeneas is internally concerned by the fact that he, a foreigner, is disputing with a local, Turnus, over land (XII, 581-582).

Aeneas is not preparing for war. He is concerned about being obliged to become involved in this unfortunate war (III, 29). Tiberinus, deity of the River Tiber, calms him down and advises not to reject military action and not to fear war (III, 40). Aeneas does not want to wage war, but he cannot

stand up to the will of gods.² *Pius* Aeneas, who is a refugee, is seeking for a second homeland, which gods have pointed to. He is obliged to accept Turnus' challenge, but he is nevertheless in no hurry and is waiting for the enemy to attack. The Trojan hero does not become involved in war until he receives a divine sign from heavens. Aeneas becomes convinced that war is inevitable, so he is psychologically ready to fight, which becomes clear in his threat to Turnus (VIII, 534-540).

Tariel is fighting to save his beloved princess held captive by evil spirits. Therefore, his war is just too. As regards the war against Khataeti, it has another ground. Tariel wants to make his rebel subordinate surrender, i. e. protect the unity of the Indian Kingdom, and King Ramaz of Khataeti is putting up resistance, because he wants to gain independence for his country. His disobedience could have been regarded as just and courageous, had Ramaz engaged himself in a face-to-face fight against Tariel. Flattery and obsequiousness prevent King Ramaz from being Tariel's worthy rival.

Temperance in Cruel War. Poets show protagonists' physical force in cruel pictures of battles. Achilles fills the River Xanthus with the enemies' fighters he killed. Achilles does not pay heed to the frightened enemies' pleas and kills his rivals mercilessly (XXI, 116-119). He explains his cruelty in the following manner: before Patroclus was dead, he was able to spare enemies, but there is no one who would arouse his compassion after his death. In addition, the son of Peleus believes that even the most courageous man cannot avoid death. Therefore, all fighters should tolerate the fate. Achilles says that he cannot avoid his fate either and enemies will kill him in a battle (XXI, 110-114).

Aeneas' struggle against Rutulians is also rabid (X, 552-556; X, 586-589). He kills enemies mercilessly (X, 585-602), but he is nevertheless *pious*, because he is fighting for a just cause. He is sometimes cruel, but this is the way for him to achieve peace. This is the merciless logic of war³ and even noble heroes cannot disregard it. However, we cannot perceive Aeneas' struggle as wild cruelty, which is not true of his rival Turnus, who fixed the heads of defeated fighters on raised spears and admired the sight (IX, 462-466). Turnus is pleased to see killed Pallas and is delighted to imagine what the father of the young man will feel, when he sees the lifeless body of his son (IX, 758-760). Turnus is force and arrogance.⁴ The chimera on his helmet is an allusion to this.⁵

² Gleis R. F., *Der Vater der Dinge*, BAC, B. 7, Trier, 287.

³ *Ibid.*, 219-220.

⁴ Wisthore S. F., *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid*, The University of Massachusetts

Homer and Virgil describe in a naturalist manner a lot of scenes of rabid battles. The names of almost all heroes are specified in *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. We know exact names of the people, who Achilles and Aeneas fight with. However, Rustaveli's protagonists usually fight against nameless armies. Scenes of battles are not so lengthy in *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. Several strophes are sometimes sufficient for Rustaveli to describe a battle, but the passages attract attention with their poetic sonority and alliterations (447, 558).

Approach to loot. The character of heroes can be seen very well in their attitude towards loot, which is an award and compensation for courageous fighting. Fighters divide among each other captives, weaponry, gold, and silver on the basis of who made what contribution to victory. Correspondingly, the degree of a fighter's courage is defined by this award. Therefore, it is legal to accept it and appropriate arguments are necessary to reject it, if such thing is to happen. Precious weaponry of enemies is particularly attractive for fighters. Hector tries to obtain Achilles' weapons (XXII, 125-127) and Agamemnon also takes enemies' weapons (XI, 247). As regards Achilles, it is because of the weapons he was deprived of that he confronts Agamemnon. A hero receives material and spiritual respect for his courage ἡ τιμή and τὸ δῶρον. However, δῶρον alone cannot compensate τιμή. That is why Achilles rejects gifts from Agamemnon on both occasions. His second refusal is undoubtedly due to his reluctance to cast a shadow on the reason for his renewed involvement in the war – revenge for his friend's death. Although Achilles does not renounce the treasure (XVI, 84-86), it should be deserved in battles, not presented by Agamemnon. Precious presents offered by Agamemnon are no compensation for Achilles' humiliation. The denial to accept presents is an obstacle for full reconciliation, as it is contrary to ethical norms.⁶ According to *Iliad*, it is not prohibited for heroes to receive a ransom from enemies. That even seems to be necessary. Gods are concerned about Achilles' refusal to take a ransom and return Hector's dead body (XXIV, 115). It is Zeus' will that Iris convince Priam to meet Achilles with gifts that may please him (XXIV, 119, 146-147). Mother Thetis tells her son to accept the ransom and return Hector's body (XXIV, 137).

Loot is a sign of glory for Virgil too and its division among fighters is an ordinary rule. Enemies' precious weapons are the best treasure. They

Press, Amherst 1989, 96.

⁵ Buccheit V., *Vergil uber die Sendung Roms*, Heidelberg 1963, 92-93.

⁶ Шталь И., *Художественный мир гомеровского эпоса*, Москва 1983, 128.

are a symbol of victory (X, 449-450). Mezentius gives his son Lausus the weapons of defeated enemies (X, 700-701) and promises that he will also give him Aeneas' weapons soon (X, 774-776). This is nothing unusual. However, it is unethical and unreasonable to covet loot or rejoice at them (X, 495-500). In *Aeneid*, enemies' weapons always bring trouble to fighters. They seem to be pursued by the previous owners' fate (X, 700-710; II, 410-413).

This means that enemies' weaponry does not belong to victors and should be donated to the deity of war. This is what Aeneas does (X, 542). Pallas also promises to donate enemies' weaponry to the deity of war (X, 424). Aeneas sees a lot of weapons of defeated enemies in Latinus' palace (X, 700-710). The only episode in *Aeneid*, in which the victor does not take the weapons of defeated enemies and does not donate them to the deity of war, is that of Lausus (X, 825-830).

Rustaveli's heroes bring countless treasures from Khataeti (455) and the country of evil spirits (1429). The treasures belong to the army and country. Tariel chooses only two things from the treasury: an exotic knitted veil and a short woman's jacket. The two things attract him, as they are matchless pieces of art, which he presents to his beloved woman (460-462). Rustaveli's heroes do not covet loot. Avtandil refuses to take pirates' loot, although he was the only one, who gained it (1054).

It is noteworthy that protagonists do not use looted weapons in battles. They become involved in important battles with new weapons. Hephaestus makes new weaponry for Achilles and Vulcanus for Aeneas. Tariel, Avtandil, and Pridon open giants' chest before the war against evil spirits. There are three weapons in the chest meant for heroes, who are to combat the spirits (1368).

Tolerance. Is it a norm for a hero to pity his enemy, to show him mercy, not to deprive him of weapons, and not to insult his dead body? Such behaviour adds to a hero's dignity. Achilles does not listen to Hector's pleas not to abandon his body dishonourably after his death, but moved by Priam's request, returns the son's dead body to his father. Moreover, he does not let the father see his son's dishonoured body until he gives it proper treatment. Achilles does this with great tact and warmth.

How justified is Achilles' action regarding Hector's dead body? Is it a crime to dishonour an enemy's dead body? Why does Apollo reprimand him for this? Dishonouring an enemy's dead body is nothing unusual. Hector himself tries to get hold of Patroclus' dead body and weapons (XVII, 125-127). It is believed that a hero does not have the right to dishonour his enemy's dead body, if the latter is as courageous as the former. This is why Apollo and other gods reprimand Achilles. The poem

does not make it quite obvious that Achilles does not have the right to dishonour Hector's dead body. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why Achilles asks Patroclus' ghost to forgive him for returning Hector's body to his father (XXIV, 592-595). In addition, Achilles stealthily sends back Priam to Trojans to prevent Achaeans from seeing him and letting Agamemnon know, as the latter can hinder the old man from returning home (XXIV, 654-655). This means that Achilles' behaviour may offend Achaeans. If there is any rule, which can be discussed, it implies that a hero must cede the dead body to relatives after he receives a ransom. This is what gods advise Achilles: to calm his rage down, take the ransom, and return Hector's dead body (XXIV, 139). Of course, gods can stealthily take Hector's body (which is some of the gods decision - XXIV, 24, 104), but Zeus does not allow them to do so, because this will diminish Achilles' glory (XXIV, 110). This is important, as a hero cannot gain glory through violence against his enemy's soulless body (XXIV, 41-42; XXIV, 44-45).

After listening to his mother's advice, Achilles is ready to take ransom and return Hector's dead body to Priam. However, after his meeting with Priam, it is his personal desire to have mercy on the entreating man.

Aeneas is not a pitiless hero. He is ready to pay heed to Turnus' pleas and leave him alive, but when he notices young Pallas' belt on him, he becomes angry and kills his rival mercilessly. As regards Lausus, whom he kills, Aeneas is so charmed by his courage that he does not take his weapons and takes care to ensure that his relatives can bury him in a worthy manner (X, 825-830).

Aeneas takes pity on the defeated enemies and does not kill them (XII, 464-465). He forgives the entreating enemies, who ask for the dead bodies of their fellow fighters. Like Achilles, Aeneas calls a truce for 12 days to allow them to take care of the deceased people's souls (XI, 65-105). Turnus' fighters are surprised by Aeneas' nobility and glorify him (XI, 124-127).

Showing enemies mercy is nothing unusual for Tariel. He immediately agrees with King Parsadan's request to pity King Ramaz (465). He forgives King Ramaz, who asks for forgiveness for himself and the queen. According to Rustaveli's concept, it is great honour for a hero to forgive his defeated enemy, but this must not be detrimental to the state. Tariel forgives King Ramaz, but reminds him that he must not forget to pay the tribute (1648).

Forgiving enemies is not an obligatory norm of the war ethics, but it adds honour to heroes.

Repentance. Heroes sometimes realize that they made a mistake or committed a crime and they repent. Repentance is a precondition for a

spiritual victory. Repentance takes possession of Achilles after Patroclus' death. He is concerned, because he failed to help his friend or Achaeans (XVIII, 102-106). Achilles believes it was a mistake when he failed to overcome rage against Agamemnon (XVIII, 106-107) and Agamemnon also tries to justify himself before the army, ascribing his offensive behaviour to gods and maintaining that he quarrelled with the unrivalled Achaean hero in accordance with their will.

Aeneas does not express repentance for any of his actions. Although he is concerned about the fate of Dido, whom he abandoned, he does not regard this as his personal misdeed. However, others in *Aeneid* repent their behaviour. Turnus does so before his death (XII, 931), as well as King Latinus, who failed to observe the truce with Aeneas (XII, 612-613). King Ramaz, who was defeated by Tariel, regrets that he started a campaign against Tariel and is ready to be fully responsible for the crime he committed in exchange for immunity for his army (1611). This confession and care for innocent soldiers is undoubtedly a very noble move by King Ramaz, as ordinary people should not be punished for the steps and unreasonable decisions of their rulers.

Let us now consider what may be regarded as inappropriate behaviour of heroes and why they sometimes violate ethic norms. Stabbing enemies in the back or stealthily killing them is inappropriate for heroes. Achilles and Aeneas did not do anything like that, but there are nevertheless such examples in *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. Achaeans have to kill their sleeping enemies and Aeneas' companions also attack sleeping rivals.

Heroes in *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* also find themselves in such undesirable situations. They sometimes avoid becoming involved in battles, but of course, not because they are cowards. Avtandil kills the sleeping Tchashnagir, because he believes that he is not an equal rival (1110). Tariel also kills Nestan's bridegroom albeit after some hesitation, because Nestan insists on his doing so (542). He substantiates his plan, saying that this is a way out of the situation that has taken shape and that it is better to kill one man than the whole army.

It is no surprise that heroes make mistakes in extreme situations. Heroes sometimes find themselves facing an unexpected dilemma and they have no time for thinking. Homer's, Virgil's, and Rustaveli's heroes are not unmakeable. They are mortals and human weaknesses are not unknown to them. That is why their behaviour is always convincing – both when they violate ethic norms in extreme situations and when they act in accordance with moral norms.

Ketevan Gardapkhadze (Tbilisi)

GREEK SYMBOLS IN GALAKTION TABIDZE'S POETIC LANGUAGE

The works of Galaktion Tabidze, one of the greatest poets of the 20th century, are noteworthy in many aspects. One such aspect is that his poetry cannot be described within the frameworks of any literary trend. Several main trends are identified in G. Tabidze's poetry: symbolist, those stemming from Georgian classical literature and folklore, and realist, which is a mechanical division of G. Tabidze's poetry, which "elucidated its own and the whole Georgian culture's relationship with the 'immense global lyre'. That is why G. Tabidze so easily manages to get into conversation and sometimes argue or compete with the global culture of Antiquity, the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and the 19th and 20th centuries."¹

However, G. Tabidze's poetry attracts attention first and foremost for the poet's great interest in and respect for Old Greece. With the intensity and depth of its reference to the Greek cultural traditions, G. Tabidze's poetry is an absolutely special event in the Georgian literature of the 20th century. On the one hand, ancient Greece is for G. Tabidze an everlasting value and the foundation of the world civilization, which people in various epochs regularly revert to and, on the other hand, the Greek civilization is his own country's historical and mythological past – the legends of the Argonauts' trip to Colchis and Prometheus chained to the Caucasus ridge. Therefore, the poet often refers to Greek themes in the context of his own homeland's history. In addition, ancient Greece was the landmark, which was to link Georgia's past glory with the most important values of the global culture.

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

At the same time, Hellas as an image and symbol can be regarded as most intensively represented in G. Tabidze's works. I do not mean the frequency of the use of this specific term, but the depth of perception of this term as an image and symbol, i. e. the amount and nature of the information linked to them. Hellas as an image and symbol is represented in poems in quite different parameters:

1. Geographic and ethnic: Athens, Lesbos, Rhodes, Spartans, Salamis, Thermopolis, Illis, Megarians, Olympus, Phaleron Bay, Hellespont, Lacedaemon;
2. Historic and social: Hetaera, Harmodius, Aristogeiton, Hipparchus, Aspasia, Dionysus ritual;
3. Literary: elegy, Demosthenes, Homer, epitaph, Pindar, Sappho, Anacreon, Archilochus, Thucydides, Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, Simonides, catharsis, iamb, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, ode, paean;
4. Scientific: Archimedes, atom, logos, academy.
5. Art: Parthenon, altar of Borea, amphitheatre, Praxiteles, Doric and Ionic columns;
6. Mythology: Medea, Argonauts, Dionysus, Musa, Titans, Sphynx, Aphrodite, Zeus, Zephira, Jason, Nymph, Niobe, Orpheus, Aristaeus, Niobids, Prometheus, Maenads, Tethys, Artemide, Actaeon, Hydra, Gratiae, Gryphon, Demeter, Daemon, Helen, Diomedes, Themis, Calyptos, Tydeus, Achilles, Phoenix, Hermes.

I would like to add that the multi-functionality of Greek images also attracts attention in G. Tabidze's poetry. In this regard, Dionysus is most remarkable, bearing various symbolic overtones in seven cases out of eight (the divine prototype of the poet; the symbol of vegetation; the symbol of those, who aroused the muse of sculptors for creating masterpieces; the symbol of theatricality; the symbol of divine perfection; the symbol of a deity suffering for humanity; and the symbol of satisfaction and hedonism). It is noteworthy that the most popular symbol of Dionysus (Bacchus) remains almost without any attention with G. Tabidze. It is also noteworthy that the poet is quite consistent in using Greek images and symbols in his narrative poems and verses. In addition, the poet uses many Greek images and symbols as artistic images in absolutely different manner. G. Tabidze manages to establish completely new connections with already known and traditional images, transforming them into a basis for non-traditional and unexpected comparisons ("Although

wrinkles covered his forehead like epitaphs a tombstone",² "Argonauts' belt, a cloud in colourfulness"³). If we take a statistic look at this issue, the poet uses 114 Greek images and symbols 231 times at various levels:

1. A Greek poetic image as a component of a small structure within a verse. In such cases, Greek terms are used as symbols or arguments for a poetic idea with their functions organically linked to the general structure and purpose of verses.
2. A Greek poetic image as a component of a large structure within a verse. In such cases, we may have various kinds of works. They may be based fully on a mythological theme or the poet may be creating a world linked to completely different periods of history of ancient countries. There are cases, when the author eliminates chronological barriers and represents himself as part of this large harmonious universe.

To illustrate the aforementioned, one work will be considered from each block. The first verse to be discussed is "He made friends with it", which, in my opinion, is quite interesting for interpreting. The verse describes the problem of confrontation between humans and nature. It starts with the following first line: "Man made friends with nature itself." The rest of the work, however, effectively describes alienation between man and nature. The following passage is quite interesting in this confrontation:

It will respond to everything with revenge.
What does he pin his hopes on?
The clumsy rage of the old fever of natural forces,
Which makes Archimedes sad even today.⁴

Many discoveries that enabled man to make an impact on nature are linked to Archimedes. It is also known that people in Antiquity regarded as sacrilege to use talents bestowed by gods against nature and humans.⁵ It is known that Archimedes was involved in the following episode: When the Roman fleet attacked his native town of Syracuse, the ruler of Syracuse, Hiero, asked him, as a great scientist, for help. Archimedes created an amazing defensive system for the town based on the practical application of the laws of mechanics he had discovered. The Roman fleet found itself in a terrible situation and had to retreat. However, Archimedes seems not to have forgiven himself this sin, so he did not

² Tabidze G., Complete works in 12 volumes, vol. VII, Tbilisi 1968, 28, 52 (*in Georgian*).

³ Tabidze G., 1968, 88.

⁴ Tabidze G., 1968, 263.

⁵ Geschichte des wissenschaftlichen Denkens in Altertum, hrsg. F. Jurs, Berlin 1982.

leave any drawings linked to the use of his laws in battle equipment and did not even try to create a similar defensive system, when Romans attacked again. He fell victim to the Roman conquest of Syracuse together with his fellow citizens.⁶

Given the aforementioned, I think that G. Tabidze uses Archimedes as a symbol of concern about humanity and thoughts on establishing harmonious relations between nature and humans and combining theoretical ideas of humans with practical deeds with respect to nature. That is why the line "Which makes Archimedes sad even today" should be understood as a symbol of the problem that has worried humanity since Antiquity: confrontation between humans and nature (Discussion of the confrontation between nature and humanity started back in the times of Hesiod.⁷).

To better understand the function of the Greek images and symbols of the second block, I would like to concentrate on one aspect in G. Tabidze's works, which has not been sufficiently explored. It is his poetic treaty "Conversation about Lyrics" (1940), where he describes in a poetic form the main function of poetry and lyrics. The author says that poetry should first and foremost convey the heartbeat of the public and serve the country:

Let us serve
Our Homeland again,
Listen to its call.⁸

How seriously G. Tabidze prepared to write this narrative poem, becomes obvious in the so-called prosaic version of the poem, which is effectively a kind of scientific prooemium written before the poem itself.⁹ We will revert to the comments at the end of this article. Here, I would like to say a few words about the structure of the poem, which consists of 176 strophes. They can thematically be divided into the following parts:

1. Strophes I-VI are the so-called introduction devoted to the poet's memories and description of his homeland;
2. Strophes VII-XL present a lengthy discussion of the function of poetry and its connection with society;
3. Strophes XLI-LXI are devoted to a systemic poetic overview of the archaic Greek lyrics;

⁶ Plut., *Pelopid*. Marcell., XIV, XIX.

⁷ Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. with Prolegomena and Commentary by H. I. West, Oxford 1966.

⁸ Tabidze G., Complete works in 12 volumes, vol. IX, Tbilisi 1971, 148 (*in Georgian*).

⁹ Tabidze G., Complete works in 12 volumes, vol. XII, Tbilisi 1975, 566-575 (*in Georgian*).

4. Strophes LXII-CLXXXVI describe in a non-systemic manner main aspects of the development of poetry together with a certain amount of the poet's political views. This part of the poem is mostly associative: associations linked to one theme give rise to the discussion of another theme and the poet switches from Georgian poetry to facts of world poetry.

Correspondingly, it can be said that the only passage in the whole poem, which is systemic and logical is the discussion of the archaic Greek lyrics. G. Tabidze effectively emphasized that this period was outstanding in the development of world lyrics with its logic and organic connection with the social and political contexts. In my opinion, G. Tabidze's opinion on archaic Greek lyrics is noteworthy for two aspects:

1. The poet's vision of how archaic lyrics took shape, what was most important on this path, and which poets he deems most important in the archaic period of Greek lyrics;
2. How laconic and interesting is the poet's description of the poetry, when he characterizes the works of each poet.

As I already said, for G. Tabidze, the main thing in poetry is to emphasize the position of an active citizen. He believes that in this regard, archaic Greek lyrics, which charms us with its "national spirit and modesty" is incomparable.¹⁰ Given this, G. Tabidze concentrates only on those poets, who are appropriate to public sentiments. Therefore, it is quite easy to explain the fact that we do not encounter in the poem names like Sappho, Alcaeus, or Anacreon, i. e. the poetry that can be regarded as "lyrics for lyrics".¹¹

G. Tabidze starts speaking about the functional force of lyrics with legendary Orpheus, who is presented with the following features: people attribute magic force to him; his songs can move inanimate things and even "heartless and powerful gods" and can tame beasts. It can be said that the poem shows quite fully the features of Orpheus described in the mythological tradition.¹²

G. Tabidze regards Archilochus of Paros as the forefather of lyric poetry: "Archilochus was the forefather of lyric poetry".¹³ In this case, G. Tabidze takes into account two circumstances: first, Archilochus is the first poet in the history of European literature, whose phase of life can be dated more or less precisely, and second, he is the first poet, who can be

¹⁰ Tabidze G., 1971, 154.

¹¹ Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization*, I, Tbilisi 1988, 201-232 (*in Georgian*).

¹² Zigler K., *RE* XVIII. 1, 1200-1316.

¹³ Tabidze G., 1971, 15.

described as a truly lyric poet, as his poetry is the first to show so boldly the individualism of a lyric poet.¹⁴

Writing about Archilochus, G. Tabidze emphasizes three main features: iambographer, intolerance of humiliation, and sharp lyrics, which G. Tabidze describes with a capacious expression - "poison of lyrics". The poet used these allusions to describe the main features of the individuality of Archilochus of Paros as a poet and citizen.

Among the poets of archaic period, G. Tabidze mentions Tyrtaeus and, in this connection, wars between Spartans and Messenians, in which Spartans, who were few in number, defeated the enemies thanks to the poet's ardent verses that served to arouse war energy and determination. Tyrtaeus was indeed one of the forefathers of war lyrics,¹⁵ which is most important for G. Tabidze. As we know from the history of literature, Tyrtaeus wrote not only war elegies. He was the first poet, who glorified the political system of his own polis. Unfortunately, G. Tabidze does not concentrate on this issue.¹⁶

In the three strophes of the poem devoted to Solon, G. Tabidze recites the well-known story of recapturing Salamina, emphasizing the decisive role of Solon's war songs in the recapture. In addition, writing about Solon's poetry, the poet describes it as elegiac poetry, which puts emphasis on philosophic and social problems, and "links to verses"¹⁷ laws and political addresses. As a political figure and poet, Solon was interested in the future of the polis, laws of its existence, and relations between society and personalities (correlation between the divine and human spheres),¹⁸ which G. Tabidze conveys in a very laconic and precise manner.

G. Tabidze also writes about a well-known representative of choral lyrics, Simonides of Ceos, being interested only in those aspects of his poetry, which depict the Greek-Persian war. It is known that Simonides devoted beautiful lines to the Spartan heroes, who fell near Thermopiles. The lines in G. Tabidze's poetry may be the first attempt of translation into Georgian of the famous epitaph that came down to us as written by Simonides of Ceos: "O Stranger, send the news home to the Lacedaemonians that here we lie at rest: the commands they gave us have been obeyed". The

¹⁴ Gordeziani R., *Greek Literature*, Tbilisi 2002, vol. I, 175-183 (*in Georgian*); West M. L., *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin, New York 1974, 23-28.

¹⁵ Gordeziani R., *Op. cit.*, 186-188.

¹⁶ Arist., *Polit.*, 5, 6, 2; Strab., 8, 362.

¹⁷ Tabidze G., 1971, 152-153.

¹⁸ Latacz., GLTD, 184.

comments make it clear that the translation was made from Russian, because the author adds in brackets a phrase in Russian ("loyal to commands of homeland" - "верные закону родины").¹⁹ G. Tabidze says nothing about other aspects of the poetry of Simonides of Ceos (as a professional and intellectual), because the main thing for him is Simonides' love for his homeland expressed in his poems as praises of homeland.

Among lyric poets, G. Tabidze gives a highest assessment to Pindar. He points out the main features of Pindar: "singing in an amazing voice", glorifying his homeland, writing odes and hymns, glorifying the winners in Olympic and Pythian games, abundance of strophes, beauty of images, eloquence, and "მისამღერო მსახველი ძალა". One aspect G. Tabidze likes most in Pindar's works is the general Hellenic nature of his poetry. The heroes Pindar praised participated in Pan-Hellenic competitions, expressing the faith of people and the force and immortality of their genes.

Let us now revert to the comments (the prosaic version of the poem), which we mentioned above. G. Tabidze creates a theoretical basis for his poem in it. He departs from the assumption that lyrics is the force that "breathes eternal vitality and develops together with the pace of development of humanity."²⁰ According to G. Tabidze, the harmonious connection of lyrics with public and political life was particularly strong in Greece in the 7th and 6th centuries BC and became one of the motive forces of society. As a summary, G. Tabidze refers to his own translation of a scholium called a song of Harmodius by a scholiast known by the name of Callistratus, who praises Harmodius and Aristogeiton for their attempt to kill a tyrant.

G. Tabidze's poem makes it clear that no one in Georgian poetry has gone as far as he did in the creative comprehension of Antiquity. His poem can be regarded as the most competent praise of the archaic Greek lyrics in Georgian poetry. In addition, it has an excellent poetic form.

Given this, it becomes clear that the frequent use of Greek images and symbols in G. Tabidze's works is due not only to paying tribute to the origins of the European civilization, but also to the poet's boundless respect and love for Hellenic culture. That is why Greek images used by G. Tabidze are so organically linked to the structure and poetics of his verses.

¹⁹ Tabidze G., Complete works in 12 volumes, vol. XII, Tbilisi 1973, 569 (*in Georgian*).

²⁰ Tabidze G., 1973, 570-571.

Manana Garibashvili (Tbilisi)

ANCIENT MOTIFS IN THE WORKS OF GEORGIAN SYMBOLISTS

When I decided to work on this topic, I knew in advance that the sources would not be numerous. However, I believe that the period nevertheless deserves special attention as it is here that Georgian poetry becomes familiarized with ancient names and motifs.

The traces of close cultural relations of the Georgian tribes with the ancient world are lost in the depths of centuries. However, they are not easy to discern in the classical Georgian poetry, which belongs to a much later period. If *The Knight in the Tiger Skin* may offer some parallels with the ancient world – through vigorous efforts at that – the later Georgian poetry cannot be ‘blamed’ of the same: both the poets and the audience are absolutely detached from the ancient world and know almost nothing about it. The poetry of the Revival makes no mention of even a single name either from mythology or from history, which has always been quite the opposite in the European poetry.

The only exclusion is Davit Guramishvili’s *Merry Summer*, which opens with the struggle of winter and spring, which proceeds against the following names: “[He] had assigned Evros as the commander against Cecia; the latter was followed by Lipsi Zepiros Phoinix, Borias, Notos. Summer had Cecia as the commander, where Evros stood idle. He was followed by Argestes, Apil, ergast, Thrascias Livontos.”)¹

Guramishvili may seem to be using some Russian source; however, this is not so as all the names are borrowed from Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani’s *Lexicon*, specifically, the entry for “wind”, while Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani must have been the only person in Georgia having an access to ancient sources.

¹ Davit Guramishvili, *Katsvia the Shepherd, Davitiani*, Tbilisi 1955, 180.

Another instance of quoting ancient names is attested in a five foot quintuplet „ღაკეარგე მინერვა, სიბრძნის დიდება: (“I lost Minerva, the praise of wisdom”).

It was already the end of the 18th century or the turn of the 19th when the phenomenon, labeled by Akaki Urushadze as *Via Rusica* developed. The author tries to give an in-line definition of the word, probably, being sure that it conveyed nothing to a reader.

The first Georgian poet having a direct access to French and Russian classicist poetry was Alexandre Chavchavadze. The literature in question was full of Greek and Roman names, which in fact could be qualified as a necessary feature of lyric poetry of those times. The poems frequently referred not only to mythological, but also to lyrical characters and their beloved too mainly had ancient names.

Alexandre Chavchavadze paid a tribute to the tradition. However, these names did not quite fit his poetic world, abounding with oriental vocabulary and five-foot quintuplets. „მსწრაფლ აპოლონ მოიწია შურითა და განაგლო თავთირ ფერთა საღებად“ (“Apollo swiftly came forth with envy and drove Tagtir out to apply colors”), where Tagtir is the name of some star, presumably in Turkish. Or let us consider the following lines integrated into a five-foot quintuplet: „ხლოევ, რაა მაგრე მარგო გარეზა, არცალა თუ მომხლვიხარ დღესა მე“ (“Chloe, why do you let me stride along alone, why do not you accompany me today”). The only case when an ancient name sounds natural in his verse is the following line: “შემოდგომამა ბახუსი საწნახელში ჩააყენა”² (“Autumn stored Bacchus in wine press”).

The trend did not persist with the following generation of poets. The whole of the 19th century passed without any interest in antiquity, apart from the cases when a myth was directly association with Georgia (Prometheus, the Argonauts). Akaki Tsereteli wrote a poem called *Medeia*. However, no other case presents itself.

And at last, in the 1910s, a group of Georgian poets, “Tsisperkantselebi” (“The Poets of Cerulean Drinking-Horn”) came on scene, calling themselves symbolists. Now I will not dwell on what symbolism was, all the more so that the question in itself is quite controversial and no exhaustive definition as yet offers itself. Neither shall I discuss to what extent a particular poet can be found a symbolist, as it may turn out that the only Orthodox symbolist was Valerian Gaprindashvili. However,

² Aleksandre Chavchavadze, *An Amusing Pentametric Verse*, Georgian Prose, vol. 6, Tbilisi 1975, 29.

neither this is important for the present paper. What in fact matters is that by their literary stand, the poets were aesthetes and thanks to this very quality, ancient names and motifs sounded so natural in their writings.

Though I do not aim to dwell on the theoretical issues of symbolism, there are some points that still need to be mentioned.

Georgian symbolism developed under a direct influence of Russian symbolism. Though it has its own original character and does not closely resemble the Russian version, the theoretical grounds are anyway the same. Russian symbolism is highly literate, full of scholarly reminiscences. This was determined not so much by French symbolism as by the taste and literary propensities of Valeri Brysov, the founder and the theoretical "legislator" of Russian symbolism. His close affinity with ancient world was clearly reflected on Russian symbolism on the whole.

Georgian symbolists had a high regard for Brysov as a theorist and as a poet of special significance. It was through Brysov's translations and papers that they became acquainted with and fetishized Baudelaire and Verlaine, Rimbaud and Verharn, also E. A. Poe. Therefore, Brysov's propensity to the ancient works were likewise treated with due consideration. In this respect too Valerian Gaprindashvili was the most orthodox of all.

Valerian Gaprindashvili's poetic world during his symbolist period is a secluded conventional space, scarcely admitting any reverberations of the outer world. This was his principal and deliberate stance. He wrote: "Today poetry is burnt in its kiln, without borrowing anything from life."³ I will not now discuss how truthful this statement is, at least in terms of his own poetry. Several extracts from his own reasoning are sufficient to reject this view. However, it is doubtless that Valerian Gaprindashvili aspired for the fulfillment of this statement. He had another requirement for the new type of poetry, called "the magic of names". "Nowadays poetry abounds in names like Calios' fingers with precious stones. ... At first, a name has a real content, but it gradually gets rid of reality and becomes a value of its own. The whole Greek mythology now is the magic of names, distanced from its initial ground."⁴

Naturally, when a modern poet mentions an ancient mythological name, it is impossible to avoid some distance from the initial context as it now serves a different poetic intention. However, to our surprise, Valerian Gaprindashvili believes that the names are to be fully purged of the old

³ Gaprindashvili V., *Poems, Translations, Essays*, Tbilisi 1990, 523.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 523.

content, which is likewise impossible as they retain not only their phonetic sound, but also stir specific associations and reminiscences. Anyway, according to the theory, Valerian Gaprindashvili's poetry is expected to be full of ancient names, which is not so at all, with the exception of "sphinxes", "demons" and "chimeras", mentioned in his every other poem.

This too has a theoretical grounding in Gaprindashvili's works, as he was inspired by a desire to create new myths and raise poets and literary characters to the ranks of deities: "Today poets replace Greek gods in poetry: Chatterton, Rimbaud, Besiki, Machabeli, Hoffmann, Villiers de l'Isle, Adam enrapture poet's dream to a no lesser degree than Zeus and Apollo, Aphrodite and Athena ... If earlier there was Apollo in poetry, now there is Goethe, if there was Medusa Gorgon before, now there are Edgar and Maldoror... Then the poet was inspired by Hellenic and Roman gods, now he is inspired by the fantastic names of the poets of the past, earlier, the poet was inspired by Orpheus and Eurydice, while now he is inspired by Beatrice and Alighieri."⁵

He goes even farther with regard to Alighieri, declaring that the name of Beatrice is more important than of the author of the *Divina Comedia*. The extract was quoted to illustrate the poet's high regard for the Hellenic deities and heroes, even if conveyed through negation. The names are enumerated exhaustively – the list is longer than cited. This too points to some kind of association with the Greek world. Ancient world was much closer to the poet than in earlier Georgian literature.

In the poems of the period, Gaprindashvili frequently mentions Ophelia in an attempt to mould an unattainable symbolic image of the beloved and, despite his theoretical divergence from antiquity, nevertheless resorts to ancient Greek mythos:

ვით ევრიდიკას ორფეოსი – მე ოფელიას
 ვისმობ დასის მიუწვდომელ ალურ ზღუდიდან.
 ელიზიუმი უკეთესი სამყოფელია
 და ჩემმა გრფობამ მას წყურვილი ვერ გაუღიდა.
 მეგონა: იგი აჩრდილების სადაისოდან
 წამომყვებოდა, ვუმღერებდი ლექსებს მთვარეულს.
 თუმცა ასულმა აღგაცემა ლექსით იცოდა,
 ვერ ღავამორე ურთადახრილი წრეს სიმზარეულს.

⁵ Ibid., Declaration (New Mythology), 544.

“Like Orpheus calling Eurydice,/ I summon Ophelia from the flame-coloured boundary of the unattainable harbor of the sun./ Elysium is the better place to dwell/ and my love failed to increase her quench.

“I thought she would follow me from the harbor of shadows and sang to her moony verses. But the virgin was aware of the delight of verse./ And I could not take her away from the dreamy circle, her wings being folded.”

And finally:

მე მოვიხედავ, ცხელ საკირის წრეს გადასული,
და ბნელ სიჩუმის უღაბური ხმა მიპასუხებს.⁶

“In will look back, having passed the circle of the hot kiln,/ and the barren voice of black darkness will respond to me”.

It is needless to remind the readers well acquainted with the Hellenic world of the events Orpheus and Eurydice encountered on their way from Hades. As we can see, the parallels are drawn successfully.

Valerian Gaprindashvili quotes ancient names in his other poems as well. However, as they do not have any special functions apart from the above-mentioned “magic of names”, there is no need to provide interpretations. Therefore, I will not quote them in the paper.

Paolo Iashvili’s works lack reminiscences on antiquity. Geronti Kikodze notes that Paolo had little in common with symbolists in terms of his outlook and propensities. Indeed, unlike Valerian Gaprindashvili, his poetic world is oriented to the outer reality. He does not create a conventional poeticized environment and one may hardly expect to come across an ancient flow in his works, even in terms of theoretical probability.

I will diverge for a while from the main point and mention that a few years ago the name of certain Elene Bakradze was brought to light, who claimed to be the author of the Darian Cycle. The issue stirred hot and lengthy disputed. Paolo Iashvili’s authorship was questioned. However, some sources must have escaped close attention: In 1922, Valerian Gaprindashvili writes in his letter “Declaration (new mythology)”: “A poet can create a new myth...”⁷ and mentions among others Elene Darian. I believe this argument does not require any further corroboration. Who else could know the truth better than Valerian Gaprindashvili, who was a supporter and partaker in all symbolist initiatives.

⁶ Ibid., Ophelia-Eurydice, 106.

⁷ Ibid., Declaration (New Mythology), 545.

Let us return to our main point. Titsian Tabidze's poetic world is slightly more oriented to book and literature. However, in his symbolist period he chose ancient East – Chaldea or Phoenicia as the space for his privacy. Even in that period, the system of symbols he employed was oriented to the reality, to immediate experience. The most recurrent of the literary images is demon, which however, is more of Lermontov's demon and thus has little in common with the ancient world.

Leaving aside Carthage, the Phoenician goddess Tanit and Salambo, borrowed rather from Flaubert's novel than from antiquity, only two interesting cases offer themselves in terms of our immediate goal. They are mentioned in the poem *The Rioni Port* devoted to the drainage of *Kolkheti marshes*. The narrative starts from an ancient period:

ჰიპოკრატე ძველი ბერძენი,
 ასე წერდა ამ ქვეყანაზე,
 (სჯობდა რომ სულაც არ დაეწერა):
 ქვეყანა, რომელსაც ჩაუღის ფაზის მდინარე,
 არის ჭაობიანი, ცხელი და ნოტიო,
 შემოსილია გარშემო ტყით,
 ყოველდღე მოღის დიდი წვიმები ...⁸

"Hippocrates the ancient Greek,/ wrote the following about this land/ (he would better not write at all):/ The land which is washed by the Phasis River,/ is wet, warm and humid,/ set in woods,/ where it rains heavily everyday."

And so forth. This in only to provide evidence as there is nothing to comment on. The quoted text is basically written in free verse and therefore, Hippocritus' words are rendered precisely.

The other case is more interesting:

ვიყავი ადრე მე ანტონიოს,
 დღეს მართლა ვგავარ ნერონს მკივანი.
 ბევრი ოცნება გამოვივლოვე
 და ბევრი მდაღავს ახლაც მტკივანი.⁹

"Earlier I used to be Antony,/ and now I truly resemble Nero as I lament./ I have mourned over many a dream/ and many still torture me painfully".

At the first sight, there is nothing important beyond the words. Nero appears as the embodiment of madness. However, it is unclear what accounts for the reference to Antony. Pasternak's Russian translation reads as follows:

⁸ Titsian Tabidze, *Rioni-Port*, Selected Works, Tbilisi 1960, 211.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Earlier I used to be*, 156.

Н жк о йпуифс йуй Учьфншв,
 БЪВЪПД ашочьс йуй ЧЪШШ.¹⁰

In my opinion, the publishers of the book could not understand the name Antinous and “corrected” it to Antony. The rhyming suggests the same – “*antinoe – gamoviglove*”. Though it may not altogether successful, Titsian Tabidze normally found such rhyming satisfactory. The line does not refer to Antinous of the *Odyssey*, the most distinguished suitor of Penelope. The poet alludes to the beautiful Greek lad from the retinue of the Roman Emperor Hadrian, who was found drowned in Nile. It is not known whether Antinous was killed or committed suicide. Hadrian was overcome by unparalleled grief: for years he would erect temples to in the lad’s honour and tried to establish his cult. Thus, the meaning of the lines is quite clear: earlier the poet used to be as beautiful as Antinous, while now he resembled Nero, fattened and anguished.

Tsitsian Tabidze’s works occasionally mention some more ancient names:

მინდა დღეს მოვეწყო მართლა ლირიკულად –
 ჩვენშიც შეიძლება, რომ იყოს პინდარი.¹¹

“I would now like to set myself to a lyric tune – / we too may convey Pindar within us”.

Most of all the poet mentions the Argonauts and Orpheus. Ancient names appear sporadically in the works of minor Georgian symbolists too, such as Shalva Apkhaidze, Shalva Karmeli, a gifted young poet, who passed away at an early age, etc.

Grigol Robakidze’s attitude to antiquity is somewhat different – more conceptual. Being older than the generation of the Cerulean Drinking Horn poets, he was less subject to the influence of foreign symbolists, and did not even find himself a symbolist; however, as he was admitted as the leader of the group and had a remarkable impact on the whole trend, it will be incorrect not to mention his name among the symbolists.

In some respect, he believed to be the child of Hellas, as rendered in the following line: “ჰელადის შვილი ვარ ერთგული მე „ამორ ფატის“ (“The Child of Hellas I am, devoted to “amor fati”). However, his being son of Hellas stems from Nietzsche’s *The Birth of Tragedy*.

¹⁰ Тициан Табидзе, Избранное, Москва 1963, 95.

¹¹ Titsian Tabidze, Dadaistic Madrigal, Selected Works, Tbilisi 1960, 170.

In its classical understanding, the culture of Hellas, naturally, is associated with harmony and light, and with the mood rendered in Galaktion's poem: „ელადა, ელადა, აქ სული აგარებს თვის მსუბუქ სამოსელს“ (“Hellas, Hellas, here the soul wears its light garment”). The new epoch also saw in the Hellenic culture a different beginning too. Nietzsche distinguished between two principles: Apollonian, which is light and harmonious and Dionysian – a dark, irrational, ecstatic, orgiastic stream. Grigol Robakidze aspires for the embodiment of the second one.

ხელები ჟინი ალესილი ქარვის კალოსი!
 დიდი შუადღის ავხორცობით დავიგეშებით,
 ღვთის საბლოვით მეწამულნი: ვიწვით, ვითვრებით.
 რასხებ-შებმული გყდება პანის სპილენძის კვერი
 და სიყვარულის ბნელას გვაყრის მზის ავი გვერი.¹²

“Hands sharpened with the passion of amber threshing ground!/We will be incited with midday salacity,/we, tortured by proximity with god: burn and go tipsy./ Pan's brass threshing board, with bay horses harnessed to it, breaks apart/and the malicious threshing board of the sun makes us swoon with love.”

The copper threshing board is an attribute of Dionysus rather than of the pan. Tigers and lions used to be harnessed in it. However, for Robakidze, pan is not merely a four-legged comic deity; first of all he is the creature that provokes panic, he is the great pan, whose death marked the end to one great civilization. The poet imagines him as Dionysus, whom he resembles by his inner orgiastic nature, madness and irrationality.

“ჩემი ღერბია დიონისეს მედალიონი”¹³ (“My emblem is Dionysus' medallion”), he declares and returns to the theme in another poem called *Irrubakidze*.

უსმენს მხოლოდ ქვესკნელის გუგუნს,
 ერთხელ აიწყვიტა და გაიჭიხინა
 დიონისის სიგყვა ...¹⁴

“He listens only to the roar of abyss/ once he broke loose and neighed Dionysus' word.”

In Grigol Robakidze's poetic imagination the Dionysian beginning ties together Eros and Thanatos in an eternal knot. His well-known play *Londa*

¹² Grigol Robakidze, “The Great Midday”, *The Poets of the Cerulean Horn, One Hundred Poems, Poetry, Tbilisi 2007*, 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, “Automedallion”, 15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Irrubakidze*, 18.

is devoted to this theme. Containing no explicit references to the ancient world, the play anyway abounds in associations with Hellas. One can clearly recognize the rhythms and tones of ancient Greek dithyrambs and dramas of destiny. Here too prevails the Dionysian principle. Eros and Thanatos are interlocked.

Pursuant to this very idea, he refers to the mythical relationship of Alexander the Great and the Amazons several times. The story is narrated at length in an unfinished, or rather, abandoned novel *Palestra*. The seeds of the same motif can be discerned already in the poem *Irrubakidze*.

ირანის თეთრი ღამე ქვის ლომზე გავათენე.
(ფილიპის ძე თვითონ ამ ლომის სახელია).
ეს იყო სამადანში:
საცა ერთ ღამეს დიდმა ალექსანდრემ
ათი ათას მხედარს ათი ათასი ქალი
მოთენთილ ბალახებზე ცოლებად გაუფინა.
მე მხოლოდ მომაგონდა –
მაგრამ დავიკვილე: რომ ვნახე გადალახვა...¹⁵

“I spent awake the white Iranian night on a stony lion./ (The son of Phillip is the name of the Lion itself)./ This was in Khamadan:/ where one night Alexander the Great/ lay 10 000 maids as wives to 10 000 horsemen on the wearied grass./ I only recollected -/ but I cried: that I saw the trance.”

One more poem to quote in this regard is *Horn-butted by the Sun*, which the author intended to be included into a drama to be called *Kardu*:

ყივზაღეთს იყო
ქალი მოვიტაცე.
ცხენზე შემოვიღე დედალი ავაზა.
განი დაყურსული გავშვართე უნაგირზე.
თეთრი თეძოების ვიხილე გახელება.
ხგოდნენ აგეხილი ავხორცი მუხლები
და თვითონ ნადირი გავხდი მე ნადირი.
კოცნა კბენა იყო,
ალერსი – დანა.
მუცელი გაზნექილი
პირით გადავდარე
და მარჯვე ნაპრალიდან
ვესროლე მდინარეს.
გუჩები სისხლიანი

¹⁵ Ibid.

უაფარბე ავიწმინდე.¹⁶

"It was in the land of Kivchaghs,/ I kidnapped a woman./I put on my horse a female cheetah,/ sprawled the curvy body of the saddle,/saw the madness of white hips./ The lecherous knees would jump lustfully,/And I the beast turned into a prey (And I the capturer turned into a captured beast). /The kiss was a bite, /the caress was a knife. /I slashed with my mouth/ the bent stomach/ and from an apt gap/ threw it to the river./I dried my bloody lips with the mane."

At the first sight, nothing in the poem seems to be ancient. However, as Grigol Robakidze himself notes, the quoted extract was inspired by Tacitus' story, specifically, the passage that relates about Radamant's and Zenobia's adventure. "Hardly any story has impressed me that much", he writes. "I saw in the woman a real "earth" with lustful breasts and the will capable of self-sacrifice. In the man I saw a real superhuman essence, abiding with the love for fate (amor fati)".

As the parallel is exhaustively discussed in Akaki Bakradze's book *Kardu*, dedicated to Robakidze, I will not dwell on it any more. I will only note that here too Eros and Thanatos are interwoven.

It is common knowledge that Galaktion Tabidze used to belong to the Cerulian Horns but afterwards gradually moved away from the group without confronting anyone in public. The only exception was Grigol Robakidze, whose "fits of madness" and "trances" obviously appealed to Galaktion as false and insincere, and compelled him to oppose the elderly poet openly.

"The fantasist is greater in the first/and lesser in the second,/the first is a poet,/and the second is all shows".¹⁷

If these lines may seem too general to identify the referent, the first version of the verse leaves no room for doubts as it directly mentions Robakidze. The poem may also refer to Galaktion himself, as the symbolic trend is no less obvious in his poems. However, this topic has been profoundly treated for years by our colleague, Ketil Gardaphadze and therefore, I feel there is nothing I could add to it.

As I have mentioned in the beginning, the material is scanty. The cult of antiquity has never been established in Georgian literature. However, after the period of symbolist, references to antiquity do not sound as odd as in Alexandre Chavchavadze's poems.

I would like to cite an example from Konstantine Chichinadze's works. Though having no connections with symbolism, he too reckoned himself

¹⁶ Grigol Robakidze, *Centaurs*, Dramas, Tbilisi 1990, 260.

¹⁷ Galaktion Tabidze, *Others Wail*, Tbilisi 1977, 308.

among the pupils of Valeri Brysov. Therefore, I believe it will not be inappropriate to quote him in here. In his *Apology to Rion* he states most eloquently that at the sources of the Phasis river, "With her swift hounds and her bow,/White Diana strode up the meadows,/to tire her passionless body."¹⁸

In conclusion I would like to say that despite the many ages-long close relations between the two nations, we failed to trace the direct influence of antiquity on old Georgian poetry. If ecclesiastic poetry introduced an equivalent of the iambic trimetre, whose one rhythmical version is still used today ("შოთა ბრძენ იყო, სიბრძნის მოყვარე ფრიად/ფილოსოფოსი, მეტყველი სპარსთა ენის"), secular poetry does not offer even such a case. Several ancient names are mentioned only at the end of the 18th and the start of the 19th centuries. For the first time in Georgian literature these names and several motifs of antiquity establish a perceptible place the 1910s and 1920s, in the poems of symbolists. If in Valerian Gaprindashvili's and other poet's works (such as Shalva Karmeli's poem *Café*. "A princess has come with a dog, rustling and gentle like Artemis"¹⁹) reference to ancient names is somewhat ornamental, in Grigol Robakidze's works it is more functional. In Galaktion's poetry, which has not been discussed in this paper, both types of references can be found, but the functional one probably prevails as could be expected. These tendencies were not carried on in the following period, under the pressure of social realism. It would anyway be interesting to follow the thread. However, but this is already a different issue.

¹⁸ Konstantine Chichinadze, *Rioni Apology*, Anthology of Poetry, Tbilisi 1971, 62.

¹⁹ Shalva Karmeli, *Fairy Streets*, Tbilisi 2000, 60.

Tinatin Giorgobiani (Tbilisi)

SOME ASPECTS OF GREEK-GEORGIAN CULTURAL DIALOGUE

A significant part of Greek religious and philosophical writings were translated into Georgian as early as between the 6th and 12th centuries and no surprise that the Georgian literary language could have been influenced by Greek. Indeed, Georgian vocabulary, syntax and phraseology were subject to a significant influence, which resulted in the adoption of infinitive and participial structures unnatural for Georgian, a specific use of the conjunction *kai* (and), etc. It should be noted that Semitic paronomasia – use of the same word or the same root in different syntactic functions in one sentence – is believed to be borrowed via Greek: e. g. “μη θησαυρίζετε θησαυρούς”, “nu iunjebt saunjesa” which literary means: “do not treasure your treasure” (*Matt.*, 6.19); “ἀλλὶ ἀλισθήσεται”, “marilita dai-marilos” – “salted with salt” (*Mark.*, 9.49) and many other. However, Professor I. Imnaishvili, an old Georgian specialist, argues that paronomasia, which is aimed at rendering the intensity of action, reiteration and duration, has been employed in Georgian literary language since very early times and that the rhetorical figure is quite common for Georgian and its dialects.

When the Hebrew *Old Testament* was translated into Greek and afterwards the *New Testament* was written in Greek, many ancient Greek words acquired new senses. Naturally, a number of Hebrewisms and Arameisms entered Georgian via Greek¹ – specifically, measurement and monetary units. They are:

¹ Danelia, K., *Some Aspects of the History of Georgian Written Language*, TSU, 1983; see also Sarjveladze Z., *An Introduction to the History of Georgian Literary Language*, Tbilisi 1984 (*in Georgian*).

1. μῶδιος (Georg. *modi*), meaning “measure”, “measurement”, and corresponding to approximately 26 liters. Ephraim the Lesser uses *modi* in the meaning of measurement, meter, an important piece, something outstanding.

2. σίχλος Georgian *sik'ila* or *sk'ila*, which is the same as “didrachma”, is rendered in the *New Testament* as “statir” or “mna” (*Matt.*, 17.27; *Luke.*, 9.16-18).²

3. μνά “mna”, a golden or silver coin, a monetary unit mentioned in the Georgian versions of the *Old* and *New Testaments*, which has the following definition: “... mna is one litra and a half of the second litra” (“*mnai ars lit'rai erti da lit'ris meorisa nats'ili*”). Normally, metric units tended to be changing historically, each having different values at different times – sometimes more, sometimes less.

4. γόμορ (Georg. *gomori*), a Hebrew word borrowed into Georgian via Greek, meaning the measure for liquid and grain. All these words entered Old Georgian from Greek almost without translation.

Linguistic contacts and interaction influences the structure and vocabulary of the languages. Two type of influence has been observed: unilateral and mutual. The first one normally occurs at the level of vocabulary and results from literary and cultural borrowing as well as direct linguistic contacts.

Linguistic contacts are accompanied by cultural contacts.³ When these two factors coincide, the interaction of two cultures in the same geographical environment results in the adoption by one community of what they lack as compared to the other. The so-called lexical hiatuses are filled in with borrowings, which at the time is essential for the language. What I mean is that the intensive study of the origins of Ancient Greek culture, started in the late 19th century, raised the question of Pre-Greek settlements. Many of the issues remain unsolved, but it has been established that ancient Greeks were comers to the Aegean region.⁴ It has also been discovered that at that time the Balkan Peninsula, the eastern shore of Asia Minor, and the islands in the Aegean Sea were inhabited by tribes of advanced culture. This Pre-Greek population was called the

² The last two redactions of the Georgian Gospel with comments were prepared by I. Imnaishvili, Tbilisi 1979; Also see Melikishvili G., *The Earliest Population in Georgia, Caucasus and the Near East*, Tbilisi 1965, 219-220 (*in Georgian*).

³ Gamkrelidze E., *Foreign Vocabulary in Latin*, Tbilisi 2002, 19 (*in Georgian*).

⁴ Gordeziani R., *The Iliad and Some Questions from the History and Ethnic Genesis of the Aegean Population*, Tbilisi 1970, 197-198 (*in Georgian*).

Mediterranean or Aegean population. In the 3rd-2nd millenniums BC their cultural advancements reached an exceptional height on the Cretan island.

Authors of antiquity point out that the earliest Aegean peoples were non-Hellenic, but were eastern tribes coming from Asia Minor. They settled the following territories: Thessaly, Peloponnese, the island of Crete, the islands in the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor. Scholars focus on the linguistic points of the tribes. As early as the 19th century, linguists paid attention to the words in Greek vocabulary that could not be explained in the European linguistic context.⁵ Ancient Greek dialects contain a great number of roots that are not likely to be Indo-European. Though Georgian abounds in Greek borrowings, it cannot be denied that ancient Greek language too must have adopted many words from common Kartvelian. All the more so that quite a number of points in ancient Greek phonetics, morphology and syntax still remain unaccounted for. In P. Kretschmer's work published in 1953, the whole Pre-Greek substratum is believed to be non-Indo-European and closely related to the Caucasian languages. Likewise, the well-known scholar, Schachermeyr⁶ argues in favor of the affinity of the Aegean and modern Ibero-Caucasian languages and finds plausible the Caucasian linguistic affiliation of the former.

The Greek language, with over 3000 years of recorded history, completed and enriched its vocabulary with borrowings from non-Indo-European and Indo-European languages for centuries. Therefore, the study of its lexical composition and attempts to shed light on a number of Greek roots unaccountable for in a European context requires taking into account the linguistic evidence of the Pre-Greek population as well as of Ibero-Caucasian languages, which in the early period were in close contact with the languages of the peoples fashioning ancient civilization.⁷

Some scholars point out typological parallels between Kartvelian and Indo-European languages, which may invite several different explanations: first, the remote linguistic affinity; second – centuries-old contacts;

⁵ Urushadze A., *Some Questions from the History of Greek Language, Historical and Philological Studies*, Tbilisi 1980, 193 (*in Georgian*).

⁶ Schachermeyr F., *Prähistorische Kulturen Griechenlands.*, RE XXII (XLIV Halbb), 1954; One of the chapters of the work dealing with the Aegean substratum of Greek was translated into Georgian (TAU Bulletin of Scholarly Bibliography, 1963, annex #1.

⁷ Meillet A., *Aperçu d' une Histoire de la langue Grecque*, Paris 1936, 23; See also Urushadze A., *Op.*, cit., 226 (the work implies the language of Pre-Greek and Anatolian inscriptions (Pelagian, Lycian, Lydian, Karian, etc.).

third – mere typological isomorphism without any common origins or points of intersection.⁸

Arnold Chikobava writes in his *Introduction to Linguistics*: “the languages of ancient civilization are neither Indo-European nor Semitic. Both the morphological structure and the cultural and historical context suggest the historical affinity of ancient Near Eastern and Ibero-Caucasian languages.”⁹ Thus, the question of the genetic affinity of the Ibero-Caucasian languages with the tribes building ancient civilization still remains relevant in historical and cultural as well as linguistic terms.

When working on Ancient Greek-Georgian Dictionary and the Greek and Georgian versions of the Bible, my attention was attracted by the word *p'uri* (“bread”). *πυρός ό* is “wheat”, “ear”, “bread”. This form, as well as the forms *πύρνος*, *πυρίνος* are attested in several Books of the *Old Testament* (Ruth, Jove, The Exodus), in several Psalms and in the works of ancient Greek authors: Homer, Thucydides and Herodotus (*πύρνος*, η, ον a species of wheat (*ξειαί σιτώδεις Od.*, 15, 312, 17, 12; *Od.*, 4, 604). *πυροί καί κριθαί* (*ξειαί*) *Od.*, 9, 110. *πυροφόρος*, ον *Ep.* *πυρηφόρος* (*πυρός*, *φέρω*) *Hom.*, *Her.*, *Eur.*).

It is assumed that the word *πυρός ό* (pl. *οί πυροί*) and *πυρίνος*, (“bread”, “wheat bread”) must have entered Greek from Pelasgian. According to G. Rogava, a Georgian Caucasiologist, one of the grain species in Georgian is the version of the Zan-Svan *p'os* (“bread”). The alternation of the Georgian *l*, *r* with the Svan *sh* is of morphological character. The root inflects by taking a determinant. The word has the root *p'*, which indicates that the word *p'ur* is Kartvelian and is not a borrowing.¹⁰ Some interesting evidence can be found in the Biblical texts as well, which suggests that *p'uri* must have entered Greek from the Pre-Greek, specifically, Kartvelian.

Here are some examples from the *Old Testament*:

1. *καὶ ἐψώμισεν αὐτοῦ ἐκ στέατος πυροῦ, achama mat sip'okhisagan ipqlisa* (“He should have fed them also with the finest of the wheat”) (*Plasm.*, 80.17)

⁸ Tsereteli G., On the Theory of Sonants and Ablaut in Kartvelian Languages, Introduction in: Gamkrelidze T., Machavariani G., The System of Sonants and Ablaut in Kartvelian Languages, Tbilisi 1965 (*in Georgian*).

⁹ Chikobava A., Introduction to Linguistics, Tbilisi 1957, 378 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁰ Rogava G., Some Remarks on *pur*- Stem, Bulletin XII #10, 1951, 635-640 (*in Georgian*); see Urushadze A., op. cit., 220; Melikishvili G., Some Remarks on the Ancient Population of Georgia, Caucasus and the Near East, 1965, 219-220 (*in Georgian*).

2. ὁ δεῦρος καὶ ἡ ὀλύρα οὐκ ἐπλήγη, *kholo ipkli da asli ara iguema* ("But the wheat and the rye were not smitten") (*Exod.*, 9. 32)
3. γῆ πυροῦ καὶ κριθῆς, *kueqanasa mas saipklesa da sakrtilesa* ("A land of wheat, and barley") (*Deut.*, 8.8)

πυρός and πυρίνος can also be found in *The Antiquities of the Jews* by the 1st century historian Flavius: πυρίνων ἀσσάρωνας δύο μετὰ ζύμης γεγενότων *asaronta orta p'urad kmnilt sapuravisa* ("a loaf, made of wheat flour, of tenth deals, with leaven") (III, 10, 6, 252).

In the *New Testament*, the meaning of "bread" is rendered by a word ἄβρος, which collocates with "sacred, holy" – ἱερός ἄβρος ("holy bread"), ἄβρος Θεῖος ("divine bread"). The word also has the meaning of meal and often refers to the same as the word δεῖπνον, which means "dinner", "supper". The same meaning is conveyed by the words μᾶζα, ης, ἡ ("paste, bread, matzah) and σῖτος, ου, ὁ Georgian: *ipkli, xuarbali, dik'a*¹¹ ("wheat") and *sach'meli, saipkle* (meal) in general (*Luke.*, 16.7; *Psalms.*, 64.14).

Here are some examples from the *New Testament*:

1. λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἐκλάσσε, καὶ δούς τοῖς μαθηταῖς, εἶπε, λάβετε, φάγετε · τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου *miigho iesu p'uri, ak'urtxa da gant'ekha da mistsa mots'apeta tvista da hrkua: miighet da ch'amet, rametu ese ars khortsi chemi* ("And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed [it], and brake [it], and gave [it] to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body") (*Matt.*, 26.26 DE).¹²
2. μὴ ἐσθίωι ἄρτον μήτε πίνωι οἶνον, *artsa ch'amda p'ursa, artsa sumida gvinosa* ("[For John the Baptist] came neither eating bread nor drinking wine") (*Luke.*, 7.33)
3. τὸν δεῦρον συναγάγετε εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην μου, *kholo ipkli igi shek'ribet saunjesa chemsa* ("but gather the wheat into my barn") (*Matt.*, 13.30)

Bearing in mind that lexical meanings can be infinitely diverse and that the central functions of synonyms are specification and substitution, in this particular case we can conclude that πυρός and πυρίνος, were borrowed by Greek from Kartvelian, were replaced by their semantic equivalents – ἄβρος, σῖτος, μᾶζα, δεῖπνον. The central meaning of πυρός and πυρίνος were narrowed and the mentioned four words came to

¹¹ Sul Khan Saba Orbeliani defines *dika* as "wheat sawn in spring" (*Joel.*, 1.11); see Georgian dictionary, edited by Prof. Ioseb Kipshidze and Prof. Akaki Shanidze, Tbilisi 1928.

¹² The last two redactions of the Georgian Gospel, the text and scholarly comments prepared by I. Innaishvili, Tbilisi 1979; Septuaginta, editio Alfred Rahlfs, Stuttgart 1979.

function as their synonyms, at the same time introducing new meanings, such as “dinner”, “wheat”, “meal”, “sacred bread”, “divine bread”. These synonyms of “bread” were established in the Books of the *New Testament*. Thus, *πυρός* and *πυρίνος*, are the words of a very early period as they are attested in the *Old Testament*. It can be argued that they must have been among the earliest Kartvelian borrowings “naturalized” in Greek. As mentioned, the word (*πυρός*) is attested in the works of ancient Greek authors (8-4th BC) and also in some of the Books of the *Old Testament*. Afterwards they were replaced by *ἄρτος*, *σίτος*, *μᾶζα* and *δεῖπνον*. In the *New Testament* *πυρός* is not used any more, giving way to its synonyms.

Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

GREEK FACTOR IN THE FORMATION OF THE OPPOSITION EUROPE/ASIA

The opposition of the concepts Europe/Asia at the turn of the century, despite the impressive extent of integration in modern world and the vast opportunities for information exchange, is important not only in geographical terms, but also in terms of culture and weltanschauung.¹ No matter how vigorously we assert the unity of the world, two basic trends can be clearly distinguished in the development of world culture. One of these can be called European or Western, while the other is Asian or Eastern. Each trend is associated with a particular archetype of world outlook, which may vary across cultures. Some may attribute the distinctions to the influences of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, whose distribution more or less fits the regions covered by the European and Asian trends.² However, I believe that the main reasons are much more

¹ This opposition is frequently rendered through the notions *the East* and *the West*. In political sciences, the concept the *West* is also widely referred to the countries oriented to western values, despite their geographical location. The concept the *East* is also applied to refer to countries oriented to another system of values.

² There are a number of theories on the chronology and causes underlying the establishment of the opposition Europe/Asia. The following ones can be singled out as the most important: a) The opposition stems from the period of Greek-Persian wars (6-5th centuries BC); b) The opposition was developed in the Middle Ages and is associated with the establishment of Christianity and Islam; c) The opposition was formed in the period of modern history. Cf. Gordeziani R., *Die Gegenüberstellung Europa Asien vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*, Tbilisi 1997; Bengtson H., *Griechische Geschichte*, München 1969³, 181; Wies E. W., *Vater und Leuchtturms Europas*, Geschichte, 1999, 1, 11 ff.; *Geschichte* 1993, 1; Dundua T., Pipia N., *Georgia and the Outer World – the “Creation” of Europe and the Historical Forms of European Integration I*, Tbilisi 2009 (*in Georgian*).

profound and are associated with the cultural substrata underlying European and Asian civilizations. These substrata, on their part, contributed to the development and respective distribution of the religious systems that nowadays are referred to as “world religions”.

The roots of the opposition are to be sought in the remote past, when the formation of civilizations in the Mediterranean and the Near East was underway. Though a number of cultures dating to Bronze and Iron Age have been attested in the Mediterranean and the Near East – the regions that are believed to be the central area to cradle world civilizations³ – three basic models of civilization development can be singled out. The realization of these models gave rise to the development of all subsequent ancient cultures. They are: 1. Sumerian-Akkadian or Mesopotamian; 2. Egyptian; 3. Aegean-Hellenic. Naturally, when we speak about the realization of these models, we mean only the intensity of their elements in ancient cultures known to us and not their replication. The advancement of contacts and information exchange between the ancient cultures would entail the fusion of various traditions; however, any of the three models would invariably underlie each subsequent culture. More precisely, this concerns two – Mesopotamian and Aegean-Hellenic models as the Egyptian model was isolated. But for an influence, it has not left any mark on the development other civilizations.⁴ Contrary to it, the Mesopotamian model, stemming from the Sumerian civilization, and the Aegean-Hellenic one, determined the character of cultures developed in Asia and Europe in the following periods. Hence, each of the three models can be viewed as a substratum, and I would say, as an archetype for European and Asian weltanschauung.

Now I will not dwell on the models in detail. I will only note that the Mesopotamian model basically follows the principle of mythological, i. e. mythopoetic reasoning, which is manifested in the following way: the whole world of things and events is personified, is perceived as part of nature, like human itself and human society. Therefore, human relations with the outer world is based on the principle “I” and “You” and not “I” and “that”, as in modern world. Since “I”’s perception of anything else as “you” implies a distinct tendency of viewing each subject as unique and peculiar, the other tendency – that of abstraction – is quite weak. To this extent, many manifestations of the civilizations belonging to the

³ Cf. Kienitz F. K., *Das Mittelmeer Schauplatz der Weltgeschichte von den frühen Hochkulturen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1976.

⁴ For more details see Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization, I*, Tbilisi 1988, 8ff. (*in Georgian*).

Mesopotamian circle may appeal as controversial and illogical to modern logic, even if it shows an obvious attempt to bring order into the chaotic multitude of events. At the same time this hinders the process of autonomous development of various spheres of civilization. Therefore, neither art, nor literature or scientific reasoning achieved here the level of independence necessary to shape their own principles of development, despite the fact that the existence of each can be unambiguously attested in the cultures of the Mesopotamian circle. An individual is not interested in "what" is the principle underlying an event, or "how" a particular fact happens; he is interested in "who" causes a particular event, and upon "whose" will it happens. He follows this way up to recognizing the divine "will" and at this point the quest for "what" and "how" naturally loses any importance. This does not of course rule out one's aspiration for receiving knowledge. The brilliant architects, astrologists, physicians, etc. of the Mesopotamian cultures had perfect command of the elements necessary for their job, but they almost never attempted to create the new through the criticism or negation of the old. On the contrary, they tried to achieve success through the systemic preservation and restoration of the old. Hence, in the world outlook and thought of these cultures, the principle of scientific treatment and research associated with analytical and critical thinking is obviously prevailed by the intuitive principle of perception. Self-perception recedes to the background, which contributes to the tendency of idolizing an outstanding person, mainly a ruler.⁵ The second, Aegean-Greek model, whose formation started as early as the 2nd millennium BC and reached its peak in the 1st millennium BC, is essentially different from the other two models, despite the profound ties between them. Its major trait was a surprising combination of the mythopoetic reasoning typical of ancient oriental civilization and a new, critical scholarly thought characteristic of the Hellenic spirit itself. Gradually, the analytical and critical trend acquired priority, which led first to the necessity to know oneself and afterwards, to the discovery of personality. First in the history of humankind, a free person emerged on the scene, placing above all kinds of truth the one that is reached through quest and philosophical reasoning.⁶

These two models served as the basis for the development of a substantial contrariety between two forms of civilization and reasoning –

⁵ Gordeziani R., op. cit.

⁶ Cf. Meyerhöffer H., *Das Erwachen des kritischen Bewusstseins bei den Griechen*, Donauwörth 1976.

Hellenic and Asian – as early as the 1st millennium BC. At the first stage, it entailed an opposition Hellene/Barbarian, which gradually, along with the shaping of the geographical notions of European and Asia, was replaced by the opposition European/Asian. The latter implied not only geographical, but also, to some extent, cultural and social differences. Europe mostly fit the Hellenic model. The Greek world, which despite the lack of political unity till the Hellenistic period had a firm grip almost all across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea basin in political as well as cultural and spiritual terms, was distinguished by the following features: 1. Multiple, politically disintegrated monoethnic poleis without any centralized authority; 2. The supremacy of laws adopted by free citizens; 3. High Degree of the citizens' political rights and freedom; 4. Loyalty to laws and the polis – the highest manifestation of civil and patriotic consciousness; 5. Recognition of the rights of free person, citizen as a precondition for the performance of a society; 6. Giving priority to the values that are recognized as the supreme truth as a result of critical and analytical reasoning; 7. Lack of a single official state language and usage of one of the dialects for written communication.⁷ Contrary to this, Asia was oriented to the Mesopotamian model whose successor in the 1st millennium BC was the Persian Empire. Persia, the greatest empire before the formation of the Hellenistic world, spread on a vast territory from western India to Aegean Sea and from southern Caucasus to the banks of Nile, rested on the following principles: 1. A single imperial, multiethnic structure of state organization and centralized power; 2. The supremacy of an idolized monarch; 3. A low degree of citizens' rights and freedom; 4. Loyalty to monarchs – the highest manifestation of civil and patriotic consciousness; 5. Almost full neglect of free person's, citizen's rights; 6. Recognition of values that are a priori regarded as truth, without any critical and analytical reasoning; 7. Usage of a single state language as of a means of written communication.⁸ As the opposition Europe/Asia grew intense, it became more and more obvious that the contrariety would better be neutralized and the two worlds get closer culture-wise. In the ancient times no better way of overcoming the opposition was thought of than the subordination of one world to the other, the conquest.⁹ In this regard, Alexander the Great appears as an exception. The world Empire

⁷ For more details, see Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization, II*, Tbilisi 1997 (*in Georgian*); Bengston H., *op. cit.*

⁸ Cf. Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization, II*.

⁹ The best example is the Greek-Persian wars.

created by him or the Hellenistic world was the result of implementing the principle of three unities: political-economic, cultural and linguistic, which implied integration of different and heterogeneous elements into a single structure of civilization, and though the Hellenistic world significantly advanced in neutralizing the opposition Europe/Asia, the world was not completely ready for the fulfillment of Alexander's model.¹⁰ In terms of removing the opposition, the most successful was the Roman Empire, which subordinated the major part of the world conquered by it to *Pax Romana* that is the ideology of the Roman Peace. The world became more or less integrated for several centuries, though within the boundaries of an empire.¹¹

However, evidently the removal of the opposition was rather an outward endeavor than an internal one. Consequently, after the decline of the ancient world and the fall of the Roman Empire, the opposition Europe/Asia rebounded with a new force, developing into an increasingly intense confrontation between Christianity and Islam. The first ideology primarily fitted the countries located in Europe and stemming from the Hellenic-Aegean cultural substratum, while the second one was adopted by the countries of Asia, fostered by the so-called Mesopotamian cultural substratum. The alienation reached its peak after the fall of Byzantium.

The new revival of the European countries was accompanied by repeated attempts for the removal of the opposition, likewise carried out through conquests and colonization. The processes involved China and India and other countries of the Far East, which so far had not been organically linked to the complex system of European-Asian relations and followed their own path of development; likewise other continents of the world, which fell under the influence of one of the models. The colonization gave a new impulse to the cultural integrity of Europe and Asia. However, the substratum was so strong that as soon as the decolonization process was over, the opposition Europe/Asia regained strength, despite the fact that at the face value the world culture is more or

¹⁰ For more details on the world state of Alexander the Great see Schachermeyr F., *Alexander der Große. Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, Wien 1973; Rosworth A. B., *Conquest and Empire. The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988.

¹¹ H. G. Pflaum so justly notes: "Niemals zuvor und niemals danach ist es einem Herrscher oder einem Volk wieder gelungen, innerhalb eines so ausgedehnte und von so verschiedenen Völkern Sprachen und Kulturen erfüllten Raumes eine solche Eintracht und Zusammengehörigkeit ins Leben zu zuren." *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*, Bd. 4, Rom. Die Römische Welt, 383.

less integrated. Naturally, it should also be taken into account that some of the Asian countries are more Europeanized, while others are less. A clear example of how weak European processes can be in Asia is the recent events in Iran.

What can be considered the essential aspects of the opposition Europe/Asia nowadays, at the turn of a century, not only in geographical terms but also in terms of *weltanschauung* and culture? In my opinion, it is once again the prevalence of one of the principles of *weltanschauung* and reasoning: mythopoetic or mythological in Asia and critical and analytical in Europe, marked by respective value orientations. The first one is prone to an authoritarian system, while the second is inclined to democratic values; the first targets deterrence of changes and the canonization of values, while the second is directed to the intensification of critical and analytical changes and decanonization of value; the former favours the loyalty of adopted dogmas, while the latter is focused on the eternal quest for the truth. I am not going to discuss now which of these principles is better for the humankind. All the more so that the question in itself is not clear at all. However, it is obvious that as the time passes, the tendencies will further sharpen the opposition. It is necessary to find new ways for removing the strain. Nowadays, there are more and more discussions on adopting new systems of governance, based not on the hegemony of an empire or a superstate, but on harmony and commonwealth. However, it is difficult to imagine that this alone will remove the opposition. In my opinion, active application of mediating activities will also be an important factor, as a medium incorporates in itself the seemingly incompatible qualities of the opposition members and can make the neutralization process permanent and smooth.

In this case, the role of the medium could be borne by the regions at the border of Asia and Europe where the mythological and critical-analytical principles of *weltanschauung* are more or less balanced. They can act as a bridge between Europe and Asia – receive and adopt impulses from both sides and afterwards deliver them to the west and the east, having duly transformed the impulses – that is, Europeanize the Asian and Asianize the European. I believe active involvement in the role of a mediator will be the best way to ensure systemic neutralization of the Asia/Europe opposition. Now that we have witnessed the cessation of one of the last empires – the USSR, among such regions can be the Caucasus, and Georgia in particular, which has been regarded as the borderline of Europe and Asia since ancient sources. As early as the Bronze Age, that is millenniums before the formation of the Europe/Asia opposition, one of

the Caucasian and more precisely, Kartvelian tribes reached Aegean Sea area and then the Mediterranean, conveying along a powerful Kartvelian linguistic component.¹² According to some modern scholars, the very term Europe can have Kartvelian etymology. For example, E. J. Furnee suggests that the stem of the term must have been Kartvelian **wrcoba* (“extending”, “spreading”).¹³

From the 6th-5th centuries BC, when the differences between the European and Asian ways of development started to be recognized, Georgia was found to be located at the point where these two worlds diverge. According to the information provided by Herodotus, the boundary between Asia and Europe was believed to be the Colchian river Phasis (IV; 45). The mythical characters associated with Colchis, personify these links. According to some sources, Aeetes came to Colchis from Ephira, a historical part of Greece; one of his sisters, Pasiphae, is the wife of the legendary king of Crete, Minos, while his other sister, sorceress Circe, migrated to Italy and became the eponymous mother of a number of Italian tribes. Medea first went to Hellas, and afterwards returned together with her son, Medos, which likewise reflects the ties.¹⁴ Ever since, Georgia always had to make a choice between the two sets of cultural values, European or Asian. Though a substantial part of its ancient and medieval history proceeded in an Asian milieu, all its principal choices in the sphere of civilization gave preference to the European *weltanschauung* at the level of language, religion and artistic culture.¹⁵ However, it should be also noted that the choice never had an absolute character and consequently did not entail Georgia’s outright involvement in the Europe/Asia opposition. The European and the Asian had a long tradition of co-existence in our civilization, which, despite our orientation to the former, offered no grounds for European domination. In our mindset, the principles of critical-analytical and mythological *weltanschauung* are harmoniously balanced, which has always prevented Georgian civilization from an irreconcilable confrontation against either the European or the Asian *weltanschauung*. When I consider Georgia’s possible role in

¹² See in detail in Gordeziani R., *Mediterranean-Kartvelian Encounters*, vol. 4, Tbilisi 2007-2008 (*in Georgian*).

¹³ Furnée E. J., *Paläokartvelisch-Paläogrische Einflüsse in den Indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leiden 1986, 76ff.

¹⁴ See sources in Urushadze A., *Ancient Colchis in the Myth about the Argonauts*, Tbilisi 1964.

¹⁵ About the role of Georgia and Spain as the historical protectors of Europe, cf. Adrados F. R., *Spain, Georgia and the History of Europe*, Tbilisi 2009.

mediation between Europe and Asia, I mean this specific point of the historical development of Georgia. The role of a genuine mediator in the neutralization of a binary opposition can be borne only by the party who is not a member of the opposition. So far, the most significant effort in the history of civilization aimed at the removal of the opposition has been undertaken by one of its members – the Hellenistic world, Rome, Europe – which used to create only an illusion of neutralization. The dialogue between cultures can become irreversible and mutually acceptable only through a gradual removal of the opposition.

Victoria Jugeli (Tbilisi)

**THE GEORGIAN LIFE OF JULIAN-SABA (COD. SIN. GEORG. 6)
AND ITS GREEK AND SYRIAC SOURCES
(HISTORIA PHILOTHEA BY THEODORET OF CYRUS)**

The Georgian translations of the writings of the blessed Theodoret of Cyrus (393-466), one of the most prominent representative of the Antiochene theological school, are mostly rendered in Georgian from the Greek, a few from the Russian and Armenian sources. During the research of the Georgian translations of Theodoret's writings one of them appeared a work, the direct source of which seems to be the Syrian.

The *Life of Julian-Saba*, the 2nd chapter of the *Historia Philothea* by the blessed Theodoret of Cyrus, rendered by an anonymous translator, is preserved in the cod. *Sin. Georg.* 6, copied in 981 by an anonymous copyist. In the manuscript the author of the work is not mentioned. His name was ascertained by Korneli Kekelidze.¹ The work had been published by Simon Janashia (*Arili Festschrift*, 1925, 1-24; *Works*, vol. III, Tbilisi 1959, 160-180 (in Georgian)), who did not have an access to the Greek original and compared the *Life* to another Georgian translation (cod. A 689) by Ephrem Mtsire. He pointed to the differences and admitted that these two translations represent two different versions. The Greek source of the work is published by P.Canivet and A.Leroy-Molinghen in *Théodoret de Cyr, Histoire des Moines de Syrie* (= HMS). SC 234. Paris: Cerf, 1977, 194-245.

The first part of the manuscript *Sin. Georg.* 6 includes three pieces: *On the Life of the Virgin* (2r-12r), *Life of Symeon the Stylite the Elder* (12r-66v) and the aforementioned work (66v-83r). It seems that these three works represented the manuscript separate from the works that follow. The *Life*

¹ Janashia S., *Works*, vol. III, Tbilisi 1959, 156.

of *Symeon the Stylite* is the only work from this part, the source language of which is established. It is Syriac.²

The rendition of the proper names in the *Life of Saba* indicates that the *Life* was also translated from the source written in consonant script. The sources could be Syriac or Arabic. Our attention to the Syriac sources draw the title of the Georgian translation, where the name of Julian (“იულიანა” *iuliana*) is represented in a same way as it is pronounced in Syriac, that is “iouliana”/“ivliana” (ܐܘܠܝܢܐ), as well as other proper names rendered after their Syriac equivalents.

The Syriac translation of the *Life of Julian-Saba* is preserved in the 7 manuscripts: Berl. syr. 26/321³ (740-741, 173v-179v), Par. syr. 235 (XIII c., 25v-32r),⁴ Brit. Mus. Add 14644 (V-VI cc., 52v-63v),⁵ Add. 14612 (VI-VII ss., 186r-193v),⁶ Add 12160 (VII c., 117r-128v),⁷ Add 14645 (935-936, 118v-126r)⁸ and Add 12174 (1197, 283r-285r). It has been published after Berl. (=B) and Par. (=P) manuscripts in the *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*. Ed. P. Bedjan. T. VI. Parisiis, Lipsiae, 1896, 380-404 (=AMS).

The Syriac translation is quite good rendition of the Greek original, however, sometimes divergences also reveal. They can be admitted at the very beginning of the work, where one toponym is changed, another – omitted. In the Greek text is written that Julian-Saba built his cell in the place called before “of Parthians” and now “of Osroene”. In the Syriac translation instead of “Osroene” is written ܐܪܘܫܐ ܐܝܟܐ (arza ayka B) and ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (azrayna P).⁹ Though arza ayka in Syrian writing somehow resembles Osroene – ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܐܝܟܐ (‘osra ‘yne, cf. Ὀσροῖνη), still it is

² Garitte G., *Vies Géorgiennes de S. Syméon Stylite L’Ancien et de S.Éphrem*, CSCO 171, t. 7, Louvain, Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1957, I.

³ Sachau E., *Verzeichnis der Syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1899, 94, 98, 99; HMS 1, 62; *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Ed. P. Bedjan. T. VI. Parisiis, Lipsiae 1896, IX.

⁴ Zotenberg, Hermann, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874, 185, N 6; 187; AMS 6, IX; HMS 1, 62.

⁵ Wright W., *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Part III, London 1872, 1083, 1084.

⁶ Wright W., *op. cit.*, 700, N 30.

⁷ *Ibidem*; 1090, N 2.

⁸ *Ibidem*; 1111, 1113, N 8.

⁹ AMS 6, 380₂₀, n. 1.

mistake. Another toponym mentioned in the Greek original, Ἀδιαβήνη (ἢν Ἀδιαβήνην οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ὠνόμασαν “was called *Adiabene* by those who came after”), is omitted in the *Life of Saba*, as it is omitted in the Syrian translation that says instead: “which previously had been called *differently*” (ⲗⲓⲟⲩ Ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃⲏ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛ, AMS 6, 3815). It seems that translator either could not read these toponyms or could not understand them.

*Life of Saba**Life of Saba*
(translation)

HMS, 2.1.

ამას ნეტარსა პირველად სახელი ეწოდა ივლიანა... ესე ნეტარი იყო ქუეყანისა, რომელსა ეწოდების *არმონი* და იქმნა მან მთასა ზედა მცირს ცალავარი და მუნ დაემკვდრა განმორებულად კაცთაგან. და ეწოდა მას მკვდრთა მიერ მის ქუეყანისათა სახელი 'საბა', რომლისა თარგმანებაჲ არს 'მთხუცებული', რამეთუ ყოველსა ბერსა ასურებერ ეწოდების საბა. ესე მთაჲ არს ფრიად მაღალი და საზღვარი მისი მიაწევს კიდემდე დიდისა მის მდინარისა, რომელსა ეწოდების ეფრატე; და ესე ესაზღვრების ბერძენთა საკელმწიფოსა და ეწოდების *ათორ*, რომელი შესდგამს სამეფოსა სპარსთასა. ესე იყო პირველად სახელი ქუეყანისაჲ მის. ხოლო უკუანასკნელ ეწოდა მკვდრთა მისთაგან *ლადიბ*.

This blessed (man) was from the country, that is called *Arzini* and made a small tent for himself on the mountain and began to live there far from people. And he was called by inhabitants of this country by the name *Saba*, the translation of which is 'old man' since every old man in Assyrian is called *Saba*. This mountain is very high and its boundary reaches to the end of the large river, which is called *Euphrates*; it borders with the country of the Greeks (=Romans) and is named *Athor*, which joins the kingdom of Persians. At first it was the name of this country, but at a later time it was called *Ladib* by its inhabitants.

Ἰουλιανὸς, ὃν Σάβαι ἐπῆκλην οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τιμώντες ὠνόμαζον - τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτην τῇ ἑλλάδι φωνῇ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα -, ἐν τῇ πάλαι μὲν Παρθυαίῳ, νῦν δὲ Ὀσσογιῶν ὀνομαζομένη, τὴν ἀσκητικῇ καλύβῃ ἐπήξατο διατείνει δὲ αὐτῇ πρὸς μὲν ἑσπέραν μέχρις αὐτῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς ὄχθης - Εὐφράτης δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτω -, πρὸς ἤλιον δὲ ἀνίσχοντα τὸ τέρμα ἔχει τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσσυρία διαδέχεται, πέρασ οὕσα ἑσπέριον τῆς Περσικῆς βασιλείας, ἢν Ἀδιαβήνην οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ὠνόμασαν.

Syria (Ἀσσυρία), the equivalent of which in the *Life of Saba* is “սֹթֹռ” *athor*, in Syriac is pronounced similarly: ܐܘܬܪ (AMS 6, 381₃). The same can be said about Βέροια (2.9) of the Greek text, instead of which in the *Life of Saba* appears “ჰალაბი” *Halab*, the Syriac equivalent of this form (AMS 6, 391₈).

Another toponym, “ლადიბი” *Ladib* (Ἀδιαβήνη of the Greek original, which is spelled in Syriac as ܟܗܕܝܒ or ܟܗܕܝܒܗ) does not preserve in Georgian Greek -ηνη suffix and is written in the same way as it could be represented in the consonant source: as *khdyb* (resp. *ladib*). As to the difference of the first letters “la” and “kh”, it seems that in the Syriac manuscript source ܟ (‘kh’) was written in a greater size and the Georgian translator read it as “la” (cf. ܠܕܝܒ/ܠܗܕܝܒ *ladyb/khdyb*). In the Syriac edition *Adiabene* or *Ladib* is not mentioned. Instead there is written: ܕܝܘܣ ܠܝܘܢܗ ܕܟܗܕܝܒ ܡܘܨܘܒ (AMS 6, 381₅), that it “previously had been called differently”. These two words, ܕܟܗܕܝܒܗ (“differently”) and ܟܗܕܝܒܗ (“khadiab”), somehow resemble each other, that could make a ground for the mistake.

In the same fragment “არზინი” *arzini* (“the country Arzin”, Arzanene) is mentioned. Arzanene in Syriac is pronounced as Arzoun (ܐܪܘܢ).¹⁰ In the AMS edition ܐܪܐ ܐܝܟܐ (*arza ayka*, B) and ܐܪܐܝܢܐ (*azrayna*, P, 380₂₀) represent the equivalents for this toponym, being the misreading of the Greek Ὀσροήνη and Syriac ܐܘܣܪܐ ܐܝܢܐ (*osra ‘yne*).

The equivalent to the next toponym, “Ganshiris”, is “Gindaros” in Greek original (ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Γίνδαρον χωρίοις, 2.9₅, HMS 1, 214). The term alike with *Ganshiris* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* only “Hanshir” can be found, however, it is not a geographical name, but a form of land tenure in the ancient Maghrib.¹¹ The most relevant explanation of the word can be made in Syriac ground. To this toponym in Syriac translation of the AMS

¹⁰ Thesaurus Syriacus, Ed. R. Payne Smith. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Obms Verlag 1981, 374; Vööbus A., *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, vol. I. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1958, 324, n. 166; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I, Leiden, London: E.J.Brill and Luzac&Co 1960, 679 (Arzan, Syriac Arzōn).

¹¹ Op. cit., 661.

corresponds ܐܢܘܘܢ (b-gndrs, ܐ ‘b’ being preposition “in”, AMS 6, 391). It seems that while translating into Georgian the Syrian (ܐ) ‘d’ and (ܫ) ‘sh’ consonants were confused (cf. gnshrs/gndrs), which is easily assumed in written Syrian text but not in Arabic (cf. ܐ ‘d’ and ش ‘sh’), or in Greek where ‘sh’ consonant does not exist.

The comparison of the toponyms of the *Life of Saba* with those of the Greek original reveals that mistakes in the *Life* are the result of translating from the consonant source, particularly, from the Syrian.

The *Life of Saba* and the *Historia Philothea* differ also in translation of anthroponyms.

<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS	Syriac equivalent	AMS
ასტრიოსი, ოსტროსი (Astrios, Ostros)	ἸΑΣΤΕΡΙΟΣ (2.7; 2.10, 2.12, 2.16; 2.21)		ܐܣܬܪܝܘܣ Asteris
ივლიანა (Ivliana)	Ἰουλιανός (title, 2.1)		ܝܘܠܝܢܐ Ivliana
ივლიანოზ/ ივლიანე (Ivlianoz/Ivliane)	τοῦ ἰμωανύμου (2.14)		ܝܘܠܝܢܐ “his namesake”
ვალის (Valis)	Οὐάλης (2.15)		ܘܠܝܝܢ Valis
დიარუროს (Diaruros)	Διδωρος (2.16)		ܕܝܕܘܪܘܫ Diadoros
ფარლიტ (Pharlit)	Ἀφραάτης (2.16)	ܘܦܪܐܬ Afr’at ܘܦܪܐܬ Afrahat	-

Three anthroponyms are represented in 2.16: “saint men Pavlios and Diaruros and Pharlit”. They correspond in the Greek original to “Φλαβιανός και Διδωρος... και Ἀφραάτης” (2.16₇₋₉). In the second name, *Diaruros* (ܕܝܕܘܪܘܫ Diadoros, AMS, 397₁, cf. Διδωρος), it seems that instead of syriac ܐ ‘d’ the translator red ܝ ‘r’. These two letters differ from

each other only with the dot which is placed under the letter in ܐ 'd', and above in ܝ 'r'. As to the third name, *Pharlit*, the AMS edition does not mention him. However, it seems that in the immediate Syriac source of the *Life of Saba*, the name had been represented by its Greek equivalent (cf. ܘܩܦܪܐ *afra'at*). The first letter of this name is not translated since by the rules of the Syrian pronunciation ܐ *Alef*, if it is the first consonant and is written without vowel, is not pronounced.¹² As to the letter ܕ in this name, in written Syriac ܐ *Alef* and ܕ *Lamed* can be easily mixed up (cf. ܦܪܠܐ/(a)ܦܪܐܐܬ).

The pronunciation of the name “ܘܩܠܝܫ” *Valis*, Οὐάλης in Greek (2.15), can also be explained by the rules of the Syrian pronunciation. The name is written in Syriac as ܘܩܠܐ *u(a)lis* (AMS, 395₁₇), however, since first letter ܐ 'u', before the vowel is pronounced as *v*, the name has to be rendered as “*valis*”, as it is represented in the *Life of Saba*.

There can also be found in the *Life of Saba* other proper names. It is remarkable that the translator attempts to make semantic difference in the same names by their different vocalization. In the *Historia Philothea* the name Asterios (Ἀστέριος, 2.7, 2.9, 2.15) is represented as the name of two different persons, of the disciple of Julian-Saba, and of the heretic sophist Asterios. In the Georgian translation the disciple is named as “*Aistrios*” (2.7) and “*Astrios*” (2.10, 2.12, 2.16), and the sophist – “*Ostros*” (2.21). It seems that the translator did not know how to render the name. It is significant that the Syriac edition for both persons, for ascetic (2.7, AMS, 389₄; 2.10, 391₁₄; 2.16, 397_{6,13}), as well as for the heretic (2.21, 402₁₅) has the same name: “*Asteris*” (ܘܩܠܐܝܫܐ).

There is another attempt to make semantic difference in the anthroponyms. The name Julian in the *Life of Saba* is represented as the first name of the ascetic Julian-Saba, *ioliana* (title, 2.1) and as the name of the emperor Julian the Apostate – *iolianoz/ioliane* (2.14). However, in the Greek and Syriac texts the name of the emperor is not indicated but mentioned that he was Julian-Saba's namesake: “Then he learned about threats of his namesake (ܡܘܠܝܫܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܫܐ) impious emperor” (AMS, 394₁₀₋₁₁; Μαθὼν δὲ τοῦ ὀμωνύμου μὲν, δυσσεβοῦς δὲ βασιλέως τὰς ἀπειλὰς).

¹² A Compendious Syriac Dictionary. Ed. J. Payne Smith, Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976, 1.

The rendition of the proper names with mistakes can be found in other Georgian translations that were rendered from Syriac. There are many examples of it in the *Life of Symeon the Stylite*, that is preserved in the same manuscript as the *Life of Saba* (*Sin. Georg.* 6 and A 397).¹³ These names are: “სკილიპიოსი” *Skilipios* (that is “Asclepiades”, ch. 121/ch. 101 in the Georgian translation), “დობენიანოსი” *Dobenianos* (“Domna”, 54/84), “არდობროსი” *Ardobris* (“Ardabourios”, 125/119), “დადიანოსი” *Dadianos* (“Dionysios”, 83/65), “დალანტი” *Dalanti* (“Dalmatius”, 83/65), “ბარაქლონი” *Baraklon* (“Barathon”, 27/25), “საბა” *Saba* (“Sheba”, 79/62), “ჰალბაია” *Halbaya* (“Khalab”, 39/73), “გიდრისაბა” *Of Gidr* (“Of Gindar”, 64/92), “მთაბა თოქამისაბა” *Mount Tokam* (“Ukkama”, that is Black Mount, 88/71), “ანზიტო” *Anzit* (“Anazit”, 65/65) and etc. Such incorrect translation frequently occurs when the translator either does not know the meaning of the word or is not acquainted with proper names mentioned.

The traditional proper names are translated correctly, for example: “მელეტო” *Meleti* (cf. ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΣ, 2.15, ܡܠܝܬܘܣ *Militos*, AMS, 396₆), “აკაკი” *Akaki* (cf. Ἀκάκιος, 2.9,16, ܐܟܚܝܐ *Akakis*, AMS, 391₅, 397₄), “დიონოსი” *Dionosi* (ΔΙΟΝΟΣΙΟΣ, 2.21; ܕܝܘܢܘܣܝܘܣ *Dionesios*, AMS, 402₁₂).

There can be found some other fragments which are closer to the Syrian text and can be better explained by the Syrian source than by the Greek. The 5th subchapter contains the following phrase:

<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS	AMS
2.5. “გურგმორეკით თაყუბნისმცემელ” (“gave to the Lord due adoration bending down <i>the back</i> ”).	τὸν δὲ εἰς γῆν κατὰ κύπτουσα προσκυνεῖν.	<p>ܠܥܝܪ ܕܝܠ ܡܥܘ ܕܥܪܘܬ ܕܥܪܘܬ</p> <p>“He bend down his <i>back</i> towards the <i>earth</i>” (385₁₉₋₂₀).</p>

Syrian ܥܘܪ means ‘the loin’ and ‘the back’. Thus the fragment is closer to the Syrian translation than to the Greek.

¹³ For the Syriac text of the Life of Symeon the Stylite the Elder see: AMS 4, 507-644; For its English translation: Doran R., *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*, Cistercian Studies 112; Kalamazoo M., Cistercian Publications 1992, 103-198, for the Georgian rendition: Garitte G., *Vies Géorgiennes de S. Syméon Stylite L’Ancien et de S.Éphrem*. CSCO 171, t. 7. Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq 1957, 1-77.

	<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS	AMS
2.6.	“აღღგეს მუნთქეესეე და მოიქეს ადგილადე თესა, სადა იგი მკვღრ იყენეს. და კულადცა ენება წმიდასა საბას <i>განსლუად უღადბნოდ ხუეულებიხაებზ</i> ” (“He stood up instantly and turned to his place, where he dwelt. And again desired Saint Saba to go <i>away to the desert as usual</i> ”).	Οὕτω τὸ διήγημα συμπεράνας, ἀναστὰς εἶχ'ετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντρον ὁδοῦ.	ܪܫܘܚܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܡܘ ܪܝܘܝ ܝܗܘ ܡܘܝܢ ܕܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܠܝܘܢܐ “He stood up and to the cave, where he dwelt, turned to go <i>in/go on a journey</i> ” (გვ.388 ₁₅₋₁₆).

The Greek text says that the ascetic went to his cave. The Georgian text follows the Syriac source, where ܠܝܘܠ means to ‘go’, ‘walk’, ‘journey’. The translator rendered its last meaning, specifying where Saba could walk.

Another example from 2.10:

	<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS	AMS
	“ლეღ დარხეული, ორი მოღ” (“selected figs, two modios”)	ἰσχάδας... δύο δὲ μεδίμνους.	ܪܬܪܕܝܐ ܘܥܘܝܝܐ ܘܥܘܝܝܐ ܘܥܘܝܝܐ “two modios of figs” (391 ₁₉).

Modius (ܪܬܪܕܝܐ, plur.: ܘܥܘܝܝܐ) is the Roman measure of weight and it values 1/6 of medimnus. It is noteworthy that the Georgian text does not match “medimnus” of the Greek original, but follows the Syriac source.

One more example from the same chapter:

	<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS	AMS
	“გარღამოღე ეღ ქეეყანად, რაღათა ვჭამო აწვე წინაშე შენსა!” (“put it down, for I will eat it now in front of you!”)	Ποιήσω... τὸ κελεύόμενον, μόνον ἀπόθου τὸν θύλακον ὅτι τάρχιστα.	“I’ll do, what you order to me, but put quickly down from your shoulders the load, <i>that you brought!</i> ” (ܕܘܪ ܘܥܘܝܝܐ) (გვ. 392 ₁₁).

In the Greek original of the sentence neither “to eat”, nor “to bring” is mentioned. It seems that the mistake in the Georgian translation arose from similarity of the verbs ܘܥܘܝܝܐ *ten* ‘to bring’, and ܘܥܘܝܝܐ *tem* ‘to eat’.¹⁴ These verbs differ only with the last consonant.

¹⁴ A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, 179.

It is clear, that the reason of the mistake lies on misreading of Syriac text, particularly, of these three words:

ܥܒܘܢ 'to counsel', 'advise'; 'to reign', 'be king', 'begin to reign', 'come to the throne'; 'to make king', 'crown king';

ܥܒܘܢ, ܠܥܒܘܢ 'a king', 'ruler';

ܥܒܘܢ, ܠܥܒܘܢ 'counsel', 'advise'.¹⁵

It seems that translator could not understand the real meaning of his unvocalized source to be rendered.

The influence of the Syriac text can be found once more in the same, 2.22 chapter:

<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS	AMS
“ხოლო წმიდაჲ საბა წარვიდა <i>საყოლად</i> ” (“But the saint Saba went to the <i>dwelling</i> ”).	Ἐνθίνδε τοῖσιν ἀποδηήσας καὶ τοὺς θιασώτας καταλαβών.	“But after this the blessed set off and went to his monastery (ܛܘܚܘܚ) and disciples” (404 _{5,6}).

“The dwelling”, that is the monastery of Saba, is not mentioned in the Greek text, but only in the Syriac.

In the *Life of Saba* the Bible is frequently cited. Each citation corresponds to the Greek original of the *Historia Philothea*. However, the citation of the Psal. 36.4 differs from the Greek text and follows the Syriac, both of them including the citation of the Psal. 36.7:

<i>Life of Saba</i>	HMS,Septuagint	AMS
“(36.7) დაემორჩილე უფალსა და ემონე მას, (36.4) და მან მოგვეს შენ ყოველი თხოვად გულისა შენისაჲ” (36.7: “Subordinate yourself to the Lord and enslave (yourself) to him”; 36.4: “and he shall give you each desire of your heart”) (2.2).	Κατατρέψῃσιν τὸν κυρίου, καὶ δάψῃ (δώσει Sept.) σοι τὰ αἰτήματα τῆς καρδίας σου.	ܠܘܗܐ ܥܒܘܢ ܥܒܘܢ (36.7) :ܛܘܚܘܚ ܠܥܒܘܢ :ܠܘܗܐ ܥܒܘܢ ܥܒܘܢ (36.4) ܥܒܘܢ ܛܘܚܘܚ ܠܥܒܘܢ (“(36.7) Ask from the Lord and pray before him, (36.4) and ask from God and and he’ll give you the desires of your heart”, 382 _{8,9}).

¹⁵ A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, 277.

In the Greek text of the sentence only Psal. 36.4 is cited. It makes the citation different from the Greek source and adjacent to the Syriac. In the Syriac the first part of the citation is identical to the Psal. 36.7 of the Syriac Psalterium (ܣܘܠܬܘܢ ܠܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ),¹⁶ while another one, with some differences follows the Psal. 36.4 (ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ).¹⁷ It is significant, that the first part of the *Life of Saba*, that is the 36.7 (“Subordinate yourself to the Lord and enslave (yourself) to him”) does not exactly match the Syriac translation (ܣܘܠܬܘܢ ܠܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ‘Ask from the Lord and pray before him’), nor the Greek text of the Bible (ἰκέτευσον αὐτόν), but is identical to the earlier Georgian translations of the Psalms, especially, to the cod. *Sinaiticus* of the 10th c.: “დაემორჩილე უფალსა და ემონე მას” (“Subordinate yourself to the Lord and enslave (yourself) to him”). The same can be said about the second part of the citation, Psal. 36.4: “და მან მოგცეს შენ ყოველი თხოვაჲ გულისა შენისაჲ” (“and he shall give you each desire of your heart”).¹⁸ Thus, this citation represents the noteworthy example of the influence of the Syriac edition and simultaneously, of the earlier translations of the Georgian Bible.

Nothing indicates that the *Life of Saba* was rendered from the Greek source. Besides, for the toponym *Ganshiris* ‘sh’ consonant cannot be found in Greek. It is not rendered from Arabic either, since in this case the toponym *Ganshiris/Gandares* should have ‘j’ as its first letter. Herewith, in the same toponym in Arabic handwriting ‘sh’ and ‘d’ letters cannot be mixed (cf. د ‘d’ and ش ‘sh’). Moreover, the only earlier Arabic manuscript, which preserves few chapters of the *Historia Philothea* (*Jer. S. Marc* 38A: 1732, 1178 v.),¹⁹ does not include the *Life of Julian-Saba*. As to the rest of Arabic manuscripts, G.Graf indicates only one, *Šarfeh syr.* 11/6, 29, but it is of the 17th c.²⁰

¹⁶ "Pete a domino, et ora coram eo" (*Psalterium Syriacum*. Halae, 1768, 83).

¹⁷ "(Spera in Domino), et dabit tibi petitionem cordis tui" (*Psalterium Syriacum*, 1768, 83).

¹⁸ ფსალმუნნი, ფსალმუნის ძველი ქართული რედაქციები X-XIII საუკუნეთა ხელნაწერების მიხედვით, ძველი ქართული ენის ძეგლები, ტ. XI, გამომც. შვექალა შანიძე, თბილისი 1960, 88, 020 (C manuscript).

¹⁹ Graf G., *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Studi e Testi 18, Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944, 367; HMS 1, 63.

²⁰ Graf writes: "Bezüglich der Geschichte des Einsiedlers Julian Sabas in Šarfeh syr. 11/6, 29 (karš., 17 Jh.) ist die Übereinstimmung mit dem Text bei Theodoret (ebd. 1305-1324) ungewiss" (Graf, op. cit, 366-367).

On the basis of comparing the examined fragments, we may assume that the *Life of Saba* is rendered from the source written in unvocalized consonant script, to be exact, from the Syriac source. It is also clear that the Syriac AMS version, though stands close to the *Life of Saba*, is not the immediate source of the work. Therefore, the Georgian translation should be compared – and at the next stage we intend to compare – with the rest of the Syriac translations preserved in the rest of the manuscripts.

Despite intensive cultural relations with Syria, there are very few works that claim to be translated from this language. Therefore the Georgian *Life of Julian-Saba* is an important literary work not only for the history of the Georgian translations, but for the history of the translations of Theodoret's writings.

Maya Kakashvili (Tbilisi)

ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΑΓΑΠΗΣ

ΣΥΜΦΩΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΜΑΤΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΜΒΟΛΙΤΟΥ
ΤΑ ΚΑΘ' ΥΣΜΙΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΣΜΙΝΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ *ROMAN DE LA ROSE* ΤΟΥ GUILLAUME
DE LORRIS ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ JEAN DE MEUN

Στα μεσαίωνα ήταν διαδεδομένη πλατειά η λογοτεχνία η οποία χρησιμοποιούσε την αλληγορική γλώσσα.

Το πιο γνωστό αλληγορικό έργο στην γαλλική λογοτεχνία ήταν *Roman de la Rose*. Το πρώτο μέρος ανήκει στον Guillaume de Lorris (1210-1240) και το δεύτερο μέρος έχει γράψει ο Jean de Meun (δεύτερο μισό του 13^{ου} αιώνα). Αυτό το μυθιστόρημα υπήρξε η πρώτη αλληγορία αγάπης στην λογοτεχνία κατά τη γνώμη επιστημόνων. Για παράδειγμα σύμφωνα με τον Μπ. Κνος η αγάπη γεννήθηκε στα μεσαίωνα στην Γαλλία και η αγάπη εμφανίστηκε στο υποτιτικό μυθιστόρημα χάρη σε επιρροή του γαλλικού ερωτικού μυθιστορήματος.¹

Σ. Πολιακόβα υποστήριζε ότι η πρώτη αλληγορία αγάπης είναι όχι το έργο του Guillaume de Lorris και του Jean de Meun, αλλά το μυθιστόρημα *Ta kath' Ysmīnēn kai Ysmīniān* του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου, το οποίο γράφτηκε στο πρώτο μισό του 12^{ου} αιώνα - στην εποχή των στενών πολιτιστικών σχέσεων του Βυζαντίου και της Δύσης και της έντονης επιρροής της ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στη λατινική.² Ακόμα το έργο του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου περιείχε όλα αυτά τα βασικά στοιχεία, τυποποιημένα σχήματα και τα μοτίβα (και στην εμβρυώδη μορφή) τα οποία αργότερα μεταμορφώθηκαν στην νομοτέλεια του είδους της δυτικής

¹ Αλεκοίτζε Α., Ο Κοσμος του Ελληνικού υποτιτικού μυθιστορήματος (XIII-XIV αι.), Τιφλίδα 1976, 106.

² Gigante M., La cultura latina a Bisanzio del secolo XIII, La Parole del passato, 1962, 82 da Hesselting D. C. Eine Digenis Übersetzung aus dem XII Jh? - BZ. Bd 22, 1913.

αλληγορίας αγάπης. Η καθημερινή και αισθαντική διήγηση για την αγάπη στο έργο του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου είναι αφηρημένη και αλληγορική.³

Σύμφωνα με τον Α. Αλεκοίτζε η θεωρία της αγάπης εμφανίστηκε στο ελληνικό έδαφος.⁴ Ο επιστήμονας κάνει ανασκόπηση του γαλλικού μεσαιωνικού μυθιστορήματος και καταλήγει σε συμπέρασμα ότι η εξέλιξη της ερωτικής ροής οδήγησε την γαλλική λογοτεχνία στο ελληνικό ιδανικό της αγάπης, το οποίο χωρίς εξαίρεση συναντάμε σε όλα τα ερωτικά μυθιστορήματα του 12^{ου} αιώνα.⁵

Με πρώτη ματιά οι υποθέσεις των μυθιστορημάτων του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου και του Guillaume de Lorris δεν πολύ μοιάζουν η μια την άλλη, αλλά η ομοιότητα είναι πολύ βαθιά και αφορά μερικές υποθέσεις και μερικά μοτίβα.

Ο Φ. Ουόρεν στρέφει την προσοχή στην ομοιότητα μερικών στοιχείων.⁶ Σύμφωνα με την ερμηνεία της Σ. Πολιακόβας όμως οι ομοιότητες είναι πιο πολλές:

1. Το όνειρο είναι η παράλληλη γραμμή της εξέλιξης των ρεαλιστικών γεγονότων στο μυθιστόρημα του Μακρεμβολίτου. Αυτό είναι ένα μέρος της υπόθεσης. Το όνειρο στο έργο του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου μας παρουσιάζεται ως προφητεία. Τα αρχαίο ελληνικό μυθιστόρημα ποτέ δεν έδινε τόσο μεγάλο ρόλο στο όνειρο, όπως το βλέπουμε στο μυθιστόρημα του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου. Αυτή η “υπνοφιλία” ενώνει το μυθιστόρημα του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου και την δυτική ερωτική αλληγορία. Στο έργο συναντάμε πολλά όνειρα (10 όνειρα) που διαλύουν τα σύνορα μεταξύ των γεγονότων που γίνονται στην πραγματικότητα και των ονείρων. Το μυθιστόρημα του Μακρεμβολίτου μοιάζει με την δυτική αλληγορία, όπου υπόθεση παρουσιάζεται ως διήγηση ενός ονείρου.⁷

2. Οι πρωταγωνιστές χωρίζονται και ύστερα σμίγονται και στα δύο μυθιστορήματα.

3. Οι πρωταγωνιστές από τους εχθρούς του Έρωτα γίνονται οι δούλοι του και στα δύο μυθιστορήματα.

³ Полякова С. В., Из истории Византийского романа, Москва 1979, 128.

⁴ Αλεκοίτζε Α., 114.

⁵ Αλεκοίτζε Α., 105.

⁶ Warren F. N., A Byzantine Source for Guillaume de Lorris Roman de la Rose, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 31, 1916, 233.

⁷ Полякова С. В., Op. cit., 131.

4. Οι εχθροί χωρίζουν και οι φίλοι ενώνουν τους ερωτευμένους και στα δύο μυθιστορήματα.

5. Και η πρωταγωνίστρια του Εβματίου, και η πρωταγωνίστρια του Guillaume de Lorris είναι το ρόδο. Πίσω από το ανθρωπομορφικό πρόσωπο της Υσμίνης είναι δυνατόν να διακρίνουμε την φυτική της φύση. Το ρόδο είναι το άλλο εγώ της Υσμίνης.

6. Να δρέπει κανείς το ρόδο σημαίνει να υποτάσσει την γυναίκα και στα δύο μυθιστορήματα.

7. Παρ' όλο που ο Υσμινίας ταξιδεύει πολύ και ο πρωταγωνιστής του Guillaume de Lorris δεν φεύγει από τον κήπο, οι πρωταγωνιστές και στα δύο μυθιστορήματα πηγαίνουν στον κήπο, όπου γίνονται τα περισσότερα γεγονότα του μυθιστορήματος. Αυτοί οι κήποι είναι τα βασίλεια του Έρωτα.⁸

Ο κήπος είναι περιτριγυρισμένος από τον υψηλό τείχο, είναι μαγεμένος ή φυλακισμένος με άλλους τρόπους. Μέσα στον κήπο υπάρχει η πηγή, μοσχόβολα δέντρα, λουλούδια κτλ. Πρώτα εδώ συναντάνε την γυναίκα (ρόδο) και ερωτεύονται.

Ο Ευμάθιος Μακρεμβολίτης δημιουργεί τον κήπο, ο οποίος αργότερα παραμορφώνεται στην γνήσια δυτική αλληγορία αγάπης.

8. Την αλληγορία μηνών την συναντάμε αρκερά συχνά στα έργα των συγχρόνων συγγραφέων του Μακρεμβολίτου. Και στο έργο του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου και στο μυθιστόρημα του Guillaume de Lorris υπογραμίζεται ο φανταστικότητα των ζωγραφιών. Παρ' όλο που οι περιγραφές μοιάζουν ο ένας τον άλλον, η περιγραφή έχει παραμυθένια απόχρωση στο έργο του Guillaume de Lorris. Στο μυθιστόρημα του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου οι ζωγραφίες είναι τα δείγματα της τέχνης.⁹

9. Όμοια με τον Υσμινία και ο πρωταγωνιστής του Guillaume de Lorris έχει τον σύμβουλο στην αγάπη.

10. Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι το *Roman de la Rose* εξελίσσει όλα αυτά τα μοτίβα, τα οποία βρίσκονται στο στάδιο της μόρφωσης στο έργο του Μακρεμβολίτου. Αυτά τα μοτίβα είναι: τα μοτίβα του δικαστηρίου, της άλωσης του κάστρου και του κνηγίου. Αυτά όμως δεν είναι ακόμα τα συστατικά στοιχεία της υφής του είδους.

Ο Υσμινίας μαθαίνοντας ότι ο πατέρας της Υσμίνης αραβώνιασε την θυγατέρα της σε έναν άλλο παλληκάρι, ο Υσμινίας διηγείται στην κόρη για το δικαστήριο του Κάτου Κόσμου, όπου αυτή θα παρουσιαστεί (VI, 6).

⁸ Blank W., Die deutsche Minneallegorie, Stuttgart 1970, 150.

⁹ Полякова С. В., Op. cit., 146.

Πιο θαμπό είναι το μοτίβο της αγάπης – το κυνήγι. Ο Κρατισθένης λέει στον φίλο του, ότι η υπηρέτρια εμπόδισε το κυνήγι του (VI, 4).

Στην Δύση ο πόλεμος για την γυναίκα εκφράζεται με την άλωση του κάστρου ή πύργου. Οι γωνείς του Υσμινία και της Υσμίνης λένε, ότι ο Έρωσ άλωσε τον πύργο της κόρης.

Σύμφωνα με την Σ. Πολιακόβα από εδώ μένει μόνο ένα βήμα μέχρι την γέννηση ενός νέου μοτίβου. Τα μοτίβα αυτά στην εξελυγμένη ερωτική αλληγορία γίνονται τα στοιχεία της υπόθεσης.¹⁰

Από όλα αυτά που προαναφέραμε, αυξάνεται η σημασία του μυθιοτήματος του Ευματίου Μακρεμβολίτου. Ο Μακρεμβολίτης δεν ανήκει στους γνωστούς συγγραφείς, αλλά είναι πρώτος που ύστερα από μερικούς αιώνες ανανέωσε το ξεχασμένο είδος, το οποίο εξελίχτηκε ιδιαίτερος στις εποχές των Κομνηνών και των Παλαιολόγων. Αυτός χρησιμοποίησε πρώτος μερικά μοτίβα και έτσι άσκησε την επιρροή του πάνω όσο στο ελληνικό, τόσο και στο δυτικό μυθιοτήμα. Το έργο του *Τα καθ' Υσμίνην και Υσμινίαν* είναι η πρώτη αλληγορία αγάπης και παίζει το ρόλο του στην εξέλιξη της ιστορίας του είδους.

¹⁰ Полякова С. В., *Op. cit.*, 138.

Zaza Khintibidze (Tbilisi)

**GREEK-GEORGIAN CULTURAL AND LITERARY DIALOGUE:
PLATO, ARISTOTLE, RUSTAVELI**

The contacts between Greek and Georgian civilizations or the dialogue between cultures, as labeled in modern scholarship, is rooted in the depths of centuries. As known, the earliest stage of the dialogue is veiled in legends and survives in mythopoetic thought. Naturally, I refer to the Argonauts' campaign, Aetes' Colchis, rich in gold, the story of Medea and Jason, and the legend of binding Prometheus-Amiran to the hills of the Caucasus, preserved in the Greek and Georgian tradition.

More tangible manifestations of the contacts are the countless linguistic parallels vigorously studied by European and Georgian researchers for several decades. In this regard, the works by Professor R. Gordeziani are especially noteworthy. We should first of all mention *Pre-Greek and Kartvelian* (1) published in 1985 and the most recent summarizing work *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters*, Tbilisi 2007-2008 (2).

Another material manifestation of the contacts are archeological excavations conducted in the Georgian Black Sea littoral, despite the fact that the full-fledge and intensive study of Greek colonies in the Black Sea basin is only starting up and the most important geographical locations, such as legendary Phasis and Kytaiia, have not yet been specified. Hence, it is obvious that the mythical land of Colchis still has many secrets to reveal, in order to shed light on the contacts between Greek and Georgian civilizations.

As known, the so-called second stage of Greek-Georgian relations spanning over almost the whole of the Middle Ages has been explored more profoundly. It conventionally lasts up to 1453, the actual end of the Byzantine Empire. The common Orthodox Christian past of the two

friendly nations has been studied intensively by Georgian researchers for many decades, covering a big number of highly diverse aspects, whose mere enumeration would take us too far. Therefore, in the present paper I will confine myself to Greek-Georgian literary contacts, which, without exaggeration, proved decisive for the development of Georgian culture to its present form. To illustrate the mentioned, I will only refer to several widely-known facts:

1. Though the rudiments of the Georgian alphabet may date from pagan times, its ultimate, documented reformation known to us obviously took place in the Christian era – i. e. such a reformation of the Georgian written language must have been implemented with the knowledge and in consideration of the earliest European alphabet, the Greek one.

2. The completed and revised Georgian redaction of the Bible, as applied in modern Georgian church, was developed in the 10th-11th centuries in Greece, in the Iveron Monastery on Athos, as a result of its multiple juxtaposition with the original text.

3. The translation of the Bible and other theological works from Greek contributed to the development of Georgian language – its colloquial, literary and scholarly registers – which gradually laid the foundation for the development of modern Georgian language.

Naturally, the Greek-Georgian cultural dialogue was not unilateral: the Medieval Georgian culture was not only fostered and enriched by the Byzantine culture, but to a possible extent contributed to its diversity. These relations have been dealt with in the works of several generations of Georgian scholars starting with Shalva Nucubidze. Exhaustive information about the works, corroborated by new ideas and arguments, has recently spread beyond the borders of Georgia – I am referring to *Georgian-Byzantine Literary Contacts* by E. Khintibidze, published in English in Amsterdam in 1996 (3). I will not further dwell on the point but will only recall the following fact, now widely known thanks to K. Kekelidze's works: many Byzantine literary pieces, whose Greek originals have not survived, or are available in later, modified redactions, have been preserved in medieval Georgian translations from Greek or sometimes Arabian sources.

The Knight in the Panther's Skin, the immortal poem of Rustaveli, an epic poet of the end of the 12th century, has been rightly recognized as the peak of the Georgian literature and culture in general, and as the most brilliant manifestation of Georgian intellect not only of the Middle ages but of all times.

The relationship of the poem with Greek culture has been covered in many scholarly works. However, their overwhelming majority is focused on the study of Rustaveli's philosophical reasoning, his *weltanschauung* relative to the Greek philosophical thought and do not aim at examining literary parallels. This can be explained by the fact that the poem makes no direct reference to any Greek poet or Greek literary character, unlike eastern and specifically, Persian epic poetry. Moreover, Rustaveli mentions only two Greek philosophers – Plato and Dionysus the Areopagite, and each only once. This may appear even more surprising bearing in mind the findings of Georgian Rustvelologists who argue that in his reasoning, Rustaveli more often follows Aristotle as compared to Plato, especially his Nicomachean Ethics and Poetics.

This may prompt the following question: how can we explain Rustaveli's mentioning of Plato by name and no nominal allusion to Aristotle? I found an answer to this elusive question in a recent publication called *Reference to Plato in the Man in the Panther's Skin and Its World Purport* (4), which also cites all relevant scholarly literature.

The research revealed that the Platonic 'wisdom', rendered through the words of a protagonist knight, Avtandil (KPS, 787, 3-4) (5) fully corresponds to the Greek Philosopher's ethical teachings about *justice*, expounded in his well-known dialogue *The Republic* or *On Justice: Political*, specifically, in several passages of Book II (363 e, 382 a-c) and at the end of the final Book X. However, Rustaveli does not give a rigorous account of any of Platonic statements but renders in his own words the main idea, the main thesis of Plato's entire teachings. Moreover, the antonymous concept *injustice* of the Platonic *justice* is substituted in the poem by its logical counterpart *deceit and hypocrisy* ("სიცრუე და ორპირობა"). The substitution is compelled by Line 787 as well as by the overall context of the whole chapter, *The Will of Avtandil*. However, despite the change, the reasoning of the Rustavelian hero follows the logic of the Platonic teaching: a man who is deceitful and hypocritical according to Rustaveli, and unfair according to Plato, will first be appropriately punished in this world, in his life time ("აენებს ხორცსა", KPS, 787, 4), and then in the next world, after his death ("მერმე სულსა", KPS, 787, 4).

As we can see, though the essence of the Platonic statement is not altered, the reference to the Greek philosopher is quite vague and without mentioning the source, the attribution of the statement would be unclear to the reader. I believe that for this very reason Rustaveli might have found it necessary to mention Plato by name, i. e. refer to the primary source of the passage containing allusion.

Rustaveli's numerous allusions to Aristotle, in my opinion, is an altogether different case: the passage so rigorously follows one or another teaching of Aristotle that it becomes unnecessary to mention the author by name. For example, the theory of friendship, or rather its essence, expounded and corroborated by Aristotle in Books VIII and IX of his *Nicomachean Ethics*, is rendered by Rustaveli poetically but with maximum precision in a sole verse (KPS, 775), again through the protagonist Avtandil. More specifically, according to Avtandil, there are three ways man may express his attitude to his friend: the first is the desire of man to be beside his friend, and the inability to endure the distance. The corresponding Aristotelian statement is 'τὸ συζῆν' – "living together" (NE, 1157b); [The second way is] readiness of man, as Rustaveli states, to give away everything to his friend, which excludes any form of envy. This closely resembles the Aristotelian 'χαίρειν ἀλλήλοις' – "to delight in each other" (NE, 1158a). [The third way is] providing help and actual benefit, which corresponds to Aristotle's 'τὸν βουλομένον καὶ πράττοντα τὰγαθὰ', – "who wishes and does what is good" (NE, 1166a). In *Nicomachean Ethic* (Book VIII, Chapter 5), Aristotle mentions the three signs of friendship, but this time all of them are given together and what I believe is the most important for the present discussion, they are given in the same order as in Rustaveli's poem. In particular, according to Aristotle, true friends are those who live together, delight in each other and confer benefits on each other: '... οἱ μὲν γὰρ συζῶντες χαίρουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ πορίζουσι τὰγαθὰ ...' (NE, 1157b), (see and cf. 6, 577-8).

Professor V. Asatiani's monograph *Byzantine Civilization* (7), published with the support of the *Dyonisios Varelis Foundation for the Byzantine Studies*, devotes a chapter (see 7, 258-464) to the wide range of Byzantine and Georgian relations. The Georgian historical, literary and religious materials presented and analyzed in this chapter attest to the popularity and reputation that Aristotle enjoyed in Pre-Rustavelian and Rustaveli's contemporary Georgia. It suffices to recall Rustaveli's senior contemporary eulogic poet Chakhrukhadze, who unambiguously states in the poem *Tamariani* that not merely he is unable to duly praise Queen Tamar, but even Socrates, Homer, Plato and Sophocles would appear powerless; only the mastery of Aristotle and Dionysus the Areopagite would make this possible (see 7, 331-332).

Considering the above-mentioned, no further comments are needed to understand why Rustaveli's reference to Aristotle is not explicit: in medieval Georgia Aristotle was so popular and his thoughts were so widely known through Georgian translations of Greek or Arab

philosophical works that the readers of the Rustaveli's poem did not need a nominal allusion to Aristotle. As concerns the explicit reference to Plato, this should not be understood as indicative of the Georgian readers' low awareness of Plato in those times, but as an indispensable clue to remove any possible ambiguities in terms of attribution, which might be caused by the employment of periphrasis and the poet's original interpretations when rendering this particular ethical statement of Plato.

In the end, I would like to draw your attention to a fact that might appear somewhat unflattering. *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* – rightly included in the treasury of world literature, a masterpiece that amply considers Pre-Christian as well as Christian Greek philosophical heritage, and at the same time, as I try to highlight in my recent researches, implying quite interesting and far-going references to the Homeric epics (see 8; 9; 10), – has been translated in many languages worldwide, including almost all European languages – even several times into some of them – has not yet been completely translated and published in Greek. However, I believe that the filling of this gap will mark a new, modern stage of Greek and Georgian centuries-old cultural relations.

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4. Khintibidze E., Reference to Plato in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and its World Purport, *The Kartvelologist*, 12, 2005, 66-82.
5. Shota Rustaveli, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, Tbilisi 1988.
6. Khintibidze E., The World View of Rustaveli's *Vepkhistqaosani* – *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Tbilisi 2009.
7. Asatiani V., Byzantine Civilization, Tbilisi 2006 (*in Georgian*).
8. Khintibidze Z., Homer and Rustaveli, Tbilisi 2005 (*in Georgian*).
9. Khintibidze Z., Compositional Function of the Circe-Myth in Greek-Roman, Medieval European and Georgian Epic Traditions: Typological Similarities or Literary Reception, *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 10 (II), Tbilisi 2007, 48-56.
10. Khintibidze Z., Aristotle's Conception of the Artistic Unity of Homer's Epic and Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, *The Kartvelologist*, 15, 2009, 60-77.

Ekaterina Kiria (Tbilisi)

PNEUMATOLOGICAL RESEARCH ACCORDING TO THE THIRD HOMILY OF *DE ORATIONE DOMINICA* OF GREGORY OF NYSSA

1. The text of the III homily on the Holy Spirit

In the third homily of the *Commentary on Our Father* of Gregory of Nyssa's well-known exegetic-homiletic work briefly presents the teaching on the Holy Spirit. In particular, the question is discussed in the context of the second request, where St. Gregory explains the meaning of the Lord's Kingdom (βασιλεία).

Interest attaches to the logical ἀκολουθία followed by Gregory's discourse in part two of the third homily. This discourse is basically of polemic nature, being directed against the *Pneumatomachoi*, who deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The first argument, invoked by Gregory in this polemic, is *Thy Kingdom Come*¹ of the second request, as quoted from the Gospel according to Luke

Ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρυσάτω ἡμᾶς.² Identifying the Holy Spirit with the Lord's Kingdom, Gregory points out that whom Luke calls the Holy Spirit is referred to as "Kingdom" by Matthew (ὅπερ γὰρ Λουκᾶς μὲν πνεῦμα ἅγιον λέγει, Ματθαῖος δὲ βασιλείαν ὠνόμασε).³

Gregory of Nyssa is the only Church Father to quote this version of the Gospel according to Luke.⁴ He draws a significant conclusion from this

¹ Matth. 6.10

² De oratione dominica 39, 18-19, ed. J. F. Callahan: Gregorii Nysseni opera; VII/II, Leiden 1992; cf. Luk. 11.2.

³ De oratione dominica, 39,21 ff.

⁴ See Walther G., *Geschichte der griechischen Vaterunser-Exegese*, Leipzig 1914, 37.

text of Luke against the *Pneumatomachoi*: *Kingdom and deliverance from debts* – both are features attesting to divine nature, which cannot be characteristic of created and humiliated nature. In Gregory's words, the Holy Spirit is divine power and kingdom; it governs, not being governed by another: (ἀλλὰ μὴν βασιλεία τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· εἰ δὲ βασιλεία ἐστὶ βασιλεύει πάντως, οὐ βασιλείται.)⁵ On the other hand, purifying from sins is divine action; therefore, the unity of power and activity (δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια) is proof of one nature. On the basis of the Gospel according to Luke⁶ and Paul's letter⁷, Gregory concludes that the second and third hypostases of the Trinity have the same activity: forgiving sins and deliverance from evil.⁸ The coming together of power and action proves the unity of nature (φύσις) of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Gregory has recourse to arithmetical logic: if the nature of the Father and the Son is the same, and that of the Son and the Holy Spirit is also single, therefore the nature of Trinity is single. If two is identical with the third, they cannot differ from one another. From arguing the consubstantiality of the Trinity, Gregory passes on to a brief discussion of the distinctive properties of the divine persons. The property of the Father is "to be ungenerated" (ἀγέννητος)⁹, the property of the Son is "only-begotten" (μονογενής)¹⁰, and of the Holy Spirit "to be proceeded" (ἐκπορεύεται)¹¹. These features are characteristic only of each of them; therefore, the one nature should also be preserved and the hypostatic properties should not be confused with one another.¹²

Those words are presented in the third homily of Gregory of Nyssa that have given rise to a heated discussion among theologians, lasting from the 13th century to the present day. This phrase reads as follows: τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγεται καὶ [ἐκ] τοῦ υἱοῦ εἶναι προσμαρτυρεῖται (Callahan, 43,1-2).

⁵ De Or. 41,4-6.

⁶ Luk. 11,2

⁷ Hebr. 1,3

⁸ De Or. 41,1-3:

Ἄλλὰ μὴν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ προσμαρτυρεῖ ὁ ἀπόστολος·

Καθαρισμὸν, φησί, τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς.

⁹ De Or. 42,22

¹⁰ De Or. 42,26

¹¹ De Or. 42,17: τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται.

¹² De Or. 42,25: ἄν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν φιλαχθείη καὶ τὸ ἴδιον μὴ σύγχυθείη.

Some western scholars find in these words the idea of filioque, which will be discussed in more detail below. Here let us focus our attention on the context in which Gregory mentions this phrase. As noted above, Gregory speaks of the distinctive properties of the divine persons, and it is obvious that he assigns great significance to the demonstration of their difference. He asserts: Each property assigned to a divine person cannot be transferred to another. The common nature is preserved, on the one hand, and it is impermissible to confuse hypostatic properties, on the other.

The hypostatic property of the Son is defined as "only-begotten of the Father" (ὁ γὰρ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς)¹³, which is attested by the Scripture.¹⁴ The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is of the Son as well. By quoting the letter to the Romans¹⁵ Gregory notes that the Holy Spirit is of Christ, and not vice versa: it cannot be said that Christ is from the Spirit. Both this passage and the discourse preceding the moot phrase show clearly that Gregory considers the Father as the origin of the procession of the Holy Spirit: οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄν καὶ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα.¹⁶ A little above, the same view of procession from the Father is clearly given: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται.¹⁷ Thus, the phrase in question should be interpreted precisely in this context.

Following the discussion of the single nature of the Trinity and the hypostatic properties of the persons, Gregory reverts to the polemic with the *Pneumatomachoi*.

The opponents of the Holy Spirit perceived a humiliating of the honour of the Holy Spirit in the word "come" ("thy Kingdom come"). In response to the assertion that this may be a predicate of divine nature, Gregory quotes David's appeal to God, in which he begs: "come and save us."¹⁸ Gregory asks the question: If this appeal of David is not diminutive for God the Father, why should it be disparaging for the Holy Spirit?

Towards the end of his discourse Gregory returns to the question of the forgiving of one's debts. Mark's 2, 7: τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἶς ὁ Θεός is for him evidence of the entire action of the Trinity.

¹³ *De Or.*, 42,36

¹⁴ *I Joh.*, 4,9

¹⁵ *Rom.*, 8,9: εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, ἕτος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁶ *De Or.*, 43, 3-5

¹⁷ *De Or.*, 42, 16-17

¹⁸ *De Or.*, 43, 20 ; cf. 79, 3.

2. Gregory's Text and the Theological Problem of Filioque

Now let us touch in more detail on which phrase the majority of western theologians perceive the teaching of filioque.¹⁹ In their view, Gregory went further in his *pneumatological* quests than did the other Cappadocian Fathers, for he dwelt more precisely on the inner Trinitarian interrelations. As they assert, we do not find the idea of filioque in formulated form in Gregory of Nyssa, but his statement *ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ* comes very close to this idea.²⁰

The above-quoted phrase of the 3rd homily, found in the manuscript tradition of Gregory's *Commentary on Our Father*, acquired special significance in the 13th century in the heated theological debate around filioque. According to the historical sources, a certain Michael Escamatismenos²¹ (13th) scraped *ἐκ* out of Gregory's text with a knife.²² This fact was acknowledged by Greeks who sided with Latins, which was ultimately confirmed officially by the Synod of 1280. The Western scholars today too advocate the view that *ἐκ* initially did exist in Gregory's original text.

The well-known scholar of Gregory of Nyssa Werner Jaeger devoted a special study to this issue. He is interested in researching what actually belongs to St. Gregory, thus showing less interest in dogmatic controversies.²³ Jaeger argues that *ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ* is a later interpolation into Gregory's text in support of the idea of filioque, and that it did not exist in the original text.²⁴ In his view, this was a dogmatic interpolation, based on political causes of the church. Originally, *ἐκ* was added in the manuscript by the opponents of Photius in the 9th century, and it was this interpolation that the above-mentioned Escamatismenos scraped out with a knife.²⁵ The publisher of Gregory's critical text Johann Callahan introduced significant corrections into Jaeger's conception. According to his study the preposition *ἐκ* is attested back in the 5th-6th c manuscripts, including in Syriac transla-

¹⁹ See Th. Alexopoulos, *Der Ausgang des thearchischen Geistes*, Göttingen 2009, 63; A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* 7, Rom 1833, 6-7; Holl K., *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, Tübingen/Leipzig 1904, 217; Courth F., *Trinität in der Schrift und Patristik*, in: *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* II/1a, Freiburg 1988, 182.

²⁰ See Courth F., 182-183.

²¹ See Alexopoulos Th., *Der Ausgang des thearchischen Geistes*, Eine Untersuchung der Filioque-Frage anhand Photios 'Mystagogie', Konstantin Melitiniotes 'Zwei Antirrhethici' und Augustins 'De Trinitate', Göttingen 2009, 63, Note 271.

²² Alexopoulos Th., 63.

²³ *ibid.*, 142; also Callahan J., *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, GNO VII/II, Leiden 1992.

²⁴ Jaeger W., *Gregor von Nyssas Lehre vom Hl. Geist*, Leiden 1966, 139.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 137.

tions as well. Callahan believes that the confusion took place very early – back in the 5th century,²⁶ and that it must have been the scribe's interpolation, who inserted *ἐκ* either by mistake or deliberately. Proceeding from this point of view, Callahan placed the *ἐκ* in the critical text established by him in brackets.²⁷

In connection with the procession of the Holy Spirit with Gregory we in general find the following statement: *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται*. And this was the generally accepted formula with Holy Fathers, pointing to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son. Later the West interpreted *διὰ* as *ex patre filioque*. Jaeger accounts for the fact that the Council of Constantinople did not enter *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ* in the Creed by their desire to avert wrong interpretation of *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ* that could represent the Holy Spirit as created (*κτίσμα*) by Christ.²⁸ Because of the complex dogmatic question connected with *ἐκ* and *διὰ*, the Greek scholar Savvatos considers it necessary to make a thorough study of these two prepositions with Gregory of Nyssa, in particular the passages that contain discourse about the Holy Spirit. This, in his view, would greatly facilitate the solution of the problem.²⁹

In parallel to the third homily of the commentary of the Lord's Prayer, there are several passages in Gregory's works that were frequently quoted by the champions of filioque in the Middle Ages.³⁰ One of them is Gregory's work *Θεογνωσία*³¹. Along with others, this work is cited by a 13th century Greek churchman of Latin orientation, Konstantin Melitiniotes. The passage quoted by the latter from *Θεογνωσία* to prove Gregory's filioque teaching, reads thus:

τοῦδ' ἕνεκα γὰρ καὶ Πνεῦμα σόματος ἀλλ' οὐχὶ λόγον σόματος εἶρε-
κεν ὁ Δαυὶδ, ἵνα τὴν ἐκπορευτικὴν ιδιότητα τῷ Πνεύματι μόνῳ προσοῦ-
σαν πιστώσῃται.³²

²⁶ Callahan J., GNO VII/II, XIV

²⁷ Ibid., XIII

²⁸ Jaeger W., 153.

²⁹ Savvatos Chr., Ἀναφορὲς κατὰ τὸν ΙΓ αἰῶνα πρὸ Βυζάντιο γιὰ ἀλλοιώσεις ἐρ-
γων καὶ χωρίων τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Νύσσης, in: ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ, 66, 1995, 118.

³⁰ This question is studied by Th. Alexopoulos in his monograph, whose findings are doubtless noteworthy. See Th. Alexopoulos, Der Ausgang des thearchischen Geistes, Eine Untersuchung der Filioque-Frage anhand Photios „Mystagogie“, Konstantin Melitiniotes „Zwei Antirrhethici“ und Augustins „De Trinitate“, Göttingen 2009.

³¹ ibid. 65.

³² Cf. Ps. 32,6; Alexopoulos 65, cf. Konstantinos Melitiniotis, Λόγοι Ἀντιρρητικοί δύο (Antirr. II), ed. M. Orphanos, Athens 1986, 263, 12-16; also Blemmydes N., Logos B 13 (PG 142, 580B).

"that is why David spoke of the soul of the mouth rather than the word of the mouth to prove that the property of procession is ascribed only to the soul."

Konstantin charges the antifilioque champions (Antifilioquisten) with distorting the text deliberately by replacing τῷ Πνεύματι with the word τῷ Πατρὶ. By this they wished the procession of the Holy Spirit to be the prerogative of the Father alone and to show that the Son does not participate, along with the Father, in the procession of the Holy Spirit.³³ Notably enough, controversy around this passage continued to the 14th century. Gregory Palamas too dwelt on this passage, explaining that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father and that this property does not extend from the Father to the Son.³⁴ Konstantin Melitonites considers another passage in the text of Gregory of Nyssa to be an antifilioque interpolation. He refers to the following sentence from *Contra Eunomium*: καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων ἔχειν.³⁵

We should concur with Alexopoulos on that even this sentence is an antifilioque interpolation; this fact by no means reveals anything in favour of the pro-filioque circles. A little above this section, Gregory speaks of the hypostatic properties of the persons of the Trinity and their difference:

³³ Ibid., 65; cf. Antirr. II 264, 2-6.

³⁴ Ibid., 66; cf. Gregorius Palamas, *Λόγος ἀποδεικτικός* A, I, 19, in: Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, *Συγγράμματα* 1-5, Ed. P. Chrestou/Bobrinisky, Thessalonike 1988, 78-153.

³⁵ The complete text containing this sentence is the following: [τὸ πνεῦμα] τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄκτιστον συναπτόμενον, πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ μὴ πατὴρ εἶναι καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος, διαχωρίζεται. τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν κατὰ τὸ ἄκτιστον συναφείας [καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων ἔχειν] ἀφίσταται πάλιν τῷ ἰδιάζοντι, ἐν τῷ μήτε μονογενῶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστῆναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι. Πάλιν δὲ τῆς κτίσεως διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὑποστάσεως, ὡς ἂν μὴ κοινοτήτά τινα πρὸς ταύτην ἔχειν νομισθῆ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι, ἐν τῷ ἀτρέπτω καὶ ἀναλλοιώτῳ διακρίνεται τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως. CE I (GNO I 108,14-109,5; cf. Th. Alexopoulos, 68).

[The Holy Spirit is connected with the Father by being uncreated, while it differs from it by not being the Father as He is. As to its link with the Son, is that it is uncreated and that it enjoys the ground to exist from God; it stands out by the property that it originated from the Father not as an only-begotten and by it becoming manifest through the Son. Inasmuch as the created through the only begotten exists (so that no one will come to think that the Spirit has anything to do with it, for the Spirit becomes manifest through the Son) the Spirit differs from the created by being constant and unalterable].

each person has his feature with which it differs from the other.³⁶ The above mentioned passage coincides by its content and discussion with that of the third homily of the Lord's Prayer. There too, as we have seen, Gregory names the "only-begotten" as the hypostatic property of the Son. In this section, too, the decisive sentence is: ἐν τῷ μήτε μονογενῶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστῆναι [originates from the Father not only as the only-begotten], points to the Father as the origin of the Spirit. As to the next sentence [τὸ πνεῦμα] διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι [The Spirit is manifested by the Son], which would seem to sound like filioque, here talk is about the divine dispensation, that is the manifestation of the Trinity in the created world, rather than intra-Trinitarian interrelationship.

In this context I would like to quote the view of the well-known Greek theologian Georgios Mantzaridis³⁷ in connection with filioque. He considers the confusion of questions of theological and oeconomic order as the source of the idea of filioque: "when theology is discussed within the framework of oeconomy". In this case a confusion of the power and action of the persons of the Holy Trinity with their hypostatic properties takes place. It was this that happened with Augustine. He united theology and oeconomy, believing that the sending of the Holy Spirit by the Son to the created world reflected the intra-Trinitarian relationship of the Trinity as well. By this, he identified the activity of the Holy Spirit with its procession, which is actually linked to divine essence.³⁸ Thus, a confusion occurred of hypostatic and Trinitarian, or more precisely intra-Trinitarian, properties (which constitutes a hypostatic relationship of the persons of the Trinity) with the extra-Trinitarian relationship, that is the relation of the consubstantial trinity with the outer, created world, which happens by one action and one power. In the opinion of Mantzaridis, Augustine's concept that the Son also takes part in the procession of the Holy Spirit shows Augustine's absolute ignorance of the Trinitarian teaching of the fourth-century Fathers, namely the Cappadocians.³⁹

³⁶ Ἡ γὰρ ἐπιθεωρουμένη ἐκάστη τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότης τρανῶς καὶ καθαρῶς τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου διῆτησι. CE I (GNO I 107, 23-24; cf. Th. Alexopoulos, 69). [The property that characterises each hypostasis, differentiates obviously and clearly one from the other].

³⁷ Georgios Mantzaridis, Die Anfänge und die Voraussetzungen des Filioque in der theologischen Überlieferung des Abendlandes, in: Orthodoxes Forum, Zeitschrift des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Universität München, hrsg. von Prof. Th. Nikolau; München 1999, Heft 1, 13. Jahrgang, 31-45.

³⁸ Ibid., 41.

³⁹ Ibid., 43.

Indeed, Gregory's works demonstrate that he definitely differentiates the intra-Trinitarian interrelations, which constitute the οὐσία of the trinity and the activity of consubstantial Trinity with respect to the world, that is the Divine ἐνέργεια. Some extant historical documents also deny the possibility of filioque belonging to Gregory's thought. In the first place, this is the fact that the 7th world council in 787 conferred the honorary title 'Father of Fathers' on Gregory of Nyssa, the second, the truly impressive scale of acceptance of Gregory's works in the theological church writings.

3. Gregory's Pneumatology and the Constantinopolitan Creed

The 14th century Byzantine writer Nicephorus Callistos states that Gregory of Nyssa expanded the Creed of Nicaea,⁴⁰ which shows obviously the great authority of St. Gregory in the teaching on the Holy Spirit.

The second world council relied heavily on Gregory's pneumatology by giving the definitive formulation of the Dogma of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Article Three of the dogma coincides precisely with Gregory's pneumatological teaching.⁴¹

As noted by Jaeger, Gregory relies on predicates that are important in the philosophical argumentation of the divinity of the Holy Spirit.⁴² It is the very same predicates that emerge in the brief article on the Holy Spirit: 'Lord' (κύριον) and life-giving (ζωοποιόν) and 'proceeding from the Father' (ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον). It should be noticed also that the 'glory' (δόξα) and 'worship' (προσκύνησις), emphasized in Gregory's teaching, which should be expressed with respect to the Holy Spirit, sounds similarly in the Constantinopolitan Creed: τῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.⁴³

Who recognizes the divine and governing nature of the Holy Spirit thereby acknowledges its glory (δόξα), power (δύναμις) and worship (προσκύνησις). Gregory rejects the subordination (ὑποχείριον, ὑπήκοον) of the Holy Spirit on the Father or the Son as well as its mediatory (ἐν μεθαρῳ) state between God and man.⁴⁴ ὑποχείριον is an opposing

⁴⁰ Jaeger W., Gregor von Nyssas Lehre vom Hl. Geist, 70.

⁴¹ Cf. Adversus Macedonianos, De spiritu sancto, GNO III/I.

⁴² See Jaeger W., 66

⁴³ Ibid., 68

⁴⁴ Adversus Macedonianos, 102 ff.

concept to τὸ κύριον and κυριεῖον.⁴⁵ As to the predicate ζῶσοπιόν Gregory defines it as 'the grace of baptism'.⁴⁶

There is a strong logical link between the predicates found in Gregory's *pneumatological* teaching, and the grammatical structure of the words of the Creed corresponds to this logical ἀκολουθία.⁴⁷

Finally, I want to note once more that in his third homily Gregory of Nyssa makes a brief reference to his *pneumatological* conception, which he discusses more extensively in his other works: this is assertion of the divinity of the Holy Spirit according to the one activity and one nature of the Trinity, as well as the question of the interrelationship of the individual and differentiating properties of the divine persons. It is hard to combine this discourse⁴⁸ with the theological question of filioque and to search for the latter as authentic in Gregory's thought. Therefore, the content of the moot phrase found in the manuscript tradition should be assigned to the order of text history. It is not surprising that this textual evidence would claim proper attention during the heated dogmatic polemic between the churches. Within the Orthodox tradition, however, which never abstained from its evaluative attitude⁴⁹ to Gregory of Nyssa, we find a different historical reality: the Orthodox Church is grateful, among other things, to Gregory of Nyssa for the formulation of orthodox teaching on the Holy Spirit, considering him over the centuries to be an unshakable authority on this issue.

⁴⁵ Adversus Macedonios, 104 f.

⁴⁶ See Jaeger W., 69; Adversus Macedonios, 105 ff.

⁴⁷ See Jaeger W., 69.

⁴⁸ See above Callahan, 43, 1-2 cf. 42, 16-17 and 43, 3-5.

⁴⁹ I have in mind the stand of the Orthodox Church with regard to Gregory when, owing to the doctrine of *apokatastasis* taken over by him from Origen, in 1081 he failed to earn – next to Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus – the title of great enlightener.

Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)

HEGELEUS THE TYRSENIAN IN CORINTH AND DEMARATUS THE CORINTHIAN IN TYRSENIA

(THE ORIGINS OF GREEK-ETRUSCAN DIALOGUE)

In Book II of his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias describes the temple of Athena in Temenus, which he visited, telling a legend about how it was founded: "A sanctuary of Athena Trumpet (Σάλπιγξ) they say was founded by Hegeleus. This Hegeleus, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus (Tyrrhenus), and Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and the Lydian woman [Omphale]; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, and Hegeleus, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians from Temenus how to play the instrument and for this reason gave Athena the surname Trumpet."¹

The information in this passage requires special comments and analysis. We will focus on several important issues:

I. Tyrsenus. Herodotus was the first to mention Hegeleus' father Tyrsenus. Believing that Tyrsenians (Lat. Etruscans) came from Lydia, the Greek historian says that because of famine caused by a harvest failure, a group of Lydians led by Tyrsenus, the son of their King Atys, "went down to Smyrna, and built themselves ships, in which, after they had put on board all needful stores, they sailed away in search of new homes and better sustenance. After sailing past many countries they came to Umbria, where they built cities for themselves, and fixed their residence. Their former name of Lydians they laid aside, and called themselves after the name of the king's son, who led the colony, Tyrsenians [Tyrrhenians]."²

¹ Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*, II, 21, 3.

² Herodotus, *Historiae (Historiae apodexis)*, I, 94.

The format of this paper provides no possibility to discuss in more detail the opinions on Etruscans' origin in Antiquity and modern science. The only thing we would like to mention is that the version described by the "father of Greek history" was regarded as quite trustworthy in the sources of all periods of Antiquity. Pausanias is no exception in this regard, as in the passage we are focusing on, he relies on the legend on Tyrsenus mentioned by Herodotus.

II. Heracles. Thus, according to Pausanias' version, Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and a Lydian woman – Omphale. Connecting Heracles with Lydians and then with Etruscans is a very noteworthy issue. It should be born in mind that in Etruscan mythology, Heracles, who corresponds to Greek Heracles, has a special place, and we have devoted a special report to Etruscan Heracles.³

Etruscan Heracles has proved to consist of, so to say, two layers. One of them, which is chronologically younger, is an embodiment of Etruscan Heracles due to the growth of popularity of Hellenic mythology through the influence of the Greek colonizing movement and second Heracles is more archaic and shows no connection to his Greek analogue, being connected with conceptions widespread in the Mediterranean area in the Pre-Indo-European times. According to the latter, Heracles is a significant element of the Etruscan cult service of Haruspicy. He is the founder of the Etruscan race⁴ and the son of the goddess of sky. Correspondingly, Pausanias' version of Heracles being the father of Tyrsenus could be a reflection of a Greek modification of the Etruscan myth.

III. Invention of Trumpet. The fact that Etruscans indeed invented this kind of trumpet is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus. His *Bibliotheca historica* says that "they were the inventors of the salpinx, as it is called, a discovery of the greatest usefulness for war and named after them the 'Tyrrhenian trumpet'".⁵

Unlike Greek trumpet, Etruscan trumpet was cylindrical with one end bent. It was an instrument used in war, but they also had a straight trumpet, which was used for religious purposes.⁶

It is noteworthy that this instrument is mentioned by all three ancient Greek tragedians. Τυρσηνική σάλπιγξ is mentioned by Aeschylus in *Eumenides*, Sophocles in *Ajax*, and Euripides in *Heracleidae*. It is noteworthy that in the first two works, Tyrsenian trumpet is mentioned in connection

³ Kobakhidze E., Italian Heracles., Tbilisi 2004, 174-182 (in Georgian).

⁴ Strabo, V, 2, 2 [29], Dionys. Hall., I, 28, 5.

⁵ Diodorus Sicullus, V, 40, 1.

⁶ Cristofani M., Musica, In: Dizionario illustrato della civiltà etrusca, Firenze 2000, 182-183.

with Athena. In particular, at the start of the fourth episode of *Eumenides*, Athena orders a herald:

Herald, give the signal and restrain the crowd;
and let the piercing Tyrrhenian trumpet,
filled with human breath,
send forth its shrill blare to the people!⁷

In the prologue to *Ajax* by Sophocles, where invisible Athena speaks to Odysseus, the Greek hero tells the goddess:

Ah, Athena's voice, of the gods
the one I cherish most. How clear you sound.
I can't see you, but I do hear your words -
my mind can grasp their sense, like the bronze call
of an Tyrsenian trumpet (14-17).

In our opinion, the connection between Tyrsenian trumpet and goddess Athena in the aforementioned passages by Aeschylus and Sophocles is a reflection of the legend mentioned by Pausanias. In particular, Tyrsenus' son invented this musical instrument, built a temple of Athena, and called it "Trumpet", which reflects a mythological connection between Athena and Tyrsenian trumpet (we will dwell on this connection again later).

It is clear that Pausanias' legend is beneath all criticism chronologically. The temple of Athena was presumably founded in Corinth in the classical period, while mythical Hegeleus lived in the dawn of the Etruscan civilization. There are at least four centuries between these events.

It is acknowledged by everyone today that Greeks must have familiarized themselves with Tyrsenian trumpet no earlier than 8th century BC, when the Greek colonization was making its first steps in Italy. The archaeological materials showing extensive relations between Etruscans and the Greek colony of Cumae confirm this.⁸

Later, the peaceful coexistence of Etruscans and Greek colonists changed to military confrontation, which developed into the struggle for domination on the sea. There is no doubt that Etruscans made their war trumpets sound, leaving an indelible trace in Greek literature.

IV. Temple of Athena in Corinth. We have already said above that in the legend quoted by Pausanias, like in mythological themes in general, it is

⁷ Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 569-572.

⁸ Pallottino M., *Etruscologia*, Milano 1984, 353; Keller W., *La civiltà etrusca*, Milano 1985, 387.

hardly possible to fit chronology into historic reality. Correspondingly, the foundation of the temple of Athena in Corinth by Hegeleus can have only a symbolic value. Of course, the legend is a reflection of contacts between Etruria and Corinth, which could not have started earlier than the 8th century BC taking into account archaeological data. However, at the same time, we believe that it is no accident that the myth comprises information on Tyrsenian Hegeleus devoting the temple precisely to goddess Athena.

In our opinion, the key to this problem is in special relations between Heracles and Athena. We do not mean support for the son of Zeus from Athena during the rivalry between Hera and Heracles (according to Pausanias, Hegeleus is the son of Heracles). In this regard, it would be interesting to take into account Etruscan mythology. Tyrsenian legends preserved in Roman sources show closer relations between Heracles and Menrva (Etruscan analogue of Athena) than Hellenic myths. In particular, Menrva is presented as Heracles' beloved woman or wife.⁹

Thus, if we assume that Etruscan legends comprise information reflecting ancient connections between Heracles and Athena (or rather Minerva) as a mythological theme widespread among the ancient Pre-Greek and Pre-Italian population, it may seem more logical that Tyrsenus' grandson Hegeleus pays special tribute to Athena and devotes a temple to her in the legend mentioned by Pausanias.

Taking the aforementioned into account, it is possible to conclude that the myth mentioned by Pausanias seems to be an example of early cultural dialogue between Etruria and Greece. At this stage, Hellenes make more efforts to "import" more from the Etruscan culture. In particular, Greeks adopt Tyrsenian myths (transforming them to a certain extent) and innovations (for example, Tyrsenian trumpet), trying to create a mythological version of the origins of the Etruscan ethnos and find a place for them in their own genealogical grid: Tyrsenus is the son of Heracles and Hegeleus is his grandson.

It is noteworthy that the first emergence of Etruscans in the ancient literature was linked precisely to an attempt to make them part of Greek mythology. At the end of *Theogony*, Hesiod writes:

And Circe the daughter of Helios, 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 Tyrrhenians,

⁹ Cristofani M., op. cit, 136.

very far off in a recess of the holy islands.

We share the opinion of those researchers, that these lines are organic for Hesiod's poem and were not inserted in it in the 6th or 5th century BC, an opinion we substantiate in the article *Circe and Italy*.¹⁰

The legend in Pausanias' work, which reflects relations between Tyrsenians and Corinthians, stems from the verge of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. These relations are not yet marred by confrontation and battles.

It is known that Corinth was one of the pioneers of the Greek colonizing movement. Although "Etruscans were too powerful for Greeks to establish colonies on their territory",¹¹ this did not restrict cultural contacts between Greece and Etruria.

It is noteworthy that myths, like with Pausanias, reflect not only Etruscans' contribution to the Greek culture, but also the contribution of Greeks to the Tyrsenian civilization. In our opinion, Livy makes an interesting allusion. He presents, so to say, the second part of Pausanias' version, depicting the contribution of Corinthians to the Etruscan civilization. A passage in the well-known work by the Roman historian *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* (VII) reads: "He [fifth Roman King Tarquinius Priscus] was the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, who had been driven from home by a revolution, and who happened to settle in Tarquinia. There he married and had two sons, their names were Lucumo and Arruns" (I, 34, 96-97).

In our opinion, the fact that Corinthian Demaratus settles in Tarquinia, takes an Etruscan wife, leads an Etruscan lifestyle, and gives his sons Etruscan names points to a bridge between Corinth and Etruria, which the Greek refugee walked along. At the same time, it was Demaratus, who shared important achievements of his culture with Tyrsenians together with adopting Etruscan traditions. In particular, Tacitus writes in his *Annals* that Etruscans adopted their alphabet from Demaratus of Corinth (IV, 50). Scientists generally accept today that the Etruscan alphabet is of Greek origin.

In our opinion, Tacitus' information may be close to reality. At the same time, it is indeed possible to assume that a Greek, who had learned Etruscan, could have created an alphabet adapted to the Etruscan language. Finally, it is noteworthy that the most archaic epigraph in

¹⁰ Кобахидзе Е., Кирка и Италия, *Caucasica*. The Journal of Caucasian Studies, vol. V, Tbilisi 2002, 70-79.

¹¹ Kavtaria G., *Ancient Greece*, Tbilisi 2005, 96 (in *Georgian*).

Etruscan dating back to the 8th or 7th centuries BC was found precisely in Tarquinia.¹²

Taking the aforementioned into account, we believe that the so-called "Cumaean theory", which says that Etruscans adopted their alphabet from Euboean colonists living in a new settlement,¹³ needs to be revised. We believe that it would be more logical to assume that the Etruscan alphabet took shape precisely in this Etruscan city on the basis of contacts between Corinth and Tarquinia.

We think that this Etruscan alphabet spread to Rome later in the era of Demaratus' son Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, who probably introduced this innovation, together with other ones, during his reign in Rome. It can also be assumed that the spread of literacy in Rome started by teaching Etruscan and later, the alphabet was adapted for Latin.

A kind of confirmation of this opinion can be found in the following phrase by Livy: "There is authority for asserting that at that time Roman boys were, as a rule, instructed in Etruscan literature as they now are in Greek".¹⁴

Thus, analyzing mythological data in ancient sources, archaeological materials and scientific literature, we can draw the following conclusions: First contacts between Greece and Etruria, which took the shape of genuine dialogue, were established on the verge of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. They became familiarized with each other much earlier than Greeks established close relations with Latium and Romans. Greek colonists familiarized themselves with Etruscan innovations, mythology and religion and interpreted and adopted Tyrsenian legends. Etruscans, for their part, familiarized themselves with the achievements of Hellenes in developing their writing system, which became the basis for the Etruscan alphabet. This was the start of Greek-Etruscan dialogue, which deepened and became more varied during the following centuries.

It can be said that the dialogue between the Greek and Etruscan cultures contributed greatly to the development of these civilizations and their contemporary world and later, to the formation and development of modern European cultures.

¹² Pandolfini M., *Scrittura*, In: *Dizionario illustrato ...* 263-264.

¹³ Camporeale G., *Gli Etruschi, storia civiltà*, Torino 2000, 194.

¹⁴ Livius, IX, 36, 3-4.

Gvantsa Koplataдзе (Tbilisi)

**PHENOMENON OF LOVE IN *SYMPOSIUM* BY PLATO AND
SYMPOSIUM BY METHODIUS OF PATARA**

In their search for the truth, philosophers of Antiquity gave correct answers to many interesting questions and produced doctrines that were at least partially correct on a lot of problematic issues. Plato's teaching on immortality of soul is one of such doctrines.¹ For its part, the teaching provided grounds for a teaching on Love set forth in the well-known dialogue *Symposium*. Thus, the concept of spiritual Love or Love that is concentrated not on people's attractive appearances, but rather on their beautiful soul, existed back in the Pre-Christian Hellenistic theology and *Symposium* by Plato was its source. It is noteworthy that even today; the expression "physical love" is often opposed by "Platonic love", not "spiritual love".

It is known that in *Symposium*, men assembled at tragic playwright Agathon's house in Athens deliver speeches in praise of Love, trying to clarify its essence and its importance in human life. It would be erroneous to identify Plato's understanding of Love with Socrates' encomium. We believe that it is necessary to take into account the speeches of all participants in the dialogue to provide a systemic description of the philosopher's teaching on the phenomenon of Love. It is believed that their views on Love (except those of Socrates) were quite widespread among the public of that time.²

¹ It is noteworthy that Plato himself disparaged the importance of his teaching on immortality of soul by creating at the same time the theory of transmigration of souls.

² Рабинович Е., Афродита Урания и Афродита Пандемос, in Античность и Византия, Москва 1975, 307.

It is true that Plato depicts Love – Eros – in a personified manner in accordance with the pagan religious tradition, but at the same time, it is abstract and it is identified with one of the initial causes of the origin of the universe. The first orator, who makes the first speech in praise of Love – Phaedrus – agrees with what Hesiod writes: "First Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth, the ever-sure foundations of all the deathless ones ... and Eros (Love)" (*Theogony*, 117-118). Therefore, he is the oldest god among the deathless, which is also confirmed by the fact that unlike the others, he does not have parents. Such an understanding of Eros is a kind of pre-image of the Christian teaching on God as Love that is, at the same time, an initial cause of the emergence of visible and invisible worlds. Phaedrus' speech also correctly defines Love as simultaneously the cause and force of humans' beautiful and sublime deeds, including the peak of such deeds – self-sacrifice, which is the best test of genuine existence of Love.

It is also impossible to disagree with Plato, when through one of the characters of the dialogue – Pausanias, he distinguishes between "earthly" lover, who loves a body, and genuine lover, who is in love with a beautiful soul. The sentiments of the former are changeable and transient like the subject of his love, but the sentiments of the lover of a beautiful soul are as eternal and intransient as the beautiful soul itself. However, it should be mentioned here that Plato's pagan religious mind makes itself felt again in this case, because he speaks about two Aphrodites – Aphrodite Urania (heavenly) and Aphrodite Pandemos (of all the folk) – and correspondingly, two Eroses. In reality, there can be no two kinds of Love. What Plato terms as earthly Love (this is how the Georgian translator translated "Pandemos"),³ is merely physical attraction and passion with no room for soul. Therefore, the name – Love – is also inappropriate.

I will not say much about Aristophanes' androgynon. Although Aristophanes' encomium of Eros is based on mythological ideas, his conclusion that Love implies the aspiration of two creatures for becoming one and whole can be shared, if the unity is regarded as existent at the spiritual level.⁴

The force and importance of Love in the artistic creation are correctly described in Agathon's encomium. "In the case of the arts, whomever this god teaches turns out to be renowned and conspicuous in craftsmanship,

³ Plato, *Symposium*, translated from Old Greek into Georgian and published with the Introduction and comments by B. Bregvadze, Tbilisi 1964.

⁴ *Mat.*; XIX.

and that he whom Eros does not touch remains obscure?"⁵ However, the dividing line between the sentiments of true Love and passion is not distinct in his speech.

As for Socrates' speech, which Plato himself regards as the core of his work, attaching major significance to it, it differs from other speeches first and foremost in that in this case too, Socrates remains loyal to his habit to state his opinion about Love in the shape of dialogue – questions and answers. In my opinion, this dialogue with Agathon is based on sophistic methods. Skilfully using these methods, Socrates makes Agathon reject what he said in his encomium of Eros. In particular, Agathon denies that Eros-Love is beautiful and kind and finally he even says that Eros is not a god.

According to the teaching of female seer Diotima of Mantinea,⁶ which Socrates shares, Eros' features are intermediate between beautiful and ugly, wise and ignorant, good and evil. By essence, Eros is neither mortal nor immortal god, but a demon that plays the role of mediator between gods and humans, filling the space between them. Incidentally, his origin also points to his intermediary nature, as his mother is Penia – personification of poverty – and his father is Poros, a word that usually means "ford", "road" or "flow", but is used in this case as personification of abundance.

Thus, Eros himself is neither beautiful nor ugly, neither kind nor evil, neither ignorant nor wise. He is the adoration of beauty, kindness, and wisdom. To be more exact and put it in Plato's words, Love is craving for good and happiness for each of us.⁷ In addition, this is the craving to eternally possess good and as it is unable to give birth in deformity, it is definitely born in beauty, when the time comes for a fecundated soul, as well as body, to give birth.

In his subsequent judgement, Plato tries to further specify the essence of Love, writing that it is not the desire for beauty per se, but for being conceived and born in it. Since birth gives immortality to mortals and since Love is the desire to eternally possess good, it follows that it is also the desire for immortality. The keen desire for immortality expressed in the aspiration to raise up descendants is characteristic of not only humans, but subconsciously of dumb brutes. Plato distinguishes here between the

⁵ Ibid., 43-44.

⁶ Some researchers of Plato regard Diotima as a real person, while others think she was invented.

⁷ Ibid., 55.

pregnant in the body and pregnant in the soul. The former betake themselves to women, trying to obtain immortality by giving birth to an offspring and the latter aspire to produce wisdom and other supreme spiritual virtues, searching for an appropriate match.

We can see that Plato regards Love only in close connection with the aesthetic category of beauty. In its aspiration to be born in beauty, it gradually becomes refined and elevated, turning from the contemplation of beautiful bodies to beautiful deeds, and from beautiful deeds to beautiful souls (when souls may already be residing in ugly bodies) until it reaches gratification with the contemplation of absolute beauty, which is eternal, unchangeable, and everlasting.

Christian authors managed to overcome their unilateral dependence on ancient literature in the very first centuries AD. Although the literature was unacceptable to them from the religious viewpoint, they found a lot of useful aspects in its best pieces from moral, artistic, and aesthetic viewpoints. Ideological obstacles never motivated Christian thinkers to reject the achievements that raised the ancient Greek literature to the level of universal values. They provided a new interpretation of the issues and genres in the classical Hellenistic literature. They skilfully used the literary language and artistic and aesthetic methods for their own purposes.

Methodius of Patara is one of the first among the early Christian authors, who can be described as a precursor of the Byzantine Christian literature proper. He presumably lived in the late 3rd and early 4th century. Unfortunately, there is very little information about his life. According to historian Socrates, Methodius, who was probably born in Patara, became bishop of Olympus in Lycia.⁸ In his writing *De Viris Illustribus (On Illustrious Men)*,⁹ St. Hieronymus of Stridon mentions Methodius' works known to him as well as different opinions on the date of his death. The most reliable of the opinions is that the bishop of Olympus was executed for his loyalty to religion in the town of Chalcis on the Euboea Island in 311, two years before the well-known Edict of Milan (which granted Christianity equal rights with other religions).

Symposium, or on Virginity deserves particular attention in the literary legacy of Methodius of Patara. It should also be noted here that *Symposium* is the only work by Methodius, which has come down to us complete in a

⁸ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6, 13.

⁹ PL, V 23, col. 723-729.

Greek text.¹⁰ We can see that the title contains an allusion that Methodius' work is close to Plato's well-known dialogue *Symposium*, or on Love".

The first thing to mention is that the bishop of Olympus borrowed from the pagan philosopher not only the title, but also the form. Like almost all works by Plato, including *Symposium*, his *Symposium, or on Virginité* was written as a dialogue. In addition, Methodius's composition is also similar to that in the work by Plato, which means that like Plato in *Symposium*, he uses a double scenario in his work. It is known that the bulk of Plato's work describes a dialogue on Love between the guests (including Socrates) invited to Athenian tragic playwright Agathon's house. However, the description comes from someone named Apollodorus, not Aristodemus, who participated in the dialogue. The work starts with a dialogue between Apollodorus and his friend, who asks the former to tell him, what the guests assembled in Agathon's house spoke about. Apollodorus says in response that he did not attend the feast in Agathon's house, but he heard the dialogue from Aristodemus, who was among Agathon's guests. This is followed by the main dialogue reproduced by Apollodorus in the form he heard it from Aristodemus.

Similarly, Methodius' *Symposium* starts with a dialogue between virgins Euboulion and Gregorion, in which Euboulion asks Gregorion to tell him about the conversation between the virgins assembled in the house of Arete, the daughter of Philosophia. Like Apollodorus, Gregorion did not attend the feast of the virgins, but like Apollodorus again, she heard from the participant in the dialogue, Theopatra, what the virgins spoke about, which she tells Euboulion on the basis of Theopatra's story. This is the second and main part of Methodius' work.

In addition to aforementioned similarities, it is known that Methodius uses terms and expressions from Plato's well-known dialogue. At the same time, the morphology and syntax of Methodius' work as well as its rhythmical figures and artistic values in general have been studied in detail.¹¹

Miller found that along with Plato, Methodius often refers to Homer not only as a renowned author to make his views more convincing, but also to make his work more beautiful artistically. For example, in *Symposium*, Methodius conveys the teaching on freedom of will: "If people are evil, they are such because of the lack of reason, not by nature" (VIII,

¹⁰ Methodii opera et. S. Methodius Platonisans. Ed. Alb. Jahnus, Pars Halis Saxonum, 1865.

¹¹ Ruchheit V., Studien zu Methodius von Olympus, Berlin 1958.

16). Homer expresses the same view: "Through their own blind folly, [people] have sorrows beyond that which is ordained" (*Odyssey*, I, 34).

Although Methodius gave his work an old shape similar to Plato's dialogue, the content was new, which becomes evident immediately from the title. Plato's work was called *Symposium, or on Love* and served to clarify the nature of love. In Methodius' work, love is replaced by virginity in the second part of the title and the dialogue itself is written in order to praise the Christian ideal of virginity, although the author does not reject marriage either.

The second part starts with the description of the meeting of virgins in Arete's house. It is no accident that the author gave the host this name. Arete (ἀρετή) means "courage, virtue, dignity" which, together with her appearance and her blameless garments, expresses virtue and dignity and points to the nature of the woman.

The host invites guests to the garden, where fresh air illuminated by sunbeams stirs slightly and a pure spring, trees decorated by coloured fruits of autumn, and small meadows with fragrant flowers of different colours give viewers the impression of unspeakable beauty of the world created by God. The virgins choose one tall tree - Agnos - and sit down in its shadow. It is no accident either that the tree I called Agnos (ἄγνος) which means lamb. It is known that it is a symbol of Our Saviour in the Holy Scripture (*John*: I, 29, 36).

When the guests had had all kinds of dishes and various sweets, Arete asked them to make encomiums - speeches in praise of chastity. The speeches of ten virgins (Marcella, Theophila, Thalia, Theopatra, Thallousa, Agathe, Procilla, Thecla, Thysiana, and Domnina), which are not identical in their artistic values and the power of influence make the bulk of the work. On the basis of the analysis of the distribution of speeches, researchers have expressed the opinion that in the second part, which comprises encomiums by the virgins, Methodius tried to observe a certain symmetry: the first two and the last two speeches are of approximately the same length and sound like each other; the third and eighth are different from all others; and the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh speeches between them are regarded as a whole, because their length is the same and they convey nothing new about the issue discussed. If we assume that the virgins sat in a circle during the conversation, it will follow that the authors of the third and eighth speeches - Thalia and Thecla - sat one opposite the other. However, if we assume that they sat in a line, both

aforementioned speeches will be third, but one from the beginning (Thalia) and the other from the end (Thecla).¹²

It is noteworthy that all virgins start and end their speeches with addresses to Arete and these introductions and final words are almost always composed of phrases and expressions taken from Plato's dialogue.

To prevent readers from getting the sense of monotony from consecutive encomiums and from diverting their attention, Methodius inserts remarks into his treaty. The remarks are made both by those involved in the dialogue in the first part and the authors of encomiums.

Marcella, who is the eldest among the virgins, makes the first speech. She unambiguously supports chastity, which she regards as the supreme beautiful virtue. Marcella's opinion is based on Our Lord's words about those, who "have made themselves eunuchs", taking the path of chastity and virginity and will receive the kingdom of heaven (Matthew: 19, 12). People need to travel a long road to achieve the goal, because they need to keep pure not only their bodies, but also the altar of their bodies – souls, decorating the latter with the truth. It is possible to restrain insane desires of body only through religious teachings and Christ's commandments. The Book of Leviticus of the *Old Testament* (Leviticus: 2, 13) prescribed oblation of meat offering seasoned with salt, as salt prevents meat from decaying. Spiritual exercise with the Holy Scripture is such purifying salt for humans, who do not have any chance of sensibly sacrificing themselves to the Almighty without it.

Christ received an icon blemished with our numerous sins in order to enable us to regain the initial undefiled divine icon. He grew the body, but kept it incorruptible through chastity. Therefore, if we want to be similar to God, we should share His human lifestyle and features and try to observe virginity, Marcella said.¹³

Theophila is the next to speak after Marcella. She says that Marcella's speech was indeed beautiful, but it was incomplete, because she did not mention that along with observing chastity, Christ did not reject giving birth to children. Although Moon is larger than stars, this does not destroy the light of stars. God's plan of giving birth to children – "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air and over every living creature that moves on the ground" (Genesis: 1, 28) – is still in force. He continues to create the

¹² Миллер Г. А., Мефодии Олимпийский и традиция Платонского диалога, Античность и Византия, Москва 1975, 184.

¹³ Methodii ..., 13.

universe and man up to now, as Our Lord Himself says: "My Father is always at his work to this very day" (John: 5, 17). Had light and darkness been finally divided, had rivers stopped flowing, had Earth stopped producing reptiles and four-legged animals, and had the number of humans set in advance been reached, we should have refrained from giving birth to children, but as the world continues to exist and be created, it is necessary for humans to behave like God. It was said: "Be fruitful and increase in number" (Genesis: 1, 28). So we should not shun fulfilling God's order, because we too came to exist in accordance with this order.

Theophila admits that chastity is predominant, but she also firmly believes that giving birth to children is not something to be shunned and ashamed of. Just because honey is the sweetest, we should not regard as bitter other fruits that also have natural and agreeable taste.¹⁴ The particular force of Theophila's speech lies not only in her deep knowledge of theology, but also temperance. She is a truly loyal disciple of the great teacher of the Christian Church - Apostle Paul, who wrote: "He who gives his virgin does well and he whoever does not give his virgin girl does all the better" (I Corinthians: 7, 38). It should be noted here that rejecting marriage implies preserving the chastity and purity of not only the body, but also the soul, which is much more difficult and which is the main reason why half of those, who take the path, cannot reach the end and fall halfway.

The third virgin, Thalia, said that she liked Theophila's speech, but regarded her explanation of Biblical verses in the direct physical sense as a shortcoming: "Adam said: This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called 'woman', for she was taken out of man. That is why a man leaves his father and mother and is united to his wife, and they become one flesh" (Genesis: 2, 23-25).

In Thalia's opinion, Theophila failed to pay attention to Apostle Paul's comparison of the first-created man and his wife with Christ and His church: "In the same way husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For no one ever hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, just as Christ does the church, because we are members of his body. Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh. This mystery is profound, and I am saying that it refers to Christ and the church" (Ephesians: 5, 28-32).

¹⁴ Ibid., 16.

Although Thalia admits that it is dangerous to disregard the direct meaning of texts, particularly that in the Book of Genesis, which carries God's firm ordinances for creating the world, Theophila is nevertheless not moderate regarding the texts, when she says that in the aforementioned verses of Genesis (2, 23-25), Apostle Paul implies only Christ and His church, although it is impossible to deny that Adam's words have first and foremost direct sense and are understood as an appeal to unity between man and wife and firm connection between them. As regards Apostle Paul, he moved this great mystery ("this mystery is profound") – physical and spiritual unity of two humans – to the spiritual level alone in order to symbolically present in this manner the unity of Christ and His church.

The fourth virgin, Theopatra, admits that the talking point has already been discussed, but relying on help from God, who inspires "at many times and in various ways" (Hebrews: 1, 1), she nevertheless makes her encomium of virginity, the luminary of Christianity.

In Theopatra's opinion, there is no other path truer than chastity for returning to Eden, restoring incorruptibility, reconciling with God, and saving humans. Giving pardon to the human race evicted from Eden, fallen in sin, doomed to decay and die, and with no longer any force to rise, God sent them magnificent help from Heavens – chastity – in order to enable us to attach our bodies to it, take delight in calm, and get to heavens unharmed. According to Theopatra, this is the meaning of *Psalms* 136, in which the souls that have already left this world and are already with Christ in Heavens, happily chant hymns to thank God for allowing them not to follow earthly and physical desires in this world: "By the rivers of Babel, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion. There on the poplars we hung our harps" (*Psalm*: 136, 1-2).

Theopatra explains that the verse is allegorical, as the hymns imply the bodies of the souls that glorify God – carnal huts decorated with boughs of chastity, which they hang on poplars in order to prevent torrents of audacity from taking them away. In this verse, Babel, which means "unrest" and "mixing" (*Genesis*: 11, 9), points to life in this world surrounded with water. So long as we are in this world, we plunge into the rivers of vileness that incessantly flow in our direction. This is why we entreat God, weeping, to prevent hymns, or our bodies, from being torn off the tree of chastity by the waves of lechery and from perishing. Poplar is the image of chastity on the Holy Scripture (*Leviticus*: 23, 40; *Isaiah*, 44, 4). Drinking its blossom mashed in water puts out the fire of longing and lechery and can sometimes cause infertility. This is why Homer described

it as fruit shedder (*Odyssey*: 10, 510). Like poplars (willows) usually grow from water, virginity grows from holy expressions, flourishes and becomes so firm that everyone is able to hang their hymns or bodies on it. God gave us chastity as the most useful and truthful means to achieve incorruptibility. In its shape, God sent an ally to those, who aspire for it and whom the author of Psalms implies by the name of Zion, as Zion denotes splendid love and the testament on it.¹⁵

The Fifth Encomium of Virginity was made by Thallousa. In the introduction, she enumerates the kinds of offerings people sacrifice to God. In her opinion, sacrificing gold or silver, one-tenth part of harvest, and even the whole property cannot be compared with the offering of a man, who sacrifices himself to God. Thallousa maintains that training with virtues should start from childhood, because only those, who start caring about preserving the purity of not only their bodies, but also their souls, can completely sacrifice themselves to God.

Thallousa's explanation of what she means by completely sacrificing oneself to God is much more interesting. In particular, she says that only those do so, who keep lips, tongues, eyes, ears, hands, and feet away from sinning, using them only for obtaining virtues and accomplishing good deeds. For example, humans should open their lips to correctly clarify the Holy Scripture and praise God, not for vain and vile speeches. Tongues should be a tool for conveying wisdom – the pen of a skilful writer (Psalm: 44, 1) – and as the medium for divine wisdom, they should be more expressive than poets and orators conveying human teachings. Eyes should become accustomed to contemplating the sublime, not physical beauty or unseemly sights. Our ears should be close for evil speeches, being open only for apprehending God's words. If we keep our hands from doing evil and feet from following the path of immorality, they will be chaste like lips, tongues, eyes, and ears and will be devoted to God.¹⁶

Sixth virgin Agathe believes that she will show her silliness, if she considers herself equal of the exalted, i. e. the authors of previous speeches. She asks her listeners to be benevolent to her, as her speech is going to be as good as she is capable of making it.

According to Agathe, humans emerge in this world awarded with incomparable beauty related to wisdom, or Jesus Christ. Souls are particularly related to their Creator, when they shine with the pure beauty of being similar to him, retaining the features of the original Icon. The

¹⁵ Ibid., 24.

¹⁶ Ibid., 26.

Creator Himself, who is unborn, incorporeal, infinite, unchanged, ever-youthful beauty, light in itself, and permanently residing in an inarticulate and unattainable haven, created human soul in his image. That is why soul is of sensible, immortal and incomparable beauty and that is why spiritual forces of evil struggle against it in the heavenly realms (Ephesians: 6, 12), trying to set a trap for it in order to dirty this divine and desirable image. The best means for preserving this beauty is to wall it off with chastity, which makes it remain identical of itself. Being promised in marriage to God, it is decorated with truth.

Agathe explained that in the parable of the ten virgins (Matthew: 25, 1-13), the virgins denote souls faithful in Christ and number 10 symbolizes the single and direct path up to the heaven. However, five of the virgins are reasonable and wise and the other five unreasonable and foolish. The latter did not take care to fill their vessels with oil. They are those, who aspire to the goal of chastity and fulfil everything that can draw them closer to the goal correctly and vigilantly. However, they declare the aspiration aloud and with smugness, which weakens them and being defeated by the ephemeral vanity of life, they remain ghosts of chastity rather than the implementers of the spiritualized truth.¹⁷

All those, who retained undamaged and blameless the five senses of virtue - vision, taste, smell, touch, and hearing - and submitted all the five senses like a brightly luminescent torch to Christ, are called the first five virgins here. Agathe calls the human body a candleholder with five candles, which the soul holds like a torch and hands it over to the bridegroom - Christ, expressing brilliant faith with all senses. Thus, observing the purity of soul and body, Agathe says that "I become the bride of Logos, receive the eternal crown of incorruptibility and riches from my Father as dowry, eternally celebrate, being decorated with the crown of brilliant and unfading flowers of wisdom, and celebrate together with Christ, who gives payment in heavens, close to eternal and infinite Lord".¹⁸

Seventh virgin Procilla says that only those, who can call to witness the one, who is greater than any praise and anyone praised, can bestow truthful and grounded praise, because this is the way to firmly convince listeners that verbal praise is based on the truth, not on one's own views, and that it is not aimed at winning someone over or pronounced because that is necessary. Therefore, when prophets and apostles made prophecies

¹⁷ Ibid., 29.

¹⁸ Ibid., 30.

on Son of God, they supported their praises not with the words of angels, but with those of Father, who is greater (John: 14, 28). Given the aforementioned, praising virginity, Procilla refers to Christ, who takes care of us and loves beauty, not to people's words. Christ himself praises virginity in Solomon's Song of Songs: "Like a lily among thorns is my darling among the maidens" (*Song of Songs*: 2, 2), comparing lily with the gift of virginity due to the latter's purity, fragrance, attractiveness, and beauty. According to Procilla, virginity is indeed the flower of spring, which bears the colour of incorruptibility on its eternally white petals. That is why Christ does not shun showing love of its flourishing beauty: "You have captured my heart, my treasure, my bride. You hold it hostage with one glance of your eyes, with a single jewel of your necklace. How much more pleasing is your love than wine, and the fragrance of your perfume than any spice! Your lips drop sweetness as the honeycomb, my bride, milk and honey are under your tongue. The fragrance of your garments is like that of Lebanon. You are a garden locked up, my sister, my bride; you are a spring enclosed, a sealed fountain" (*Song of Songs*: 4, 9-12).

This is the song Christ sings for those, who are on the path of virginity, using one name – bride, referring to them. With their purity and chastity, they should be like a locked up garden, where all flowers of heavenly fragrance grow, because only Christ is to pluck flowers arising from bodiless seeds.¹⁹

After Procilla, it is the turn of eighth virgin Thecla to speak. Before starting her encomium proper, Thecla does not shun calling herself skilled in eloquence. She compares her own spiritual world with a tuned cithara, which is ready to produce appropriate harmonious sounds.

In the introduction to her speech, Thecla poses questions, which, as she believes, should definitely be answered in an encomium of virginity: What is virginity? What is its force? What fruits can it produce? Virginity excels other virtues, which we resort to in order to purify and decorate our souls. It sustains, grows, and lightens the wings of the soul, which take people to heavens, and the soul becomes accustomed to rising above small affairs. As wise men say, if our lives are public performances and we appear in the arena like in the theatre in order to stage a drama when evil souls act against us and set traps for us, we should definitely look to heavens, fly upwards and rise to avoid their magic and tempting influence like Homer's Sirens. Unfortunately, many fall under their influence, losing

¹⁹ Ibid., 31.

wings and disappearing in the whirlpool of savage enjoyments. Those, who have good wings, on the contrary, find it easy to rise to heavens, being able to see, albeit from a distance, incorruptible meadows, where flowers of incomparable beauty grow. Therefore, they constantly aspire to them and compared with them, ostentatious virtues of this world – riches, glory, nobility, or marriage – seem insignificant to them. To obtain heavenly virtues, they are even ready to doom their bodies to torture by fire and beasts. They live in this world, but they are not here, because only their bodies are in this world and their thoughts and desires are already among those inhabiting heavens.

After departing from this world, those, who have wings of virginity, are the first to receive from Christ awards for winners – crowns of incorruptible flowers. Angels accompany their souls to the aforementioned meadows eternally covered with flowers, which they could previously see only from a distance. There, they can view beauties that cannot be expressed in words, because justice, wisdom, love, truth, chastity and other beautiful flowers, whose imaginary shadows can only be seen in dreams in this world. No one in this world has ever seen the glory, face, or beauty of justice or wisdom, but in that world, they can be visible in the shape they exist – whole and obvious. There are trees of chastity, love, and wisdom there and their fruits can be plucked and tasted like those of fruit trees in this world, for example, grapes, pomegranates, and apples. The difference is that, being plucked, the former do not fade and die. On the contrary, they become stronger through their immortal and godly nature. Virgins enter this treasury of virtues and take delight thanks to the fruits that are watered by lavish and desirable light, which illuminate the life there with eternal light poured by God. Virgins are surrounded by a holy atmosphere that the sun can never penetrate. They celebrate and glorify God.²⁰

Thysiana is the next to make a speech. She recalls how God taught true Israelites how to celebrate the holiday of harvest: "So beginning with the fifteenth day of the seventh month, after you have gathered the crops of the land, celebrate the festival to the Lord for seven days; the first day is a day of sabbath rest, and the eighth day also is a day of sabbath rest. On the first day you are to take branches from luxuriant trees – from palms, willows and other leafy trees – and rejoice before the Lord your God for seven days. Celebrate this as a festival to the Lord for seven days each

²⁰ Ibid., 34.

year. This is to be a lasting ordinance for the generations to come; celebrate it in the seventh month." (*Leviticus: 23, 39-41*).

Thysiana explains that this passage from Bible is metaphorical, as it describes the holiday of harvesting earthly crops that heralds the resurrection of our fallen body, which we will regain as immortal in the seventh millennium and will celebrate the harvest of genuine crops in the eternal world. The harvest of earthly crops will also be completed, the birth of people halted, and God relieved of His affairs in the universe.

Our tabernacle was intact previously too, but sins shattered and demolished it. However, God destroyed sins with death to prevent immortal man, in whom sins were also to live eternally, from being under permanent punishment. Therefore, He became mortal (obeyed Death). Soul separates from body, when the latter dies in order to kill sins through death. They cannot continue to live in a dead body. Thus, after man dies and sins are destroyed, he resurrects as immortal, sings praises to God, who saves His sons from death by death, and celebrates in His honour, decorating his tabernacle, or body, with good deeds.

For Thysiana, resurrection is a symbol of erecting tents and truthful deeds are necessary to do this. As regards the luxuriant trees, the fruits of which we are obliged to have on the very first day of the festival of tents (*Leviticus: 23, 40*), it is the tree of life, which previously grew in Eden and is now the Church, which produces beautiful fruits of faith.

Those, who want to attend the celebration of erecting tents together with saints, should first and foremost obtain the luxuriant fruit – faith, then branches of date palm, or the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, then branches of leafy trees, or, as Thysiana explains, love, and branches of poplar, or truth, as, according to the Prophet, those truthful "will spring up like grass in a meadow, like poplar trees by flowing streams" (*Isaiah: 44, 4*). At the same time, it is necessary to bring branches of agnos²¹, because the name of this tree is chastity, which decorates everything mentioned above. We can see that it is the Holy Scripture itself that places virginity higher than any other virtue. Incidentally, those who live like virgins with their husbands are also virgins. In resurrection, they will also bring branches of virginity, albeit small ones, to the celebrations. However, those unable to control themselves living with one husband alone, will be unable to celebrate, because they will be unable to decorate their tents, or bodies, with branches of agnos, as they did not apprehend the following

²¹ ὁ ἄγνος, vitex castus, "chaste lamb" (name of tree).

words: "Let those who have wives live as though they had none" (*I Corinthians*: 7, 29).²²

Unlike others, the tenth virgin, Domnina, finds herself in a difficult situation, because it is, of course, difficult to say something new to praise virginity after encomiums so diverse in theological content and artistic methods. She nevertheless obeys Arete's order.

Like Thysiana, Domnina refuses to pronounce an introduction, moving directly to the main issue. Religion could not have relieved man from corruptibility until virginity started governing humans through Christ's commandments. Ancient people would not be bent on arguing with and killing each other so often, and on lewdness and idolatry, had the truth of religion been sufficient for their salvation. However, after Christ was incarnated, he decorated and equipped flesh with virginity; the cruel tyrant governing the lack of self-control was overthrown and peace and faith came to dominate. To support her opinion, Domina quotes a long passage from the Book of Judges.

"One day the trees went out to anoint a king for themselves. They said to the olive tree: 'Be our king'. But the olive tree answered: 'Should I give up my oil, by which both gods and humans are honoured, to hold sway over the trees?' Next, the trees said to the fig tree: 'Come and be our king.' But the fig tree replied: 'Should I give up my fruit, so good and sweet, to hold sway over the trees?' Then the trees said to the vine: 'Come and be our king.' But the vine answered: 'Should I give up my wine, which cheers both gods and humans, to hold sway over the trees?' Finally all the trees said to the thornbush: 'Come and be our king.' The thornbush said to the trees: 'If you really want to anoint me king over you, come and take refuge in my shade; but if not, then let fire come out of the thornbush and consume the cedars of Lebanon!" (*Judges*: 9, 8-15).

Of course, this was said not about trees, but about souls burdened with sins, who entreated God before Christ's incarnation to pardon them and be their king with mercy and peace, which is symbolized by the olive tree in the Holy Scripture, as oil is good for body, it relieves torments and illnesses and is used for blessing. Like light increases by adding oil to the lamp, God's mercy will save humanity from death and nourish the light of heart.

Judge for yourselves, Domnina told the virgins, whether the Holy Scripture implies the commandments from the very beginning until Christ. In the Holy Scripture, the fig tree is the commandment given to

²² *Ibid.*, 45.

man in Eden, because they immediately covered their nakedness with fig leaves after the temptation (Genesis: 3, 7). And vine is the commandment given to Noah during the Deluge, because he became drunk and fell asleep, becoming ridiculous (Genesis: 9, 22). The olive tree implies commandments given to Moses in the desert, because talent for prophecy – the holy oil – reduced among the next generations, who became followers of paganism. As regards thornbush, it is the image of the commandments given to apostles to save the world, because it was from them that we learned virginity, which Satan failed to confront with a tempting similarity.

There are four Gospels, because humankind received four annunciations from God and was governed with four legislations, the periods being marked with various fruits. For example, fig with its sweetness and beauty represents the sweetness of Eden before man's fall (Genesis: 3, 23). Vine – joy from wine and the cause of happiness of those, who survived God's wrath and the Deluge – expresses freedom from fear and concern. And the olive tree is a symbol of God's mercy: although people bent on godlessness even after the Deluge, He nevertheless gave them legislation, appeared to some of them and, like oil, lit the light of virtue that had been put out. As regards thornbush (ἡ ρᾶμνο), it is the same as agnos. Some call it thornbush and others agnos. It might have received the two names due to their similarity to virginity, as thornbush is astringent and unfit for pleasure and agnos is the expression of eternal virginity. The tree of virginity grew for those, who wanted to avoid earthly pleasures, after first virgin Christ's coming, because the first law given to Adam, Noah, and Moses failed to save humanity and it was only the law of Gospel that saved everyone.

Having had mercy on people for a fourth time, God dispatched virginity called thornbush in the Holy Scripture to rule them.²³ Destroying earthly pleasures, it threatens to destroy with fire all those, who fail to obey unquestioningly and that happens because there will no longer be any religion or teaching, but there will only be judgement and fire. From that time, people started behaving themselves correctly and acquiring firm trust in God, alienating themselves from Satan. This means that Adam's race was given virginity as the most useful means, as it is only virginity that Satan failed to confront with a tempting similarity, which he managed to do with the previous three laws.

²³ Ibid., 47.

Domnina also deserved Arete's praise, because her encomium was made to call for sobriety, not to please the listeners. In her final speech, Arete stressed that observing virginity does not mean refraining from physical pleasure alone. Those, who keep not only their bodies, but also souls away from vice, are the ones, who truly observe it. For example, what is the sense in observing the purity of the body, if the heart is made impure by arrogance and haughtiness, or is obsessed with the desire to gain riches, or is in love with himself, forgetting to take care of his friends. Such people not only fail to respect virginity, but on the contrary, disrespect it, because they have lost love of humans, who should be virgins. Therefore, those, who want to observe virginity, should keep sinless all parts of the body (tongue, eyes, or ears). Only in that case will they take the path of genuine virginity.

Arete declared all the ten virgins, who competed in the art of rhetoric, as winners deserving crowns. However, she nevertheless distinguished Thecla, saying that she deserved the largest and thickest crown.

As S. Averintsev writes, the prosaic fabric of the plot is unexpectedly violated by a hymn the virgins sing to Christ.²⁴ In this case, it would probably be conditional to describe as unexpected the hymn that appears at the end of the prosaic work. The hymn is not unexpected, as the virgins speak about sublime spiritual love with inner inspiration, which is a necessary precondition for making a verse. The words of Thecla, the author of the eighth encomium, confirm this: "... I am happy that verbal wisdom is my companion. I feel like a cithara, which is tuned inside and prepared to speak beautifully" (VIII, 1-2). It is natural that the soul that resembles a musical instrument will definitely produce harmonious voices. Therefore, it is no accident that it is Thecla, whom Arete offers to sing a hymn to praise Christ.

The hymn that Thecla sings is devoted to the same issue as the encomiums made by all the ten virgins: obtaining eternal joy by rejecting earthly happiness and observing chastity which can be achieved through aspiring to spiritual marriage with Christ.

"Evading mortals' lamentable happiness of delightful life and love, I want to find refuge in your life-giving bosom in order to eternally view your beauty, blessed," Thecla addressed Our Lord.²⁵

²⁴ Аверинцев С., Византийская литература IV-VIII вв., История Византии, т. I, Москва 1974, 410.

²⁵ Methidii ..., p. 49.

The hymn consists of 24 strophes, which is equal to the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. It is decorated with the same number of alphabetic acrostics. It has the same lines as refrain at the end of each strophe. The virgins address Christ as their bridegroom, obviously implying spiritual marriage with Our Lord: "I observe chastity for You, o my husband to be. We welcome you with lighted torches in our hands," sings the choir of the virgins as the refrain.

As noted above, Methodius wrote his work *Symposium, or On Virginity* as an analogy of Plato's well-known dialogue.²⁶ The analysis of Plato's *Symposium* has shown that this analogy is not limited to external decorations and a general model. Similarities can also be found in the understanding of the phenomenon of love. This is first and foremost true of such features of love as permanence, immortal soul's aspiration to eternal beauty, eternity originating from it, and various fruits of virtues. What is particularly noteworthy, for Methodius, the genuinely sublime feeling implies man's aspiration to his initial icon – God – or consecration. For Plato, it is non-material, absolute, and eternal, always expressed in the aspiration to homogeneous beauty, which is the supreme idea in his system of ideas and a kind of replacement of god.

Unlike Plato, Methodius does not try to find the truth, by using dialectic methods. He communicates it with authority based on the Holy Scripture. Researchers have also noted differences between the two works in external decoration. With Plato, we encounter constructive use of decorative details. With Methodius, ornaments that decorate the work are woven from borrowings from Plato.²⁷

²⁶ Martin I., *Symposion. Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form*, Paderborn 1931.

²⁷ Миллер Г. А., *Op. cit.*

Magda Mchedlidze (Tbilisi)

ON THE HISTORY OF THE TERM μῆνις¹

μηῆ" in Homer denotes the wrath of the gods or the wrath of Achilles, the hero of semi-divine origin. In the 4th century, St. Basil the Great uses the word to refer to camel's avenging grudge (Bas., *In hex.*, 8, 1). May we assert desacralization of the term in general?

There is no scholarly agreement on the etymology of *mênis*². According to the definitions available from ancient times, *mênis* is considered to be one of the affects, a type of anger or its development: "...οργη; και; τα; εἰδη αυτη- (qumo;- και; collo- και; mhni- και; koto- και; pikriai και; ta; toiauta... ¶Orgh; men oun eŷtin epiqumia timwrhsasqai ton dokounta h̄dikhenai para; to; proshkon... mhni- de; orgh; eij- palaiwsin apoteqeimenh h̄ epapokeimenh..." (Stobaeus, *Anth.*; 2, 7, 10b 13-10c 10)³; "οργη; d̄ p̄stin ofexi-, upebainousa de; mhni-" (*Ps.-Phocylidea*, 64)⁴. Sometimes *mênis* is identified with some other terms denoting anger (οργη; koto-, collo-, meno-)⁵. Homeric scholia say nothing about the sacred meaning of *mênis* either⁶.

¹ I wish to thank Prof. Rismag Gordeziani for his consultations in Homeric studies.

² See Beekes R., with the assistance of L. van Beek, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, v. 10/1-2, Leiden-Boston 2010.

³ Stobaeus (5th c.) speaks here about the Stoics, Didymus (1st c. B.C.E.-1st c. C.E.) is indicated as a source. Cf. *Scholia in ranas* 844 (ed. W. Dindorf).

⁴ 1st c. B.C.E.- 1st c. C.E.

⁵ See Porphyrius, *Ad Il.*, I 77, 19; 79, 3; 102, 5-10; Palladius, *Dialogus de uita Johannis Chrysostomi*, 133, 19, etc. However, some authors seem to become aware of the specific terminological import of *mênis* as compared to other words denoting anger. See, e. g.: "... παραφρασι-... η̄ tw̄n lexewn aj̄ loia dihḡsi-, w̄- to; ... mh̄nin eipein orgh̄n και; to; āp̄ide āpti; tou lege" (*Scholia et glossae in halieutica*, 1, 130); "...to; gar tīw̄n ēh̄hai shmainei para; ¶Aristotelei ton or̄ison (w̄sper <para> toi- grammatikoi- h̄mh̄ni- thn orgh̄n), ēpeidh; ol̄ or̄isom- to; tīw̄ ēstin ekastou και; to; ēh̄hai shmainei." (*In Por-*

Despite that, the Homeric works provide grounds for assigning the term originally to religious vocabulary⁷. Different aspects and nuances of the term are highlighted in different studies: solemn epic significance⁸, sanction against taboo behavior, thus implying activity along with emotion, etc.⁹

In myths the anger of gods, which is manifested for men through personal and global calamities, suggests an idea of inadmissibility of breaking the order established from above. At the same time, human beings are affected by conflicts of interest between the gods whose areas of activity and functions are distributed. These conflicts in their turn reflect challenges and obstacles of life, which are ultimately regulated according to the supreme universal order. All these are represented in Homer's works with outstanding artistic skill. Due to the fact that *mênis* denotes not only the immortals' anger towards mortals but also the anger of Zeus towards other gods (*Il.* 5, 34; 15, 121-122), it can be stated that it is considered to be exactly a sacral wrath ensuring the supreme cosmic order¹⁰. Thus *mênis* is represented as a specific, punitive, avenging anger of a more honorable divine figure in response to *hybris* against him¹¹.

phyrrii isagogen sive quinque voces, 108, 19-12). However, this can be associated with the changes in the meaning of *mênis* in the course of time. "հիմնի- ին օրցն [shmainei]" is translated as "ძუმდეგმთობდა რისხვება [დაპნებნავს]" in Georgian in the 12th century (Works of Ammonius Hermiae in Georgian Literature, texts prepared for publication by Natela Kechakmadze and Maya Rapava, the research, glossary and indices by Maya Rapava, Tbilisi 1983: 82, 37).

⁶ See also Latacz J. (ed.), Homers Ilias. Gesamtkommentar. Auf der Grundlage der Ausgabe von Ameis-Hentze-Cauer (1868-1913). Band: Erster Gesang (A). Faszikel 2, Munich/Leipzig 2000, 13.

⁷ See for instance Frisk H., ΜΗΥΣ. Zur Geschichte eines Begriffes, *Eranos*, 1946, 28-40; Irmscher J., *Götterzorn bei Homer*, Leipzig, 1950; Chantraine, P., *Dictionnaire étimologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*. T. III, Paris 1974, 696; etc.

⁸ Considine P., Some Homeric Terms for Anger. *Acta Classica* (S. A.) 9, 1966, 15-25. On terms denoting wrath in the Homeric works, see: Irmscher, op. cit., 3-25; Harris W. V., *Restraining Rage: the Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity*, Harvard University Press, 2001, 51-52. As P. Considine notes that the words denoting wrath (κόλο-, κότο-, κόμοι, etc.) are used over 350 times; There are 27 instances of using *mênis* and its cognates in the *Iliad* and 7 in the *Odyssey* (Considine P., op. cit., 15).

⁹ Muellner L., *The Anger of Achilles: Mênis in Greek Epic*, Cornell University Press 1996.

¹⁰ Cf. Muellner, op. cit., 26-27.

¹¹ Every immortal and mortal has their respective *timê* – honor (Cf. Шгаль И. В., *Художественный мир гомеровского эпоса*, Москва 1983, гл. 4: Эпический идеал человека и категории, этот идеал составляющие) that has a *price* (τιμῶν I value at a certain price, I pay due respect to, I honour), according to which reimbursement is measured out if *timê* is infringed upon.

Mênis, understood exactly in this way, is given a mythopoetic sense in the *Iliad*: the anger of Achilles, a semi-divine person, towards Agamemnon and the Achaeans, succeeding the anger of Apollo¹² and protected by Zeus (in fact, the wrath of Achilles came upon the Achaeans as the wrath of Zeus¹³), results from ignoring his honor (τιμή), which is considered as a fatal mistake (ἀλθ) of the insulter's blinded mind and is subject to relevant punishment (τίσι-).

Let us recall the peripeteias of Achilles' anger in the *Iliad*: Agamemnon causes the anger of Apollo by humiliating, *dishonouring* (ἠτίμασεν) his priest (*Il.* 1, 11) as he refused to return his daughter. The priest, in return for his service, calls on Apollo to revenge the offence: he wants the Danaans to *pay the price* (τίσειαν) for that (*Il.* 1, 42), and the god fulfills his wishes. Agamemnon gives honour to Apollo and returns Chryseis to her father though, in turn, he *dishonours* (ἠτίμασεν) Achilles by taking away his captive concubine (*Il.* 1, 356). Achilles asks his mother, the goddess, to prevail on Zeus, to give due honor to her son and to side with the Trojans, in order for powerful Agamemnon to realize his *fatal mistake* (ἀλθ) – that is, having underappreciated the best of the Achaeans and failed to treat him appropriately (οὐδὲν ἐτίσεν) (*Il.* 1, 411-412). Thetis urges Achilles to continue his wrath (μῆνιε) against the Achaeans and refrain from battle (*Il.* 1, 421-422). She then goes to Zeus and asks him, in return for her service, to do honor to her son (τίμησον) who was dishonored (ἠτίμησεν) by Agamemnon, to give him his due (τίσον) and let the Achaeans pay for her son and glorify him (τίσωσιν ὀφείλωσιν τεῷ ἐλ τιμῆ) (*Il.* 1, 504-510). While addressing Zeus, Achilles' mother repeats the words of Chryses addressed to Apollo, which indicate the substitution of Apollo's avenging anger with that of Achilles. Hence, the *mênis* of Achilles, the son of the immortal, is supported by a goddess and is approved and carried out by Zeus himself. After a while, Achaean leaders, anxious about the power of the Trojans, rebuke Agamemnon for dishonoring (ἠτίμησα-) the bravest man whom the immortals themselves honoured (ἐτίσαν); Agamemnon admits to his *fatal mistake* (ἀλθα-) (*Il.* 9, 105-118) in front of them, and while admitting his mistake (ἀσάμην), commits himself to returning the captive woman and

¹² Based on the content of the *Iliad*, R. Tsanova stated that “the anger of Achilles is in fact Apollo's anger” (Tsanova R., *Mythoritual Models, Symbols in Classical Literature and the Parallels in Georgian Literature and Ethnology*, Tbilisi 2005, 202). It must be noted that the substantive *mênis* is mentioned only twice in Book I to refer to the wrath of Achilles and Apollo, thus highlighting the connection between these two instances of anger.

¹³ Cf. Whitman C. H., *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*, 1958, 225.

to making many gifts to the satisfaction of Achilles (*ajēsai*) (9, 119-157). He finally says: "let him submit himself unto me, seeing I am more kingly, and avow me his elder in years" (9, 160-161)¹⁴. However, such reconciliation and gifts are not sufficient for Achilles: it is not an adequate compensation for the offences he suffered. He finds unacceptable the position of the ambassadors who urge him to accept a worthy gift, as they call it, and to have pity on the Achaeans, promising him an appropriate reward. Achilles responds: "in no wise have I need of this honour: honoured have I been, I deem, by the apportionment of Zeus" (9, 223-610)¹⁵. Despite that, the death of the closest friend (which could be considered as resulting from Achilles' *Ate*, because he did not listen to the Achaeans' pleas) makes him decide to rejoin the battle. Besides, he is inspired by Hera (Il.18, 166 sqq), and is supported by his mother this time too (18, 128), who also appeals to him to renounce his wrath (19, 35). Achilles publicly makes his peace with Agamemnon. He regrets that many courageous men have fallen by reason of his wrath (19, 56-68). As for Agamemnon, he publicly blames everything on *Ate* (19, 91) and gives the hero generous recompense. Following the end of *mênis*, Achilles takes an ordinary human vengeance on his friend's murderer and the Trojans. The status quo that existed prior to the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles is restored.

What kind of attitude do the characters have towards Achilles and his *mênis*? **Achilles** himself demands to be treated with respect due to both his origin and his valor: he deems that Zeus had to give him honor, as a son of Thetis (*timhn per moi ofellen*, cf. *Il.* 9, 607-608) and had to make Agamemnon pay back (*e[ti]sen*) for dishonor (*h[ti]mhsen*) done to him (1, 352-356), which he regards as impudence, *hybris* (1, 203; 9, 363). Achilles is proud of himself due to the fact that he, as a descendent of Aeacus, is a descendant of Zeus too (21, 187-189) and therefore is even mightier than the god of river (21, 190-191). He thinks of himself as being equal with Agamemnon, who only surpasses him in power (16, 52-59). Moreover, he claims that it is he and not Agamemnon (1, 90-91), who is the best of the Achaeans (1, 244; 412), at least at war (18, 105-106). Thus, he wants Agamemnon to acknowledge the fatal mistake against him - *Ate* (1, 411-412). However, he finally regrets his *mênis*, which Zeus fulfilled, as it rather harms him: he loses his beloved friend whom he honoured as

¹⁴ Murray A. T. (tr.), *Homer. The Iliad with an English Translation*, in two volumes, Harvard University Press, 1924.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

himself (αἴλλα τιμοὶ τῶν ἠδού- εἶπε; φίλο- ἠεὶ γέλοιρο- / Πατρόκλο-, τὸν εἶπε; περι; πάντων τῶν ἑταίρων / ἴσον εἶν/κεφαλῆ 18, 79-82). That is why he lost his joie de vivre (90-91). Achilles, filled by an ordinary human vengeance against murderer, abandons his *mênis*.

Agamemnon, though calling Achilles godlike (γεοεικέλε 1, 131) and admitting to Achilles being much stronger than his own brother Menelaus (7, 114), nevertheless mentions him as a man whom Zeus befriends (9, 116) and whom gods give strength (1, 177; 290). Therefore, he admits that dishonoring Achilles, who is protected by Zeus, is a fatal mistake, though believes that Achilles must be obedient to him (9, 115; 19, 88; 136).

The Achaeans also value Achilles for bravery (*Il.* 1, 275-284), as a hero who gods befriend (9, 110; 1, 74;) and admit to his kingly honour (9, 164). At the same time, they are well aware of his claims regarding his divine origin: it is not accidental that the Achaeans promise him to honor him as a god: Odysseus accentuates it twice (see ... γεὸν ἠ' τιμήσουσι, 9, 297-8; see γεὸν ἠ' τίσουσι 9, 302-303); Phoenix, who helped to raise Achilles as a child, tells him the same as well (9, 603)¹⁶. On the other hand, he is reminded that even the gods, who have more honor (τίμη) and might, are condescending towards suppliants (9, 496-500). He is also reminded that the gods will hear the prayers of those who respect Litae (9, 509). Both Agamemnon and the Achaeans speak about Achilles' proud heart (μεγαλήτιν 9, 255; 629; 675) and about his mercilessness (νήεε' 16, 33). These features of Achilles are understood as the cause for his refusing Agamemnon's generous gifts, though after his reconciliation with Agamemnon he is mentioned as greathearted, as he has renounced his wrath (μῆνιν ἀπειπόντο" μεγαθύμου Φηειῶνο", 19, 75). The attitude of the Achaeans is well formulated in Nestor's speech: Achilles is stronger (καρτερό'), a goddess mother bore him but Agamemnon is mightier (φερτερό") since he is king over more (1, 275-284)¹⁷.

The Trojans also discuss his strength and the way gods protect him as a mortal (20, 434-437; 21, 566-570): even Aeneas, who is a son of one of the main goddesses, admits that it is impossible to face swift-footed Achilles in fight because one of the gods is always with him as his guardian (20, 94-98).

In the speech of the **gods**, an emphasis is made on "doing honor" to Achilles (1, 558-559; 2, 3-4). Athena also mentions *hybris* of Agamemnon (1, 214). Hera declares that Hektor and Achilles will not be given equal honor

¹⁶ Cf. A statement regarding Hektor: ἠ' Τρωέ- κατα; ἀστὺ γέω/ἠ- εὐχέτονωτο, XXII, 394.

¹⁷ Murray A. T. (tr.), *op. cit.*

(*omhn...* *timhn*, 24, 57) because Hektor's mother is mortal whereas Achilles is the child of a goddess (*qea~ gono-*, 24, 59) who Hera herself brought up and married to Peleus (24, 60-61). Zeus agrees with her (*ouj men gar timh; ge mij ešsetai*, 24, 66). At the same time, the gods emphasize his mortal nature. His goddess **mother** laments over her son's mortality (1, 414-418; 24, 84); she supports Achilles' avenging anger and even encourages him (*mhni j Acaioi'sin*, 1, 422), so that the Achaeans should give due honour to her son (1, 510).

What does the **narrator** himself say about it? The very first lines of the *Iliad* mention that due to the anger [*mênis*] of Achilles, Peleus' son, countless woes came upon the Achaeans by the will of Zeus, from the time when Atreus' son, "the king of men" (*ahax ajdrwn*) and "divine" (*dio-*) Achilles had parted in strife (1, 1-7). Though "divine", "god-like" (*qeoikel o-*, *diotrefhr-*, *diogenhr-*) are common poetic epithets applied to famous heroes (they themselves address each other with these epithets), and *dio-* too can sometimes be found with the name of Agamemnon¹⁸, in the first lines of the poem (1, 7) the epithet is clearly contrasted with the phrase "leader of men", applied to Agamemnon: the social status of Achilles is determined by his being the son of a mortal man and an immortal goddess.¹⁹ In Book I, soon after the opponents are characterized as *Atreidh- te ahax ajdrwn kai; dio- Acil leu-* (1, 7), during their debate Homer refers to Agamemnon as *ahax ajdrwn* (1, 172), *euju; kreiw n* (1, 102), *kreiw n* (1, 130; 285) and to Achilles as *dio-* (1, 292), *podarkh- dio-* (1, 121). There is only one instance when Achilles is mentioned without this epithet (*pod a- wku- Acil leu-*, 1, 148). Following the reconciliation, in their dialogue, the epithets applied to Agamemnon and Achilles are *ahax ajdrwn* (19, 76; 184) and *pod a- wku-* (19, 55; 145; 198) respectively.

According to the epos, mortals, even children of gods (Homer defines them as demigods, *hmiqewn geno- ajdrwn*, 12, 23; many of them fell in the Trojan War) cannot be equal with the immortals (even Achilles may come to fear when one of the gods meets him in battle²⁰, 20, 130; his greatest gift – swift feet, is useless in front of Apollo 22, 8-10). Mortals gain strength only with the help of gods: despite Apollo's encouragement of Aeneas that Achilles' mother is inferior to his mother in rank (20, 104-109), Poseidon

¹⁸ Even when the Trojans speak about the anger of Achilles towards Agamemnon (*Agamemnoni mhnie diw/* 18, 257).

¹⁹ Interestingly, Achilles is referred by the same epithet when confronting Aeneas (20, 159-60).

²⁰ Though, it also happens that mortals do not stand in awe of gods (See *Il.* 5, 335-351).

warns Aeneas that fighting Achilles is folly as he is both a stronger man and more beloved of the immortals than Aeneas (20, 334). However, the mortal nature of god's offspring is one thing, but their honor is quite another. Chryses, as Apollo's priest, has honor and dishonoring the priest means doing dishonor to Apollo, just like Achilles, being the son of the goddess, has honor, which is protected by Zeus. The substantive μῆνις which is believed to have specifically religious significance (the verb forms of the same stem may not have a sacral meaning)²¹, occurs only four times in the text to denote Achilles' wrath – it is thus mentioned by the narrator (I, 1), the goddess mother (19, 35); and the Achaeans (9, 517; 19, 75).

Hence, *mênis* befits Achilles as the son of the immortal. However, as a human being he demonstrates *Ate* (rash action) as he refuses to reconcile with Agamemnon, endowed with a supreme kingly honor by gods, and is deaf to the entreaties of the Achaeans. Achilles, as well as others, uses various words to refer to his wrath, such as *κόλοσ* (9, 675 and elsewhere), *μῆνοσ* (1, 207), etc. The vocabulary also includes derivatives from *mênis*: *μῆνιζομῆσ* (16, 62), *μῆνιωσ* (18, 257), *ἀπομῆνιωσ* (7, 230). It should be noted that in the *Illiad*, the verb form is also used to describe the state of Agamemnon (as he is opposing Achilles, *ἐμῆνιε*, 1, 247), while in the "*Odyssey*" it is used to express Telemachus' rage against Penelope's suitors (*ἀπομῆνισει*, 16, 378-379), which emphasizes the exceptional significance of their wrath. The word is used somewhat ironically in one of the passages of the "*Odyssey*" when Telemachus speaks to the swineherd about Odysseus, disguised as a beggar: I cannot take care of this stranger, let him beg his food in the city, but if he is wrathful at this (*εἰ|περ μάλα μῆνιῖ*), it will be worse for him (*Od.* 17,14).

Mênis in literature, and especially in epic poetry and historiography, will always be used to denote, first of all, the wrath of gods. However, later in tragedies the substantive *mênis* is also used with mortals fulfilling the revenge of the dead (Aesch. *Cho.*: 278; 294), a mother revenging for a child (Aesch. *Ag.*: 155); parents who are angry with their children (Soph. *OC.*: 1328), a son who commits suicide in order to take vengeance on his own father (Soph. *Ant.*: 1177), cities that nurse hatred against other cities (Eur. *Heracl.*: 762). The desacralization of *mênis* is also contributed by philosophers' critical attitude towards Homeric mythopoiesis (where gods are depicted with human passions).

In Lucian's work, Prometheus condemns the revenge of Zeus against him and states that remembering the bad and maintaining *mênis* does not

²¹ See e. g. Chantraine, op. cit., 696.

befit gods and is not, generally speaking, a royal behaviour (Lucianus, *Prom.* 8.6). In accordance with his philosophical standpoint, Iamblichus offers the following interpretation of *mênis* as related to gods: “in order to avoid *mênis* of gods we must understand what it is. This, therefore, is not, as it appears to be to some, an ancient and lasting anger (ουχ... παλαιὰ τὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐμμονο- ὄργη), but the turning away from the gods’ beneficent care, from which we turn ourselves away, exactly as at midday having covered the light, we bring darkness to ourselves, and deprive ourselves of the beneficent gift of the gods...” (Iamb. *Mist.* 1.13.1 sqq). Though Iamblichus opposes the notion of *mênis* widely accepted in those times, we cannot claim that he assigns a specific religious meaning to the term.

The wrath of Achilles is considered as an ordinary human vice by Plutarchus (Plut. *De cohibenda ira* 455 A). Neither does Diogenes Laertius (the 3rd century) speak of the sacrality of *mênis* in the *Iliad* when reporting the Stoic point of view: *mênis* is mentioned among other vices as subordinate to irrational appetite (ἀλογό- ὄρεξι-) and its definition – μῆνι- δεῖ ἐστὶν ὄργη τὴ πεπαλαίωμένη καὶ ἐπικότο-, ἐπιθρητική; δεῖ.. (Vit. 7, 114) – is illustrated by Calchas’ words from the *Iliad* concerning a king who “even if he swallows down his wrath..., yet afterwards he cherishes resentment in his heart till he brings it to fulfillment” (Il. 1, 81-82)²². These words allude to Agamemnon. Later, Themistius (4th c.) criticized an educational method that consists in inspiring the youth not with examples of friendship but with the stories of wars and conflicts, starting with the wrath of Achilles (*Peri; filia-*, 264 c-d, t. 1). Neither does Aristotle identify any specific difference between the wrath of Achilles and that of any mortals when highlighting the twofold²³ understanding of the word megaloyuciā: If we were inquiring what the greatness of soul (megaloyuciā) is, we should examine the instances of high-souled men (megaloyuco-) we know of to see what, as such, they have in common. For example, if Alcibiades was high-souled, and such were Achilles and Ajax, we should find on inquiring what they all had in common, that it was intolerance of insult (τὸ μὴ ἀπέχεσθαι ὑβρίζομενοι): Alcibiades waged war, Achilles was wrathful (ὀδῆ μῆνιζε) and Ajax committed suicide. We should next examine other cases – Lysander, for example, or Socrates, and then if these have in common indifference alike to good and ill fortune, I take these two results and inquire what common element

²² Murray A. T. (tr.), op. cit.

²³ Similar to megal htwr, it also has both positive (“generosity”) and negative (“pride”, “arrogance”) meanings according to the context.

have apathy amid the vicissitudes of life (*ἀπαθεία ἢ περι ταῦτα*~) and impatience of dishonour (*ἡμῆ; ὑπόμονη; ἀντιμαζομένη*). If they have none, there will be two genera of the greatness of soul (Arst. *APo* 97b, 7- 97b, 36)²⁴.

Forgiveness is considered to be a good deed probably in all religions (in the Homeric epic too, rejecting Prayers – *Litae* – is *Ate*, a fatal mistake. gods will hear those who listen to others' pleas (*Il.* 9, 502-514); the idea of "not resisting evil" (*Mt.* 5, 39), in some sense, is not unknown to the antiquity (Socrates asserted that it is better to suffer injustice than to do it). The Bible too calls us to avoid "an avenging grudge against the sons of our own people" (*οὐκ ἠμνιεῖ*-) and love our neighbor as ourselves (*Lev.* 19, 18). Moreover, it is stated in the "Wisdom of Sirach": "He who avenges will discover vengeance from the Lord", "forgive your neighbor a wrong, and then, when you ask, your sins will be pardoned" (*Sir.* 28, 1-5; 10, 6-7). Despite that, "eye for eye" still remains a principle of the ancient world (*Ex.* 21, 24, etc.). The concept of the *New Testament* – "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you..." (*Mt.* 5, 39-44)²⁵ expresses a completely "new" worldview.

Hence, in Christianity, which teaches forgiveness and regards anger (*ὀργή*) as one of the mortal sins²⁶, lasting anger, supported by a wish for vengeance, will never be tolerated. The substantive *mēnis* has a negative meaning in Septuagint as well (*Gen.* 49, 7; *Sir.* 10, 6; 27, 30; 28, 5), though the verb form is applied to God too (*Ps.* 102, 9). It is translated into old Georgian as "remembering, recalling bad things".²⁷ It should be noted that "remembering" is considered to be an important point for perceiving the concept of *mēnis*.²⁸

The word *mēnis* and the forms derived from it do not occur in the *New Testament* at all. In other texts they are associated exactly with

²⁴ Cf. Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, Translated by G. R. G. Mure, eBooks@Adelaide, 2007.

²⁵ As it is known, these words are said as opposed to the Biblical principle *eye for eye...* *Exod.* 21, 24 (see also: *Lev.* 24, 20; *Deut.* 19, 21; *Num* 35.21).

²⁶ However, "enemy" is, at the same time, the devil's name. And anger towards the devil is justifiable. That is, wrath (*ὀργή*) is aimed against the enemy of truth in general and consequently of the mankind, rather than against a person who acts being captured by this enemy.

²⁷ "οὐκ εἰπ- τελο- ὀργισθησεται / οὐδε; εἰπ- τον αἰῶνα ἠμνιεῖ" (*Ps.* 102, 9) "არა სრულიად განრისხნეს, არცა უკუნისამდე ძერი იქნებოს".

²⁸ Lynn-George M., Review on Leonard Muellner's cited work, Bryn Mawr Classical Review, <http://bmc.brynmawr.edu/1997/97.02.10.html>.

“remembering, recalling bad things”: according to the “Shepherd” of Hermas, lasting hostility and anger due to the remembering of wrongs (mnhsikakoi ginontai mhnwntē- ajlhloi-... (Hermas, *Pastor*, *Parab.* 9, 23)²⁹ are regarded as especially great sins. The use of *mēnis* to describe camel’s character reflects its close connection with nursing grudge, remembering the bad (mnhsikakia) (Bas., *In hex.*, 8, 1; 53, etc.)³⁰. The heavy wrath associated with camel is among the reasons by which John Chrysostom accounts for the parallel between camel and the Slanderer (the Devil) in the New Testament: „Kamhlw/polaki- pareikazei hl Grafh; ton diabolon, dia; to; poluogkon kai; polustreblon kai; barumhnon!!!” Joannes Chrysostomus, *In praecursorem domini*, PG 59, 490 D).

In the texts of Christian authors *mēnis* is often mentioned together with *orge*, as well as with other vicious affects and sins: “Tote oil Sebouai oi dia; mhnin kai; orghn meteqhkan tou- kairou- tw n ebrwn tw n proeirhmet nwn...” (Epiphanius, *Haer* 1, 204, 15);³¹ “Outw- hl pro- ton qumon di-nastasi- suggenh;- men ejsti th/ tw n ajlogwn ormh/ auketai de; th/ tw n logismwn summacia. Akeiqen gar hl mhni-, ol fqono-, to; yeudo-, hl epiboulh, hl upokrisi-. Tauta panta th- ponhra- tou nou gewrgia- ejstin” (Gr. Nyss., *Hom. opif.* PG 44, 193 A) etc.

Christian authors pay special attention to the psychoanalysis of sins and present the evidence of their interrelationship and gradation, highlighting various types of anger³²: “ek th- ajfrosunh- ginetai pikria, ek de; th- pikria- qumot, ek de; tou qumou orgh; ek de; th- orgh- mhni-: eita hl mhni- aut h ek tosoutwn kakwn sunistamenh ginetai amartia megal h kai; ajriato-” (Hermas, *Pastor* 34, 4, 4). It is quite natural that Evagrius Ponticus, who regarded anger as a basis for all other sins, takes particular interest in its types: “iH orgh; paqo- ejstin oxutaton: qumou gar legetai zesi- kai; kinhsi- kata; tou hplikhkoto- h dokounto- hplikhkenai: hti- panhmerion men exagrioi thn yuchn, malista de; ej tai- proseuca- sunarpazei ton noun, to; tou leluphkoto- proswnon ejsoptrizousa. Esti de; ote cronizousa kai; metaballomenh eij- mhnin, taraca- nuktwr parecei, thxin te tou swmato- kai; wicrothta, kai;

²⁹ See also: *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 2, 53, 41; Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae in Eph.*, PG 62,108.

³⁰ See also, for instance: “Legetai gar upo; tw n ta; toiauta eipottwn mhden eihai ej toi- kthnesin outw barumhni kai; dusqumon kai; mnhsikakon, w- hl kamhlo-” (Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae in 2 Thess.*, PG 62, 483); “to; de; tw n kamhlwn mnhsikakon kai; barumhni diarke- pro- orghn pw- aj ti- eiph/ pal ai pote; plhgeisa kamhlo-, makrw cronw tamieusamenh thn mhnin, epeidan eukairia- labhtai, to; kakon ajtididwsi (Michael Glycas, *Annales* 93.17).

³¹ See also Gr. Nyss., *De vita Mosis* 2, 123, 12, etc.

³² Types of anger are pointed out by Homer’s commentators as well.

qhriwn ipbolwn epidroma-. Tauta de; ta; tessara meta; thn mhnin sumbainonta, eufroi aḥ ti- parakolouqounta pleiōsi logismoi-“(Evagr. Pont., *Practicus* 11, 1- 9. Cf. *Scholia in ranas* 844, 1 sqq.). The text by Evagrius is attached as a scholium to the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus (PG 88, 836 C).

When identifying types of anger and defining *mēnis*, John of Damascus follows Nemesios of Emesa: “Eiḥ de; tou qumou tria: oṛghḥi hḥti- kai eitai col h; kai; col o-, kai; mhni- kai; koto-. Qumo- men gar aṛchn kai; kinhsin eḑwn oṛghḥi kai; col h; kai; col o- legetai. Mhni- de; col h; epimenousa hḡoun mhnsikakia: eiḥtai de; para; to; menein kai; th/ mnhmh/ paradidosqai. Koto- de; oṛgh; epithrousa kairon eij- timwriā: eiḥtai de; kai; outo- para; to; keisqai”. (Jo. D. *Expositio fidei*, 30, 7-11 ed. Cotter) (Cf. Nemes., *De natura hominis* 19, 9-15).

Such a notion of anger is inapplicable to God from the Christian point of view. In order to denote the anger of God both in the *Old* and *New Testaments* again oṛghḥis used, which in Christianity, when associated with God, acquires a connotation of an educational sanction. However, *mēnis* too can be found in the works of Christian authors, especially in historiographic works, to denote God’s anger incurred by sinners: hḡ qeia mhni-, mhni- Qeou (Eusebius of Caesarea and others).³³ The term qeomhnia is particularly often used by Sozomen³⁴.

Mēnis can be found in the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, mostly in poetry. For instance, in the verse Kata; tou ponhrou (Gr. Naz., *Carmina de se ipso* 1399, 5)!he addresses the evil spirit: “fear the wrath of God” iAzomeno- mhnin te Qeou (see also: Gr. Naz., *Carmina dogmatica* 458, 7 and 458, 11, etc. also, *De pauperum amore*, PG 35, 889). We might think that Gregory of Nazianzus, a theologian well educated in ancient Greek language and literature, is influenced by the classical language as he uses *mēnis* to refer to the wrath of God; yet, we may come across the same word in the works of other theologians too, for instance, Cyril of Alexandria (υπο; qeian eḑontai mhnisin,!Cyrillus, *Commentarius in duodecim prophetas*, 1, 105, 23, etc.). The latter, however, opposes the idea of considering God as cruel (sklhrot) or heavy in wrath (barumhni-), as for him God is the righteous judge (Cyrillus, *Commentarius in duodecim prophetas*, 1, 625, 9, see also *Commentarii in Joannem* 2, 141.11: prepon d ḡh eih loipon thn aitian tou peplaqhsqai tou- Ḥloudaiou- eipein, kai; mhnsikakon tina kai;

³³ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4,11, 2; Theodoretus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 78.15; Socrates Scholasticus, *H.e.* 4,11, 6; *H.e.* 4,16, 2; *H.e.* 6, 19, 20, Theodorus Scutariota, *Additamenta ad Georgii Acropolitae historiam* 56.56, Sozomenus, *H.e.* 2, 15, 4, 4; 5, 20, 6, 5. etc.

³⁴ Sozomenus, *H.e.* 2, 4, 4, 4; 2, 27, 3, 8; 3, 4, 1, 5; 5, 8, 4, 1; 5, 21, 1, 3 et al. loc.

barumhnin uparcein ton aqagon hmwn oijsqai Qeon). For the purposes of comparison, it is interesting to note that Nonnus of Panopolis, a 5th century author, often applies this epithet, barumhni-, to gods (mainly, to Hera, also to Ares, Eros, Artemis and Athena) in his epic poem *Dionysiaca*, which is based on antique mythology.

Origen is careful even in using the verb form of *mênis*, specifically, when speaking about God's anger against the Hebrews after the arrival of Christ³⁵. Dionysius the Areopagite finds the mentioning of Divine appearances, body parts, mood, grief, wrath, etc. metonymical, which means that the Divine essence is described through the notions of the sensible world (tine" oilqumoiu tine" ail lupai kai; ail mhnide", Dion Ar., *De mystica theologia*, III, 146, 14)³⁶. It is further stated that when speaking apophatically about the Divine, we start excluding names that denote things which are most remote from God, for example, "to be intoxicated" (kraipal a) or "to be wrathful" (mhnia) (*De mystica theologia*, III, 147.20).

Thus, as time passed, *mênis*, denoting sacral wrath in Homer's works, tended to express particularly strong and motivated avenging anger, and finally came to refer to an action that is the most remote from God. Despite that, it continues to be employed in both Ancient and Byzantine literature to denote God's fulfilled anger, because of the well established expression in the language.

³⁵ Parafrazei dertina- lexei- ol Kelso-, ejnfainousa- plhrwqhesqai pasan thn ghen dia; tou ebraikou spermatto-: oper wl- pro- thn istorian mhnionto-, ih joutw-onomasw, tou qeou gegenhtai meta; thn Alhsou epidhmian hper eullogia- ajpodidonto- (Orig., *Contra Celsum* 7, 19, 7).

³⁶ Ephrem Mtsire translated mhnide- as "to remember, recall something bad", μηνα/as "remembering, recalling something bad" (Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, Works, translated by Ephrem Mtsire, prepared for publication and the research and glossary attached by Samson Erukashvili, Tbilisi 1961 227, 4 and 29-30).

Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi)

MEDEA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EAST/WEST RELATIONSHIPS

It is universally acknowledged that Medea has developed to be one of the most important and complex figures of the Greek mythology, being one of the most popular artistic images from the dawn of the European literature till modern era - XXI century at the same time. One of the secrets to Medea's tremendous popularity and her fascination throughout the centuries seems to be her complexity, the irreconcilable traits of her personality, the fact that she defies simple description - she is simultaneously a betrayed wife and a mother-murderer, a figure having superhuman facets and a woman overwhelmed with human passions, a lovelorn maiden and a manipulative witch. Among the contradictions of Medea's figure, one of the most interesting is the relationship/contradiction of the two worlds - two value systems, that of the East and the West, or as it is called sometimes in the modern scholarship, the problem of "self and "other". Medea is not just the simple member of the dichotomy - Greek/barbarian. The complexity of her figure consists in the fact that to certain extent this dichotomy is encapsulated within her mythic figure, as she veers between Greek and foreigner.¹ This phenomenon is unusual, but it is still the reality when regarding Medea. Let's recall Euripides' *Medea*. Initially, Medea seemed to have been tamed by Jason and seemed to be a woman incorporated into Greek life². However, her barbarian blood comes to the front later on. We can encounter in her iconographic images the tendency of veering between the East

¹ Medea, *Essays on Medea in Myth, Philosophy and Art*, ed. by Claus J.; Johnston S., Princeton 1997, 8.

² Such treatment of Medea we see in Hesiod's *Theogony*, where she is depicted as "a subject to Jason, shepard of the people" (Hes., *Theog.*, 992-1002).

and the West. The traditional Greek clothing, which according to some scholars served to present her as a more-or-less normal Greek woman from the end of the V BC changed into the oriental costume, signaling her abandonment of Greek world and her alignment with the foreign, the other and the barbarian one.³ Step by step Medea is transformed into cultural stranger in the land of Greece.

Therefore, the question can be asked here: Is this relationship of East/West (or confrontation between them in the later period) in Medea's mythic figure just accidental, or it reflects some very old historical realities? To answer this question we should first look through her genealogy. Even the brief overview of these data presents a very interesting picture to us: Medea is a granddaughter of Helios. Helios, or Sun, is the mediator between the members of the binary opposition between the East and the West, as he starts his journey from the East to the West (not from the South to the North) and then circulating returns back. In Gordeziani's opinion, the land of his son – Aeetes is also related with the movement of Helios⁴. A certain Greek tradition existed where the "Swift Helios shines in golden strength in the city of Aeetes at the edge of the Ocean" (Mimn., 11/11aW). It is important to note, that in the ancient mythology Helios' descendants move in accordance to the sun's journey. The dwelling of Aeetes' sister Circe in Homer's poem is in the East (*Od.*, XI, 3-4), but Hesiod places Circe in the West. According to the *Theogony* the sons of Odysseus and Circe rule in the midst of the isles over the famous Tirseniens.⁵ Apollonius of Rhodes goes further as he speaks not only about Circe's present dwelling, but also tells how Circe was brought by her father's chariot to Italy, though he doesn't mention the name of the starting point of the journey (*Ap. Rh.*, III, 309-310). Still if we take into the consideration the trajectory of sun's movement – the movement from the East to the West, we can conclude that Apollonius of Rhodes suggested Circe's former dwelling to be in the East. Circe's removal from the East to the West is attested in the works of the later writers (*Diod.*, IV, 45, 2-5; *Val. Flac.*, VII, 217-219). Aeetes second sister – Pasiphae also dwells in the West. Her settling is on the island of Crete, where she is the wife of Crete's legendary king – Minos. According to one source, her mother is the epo-

³ Sourvinou-Inwood C., *Medea at a Shifting Distance: Images and Euripidean Tragedy*, in: *Medea*, 1997, 8.

⁴ Gordeziani R., *The Greek Factor in the Context of the Opposition – Europe/Asia*, *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 13-14, 2010-2011.

⁵ It means that Hesiod places Circe's land in the country of Etruscans.

nym of the island itself – Crete. Aeetes brother Perses is the ruler of Taurians and lives on the west-north coast of the Black Sea. According to Diodoros, Perses' daughter is Hecate, who after poisoning her father becomes the ruler of Taurians and marries Aeetes (Diod., IV, 45). According to Tinatin Kaukhishvili, the marriage of Aeetes and Hecate suggests uniting of the land of the Colchians and the Taurians, i. e. the East and the West in this context.⁶ In the framework of the East-West relationship, the son of Aeetes is to be mentioned as (the source – doesn't give his name) the one who founded Pantikapeon at the north coast of the Black Sea (Eus. ad Dion. Perieg.). And Aeetes grandson Thetallos (Medea's son) is suggested to be the eponymous hero of Thessaly.

On the other hand, the sources also attest the withdrawals of Helios' descendants in the opposite direction – from the West to the East. Helios divided his land among his sons in the poem of the early period that of Eumelos of Corinth (VIII BC). The one part that was bound by the river Asopos, he gave to Aloeus, while the other part – Ephyra (the late Corinth) he gave to Aeetes. Aeetes voluntarily entrusted the land to Bounos to guard, until he himself might come, or some other member of his line, whether a son or a grandson. He himself arrived at the land of Colchis (Eum., fr. 2K = Schol. Pind., *Ol.*, XIII, 74a). And indeed the situation turns out in such a way, that his descendant, his granddaughter Medea became the ruler of Corinth. According to the same Eumelos, the inhabitants of Corinth invited Medea, who had come from Colchis to Iolcus, to rule upon them. Jason becomes king as her husband, through her (Eum., fr. 3K=Paus.II, 3, 10). Simonides also calls Jason the co-ruler of Medea (Sim., fr. 31PMG). There exists the other version of Medea's life in Corinth. Medea lives in Corinth and saves Corinthians from the hunger. Zeus falls in love with her. But Medea, who wants to avoid Hera's wrath, refuses Zeus's love. Grateful to Medea, Hera promises her that she will immortalize her children, but fails and the children die. Corinthians start to worship Medea's dead children (Eum., fr.2 = Schol. Pind., *Ol.*, XIII, 74). According to the variant version, Medea herself hides the children in the temenos of Hera in order to make them immortal. However, the children die. Jason becomes angry over this and returns to Iolcus. Medea too leaves Corinth and gives the throne over to Sisyphus (Eum. fr. 3K=Paus, II, 3, 11). These facts provide us with a possibility to conclude that Medea's connection with Corinth is very close and is based on an early tradition

⁶ Kaukhchishvili T., *The Ancient Greek Sources of the Georgian History*, Tbilisi 1976, 118.

that connects Medea with Corinth through her genealogy, independently of her being Jason's wife. Medea's close ties to Corinth are testified by the existence of the cult of Medea's dead children to whom Corinthians serve yearly sacrifices. Some sources name Medea the introducer of Here Acraia's cult and her annually celebrated festival. The ritual services on one hand and the mythological evidences about her connections with Corinth on the other made scholars suggest that Corinthian Medea was originally a goddess, whose cult was displaced later by that of Pan-Hellenic goddess Hera.⁷ It seems to us, that this tradition played the major role in connecting Medea with the western world and therefore encapsulating the opposition Greek/barbarian within the heroine's soul in the early artistic interpretations of Medea.

In connection with this ambiguous interpretation of Medea's eastern/western relations, Pindar's *Pythian IV* deserves an attention. Pindar's version also places Medea within a context of earlier movement between the East and the West⁸. Here, for Jason to accomplish the hard tasks given by Aeetes, he has to rob Medea of αἰδώς ("shame") for her parents and interestingly enough, he must flare up a passion for Hellas in Medea's heart. It is remarkable that the poet puts the stress here on the passion towards Hellas, rather than for Jason himself. As O'Higgins notes, one can hardly overstate the importance of the passion that made Hellas so irresistible to Medea.⁹ This movement from the East to the West in the symbolic word of the poem can be regarded as a desire of the East to come close to the western world seen from the viewpoint of a western poet.

In the period of Greek-Persian wars, (VI-V cc. BC) the tension between the East and the West sharpens intensely. The change of the political vectors greatly influenced the cultural context, where the dichotomy between the self and the other, Greek and barbarian, acquires quite a distinct character. Herodotus already discusses the reasons for the conflict between Europe and Asia. Ascribing the arguments concerning the rise of this conflict to the Persian historian, Herodotus writes that there were two stages in this conflict. The conflict was confined to the abduction of women by both sides at the first stage. Medea appears here among the women who traverse the space between Greece and the East in a vengeful interchange: Io, removed from Greece by Phoenicians, Europa removed from the Phoenician town of Tyre by Greeks, Medea, removed from

⁷ Johnston S., Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia, 44-71 in: *Medea*, 1997, 46.

⁸ O'Higgins, Medea as Muse: *Pythian IV*, 103-127 in: *Medea*, 1997, 119.

⁹ O'Higgins, 121, in: *Medea*, 1997.

Colchis by the Greek ship and Helen captured by barbarian Paris. The last act entailed not a countertheft, but a great military expedition – the Trojan War (Her., I, 1, 3), which was already the second stage of the conflict between the East and the West.

Medea's artistic representations in this period present a very interesting picture of the drastic changes taking place in the interpretations of this popular heroine. Nonetheless, this is the theme of a separate article.¹⁰ We can just briefly note the following here: Medea gradually becomes the cultural "other", a paradigmatic outsider in Greek context. Now let's return to Medea's further withdrawals, namely her moving back from the West to the East this time. After Corinth, where the most tragic events of her story had developed, Medea first flees to Athens and then to the East. Where does she go? The different versions of her myth name the different places of her withdrawal. From these various versions the most popular one is the story according to which Medea arrives to the land of Ariens, who change their name and start calling themselves Medeans/Medes after her settling. This account was first attested in Herodotus (Her., VII, 22). Pausanias follows Herodotus in naming Medea as the eponymous hero of the Medes, but adds a son, Medus by Aegeus. Some authors credit the son, rather than mother with the naming, but in their accounts Medea is either also presented or has some connections with the Medes (Apoll., I, 9, 28, also Eus. Chron., Ip. 61; Step. Byz. s.v. Μηδία; Tzetz. Lycoph., 175, 1443; Prob. Georg., II, 126). According to Strabo, the eponyms of the Medians are both – Medea as well as Medos (Strab., XI, 13, 10). According to Dionysus Scytobrachion, on the other hand, after her long journey, Medea arrives first to the land of Phoenicians and then travels upward to the Asian countries. She marries some Asian king there and bears to him a son Medos, who names the people after himself (Diod., IV, 55).

In another version, Medea arrives at Perses' kingdom and falsely claims to be a priestess of Diana. After some time her son Medus arrives there as well. After much peripeteia, when the mother and the son recognize one another, Medea asks him to kill Perses. Medus kills Perses, gains his grandfather's kingdom and calls the country Media (Hyg., XXVII).

¹⁰ This material was presented in our paper "Changing the Political Vectors in Europe/Asia Relationship and its Influence on Artistic Icons: Development of Medea's Image" delivered at the annual conference of ACLA 2012 held at Brown University.

A separate question arises on whether Medos can be considered an eponym of the Medes. It is generally accepted in the modern scholarship that the last part of the *Theogony* (1001), where Medeios is mentioned, as well as the change from Μᾶδοῖ to Μῆδοι in Ionic-Attic, need not be older than II half of the VI c. BC. Neither two are the Medes mentioned in the Greek sources before Ibycus. Outcoming from these arguments the scholars mostly suggest that Medos/Medeios can hardly be the eponym of the Medes.¹¹ But what is more important for us here is the fact that the Greek way of looking at the world demanded that the Medes must have an eponymous hero and this eponymous hero in turn must have a genealogy. According to Graf, Medea was obvious candidate for the role because of her name, of her genealogy and of her home country, which was roughly in the same part of the world.¹²

Other sources narrate about Medea's removal from Greece to the East, this time to Colchis. In Apollodorus Medea secretly arrives to Colchis and when she learns that Aeetes was deprived from the throne, she kills Perses herself and returns the throne to Aeetes (I, 9, 28). According to Valerius Flacus, Medus participates in returning the power to Aeetes (681 ff.). Hyginus also mentions the killing of Perses by Medus (244). In Iustinus' story, Medea also comes back to Colchis, but together with Jason and Medus here. Jason returns the throne to Aeetes and afterwards conquers the neighboring lands. When Jason dies, Medus founds the city called Media in honor of his mother and establishes the Median kingdom (Ius. Epit., XLIII, 2). Tacitus also narrates the arrival of the couple in Colchis (Tac. Ann., VI, 34). All of Medea's journeys back to Colchis need an explanation as they contradict the logic of her story at a first glance. Logically speaking, Medea has no way back due to the evil she has committed to her motherland and her family. She knows this very well too. Indeed, in all versions of the myth, Aeetes' daughter desperately blames Jason in betraying her and especially marks out that the things she had done were for his sake and as a result she had forever cut all her ties with her family and country.

An interesting story exists in Medea's mythic biography. After her earthly life, as some ancient authors (Ibycus and Simonides) write, Medea becomes the wife of the prominent Greek hero Achilles and as the distinguished soul settles in the Elyseian Islands (fr. 291PMG; fr. 558PMG).

¹¹ West M. L., Hesiod: *Theogony*, Oxford 1966, 430.

¹² Graf F., Medea, The Enchantress From Afar, 21-44 in: Medea, 1997, 38.

After studying the evidence concerning the relationship between the East and the West in Medea's figure, we will try to answer the question we had put in the beginning of our paper, namely if this relationship reflects some very old historical realities about the connections that existed between the East and the West. Before discussing this problem we would like to emphasize the following: the settlements chosen by the descendants of Helios after their removal from the East to the West do indeed coincide with the regions of the dwellings of the Kartvelian tribes in the Mediterranean area: Aeetes is connected with one of the main regions of the diffusion of the protogreek tribes, namely with Ephyra, Circe with the region of the settling of these tribes, namely with the land of the Etruscus, Pasipae lives on the island of Crete – in the main region of the Protogreek culture. As Gordeziani states in his major study on this topic, the migration of one part of the Kartvelian tribes from Caucasus to the Aegean area towards the end of the third millennium seems to be quite acceptable in the modern scholarship. This migration became the basis of emerging of the Pelasgian ethnos. One part of this ethnos moved afterwards to Crete, another – to Italy.

On the other hand, the process of new migration begins approximately in 1200 BC in the Anatolian region. The moving away from the Aegean area splits into two directions: a) to the East and the North-East including the Caucasian region; b) to the West. The possibility of the migration of the East Mediterranean tribes to the Caucasus is attested in the written sources, in the linguistic data and in the archeological material. It is noteworthy that the Medians (Madai of the Ancient East sources) appear indeed on the historical area towards the end of the II millennium BC. It seems possible that during their settling in the East, they had certain relationship with the Caucasian tribes. We see Muschks (Moskhs) and Kashks (considered to be Kartvelian in origin by some scholars) at the sources of the river Tigris in XII BC. The possibility that the above discussed data about the return of Medea and her son Medos in the Caucasus reflect the activation of the migration process of the Aegean tribes (one part of them) back to the Caucasus cannot be excluded.¹³

Therefore our study aimed to show, that the multidimensional relationships of the East and the West revealed in Medea's image, namely: a) Medea's close connections with Corinth; b) Medea's affection towards Hellas (Pind., *Pyth.*, IV); c) Medea's withdrawals from Colchis to the West

¹³ Gordeziani R., *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, Tbilisi 2007, 23; 431 ff; *The Argonauts, Story and Commentaries* by Gordeziani R., Tbilisi 1999, 130.

and from the West to the East; d) Medea's being the eponymous hero of the Medes should not have been accidental.

Naturally, we do not affirm that these withdrawals of Medea and her relatives from the East to the West and backwards were the direct responses to the Kartvelian tribes' migration first (towards the end of III millenium) from the Caucasus to the Aegean area and afterwards responses to the withdrawal of one part the Aegean tribes back to the Caucasus (towards the end of II millenium). Though we must not exclude the possibility that the above migration processes to a certain extent were reflected in the myths of Medea and her geneology, presenting the complex interrelation of the East and the West in the ancient world.

Dali Nadibaidze (Tbilisi)

MINOAN ART AND THE ROLE OF GREEK AND ROMAN CULTURE IN THE FORMATION OF CHRISTIAN ART

Originated in Judaism, Christianity spread in many parts of the world in the very first centuries. The apostles fulfilled the words of Christ, which continue to be fulfilled nowadays too: "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age" (*Mt.*, 28, 19-20; *Luke.*, 24, 46-48; *Mark.*, 16, 15-16). As Christianity is the religion of all nations, each of them contributed its unique features to the creation of the Christian culture while preserving the fundamental, unifying force – the Christian creed and the Christian spirit manifesting it.

Israel, the birthplace of Christianity, was part of the Roman Empire in the 1st century, together with Greece. Therefore, the Greeks and Romans, being the first Christians along with the Jews, were directly involved in the propagation of Christianity and shed the blood of martyrdom. They played a significant role in molding the Christian culture, which embodied the new *weltanschauung*. Judaism prohibited the representation of the image of God and applied symbols. Therefore, Greece and Rome served as the source of rich artistic traditions. Early Christian painting is based on Judaic symbols and the antique manner of painting. Apart from the Jews, Greeks and Romans, Christian art was created by numerous people inhabiting a vast area from Africa to Asia, including the heirs to the Mesopotamian culture (modern Iraq, Turkey and Syria). Therefore, the traces of the Mesopotamian culture in the Christian art are quite natural. This first of all concerns relief images and some iconographic schools of

the East (e. g. the images of Christ and Mary executed in the iconographic school of Syria and Palestine resembled the images of the Holy Face in terms of portraiture and vestment. The catacomb images of beardless Christ with a short Roman haircut and of Virgin Mary, with her head uncovered, did not quite match the reality. Therefore, the iconographic tradition adopted the image of bearded Jesus with dark complexion and of Virgin Mary with a veil in a Palestinian manner, which appeared more verisimilar and closely resembled the images of the Holy Face. As mentioned, the Christian culture was mainly developed by the Romans and Greeks, who constituted the greater part of the Roman Empire in the 1st to 4th centuries and had rich antique culture – painting, relief painting, sculpture and architecture. Antique art, the art of ancient Greece and Rome, was the successor to the Pre-Greek and Etruscan cultures, adopting all the best from their predecessors whose territories they settled.

In this article, I will dwell on the Minoan art, and specifically, the Minoan painting, and its indirect but highly significant role in the development of Christian painting. Despite the lack of immediate chronological succession, a nation or a unity of peoples may become an indirect partaker in the development of a later culture, provided it creates a value of foundational significance. To this extent, Minoan art can be considered at least an indirect partaker in the development of Christian painting and architecture. Though very often the preceding culture does not closely resemble the subsequent one but shows greater affinity with the next but one, I believe, in this case, the likeness can also be seen in terms of chronology. If we look through the history of painting from the period of Minoan art – the frescos of the Palace of Knossos and the paintings of the Island of Thera – and compare them with Etruscan painting, then have a look at classical Roman frescos (I BC – I AD) and afterwards the painting of early Christian catacombs and church mosaic, we will see that all of them are interrelated. They make up a wonderful panorama of successiveness on the one hand and unique individuality on the other.

My decision to write this article was motivated by the fact that the finesse and colour combinations of floral ornaments and the well-known blue bird of Knossos have always stirred in me associations with early Christian mural painting. In this respect especially remarkable is the mosaic in Tabgha and Ravenna, which abound in floral decoration and symbolic biomorphic images, while in terms of fine shapes and colour combination, the Christian mosaic or mural paintings are quite similar to the frescos of Knossos even nowadays. Though mosaic requires a different technique, it is anyway based on a painting, and then small pebbles are set in clay mortar.

My immediate interest is the role of Mycenaean painting in the formation of the Greek and Roman painting on the one hand, and the impact of the latter on the development of Christian art on the other – or, in other words, what Christian art inherited from Pre-Greek art, and what these three great arts may have in common.

Looking at Minoan frescoes, one may be under an impression that they represent modern painting and not the art created millenniums ago. A proof to this is the fact that our contemporary researchers called one of the frescoes *La Parisienne*. According to Prof. Rismag Gordeziani, “the first impression that Minoan art leaves is its surprisingly youthful spirit. In fact, as if intentionally, all human images depict a young person, and the scenes of nature feature the blooming period; elderly age, dormition and fading did not apparently attract Cretan painters.”¹

This theme – the youthful spirit, blooming nature in spring and the earth in all its diversity – is exactly what is perpetuated in all times and what unites Minoan Crete, the island of Thera and the Etruscan painting. Besides, the manner of expression is alike, which has been pointed out by researchers and has been universally admitted. This theme has been discussed at conferences and in important monographs. One of such monographs says that despite the affinities, it is difficult to compare painting of Thera and Knossos in terms of their architectural background as the first consists of palace frescoes and the latter are the paintings of the prosperous Cycladic city, subject to a remarkable influence of Minoan art ...² However, it has been admitted that the painting of Akrotiri is the direct successor of Minoan painting and that their styles are similar. The same idea is shared by R. Gordeziani in his above-mentioned work, which is both profoundly fundamental and accessible. He writes: “In this case, an important point evidently is the historical moment when in the second half of the 2nd millennium, Greeks found themselves to be the heirs to the great Pre-Greek culture, whose nucleus was Minoan Crete ...”³ In another place he argues: “Despite the highly important local characteristics, the style is the same.”⁴ Hence, the Thera painting resembles Minoan art, and on the other hand, it is affinitive with Etruscan art. One may even think

¹ Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization*, I, 32, Tbilisi 1988.

² The Thera Foundation, *Thera and Knossos: Relation of the Paintings to Their Architectural Space*,
<http://www.therafoundation.org/articles/art/theraandknossosrelationofthepaintingstotheirarchitecturalspace>

³ Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization*, I, 17, Tbilisi 1988.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

that the plant on the Tarquinian fresco is the same as the lilies from Akrotiri, and that the mountains and the birds flying above them are identical in both places, which, naturally, is wrong, though the semblance is marvelous in terms of artistic style, bright colors and refinement. Alberti's Window published an article *The Minoans as Hippies (and an Etruscan Thought)*, where the author speaks of the parallels between the Minoans and the hippies of the 1960s. I will quote an extract: "When I was an undergrad, one of my professors liked to compare the Minoans to the hippies of the 1960s. My teacher isn't the only one who has made this comparison. In fact, recently Minoan lilies were cleverly dubbed "the ancient equivalent of flower power."¹

My teacher pointed out that the Minoans were very interested in nature (as evident in their art, which often depicts animals and plants) and used opium. And I think one could even (jokingly) say that the bright colors in some of the frescoes (like the hills in the *Spring Fresco* from Akrotiri, Thera, before 1630 BC, shown above left) are "psychedelic."² I don't mind the hippie comparison, especially if it can help students to differentiate between the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations. I do think it's important, though, for students to know that the comparison isn't perfect. For example, the fact that the Minoans had fortifications (despite what Sir Arthur Evans argued) and were possibly involved in human sacrifices suggest, that these people weren't all about love and peace.

Speaking of Minoans and the *Spring Fresco*, I was struck today about how there some similarities between this painting and a tomb are painting from the Etruscan period (*Boys Climbing Ricks and Diving*, from Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in Tarquinia, late 6th century BC). Both paintings depict brightly colored hills (with the mounds divided into multiple colors). In both cases, the hills are adorned with spindly vegetation (the *Spring Fresco* depicts stylized lilies, but I don't think there is enough detail to identify the Etruscan plant). Additionally, the two paintings have birds darting about in the air. I know that over 1,000 years separate these frescoes (not to mention that they are from different geographic areas - the Minoans were on islands in the Aegean Sea and the Etruscans were on mainland Italy), but I think the similarities are interesting."⁵

⁵ Alberti's Window, *The Minoans as Hippies (and an Etruscan Thought)*, <http://albertis-window.blogspot.com/2010/11/minoans-as-hippies-and-etruscan-thought.html>



I cannot say whether the Minoan frescoes were truly created under the effect of opium, and whether the bright, emotionally charged colors on both frescoes (the *Spring Fresco* from Akrotiri and the above-mentioned fresco from Tarquinia) are psychoactive, but it is truly a great art, exerting an unforgettable impression on the visitor. One may have a feeling of being part of the process – whether it is the scene of boys' jumping from

the hill into water or blooming lilies on spring mountains, with swallows flying above them, or the fascinating colors of the blue bird and the dolphins of the Palace of Knossos. All this is 'contagious' and delivers a strong impression, which may even be considered as imitating the impact of intoxication. However, the assumption might even be true. Anyway, the frescoes of Knossos, Thera painting and Etruscan art are aligned to the same style of painting and, probably, are among the most impressive human creations.

The refined style and the bright colours, which sometimes become tender but remain cheerful and combine in perfect harmony, were inherited from antique art by Christian painting, as Christianity is the religion of life, immortality, and the victory of life over death. As commonly known, black colour is not at all used in Orthodox iconography to indicate that the divine light shines even in the hell. Therefore, the bright colors conveying the life-giving spirit of spring are acceptable in Christianity. According to R. Gordeziani, "The spread of the Greek civilization was motivated by its unparalleled sublimity."⁶ I believe it was among the characteristics of antique art that proved acceptable for Christian art. If we look at frescoes, we will notice a gradual transition from Minoan to Etruscan art and the development of Roman painting under the influence of Etruscan and Greek art. Later, the antique tradition of painting played its role in the development of an art on Christian themes, which on its part fostered the purely Christian art, conveying in it Christian spirit and featuring saints.



The Frescoes of the Palace of Knossos
(Museum of Iraklion, 16th-15th BC)



Dolphins, The Frescoes from the Palace
of Knossos

⁶ Gordeziani R., Greek Civilization, I, 15, Tbilisi 1988.



The Blue Bird, A Fresco from Knossos, 1550 BC

The plant and animal images in early Christian painting are mainly symbolic though plants may often appear as decorations. After the legalization of Christianity in the 4th century, symbol lost its function in Christian painting and was banned. Plant and animal images were only supposed to have an allusive function or to take part in rendering a plot. For instance, rooster used to be depicted on an icon to allude to the Apostle Peter's disowning of Christ, as had been prophesied by the Lord (*John* 13: 38). Canonical Christian icon painting, started from the 4th century, preserved the shapes and colours of antique painting and at the same time introduced an altogether new trend, which had a special import (see below the comparisons) and served as a window connecting man with the Lord, as Father Paul Florensky put it.

Early Christian painting, Mosaic Floor in Tabgha (4th century AD)





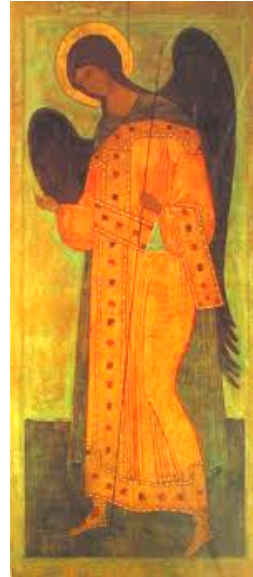
Church Mosaic Plan

Each epoch contributed to Christian painting in a special way. Greeks donated to it, and to art in general, an especially high intellectual spirit, while Christianity added to it the grace of the Holy Spirit, which distinguishes icon from picture and elevates human heritage, manifested in art, to the Heaven and to God.

Minoan and Etruscan art embodies life, the earth and is beautiful; antique art is humane and at the same time is sublime, fascinating and intellectual, while in Christian art this beauty is connected to God, to the Kingdom of Heavens and conveys its Divine call and supreme nature.



Primavera A Fresco in Stabiae, Pompeii, 1st century BC



Rublev's *Trinity*, on the right is the Archangel



Europa and the Bull
A fresco in Pompeii, 1st century AD



The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, 15th
a Russian Orthodox icon

Sandro Nikolaishvili (Tbilisi)

**BYZANTINE IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL THINKING:
MODEL FOR THE 12TH-CENTURY GEORGIAN KINGSHIP**

The Byzantine Empire was the “empire of the mind;” it was not only a state but a political-cultural sphere that had a vast influence on the neighboring political entities through offering “broad spectrum of models.” One of the most influential from the “broad spectrum of models” was the Byzantine political culture, particularly imperial ideology. It found its way from the center to the peripheries, playing a crucial role in formation of the dynastic images and propaganda of the newly-emerged political entities. Georgia was an integral part of the Byzantine Commonwealth. The influence of the Byzantine imperial ideology on Medieval Georgia comes as no surprise.

This survey aims to investigate the appearance of the new kingship ideology in Medieval Georgia, and to demonstrate constructing of the power building process during the reign of David IV the Builder. I apply comparative methodology in order to observe the influence of the Byzantine imperial ideology on the twelfth-century Georgian kingship.

As to the sources, the surviving images, numismatic materials and written testimonies contemporary to David IV were designed to create the concept of an ideal ruler who possessed all the royal virtues and was inspired and directed by divine wisdom. Various written sources contemporary to David IV demonstrate increased influence of the Byzantine political concepts in Medieval Georgia. Namely, the transformed historical writing was manifested in anonymous author’s writing, *The Life of the King of Kings David*. An anonymous author introduced propaganda of legitimization, drawn from the increasingly Christianized rhetoric, which had mainly been absent from earlier historical sources. This propaganda served to create a model of kingship and power different

from the one that had existed before David IV. The chief inspiration for this new kingship ideology was the Byzantine imperial idea of a Christian ruler and his main virtues, such as courage, justice, piety, philanthropy, and wisdom. David was eulogized as an ideal Christian ruler, God's representative on earth, and compared with the biblical figures of David and Solomon and with the idealized Christian emperor, Constantine the Great.¹ Apart from the scriptural allusions, one can detect a significant number of allusions to classical models.²

Anonymous' rich political vocabulary and the epithets used for David can be sorted out into three groups. First are the figures of the Old Testament: David, Solomon, and Moses, whose kingship, virtues, and judgment played a crucial part in the process of legitimating the king. The second group comprises the classical models, mainly Alexander, and Homeric heroes, Achilles, Agamemnon, Priam, Hector, Odysseus, and Orestes. They are examples of military prowess to which David was equated. The last, third group is that of post-biblical Christian figures, Constantine the Great, the Apostle Paul, Basil the Great, and St. Anthony. As in the case of the Byzantine Empire, for Anonymous' discourse, David, Solomon, and Alexander the Great were the favorite propagandistic models of kingship.³ *The Life of the King of Kings David* thus introduced a different language into historical discourse, and emphasized divine ordination and biblical as well as classical models as the basis of David's image.

Courage and military skills were significant for the ideal ruler and a crucial part in Anonymous' power-building discourse. Apart from being modeled as a wise ruler, David was viewed as a dedicated warrior, experienced general (*umsgavso spaspeti*) and tactician, enduring all hardships for his subjects. In Byzantine imperial ideology, the military prowess of the emperor was one of the four main imperial virtues. "The emphasis on military virtues echoed Menander's suggestions that the orator must describe the emperor's armor and the moment of his engagement with the

¹ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, ed. M. Shanidze, Tbilisi 1992, 171, 209; Thomson R. W., *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles, Original Georgian Text and the Armenian Adaptation* by Robert W. Thomson, New York: Oxford University Press 1996, 319, 345.

² Some of the literary sources used by Anonymous have already been identified. When the author compared King David with Alexander the Great, he relied on pseudo-Callisthenes' *Deeds of Alexander and Aristobulus' History and Chorography*.

³ For the Byzantine dimension see Angelov D., *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007, 79.

enemy during the battle.”⁴ In Anonymous’ words, David IV as a *Lion* led the army and was the example of courage on the battlefield.⁵ The fact that David himself led the army, fought in the battlefield, and provided an example of courage (*simxne*) and fearlessness (*ushishi*) underlined his military prowess. Using allusions and highly rhetorical style, Anonymous narrated the king’s heroic actions:

*The king himself, unlike some others, did not lead his troops from behind, nor did he shout orders from a distance like one of the princes. But he went in front at the head of all; like a lion [emphasis is mine] he roared with the loud voice, and like a wire wind he turned this way and that. He advanced as a giant, and with the strong arm he struck down the champions; he destroyed and cut down all who stood before him. From the great slaughter, as ‘in the time’ of David of old the hand of Eleazar stuck to the guard of his sword, so too were his loins filled from the river of blood that followed his sword [emphasis mine].*⁶

Clearly, in the above-mentioned excerpt, Anonymous quoted the passage from the *Old Testament* and compared David IV’s courage with biblical models. Growing popularity of the *Old Testament* figures in Anonymous’ political vocabulary marks their importance for kingship ideology. Moreover, it indicates the influence of the Byzantine rhetorical treatises that advised on how the emperor had to be set in relation to the *Old Testament* figures.⁷ The emperors had to be associated with the *Old Testament* figures because of their role as generals, lawgivers, and leaders of a Christian people.⁸

⁴ Angelov D., *Op. cit.*, 82. On the importance of the military virtues for the emperor see Russell D. A.; Wilson N. G., eds., *Menander Rhetor: A Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1981, 85.

⁵ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 172-173; Thomson R. W., *Op. cit.*, 321.

⁶ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 172-173; Thomson R. W., *Op. cit.*, 321: ხოლო თვით მეფე არა ვითარცა სხუა ვინმე მურგით უღა თოღენ სპათა თვისთა, ანუ შორით უზახებდა, ვითარცა ერთი მთავართავანი, არამედ უპირაგეს ყოველთასა თვით წინა-უედიდოდა და ვითა ლომი შეუზახებდა ხმითა მალლითა და ვითა გრიგალი მიღა-მოიქცეოდა, თვით ვოლიათებერ მიჰმართებდა, და მკლავითა მტკიცითა დაამზობდა ახოვნთა, სრვიდა და დასცემდა წინა-დამოხეულთა ყოველთა, ვიდრემ-ღის ფრიალისა ცემისაგან არა თუ ვითარცა ქუელსა ელიაზარს [ქუელის] ხელი ხრმლისა ვადასა თოღენ დაეწება, არამედ ხრმლით მისით უკომდინართა სისხლითა წიაღი ალხავსედ ეკვირთხეს.

⁷ Rapp C., *Old Testament Models for Emperors in Early Byzantium*, in *Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino, Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2010, 193-196.

⁸ From Constantine’s time onwards the custom of calling the emperor the “New David” and the “New Solomon” and comparing him to Melchizedek and Moses started to emerge. In this way the Byzantine emperor gained the reputation of being the successor of the kings of the *Old Testament*. See Rapp C., *Op. cit.*, 175.

Apart from the Biblical models, Anonymous largely exploited classical examples. In a passage, Anonymous evokes Alexander the Great as one of the models that David is compared to and even announced to be superior to. David's military skills, speed of attack and marching are more impressive and marvelous than Alexander's. If Alexander was superior to all his contemporaries so is David, who outshines all around him:

... our crowned (king) and new Alexander [emphasis mine], though he was later in time, none the less was not less in deeds, or counsel, or valour (simxne). In those very deeds for which Alexander is called conqueror, the later was not inferior, but I think him superior for their number. As much as the one was superior and pre-eminent among all his equals of his time in temporal and material ways, so did the latter exceed all the best around him in the commandments of God and of Christ, as well as in material ways.⁹

In another passage, Anonymous puts David IV in higher esteem than Achilles. The usage of Homer, as Anonymous did, for the glorification of the king, was something that was applied regularly in the Byzantine Empire, since it was recommended by Menander. He named the Homeric epics among the recommended works from which orators were to derive models for comparison.¹⁰ Seemingly, Anonymous was well acquainted with the idea of Byzantine imperial ideology and knew in detail what figures he had to compare his protagonist to in order to render his narrative more persuasive and to position his main actor's image as praiseworthy.

As other virtues, wisdom was a strong ideological element of the ideal ruler in Medieval Georgia under David IV. It presented a reflection of the concept of the philosopher-ruler manifested in the tenth-century Byzantium in the case of Leo VI "the Wise" (r. 886-912). The figure of Leo VI "the Wise" (r. 886-912), the author of homilies and hymns on religious issues, was a model for King David IV's image.

In the Macedonian era, the notion of the wise ruler was well presented in the example of Leo VI "the Wise." No Byzantine emperor before or after Leo was ascribed such a wisdom.¹¹ Solomon served as a model for Leo's

⁹ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 186; Thomson R. W., Op. cit., 329: *...ჩუენი ეს გვირგვინოსანი და ახალი ალექსანდრე, დაღათუ ეამითა შემგლობ, არამედ არა საქმითა, არცა განმზრახვითა, არცა სიმხნითა უმცირე; და თვით მათ საქმეთა შინა, რომელთა მძლედ ითქუეს ალექსანდრე, არა უმდაბლე, არამედ მრაველთა უმაღლეს მგონის ესე; და რაოდენ საწუთითა დახორციელთა შინა იგი მისთა სწორთა და მოჭამეთა ყოველთა უმაღლეს და უმეშთაეს იყო, ეგეოდენ ესე საღმრთოთა და ქრისტეს-მცნებათა შინა ხორციელთავე თანა მისთა პირველსა ჰმადგა.*

¹⁰ Russell D. A., Wilson N. G., Op. cit., 1981, 87.

¹¹ Tougher S. F., *The Wisdom of Leo VI*, in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries*, Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews ed. P. Magdalino, Ashgate: Variorum 1994, 171.

wisdom; Solomon was the wise king of the *Old Testament*, the son and the successor of David, God-chosen king. His wisdom was a gift from God and it found its expression in his talent as a judge, temple builder, a writer of psalms and proverbs, and a king of encyclopedic knowledge.¹² Solomon's wisdom indicated his prophetic and priestly role. His reign was denoted as a Golden Age of the Jewish kingdom.¹³ Leo's talent was modeled after Solomon's and he was recognized as a pillar of knowledge, writer of hymns, a ruler concerned with law, and a church builder. The fact that Patriarch Nicholas emphasized the emperor's wisdom as a gift from God, just as Solomon's, indicates that the concept of the wise ruler was of paramount importance in the tenth-century Byzantium. Moreover, Leo was recognized as a Byzantine Solomon, which might have been an attempt to cultivate the status of the wise ruler in Macedonian propaganda and to present the rulers in the image of the kings of Jerusalem, David and Solomon.¹⁴

Returning to the Georgian example, the wisdom of David IV was well represented by the king's own writing on religious themes. David is considered to be the author of *The Hymns of Repentance*, dedicated to the Theotokos. The main theme of *Hymns of Repentance* is the king being repentant and showing himself as a great sinner, just like biblical David was expressing his religiosity and demonstrating piety and devotion to the faith.¹⁵ According to the Christian apologetic tradition, repentance was the commencement of a substantial transformation of man. Each act of repentance signified the "death of the old" and the "birth of the new," in this way providing a firm ground for "a new man."¹⁶ Gilbert Dagron notes that a simple humility and repentance could easily be understood as Christian virtues and the image of the repentant emperor should not come as a surprise. This was the "truly imperial" act which the emperor could make "imperially."¹⁷

The Hymns are similar to the Psalms of the biblical David, as they are believed to be based on the motifs of *Psalms 50*.¹⁸ In this way, King David

¹² Tougher S. F., Op. cit., 173.

¹³ Ibid., 173.

¹⁴ Ibid., 177- 178.

¹⁵ Grigolashvili L., *Hymns of Repentance* of David the Builder, Tbilisi 2005, 145 (*in Georgian*).

¹⁶ Ibid., 119.

¹⁷ Dagron G., *Emperor and Priest: the Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003, 120.

¹⁸ Ibid., 146.

IV was competing with the old David,¹⁹ to whom he was often compared, both in *The Acts of the Ruis-Urbnisi Synod* and in Anonymous' *The Life of the King of Kings David*.

Aside from the religious theme, some phrases of *The Hymns* have strong political implications and refer to the new concept of kingship ideology, elaborated under David IV's reign. David IV claimed that apart from the "purple by nature," he received the halo *sharavandedi* (შარავანდედი) of kingship from God in order to govern a new realm and his people.²⁰ The purple in *The Hymns* referred to the Bagrationis' biblical origin and to the legacy of David and Solomon's kingship, which David IV claimed to have received from God.

The notion of a wise ruler was also well adopted in Anonymous' *The Life of King of Kings*, where David is described to possess divine wisdom: "... King David, given wisdom by God ...," which plays an important part in Anonymous' discourse and was of a paramount importance in constructing the king's authority. Divine wisdom was a significant part of the Byzantine imperial ideology. In court ceremonies and acclamations, Byzantine emperors were often compared to Moses, David, Solomon, and Constantine. The wisdom by which they governed was praised.²¹

As Anonymous states, the king's wisdom (*sibrdzne*) was in a direct connection with his "fear of God," because this was the source and beginning of wisdom. The concept of God's fear as the source of wisdom was part of Christian political philosophy. It was elaborated in the works of Agapetus, who in his *Advice to the Emperor Justinian I* (r. 527–565) viewed "the fear of Lord" as the beginning of the wisdom.²² In the passage above, Anonymous' emphasis of David IV's wisdom might imply both concepts together – the image of a God fearing Christian monarch and the philosopher-ruler. Moreover, the ruler's theological knowledge and Orthodoxy were the ways to present him as "the chosen one" for the throne.

Like Leo VI "the Wise" in his *Homilies*, David IV in his *Hymns of Repentance* tried to combine the elements of the two *Old Testament* kings and equate himself with them. David and Solomon had been models for

¹⁹ Grigolashvili L., *Hymns of Repentance of David the Builder*, 6.

²⁰ David the Builder, *The Hymns of Repentance*, Tbilisi 1989, 20: ბუნებობსა რაობსა პორფირსა თვისთმელთებლობასა თანა მეფობისაჲსა შარავანდედი მარწმუნეს.

²¹ Gavrilović Z., *Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology*, Zograf 11, 1980, 44.

²² Bell N., *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2009, 33.

the Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great. Thus, the rulers of the Macedonian dynasty were preoccupied with identifying themselves with these kings. I will argue that considering the Old Testament and particularly biblical David as his predecessor, David IV tried to highlight his inheritance of the biblical king's role as mediator between God and His people; this has been a common practice in the Byzantine imperial ideology.²³

Among David's other virtues, his justice towards his flock is narrated by Anonymous in a high rhetorical style. He is represented as a supreme judge and guarantor of the peace and tranquility between "rival nations." On his entrance into Ossetia, David IV could easily unite Ossetians and Kipchaks (Cumans), who were in hostile relationships for a long time. He could make friendship and peace between them like brothers.²⁴

In his judgment, the king is even compared to God, who never bends "the balance of the scales." David's purity (*siwminde*), superior to all other virtues (*satnoeba*), is demonstrated as greater than that of St. Anthony. The king's constant fasting and vigils, his care for piety of the army – he forbade "devilish songs, music and festival, and insults, which offend God" – and compassion for the poor that "filled the sea and dry land"²⁵ were strong Christian notions, which introduced a new concept of the pious king who continually cared for his subjects and was truly a guardian of the faith. Moreover, it was a strong hint of the king's stoic behavior that he avoided all luxury.²⁶ In Anonymous words, King David IV "received with a pure mouth and chaste mind incorruptible mysteries of Christ, with corroborating conscience and not unwilling consent – to which the witness is the Faithful One in heaven."²⁷

The philanthropy presents one of the king's main virtues and plays a significant role in the rhetorical description of Anonymous' *The Life of King of Kings David*. Among the king's many tasks, the care for the poor remained an integral part of David's image. As Anonymous states, the king was making an act of charity every day through dispensing money, which was not taken from the treasury, but earned by David himself. This story is narrated as follows:

²³ Bell N., Op. cit., 79.

²⁴ *The Life of the King of Kings David*, 183-184; R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, Oxford University Press 328.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 207; 343.

²⁶ The Byzantine emperors were advised to avoid luxury, money, laughter, musical performances and so on. See in detail: Angelov D., Op. cit., 81.

²⁷ *The Life of the King of King David*, 207; Thomson R. W., Op. cit., 343.

For he had a little bag; he would fill it with money daily by his own hand, and in the evening would bring it back empty with joyful heart and countenance. Sometimes he would dispense a half of it, and sometimes no one would be found; then he would put it aside full for the morrow and say with a sigh: "Today I gave nothing to Christ through fault of my sins." Now he did not make the offerings from the taxes of his officials, nor from his stores, but from the profit of his own hands. From his source he once gave to his father confessor John about 24 000 drachmas for him to distribute to the poor. It is impossible to describe more than this little from the multitude.²⁸

The concept of philanthropy had a long history in the Byzantine political and social thought. It was an integral element of Byzantine imperial ideology. In his rhetorical handbook, Menander considered philanthropy as an integral part of justice. He advised panegyric authors to praise emperor's philanthropy.²⁹ The late antique orator Themistius regarded philanthropy among the most important imperial virtues.³⁰

In conclusion one can say that David IV's reign was not only truly conspicuous in terms of establishing a politically strong realm in the Caucasus, but also innovative in terms of conducting the power-building process and introducing a new kingship ideology. The concept of wise ruler manifested during David's reign was significantly moved by the Byzantine imperial idea. The religious poetry the king himself composed provided a first indicator of the kingship ideology in transformation and the way the ideal ruler started to be understood in medieval Georgia. Another intricate aspect of David IV's reign was reflected in the generic changes occurring in Georgian historiography, and manifested in the Anonymous' highly rhetorical work, *The Life of the King of Kings David*. This work abounded with biblical as well as classical allusions, and aimed to introduce a new concept of the monarch being divinely inspired, anointed and chosen by God.

²⁸ Ibid., 208-209; 344: *რამეთუ იყო მისა კისაკი მეორე, რომელსა აღავსებდის რაი დრაჰკნითა დღე სარწმუნოდ თვისითა ხელითა, სამწუხროდ ცალეერი შოაქუნდის იგი მხიარულსა სულითა და პირითა; და ოდესმე ნახევარი წარავის მისი, და ოდესმე არავინ ეპოვნის და ევრეთ სავსე მისცეს დამარხვად ხვალისა და სულთქემითა თქვას: „დღეს ვერა მივევ ქრისტება მარცხებითა ჩემთა ცოლავითაითა“. და ამას იქმოდის არათუ ხელისანთა შორთქელისაგან, ანუ საჭუჭლოთ, არამედ ხელთა თვისთა ნადირებულთა, რომელთაგანი ოდესმე თვისსა მოდღუარსა იოვანეს მისცა დრაჰკანი, ვითერ ოცდახუთათასეული რაითა განუყოს ვლახაკითა. და ესეცა მცირედო მრავლისაგან თქუმად შესაძლებელ.*

²⁹ Russell D. A., Op. cit., 89-91.

³⁰ Angelov D., Op. cit., 2007, 112.

Ketevan Nizharadze (Tbilisi)

**THE PHENOMENON OF ECPHRASIS IN ANCIENT GREEK
LITERATURE AND ITS PARADIGMATIC NATURE FOR THE
POST-ANTIQUÉ LITERATURE**

Ecphrasis is among the notions, whose definitions raise particular interest in literary studies. Ecphrasis is a Greek word, which literally means 'expression, definition' (ec- 'out' and -phrasis 'speak'). Initially it denoted a rhetoric method, which was used to denote a detailed description of a thing in a speech. Later, the term came to be used for the verbal description of an object perceived visually, most frequently a piece of art. Correspondingly, although the term is often used in antique rhetoric and philosophy, it currently denotes first and foremost the description of a thing, mostly works of art, in a literary work. As time passed, a special genre of such description was even created in the antique literature.

Suffice it to take a superficial look at the titles of many works or collections to find that the number of those starting with the word 'ecphrasis' is quite big. Works that have the word 'picture' in their titles are effectively one of them, because they are descriptions of the works of fine arts by well-known authors.¹

It is possible to assert that Homer is regarded as the first author, who used the method of ecphrasis, and was the first to describe works of art in European literature, shaping a paradigm for authors and specialists in

¹ Works by Lucian of Samosata and Philostratus entitled *Imagines* and two works by Procopius of Gaza - *Descriptions* and *Description of a Picture* can also be named here, as well as the description of Hagia Sophia by Paulus Silentiarius, the description of a sculpture by Christodorus of Coptus, *Ecphrasis of the World Map* by John of Gaza, and so forth.

literature.² I think that in this regard, he is not only an example to follow, but obviously a master in using ecphrasis unsurpassed by any other author.

In order to further clarify my position, I would like to compare the description of the shield of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad* with several post-Homer ecphrases of the Antiquity, Renaissance, and modern times.

The Shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, XVIII, 132; 478-609) carries nine pictures and a natural question arises in this connection: What did Homer have in mind in this case? It is ruled out that he had before his eyes the shield Hephaestus had made for Achilles. However, it is also quite clear that he was aware of the tradition of making shields with various pictures on them. The idea of making shields with pictures is no particular novelty. However, the poet's desire to describe the shield in detail is indeed a novelty. Scenes shown of the shield and their positions are not spontaneous and accidental, which becomes obvious from the principles of the compositional arrangement of the scenes.

It is established that at all levels of arrangement, two principles are dominant in *Iliad*: a circular composition, which can symbolically be expressed as a-b-c-b¹-a¹, and a parallel division: a-b-c...a¹-b¹-c¹..., which means that the elements of each structure are organized in Homer's epic, first and foremost in *Iliad*, in accordance with these principles (R. Gordeziani describes this problem in detail: 4, cf. also 10). As we already noted, according to Homer, there were nine pictures on the shield of Achilles. Starting the description of each of them Homer repeats the formula (εὖ δε), which is a transition from one picture to another. The position of pictures according to their meaning is as follows:

- a) Cosmos – celestial bodies;
- b) Peaceful city;
- c) City in wartime – attack on grazing cattle and bloody clashes between two armies;
- d) Peaceful work – ploughing and sowing;
- e) Peaceful work – harvest. King with a sceptre in the centre;
- d1) Peaceful work – harvest, singing and dancing;
- c1) Bloody attack of lions on grazing cattle;
- b1) Peaceful scene of a round dance;
- a1) The river of Oceanus encircling the shield.

² Cf. DNP, 3, 1997, 942 and further; DNP, 13, 1999, 940 and further.

It is obvious that describing the shield, Homer uses the circular composition. However, the use of the aforementioned principle has not only the formal function of organizing the structure in this case. The circular composition is the best means for expressing the circulation of the events defining the regularity of this world populated by mortals. This is a constant alternation of scenes depicting peaceful life and the desire of war, work and bloody clashes within the pictures of the so-called natural elements. Thus, the compositional arrangement of *The Shield of Achilles* is strictly structured and the structure is not simply formal in nature. It also has certain ideological implications.

Describing the pictures on the shield, Homer used two main principles: the descriptions of the first and final pictures are restricted to naming things depicted in them. As regards the rest of pictures, three aspects can obviously be seen here. The main theme of the picture is emphasized at the beginning. This can conditionally be called the name or title of the picture. Homer skilfully describes the main elements that are supposed to be most appropriate in describing the theme. As a rule, every picture bears the author's desire to present the so-called 'dramaturgy' of events described in it or, in other words, animate the action depicted in the picture.

The shield of Achilles can be regarded as a piece of art with cosmic events and Oceanus removed from human life represented in the middle and edges and pictures representing mortals and main elements of their lives positioned between the two pictures.

After the interpretation of the aforementioned scenes, a natural question arises: what are the purposes of the detailed description of the shield in Homer's epic? It is interesting, what is more important for Homer and characters in *Iliad* – the purely military function of the shield or its aesthetic value. In my opinion, certain allusions, which may help to answer the questions, can be found in the poem itself.

At the beginning of the description of the shield, there is a line, which says that Hephaestus made a big and solid shield, which was decorated – πάντοσε δαιδάλλων. Nikolay Gnedich translated the expression into Russian as “весь украшая изящно”. The English translation is “adorning it all over” and Wolfgang Schadewaldt's German translation is “verzirte ihn über und über”. In this case, δαιδάλλων is the crucial word, which means ‘decorate, embellish’. Thus, the poet concentrates on two qualities of the shield: it is big and solid and all of its parts are decorated.

Correspondingly, the shield is for the poet both a weapon of war and a work of art. This opinion is also supported by the impression the shield

makes on Achilles in the XIX Stanza, 15-22: "Howbeit, when Achilles saw the arms, then came wrath upon him yet the more, and his eyes blazed forth in terrible wise from beneath their lids, as it had been flame. And he was glad as he held in his arms the glorious gifts of the god. But when in his soul he had taken delight in gazing on the glory of them, forthwith to his mother he spoke winged words: 'My mother, the arms that the god hath given are such as the works of immortals should fitly be, such as no mortal man could fashion'".

We can see that Achilles' reaction in this case is both that of a courageous fighter and a person able to assess a work of art. The former becomes evident through wrath that came upon him and the latter through the delight he found in viewing the shield. The verb *tevrpein* used twice in this short passage usually expresses the communion with a work of art (cf. 1). Given this, it is quite clear that the shield forged by Hephaestus is important both as a particularly reliable weapon and a work of art. That is why the author describes in detail how the shield was made and what was depicted on it.

Researchers have paid attention to the fact that the pictures on the shield do not have contexts supported by concrete reference points. Correspondingly, none of the pictures is a product of the mimesis of a concrete environment, *topos*, personality, or event. They are generalized images of the reality depicted on the pictures. At a glance, this is a paradox, but it is a fact that the information about cosmic bodies (whose names the author mentions) and the final picture, which depicts the world river - Oceanus - are most concrete. Although Athena, Ares, Eris, Cydimus, and Caerus are mentioned in connection with the "city plunged into battles", they serve to describe personified events rather than deities acting in a concrete war context.

Could Homer have linked the pictures on the shield of Achilles to concrete personalities and events? Of course, he could. In the same poem, the mythological biographies of all heroes participating in the Trojan War and their relatives are a good example to support the assertion. However, Homer probably chose the path of generalization quite deliberately. Correspondingly, as I have already noted, what he sees on the shield are generalized pictures of human life rather than concrete *toposes*, personalities or events. I do not think it is justified, like some researchers, to view allusions to realities linked to Achaeans and Trojans in Homer's pictures and to regard the peaceful city as a symbol of the Mycenaean city and the city plunged into the battles as a symbol of Troy or regard the king with a sceptre as an image of Agamemnon (cf.

www.123helpme.com/assets/16635.html). Had Homer wanted to use the scenes depicted on the shield for reciting once again the developments in *Iliad*, nothing would have deterred him from making his allusions more concrete.

The Shield of Achilles by Homer differs from numerous other ecphrases of the later period in that the level of generalization is high in it, being linked to the fate of the world situated between Cosmos and Oceanus and populated by mortals rather than reality linked to two concrete cities or nations. The fact that the pictures on the shield are positioned within indefinite and generalized frameworks probably also points to this. On the one hand, they are cosmic events and on the other Oceanus. Of course, the first city depicted on the shield may resemble a Mycenaean city far away from the war and the second may be viewed as Troy plunged into battles, but in general, these cities symbolize any other settlement, either peaceful or devastated by war.

Homer's ecphrasis has proved to be so impressive that many authors tried to create their own ecphrases under his influence. In this case, the main thing that interests us is the model of Homer's ecphrasis, which became an inspiration for many authors of the subsequent epochs, although in my opinion, none of their ecphrases can be regarded as important as that of Homer. To make my assumption clearer I would like to summarize in a few words the features of the description by Homer.

In this case, I would like to confine myself to a number of most essential features.

a) The first thing to mention is that the shield of Achilles has two functions with Homer: applied and aesthetic. Both functions of the shield are described in detail in *Iliad*. The shield must be truly excellent in all of its features (solidity, reliability, and a high artistic level), which is guaranteed by Hephaestus himself, as his products are at a highest level in all respects. It is noteworthy that *Iliad* shows how solid the shield is and what aesthetic impact it can have;

b) Scenes on the shield are independent thematic and semantic units. Their absolute majority have their own dramaturgy and frames;

c) The scenes on the shield are not a simple sum of pictures. On the one hand, they are united by strict principles of composition and on the other, present a magnificent generalized picture of multifaceted connections existing in the world. The scenes are not an attempt to depict a concrete myth or well-known information. A high level of generalization can clearly be seen in them. That is why Schadewaldt wrote: "What Homer conveys are the main forms of the universe and life grouped in accordance

with the principle of opposition... The opposed are conditioned by each other, finally presenting an all-encompassing unity".³

If we take a look at the tradition of ecphrases since Homer to our time, we will notice that Homer's model has proved to be paradigmatic for all of the authors. Directly or indirectly, they took into account, albeit incompletely, Homer's principles of writing ecphrases, which obviously makes the description of the shield of Achilles prevalent compared with them.⁴ For example, in *The Shield of Heracles*, which was probably not written by Hesiod, but by someone after him, there are numerous external signs of the principles used in *The Shield of Achilles*. Like with Homer, the en de or en d formula is used in transition from one picture to another. Many pictures repeat the content of Homer's pictures and epic formulas and individual elements used by Homer to describe them. However, as Rismag Gordeziani noted,⁵ the pictures on the shield of Heracles are not united by any single principle of compositional arrangement.

It is also noteworthy that Hesiod makes a lot of attempts to introduce concrete mythological information, featuring gods from Olympus and other divine forces and personalities of the era like Theseus, Aegeus, and others. Correspondingly, although the shield of Heracles was also made by Hephaestus, its pictures are devoid of generalization. They are amazingly eclectic, as they depict horrors of war and demons causing devastation. Unlike Homer, Hesiod shows no balance between war and peace and peaceful scenes and bloodshed in battles.

It is also obvious that the description of the shield of Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid* (VIII. 626-728) was inspired by Homer. The pictures on the shield mostly depict the fate of Rome in the future and, correspondingly, are full of concrete themes and figures. The shield features Italian kings; victories of Romans; Ascanius' ancestry; a big number of wars; she-wolf and two infants (5); a description of Rome; the rape of the Sabine women; bloodshed between Romans; agreement of kings on a truce; cattle for slaughter at Jupiter's altar; four horses and Metus; Tullus, Porsena,

³ Schadewaldt W., *Von Homers Welt*, Stuttgart, 1965 (4), 363. My interpretation of the shield of Achilles is presented in detail in my paper, which is to be published as part of the materials of the scientific conference held at the Department of Humanities of Tbilisi State University in 2010.

⁴ For a review of the phenomenon of ecphrasis in Antiquity cf. DNP, 3, 1997, 942 and further. For the reception of ecphrasis in the post-Antique era cf. DNP, 13, 1999, 940 and further.

⁵ Gordeziani R., *Selected Works*, Tbilisi 2000; Гордзезиани Р. В., Проблемы композиционной организации в раннегреческом эпосе, Тбилиси 1978, 156-170.

Aeneads, and Clelia; Romulus roofing his palace with sedge; the emergence of a silver goose followed by the seizure of the fortress by Gauls (8); the Salii and Luperci; the underworld; Catilina opposite Furiae; lawmaker Cato; maritime sights; dolphins and ships; the battle of Actium; Augustus Caesar leading Italians in a battle; Senate, people, and gods; gods helping Agrippa; an army of Barbarians following Antonius from Egypt and Bactria together with his Egyptian wife; ships sailing a big sea (10 lines devoted to the story of Antonius); Neptunia bearing a red mark of murder; two snakes, dragons, Anubis, Venus, Minerva and Mars rising against Neptune; a scene involving goddess of war Bellona; Indians and Arabs, Sabinians and Egyptians retreating from fear of Apollo's bow; the death of the queen; description of the Nile (3 lines); Caesar finally entering Rome with triple triumph and building 300 temples; rejoicing Rome; shrines and cattle for slaughter; Caesar receiving gifts from defeated people; tribes of nomads, Africans, Leleges, Carians, Gelonians, Morinians, and Dahis; and rivers Euphrates, Rhenus, and Arax (15 lines are devoted to the last scene involving Caesar).

It is clear that although Virgil is under the influence of Homer's description of the shield and it is Hephaestus again, who made a shield for Aeneas, the themes depicted on Aeneas' shield are completely different from the principle of positioning scenes on the shield of Achilles. First, Virgil just lists scenes with a much lower level of dramaturgy. Second, he mentions prominent events in Rome's mythological and real history with concrete names of acting figures. Like Homer, it is Virgil who created themes on the shield made by Hephaestus, but unlike Homer, he made no attempt to depict the functioning of the world populated by mortals and generalize multifaceted relations. He confined himself to listing most impressive instances from Rome's mythological and real history.

Many other ecphrases can be found in Antiquity. From a certain period, the description of pictures and works of art became one of the disciplines in schools of rhetoric, which led to the formation of ecphrasis as an independent literary genre. *Eikones (Pictures)* by Philostratus (2nd-3rd c. AD) is a good example in this regard. It describes 65 such works of arts, which have not come down to us. The author's description is amazingly skilful, which even makes it easy to imagine the described images visually.

We will not discuss here other authors of Antiquity and will move to one of the excellent examples of ecphrasis of the Renaissance era in Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*. The ecphrasis found in this work unites the principles of Homer and Philostratus. Shakespeare follows the latter in describing just one picture and he follows Homer in describing individual

segments of the picture, which means that he describes several pictures within one picture. The ecphrasis comprises 31 strophes (217 lines), of which 18 strophes (126 lines) are devoted to the description of the picture proper and 13 strophes (91 lines) are passages depicting Lucrece's assessments and emotions.

Lucrece, who is waiting for her husband, recalls a picture on the wall depicting the story of Trojan tragedy. The picture effectively shows numerous scenes linked to the Trojan War without concentrating on one moment of the battle. It features events that took place one after another, but the ecphrasis does not present them in a sequence. The author focuses on the episodes in the picture, which attract Lucrece's attention. That is why descriptions follow each other not chronologically, but taking into account Lucrece's emotions. Shakespeare concentrates here not on what the picture is supposed to tell, but on the connections between the scenes in the picture and the protagonist's sentiments and associations. Lucrece's feelings gradually intensify, which finally leads her to tearing out the scene, which is most undesirable for her.

It can be assumed that this case is a pure example of ecphrasis characteristic of the Renaissance. On the one hand, we are dealing with a picture featuring numerous figures and episodes in line with pictures of large-scale themes characteristic of the Renaissance. On the other hand, the work concentrates on the viewer's spiritual and psychological conditions rather than the beauty of the picture and its aesthetic values. The work unites concrete and general aspects, and the picture viewed by Lucrece simultaneously depicts the disaster in legendary Troy and the ephemeral nature of the happiness of a city that was once famous, which can be so exciting that the viewer may lose self-control.⁶

After Shakespeare, ecphrases seldom present abstract descriptions of pictures. What the pictures depict is more frequently linked to the action in the work. Correspondingly, what is shown in the picture gradually becomes an object incorporated in the action. Let us consider two works written in approximately the same period by authors of completely different world views and aesthetic principles. The works are often referred to when discussing ecphrasis. They are *The Idiot* by Fyodor Dostoyevsky and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde. It can be said

⁶ For an overview cf. Boehm G., Pfothenhauer H. *Beschreibungskunst, Kunstbeschreibung: Ekphrasis von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 1995. The work also provides ample bibliography.

that ecphrasis in these works is obviously linked to the spiritual conditions of the protagonists and therefore, bear signs of psychologism.

From the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, so-called "religious ecphrasis" mostly focusing on the description of the images of Our Lady starts to play a particular role in the Russian literature. However, the European name of Madonna is more often used in such cases instead of the traditional Russian name. Quite a lot has been written about this kind of ecphrases lately. In my opinion, the picture depicted in *The Idiot* by Dostoyevsky, which has been much spoken about, is a good example of religious ecphrasis.⁷

The Idiot by Dostoyevsky focuses on one of the prominent pictures in Rogozhin's home, showing the Deposition. The picture is first mentioned in the scene, where Rogozhin shows Myshkin around his home. After passing by a line of a number of colourless sceneries, Rogozhin pays attention to it, noting that the picture, which his father bought at a very low price, is becoming increasingly expensive. Although the picture is not described in this episode, the author points to its approximate size, noting that it is a copy of a work by Hans Holbein.

Later, Ippolit describes the picture in detail in his long story. He recalls precisely that picture and describes and assesses it. Ippolit pays attention to the fact that in most pictures showing the scene after the Crucifixion, Christ's face continues to be beautiful despite so much humiliation and ordeal. However, in this picture, Christ's face bears obvious traces of torments, as the painter does not make an attempt to underscore the beauty of the face. Ippolit is excited, because "Looking at that picture, you get the impression of nature as some enormous, implacable, and dumb beast, ... which has senselessly seized, cut to pieces, and swallowed up – impassively and unfeelingly – a great and priceless Being, a Being worth the whole of nature and all its laws, worth the entire earth, which was perhaps created solely for the coming of that Being."

Viewing the picture and imagining the condition of Christ's followers, who saw this terrible sight, Ippolit asks a question: Had their Teacher seen Himself in such a condition before the Crucifixion, would He want to be crucified and to die in this manner? Later, Dostoyevsky describes how the narrator has no peace because of these thoughts.

Thus, it can be said that unlike ecphrases in the Antiquity, those in modern times acquired the function of exerting psychological influence,

⁷ For an overview cf. Меднис Н. Е., Религиозный экфрасис в русской литературе, Критика и семиотика, Вып. 10, Новосибирск 2006, 58-67.

giving rise to questions in protagonists' minds or making spiritual changes in them rather than making just an aesthetic impression.

In *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde, we encounter a unique case of ecphrasis. The picture is animated to such an extent here that it changes together with Dorian Gray's soul as time passes. Correspondingly, we do not have a long description of the whole picture. Ecphrasis is effectively spread in the whole work, describing changes in the picture taking place along with spiritual changes.

At the beginning, the author describes the picture in one sentence: "Clamped to an upright easel, stood the full-length portrait of a young man of extraordinary personal beauty". In another episode, where Dorian Gray looks at his picture for the first time, he is so amazed that he makes a step back and his eyes glitter with joy as if he sees himself for the first time. This episode in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* seems to respond to the passage in *Iliad*, where Thetis gives Achilles the weapon made by god. Like Achilles, Dorian Gray is unable to conceal his admiration, which convinces readers that the picture is indeed impressive.

However, it is also noteworthy that what Dorian Gray feels is not satisfaction with or delight in the picture, but fear of the future, as he is to change due to implacable time and lose what everyone admires - his beauty. It is at that moment that he asks questions and undergoes spiritual change, which we discussed above.

After this episode, the picture is described in the work on a lot of occasions. It constantly changes and the author mostly describes the changes it undergoes instead of Dorian Gray. In such cases, the author mentions the wrinkled and deformed face, hardened hands, and the weakened body. However, the terrible expression on the face is nevertheless most important, as it exposes the initial sin and distorts the picture more than other features. In these cases, the sentiments Dorian experiences after discovering every change come to the fore.

Wilde provides the most impressive description of the disfigured picture in the episode, where the artist himself sees his work. Like at the beginning of the work, the author shows the viewer's emotion: seeing the mocking expression on the face, the artist utters a heart-breaking cry.

The fact that after Dorian Gray's death at the end of the work, the picture regains initial beauty and youth means that it is the picture that is the protagonist of the work.

The phenomenon of ecphrasis in the literature of recent times also shows very interesting trends frequently expressed in the detailed, almost scientific description of certain items. In these conditions, ecphrasis is a

systemic and dominant element that defines the author's style, not just one of the methods. Since it is impossible to fully review relevant literature in one article, we will concentrate on Turkish Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk's *My Name Is Red*.

The novel describes events that unfolded during nine days in Istanbul in 1591 with Padishah's artists as the main protagonists, who have to establish the identity of a killer after one of the artists and then the chief artist, Enishte, are murdered. The killer accidentally left his painting on the scene of the crime. The only way to find the killer is to identify the style of the picture, which is very difficult, as at that time, artists were prohibited from having their own style, which was regarded as a deadly sin, and the only thing artists did was to copy other paintings. To identify the style the protagonists of the novel have to see thousands of pictures, due to which a lot of ecphrases appear in the work. Examples of ecphrasis are encountered in other cases too, when protagonists speak about their love affairs, recalling similar scenes in illustrations from well-known books. In such cases, the author resorts to ecphrasis in order to convey to readers the content or sentiments depicted in the pictures in order to show what protagonists feel at that moment.

It is noteworthy that the ecphrases in the novel completely differ from each other. Most of them describe individual pictures and even individual segments of some of them. In some cases, the whole plot of a story is described. However, general descriptions of how individual artists painted fighters, shahs, animals, trees, and grass or descriptions of pictures used as illustrations of pages are most frequent in the novel.

People – the killer, the murdered, their relatives, artists – as well as a dog, horse, pictures, the red colour, death, and even Satan are narrators in the novel. Correspondingly, people as well as animals, pictures and colours can act in it. As this process of ecphrasis leads to denouement, readers familiarize themselves with the process of confrontation between the occidental and oriental civilizations historically symbolized by Istanbul, where Europe and Asia met.

The phenomenon of ecphrasis in this work by Pamuk needs special research. In my opinion, the author took into account the entire experience accumulated by the world literature in this field from the times of Homer to our days.

Thus, ecphrasis has obviously travelled quite an interesting road from Homer to our days, i. e. from objective descriptions of pictures to the descriptions of a psychological impact of pictures. With Homer, ecphrasis serves the poet's universal conception of the world and events under way

in it. Through the semantics of the described pictures and their strict compositional arrangement, the poet managed to convey what he wanted to say in a manner removed from concrete facts and as close as possible to the highest level of generalization.

Later, ecphrasis gradually drew closer to specific facts through concentration on fearful elements with Hesiod and the narration of important episodes from Roman history with Virgil. After the Renaissance, ecphrasis acquires increasingly numerous signs of psychologism, being related to the protagonists' spiritual conditions, which finally leads to the animation of a picture and its effective transformation into a protagonist able to affect human decisions with Oscar Wilde. Pamuk's *My Name Is Red* is a good example of the further development of the trend. In his work, ecphrases are conveyed not only by those, who perceive works of art, but also by other human beings or inanimate objects shown in pictures and, finally, by the pictures themselves.

Manana Pkhakadze, Raul Chagunava (Tbilisi)

MEDEA AND THE DESCRIPTION OF MEGRELIA
BY ARCANGELO LAMBERTI

Interesting notes about Medea, daughter of Colchian King Aeëtes, can be found in one of the most important cycles in Greek mythology – the Argonauts. Medea and her actions attract a lot of attention in the myths, but there is little information about Colchis. The shortcoming was corrected to a certain extent only in the 17th century by Italian author Arcangelo Lamberti, who published a book entitled *The Description of Megrelia* in Naples in 1654 after 19 years of his missionary activities in Megrelia.¹ It was the first fundamental work on Colchis or Megrelia. We will consider it in connection with Greek myths below.

Numerous versions found in Greek and Latin sources present conflicting information about Medea. They depict the daughter of the Colchian king in different manner.² Despite such varying approaches, the professional activities and qualification of Medea raise no doubts. In this regard, she is presented as a reasonable, knowledgeable, and creative person, whom Greek authors viewed at the origins of cosmetics and pharmacy. Despite their legendary content, all myths reflect certain elements of reality and it is not ruled out that this kind of legends comprise real information reflecting Medea's professional activities and the cosmetic and pharmaceutical practices in ancient Colchis in general.

¹ Don Arcangelo Lamberti, *The Description of Megrelia*, Tbilisi 1991 (in Georgian).

² Parmeniscus (Schol. Euripid., *Med.*, 9), Pausanias (II, 3, 6-11), and Aelianus (*Ποικίλη ἱστορία*, V, 21) believed that Medea did not kill her children. However, Euripides presented her as the killer of the children, which has had a stronger impact on the literature in the future.

From ancient times, Greek myths link Medea to the origins of cosmetics. This becomes obvious from the following note by Greek author Palaephatus II, who lived in the 6th-4th centuries BC: "Medea was the first to discover a flower that could change white hair to black".³ Clement of Alexandria (2nd-3rd centuries) confirms the information: "Medea was the first to discover hair dye".⁴

The sources make it clear that together with dying hair, she also knew the art of making hair grey. Diodorus of Sicily wrote in this connection: "Medea made her hair grey using certain means".⁵ In this case, "certain means" presumably implies using a chemical method for making hair colourless. To be more specific, this chemical method may be based on the use of a weak sulphuric acid (H₂SO₃), which is obtained from the interaction between sulphur gas (SO₂) and water. It is known that this weak acid either dissolves colouring matters or produces a colourless admixture interacting with brown hair pigment melanin.

This method was known in Georgia from ancient times. As a joke, fellow drinkers at a feast would use it to make their sleeping friend's beard colourless. This practice was described in a well-known book by a Muslim chemist from Tbilisi, Hubaysh al-Tiflisi (died in 1230). The book is entitled *Description of Trades* and has a chapter devoted to this method.⁶

As a priestess, Medea also had procedures for turning her body white. Roman author Dracontius of the 5th century wrote almost unequivocally that she used precisely weak sulphuric acid for this purpose: "The Colchian priestess sprayed water on herself and wafted pure sulphur and torches, cleaning her body".⁷ Sulphur and torches are mentioned together, which implies burning sulphur, and wafting implies interaction between sulphur gas and the body sprayed with water, which leads to the emergence of weak sulphuric acid. The latter interacts with skin melanin, creating a colourless compound, which makes melanin-coloured skin turn white.

³ Μήδεια πρώτη τοιοῦτον ἄνθος εὔρε δυνάμενον καὶ τὰς λευκὰς τρίχας ποιῆσαι μελαίνας, XLIII, Mythographi Graeci III, 2, Palaephatus, *Περὶ ἀπίστων*, ed. N. Festa, Lipsiae 1902.

⁴ Μήδεια τε ἡ Αἰήτου ἢ Κολχῆ πρώτη βαφὴν τριχῶν ἐπενόησεν, I, XVI, 76. Clemens Alexandrinus, ed. O. Stahlin, L. Fruchtel, U. Treu, vol. 2, Berlin 1960.

⁵ Εαυτῆς δε: τὰς μεν τρίχας δύνάμεσ' ἴσι χρίσασαν ποιῆσαι πολιὰς, 51, Diodori *Bibliotheca historica*, IV-V, rec. C. Th. Fisher, 1904-1906.

⁶ Абу-Л-Фадл Хубайш-Тифлиси, *Описание ремесел*, Москва 1976, 138.

⁷ Colchis se spargit aquis, et sulphure puro cum taedis fumans purgabat membra sacerdos, Medea, 391-392, Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, ed. F. Vollmer, 1905.

Medea was also believed to be the inventor of hot baths. Information about this can be found in Greek literature from ancient times. Simonides of Ceos (556-467/6 BC) figuratively uses the word "boil", depicting Medea's role in introducing hot baths in the following manner: "Medea made Jason young again by boiling him".⁸ Euripides (485/80-406) repeated this information by Simonides, adding for his part about Jason's father Aeson that Medea "immediately transformed Aeson into a handsome young man, removing his old age through her smart mind and numerous herbs boiled in golden cauldrons".⁹

The quoted passage contains no precise indication to what made the old man become young again - herbs boiled in cauldrons or the use of cauldrons as baths. The author seems to imply the latter, as commentators of Euripides also understood the passage in this manner. Eudocia (11th century) noted specially that "Medea excelled all medicine makers", which gave rise to the myth that she "boiled" old people, "turning them young". The female author wrote that reality was different: she returned youthful appearance to old people's grey hair with dye made of herbs. The use of hot baths served the same purpose. Eudocia explained that the baths even led to certain misunderstandings. "Medea also invented hot baths, but she would not let those willing to take a bath for everyone to see, because she did not want any healers to learn. The action was called boiling. Of course, hot baths made people feel more relieved and healthy. It was because of this that those, who saw cauldrons, firewood and fire prepared for a bath, thought that people were boiled".¹⁰ Given the quoted explanation by Eudocia, there is no doubt that "boiling" implied taking a hot bath. The author's opinion on turning people younger through the use of cosmetics is also interesting. She noted that this was possible thanks to a number of actions, in particular the dying of hair and hot baths.

⁸ Φασιν ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἄψησασα τόλ' ἰάσσονα νέον ποιήσεις, fr. 376, Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D. L. Page, Oxford 1962.

⁹ Ἰατρικὰ δ' Αἰσώνα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἠβώοντα γῆρας ἀποξύσας' εἰ δυνήτι πραπίδεσσι φάρμακα πόλλ' ἔψουσ' ἐρὶ χρισείοισι λέβησιν, UPOQESIS MHDEIAS, Schol. Eur., *Med.*, 167; Euripidis fabulae, vol. I-II, ed. J. Diggle, Oxford 1981-1994.

¹⁰ Πυρίαν οὖν πρώτη Μήδεια ἐξεῦρεν, ἐπυρία δε; τοὺς βουλομένους οὐκ ἐν τῷ προφανεῖ, ἵνα μὴ τις μάθη τῶν ἰατρῶν. ὄνομα δε; ἦν τῷ πράγματι παρέψησις. οἱ γοῦν ἀνθρώποι ταῖς πυριάσεσιν ἐγίνοντο κουφότεροι καὶ ὑγιεινότεροι, ἐκ δὴ τούτοι ὀρῶντες τὴν παρασκευὴν, λέβητας καὶ ξύλα καὶ πῦρ, ἐνόμισαν, ὡς ἔψει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, fr. 647, Eudociae Augustae Violarium. Recensuit et emendabat, fontium testimonia subscripsit Ioannes Flach. Praefatio Villoisoni, Lipsiae 1880.

Old Greek authors linked not only cosmetics, but also the origins of pharmacy to Medea. Poet Pindar, who lived in the 6th-5th century BC, described Medea as a "connoisseur of all medicines" (παμφάρμακον), describing how she "mixed an ointment of oil and herbs able to ease strong headache".¹¹ According to Diodorus of Sicily (1st century BC), Medea "learned the nature of all medicines from her mother and sister"¹² and her skills became evident, when she cured wounded fighters "with roots and some herbs in just a few days".¹³

Medea was so renowned in pharmacy that according to Dionysius of Byzantium (1st-2nd centuries), a bay was called "Pharmacy" to mark her pharmaceutical activities.¹⁴ Medea retained the name of a skilful pharmacist also in the Greek (Byzantine) literature of the later period. Female author Eudocia of the 11th century referred to her as a "skilful maker of medicines", noting that "Medea excelled all medicine makers".¹⁵

It was probably due to Medea's popularity in Greek mythology that she was believed to have introduced a lot of novelties in practice. The so-called highly inflammable "Colchian medicine" was regarded as one of such novelties. According to Nicander (2nd century BC), Colchians called this medicine "oil" (νάμφον). It is now difficult to clarify whether the word had the same meaning as now at that time, but the fact that this "Colchian medicine" was as inflammable as oil becomes clear from the explanations of Nicander: "If they knead their body or drench the clothes they wear or something else with it and stand under the sun, they will be destroyed like being engulfed by fire".¹⁶

¹¹ Σὺν δ' ἐλαίῳ φαρμακώσασ' ἀντίτομα σπερεᾶν ὀδύνας δῶζε χρίεσθαι, *PIQIONIKAI* IV, 203-250, Pindari Carmina aim Fragmentis, ed. Bruno Snell, H. Maehler, Pars prior, *Epinicia*, Pars II, Leipzig 1964.

¹² Μαθεῖν παρά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπάσας τὰς τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεις, IV, 46, 1, Diodori bibliotheca historica, ed. F. Vogel, K. T. Fisher, vol.1-5, Leipzig 1888-1906.

¹³ Ἐπὶ τῆς Μηδείας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ρίζαις καὶ βοτάναις, IV, 48, 5, Diodori *bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. Vogel, K. T. Fisher, vol. 1-5, Leipzig 1888-1906.

¹⁴ Inde statim succedit sinus nuncupatus Pharmacias a Medea Colchide, quae in hoc loco reposuit pharmacoru arculas, 68, DIONISIOS BUZANTIUS, *ANAPLOUS BOSPORO* (1, 370-371).

¹⁵ Πάντας τοὺς φαρμακοῦργοὺς ἐπερηκόντισεν ἡ Μήδεια, fr. 647, Eudociae Augustae *Violarium*. Recensuit et emendabat, fontium testimonia subscripsit IOannes Flach. Praefatio Villoisoni, Lipsiae 1880.

¹⁶ Ἐπὶ οἱ χριόμενοι ἢ ἱμάτιον ἀλημιμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φοροῦντες ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐὰν ἐναντι ἡλίου σῶσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατεσθίουται δαπανώμενοι, 249, Nicandrea, rec. et em. O. Schneider, Leipzig 1856.

In the opinion of Plutarch (1st-2nd century), the crown and veil, which Medea sent to Glaucus according to the tragedy *Medea* by Euripides (485-406 BC), was probably anointed with this oil – or, as Plutarch termed it, "Medea's poison".¹⁷ According to the tragic playwright, "when Glaucus put them on, he died".¹⁸ Plutarch writes that Glaucus died because of the self-inflammation of oil, providing the following explanation: "Neither the things themselves nor the fire could kindle of their own accord: they imperceptibly attracted and caught a flame which happened to be brought near them".¹⁹ The use of oil by Medea was also discussed in Greek literature of later periods. One of such examples is Byzantine lexicographer Soudas (10th-11th century), who said that "Greeks call oil Medea's oil".²⁰

Medea is universally regarded as a magician in Greek mythology. In this regard it is interesting what one Roman scholiast wrote about the daughter of the Colchian king: "Medea, who Greek stories say was the supreme magician".²¹ However, if we look into the information about her in sources, we will find that this attitude is due to her pharmaceutical activities. Medea was believed to be the inventor of many medicines, which, as authors believed, was characteristic only of people with magician's skills. It is indeed noteworthy that sources provide information not only about a big number of medicines made by Medea, but also the diversity of their use. Pindar, Euripides, Apollonius of Rhodes, Diodorus of Sicily and other authors mention therapeutic medicines that relieve pain,²² heal wounds,²³ ease mental problems,²⁴ have a sedative effect,²⁵

¹⁷ Plutarchi, *Vitae Parallelae*, recogn. Gl. Lindskog et K. Ziegler, Leipzig 1968, vol. 2, 2, *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ*, XXXV.

¹⁸ Οἷς ἐκεῖνη χρησαμένη διαφθείρεται, *ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΜΗΔΕΙΑΣ*, Euripidis fabulae, vol. I-II, ed. J. Diggle, Oxford 1981-1994.

¹⁹ Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οὐδε ἀπ' αὐτομάτου λάμψαι το πῦρ, ἀλλὰ φλογὸς ἐγγύθην παρατεθείσης οἷεϊαν ὄλκην καὶ χυναφὴν ἀδηλον αἰσθήσει γενέσθαι, XXXV, Plutarchi, *Vitae Parallelae*, iterum recogn. C. Sintensis, Lipsiae 1-1873, II-1874.

²⁰ Ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν νάφθαν καλοῦσι Μηδείας ἔλαιον, Suidae Lexicon, ed. Ada Adler, I-V, Lipsiae 1928-1938.

²¹ Quam summam veneficam fuisse historiae Graecorum tradunt, *Od.*, II, 13, 8, Horatii Scholiaste Pomponius Porphyrio commentum in Horatium Flaccum, ed. Holder, Innsbruck 1894.

²² *ΠΙΔΙΟΝΙΚΑΙ*, IV, 203-250, Pindari Carmina aim Fragmentis, ed. Bruno Snell, H. Maehler, Pars prior, *Epinicia*, Pars II, Leipzig 1964.

²³ IV, 48, 5, Diodori *bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. Vogel, K. T. Fisher, vol. 1-5, Leipzig 1888-1906.

²⁴ Diodori, *Bibliotheca historica* IV-V, rec. Curt Theod, Fisher, 1904-1906, IV, 55.

²⁵ *Apollodori bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, Leipzig 1894, I, 9, 23.

heal burns,²⁶ and so forth. They also mention drugs dangerous for humans and able to poison them,²⁷ to cause stench,²⁸ to ignite,²⁹ and so forth.

Medea was also believed to have invented special boxes for keeping medicines. Georgian historians of medicine think that this can be regarded as "an indication of the widespread nature of medical practice and medicine-making". Drawing this conclusion, they refer to Apollonius of Rhodes (295-215), who wrote: "Medea leaped to her feet and rushed to a casket wherein lay many drugs, some for healing and others for killing".³⁰ It should also be mentioned that Dionysius of Byzantium mentions Medea's casket in connection of the aforementioned bay called "Pharmacy". Here is the short passage in full: "The Bay of Pharmacy is called so after Medea of Colchis, who left caskets with curative drugs in this place".³¹ It is obvious that caskets are used here for boxes, which means that Medea used them not only for keeping drugs, but also for transporting them and they were a kind of portable pharmacy.

The work by Arcangelo Lamberti, which we mentioned at the beginning, is somewhat reminiscent of Greek myths. It makes clear in a number of cases that real things were also depicted in myths. One of the clear examples is the author's opinion on the Golden Fleece, which is mentioned in myths in connection with Medea. Lamberti regards the Golden Fleece as real and this becomes clear, when he writes that "there was a lot of gold and silver in these countries previously and this is confirmed by the legend of the Golden Fleece". Lamberti knew no concrete facts of much gold and silver found in Megrelia, but he wrote that this had an explanation too. He explained in this connection: "Although it is believed that there are both gold and silver ores high in the Caucasus mountains, they are concealing this from fear of Turks. Megrelians are afraid that Turks may decide to conquer Colchis out of greed for gold".³²

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ IPOQESIS MHDEIAS, Schol. Eur. *Med.*, 167, Euripidis fabulae, vol. I-II, ed. J. Diggle, Oxford 1981-1994; Diodori *bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. Vogel, K. T. Fisher, vol. 1-5, Leipzig 1888-1906, IV, 48, 3.

²⁸ Die Überlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos von Dr. Carl Wendel, Berlin 1932, I, 615.

²⁹ SCOLIA EIS NIKANDRON EIS ALEXIFARMAKA, Nicandrea, rec. et em. O. Schneider, Leipzig 1856, 249.

³⁰ Saakashvili M., Gelashvili A., History of Georgian Medicine, Tbilisi 1956 (*in Georgian*).

³¹ Inde statim succedit sinus nuncupatus Pharmacias a Medea Colchide, quae in hoc loco reposuit pharmacorum arculas, DIONUSIOS BUZANTIOS, ANAPLOUS BOPOROU, GGM, vol. 2, Paris 1861, 68.

³² Don Arcangelo Lamberti, 1991, 29.

Gold and silver "high in the Caucasus mountains" implies small portions of gold found in many rivers of Svaneti. Not only Strabo and other authors, but also modern ethnographic and archaeological studies confirm this.³³ Although Lamberti is inaccurate identifying river gold with gold ore, his explanation of the essence of the Golden Fleece is correct. He is also quite right explaining the reasons for keeping secret the locations where gold could be discovered. That was dictated by the need of ensuring the country's security.

Medea's particular talent for pharmacy becomes somehow understandable taking into account the fact that almost the whole population of Megrelia was involved in similar activities many centuries later. Here is Lamberti's description: "What all of the local people want most is to learn how to make a drug. Therefore, they are trying to make a doctor prepare a medicine before their eyes. When they learn how to make a medicine, they immediately teach everyone around them. Those, who are more curious, have already learnt how to make a lot of medicines and written it down in their own language in a book called *Karabadini*".³⁴ Some expressions in the passage ("all of the local people", "teach everyone around them", "have already learnt how to make a lot of medicines") unambiguously point to the fact that pharmaceutical activities were effectively common among the population of Megrelia in the 17th century.

It is noteworthy that myths mostly featured women (Medea, Circe, Hecate) as being involved in pharmacy and treatment in ancient Colchis, and Lamberti wrote that it was women who were mostly active in these fields in Megrelia of the 17th century too. The following passage by the Italian author is quite eloquent in this regard: "There are women in Megrelia, who take delight in taking care of sick people. As soon as someone falls ill, one of these women comes and starts nursing the person, establishing an order for taking food and preparing several medicines. They lavishly use herbs to make medicines both for internal and external use".³⁵ The cited fragment is noteworthy for the extraordinary attention and care sick people received from Megrelian women free of charge and at their own initiative. Lamberti also wrote that women were quite skilful in pharmacy, which enabled these voluntary healers to use medicines they made of "numerous" herbs.

³³ Лордкипанидзе О., Наследие древней Грузии, Тбилиси 1989; Vochorishvili L., Goldsmithery in Svaneti, Georgian Academy of Sciences, VII, 5, 1946 (*in Georgian*).

³⁴ Don Arcangelo Lamberti, 91.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

There is no doubt that Lamberti's remarks on such intensive pharmaceutical activities of the local people are very unusual, as written sources mention no other region or country, where folk pharmacy was at such a level. Correspondingly, it is not unexpected that the remote ancestor of these medicine-makers – Medea – was regarded in Greek myths as a skilful pharmacist and pioneer in the field.

It is also worth mentioning that Lamberti provides other pieces of information that point to the uninterrupted tradition of Medea's creative legacy. We discussed above two Greek sources that said that Medea used caskets for drugs. Based on information by Apollonius of Rhodes, Georgian historians of medicine assume that Medea's mother and sister (Hecate and Circe) also had caskets like those of Medea. Given this, they conclude: "We assume that special caskets for medicines were used not only in one case".³⁶

Lamberti showed convincingly that the use of caskets for drugs was not indeed confined to isolated cases. The information he provided makes it clear that the use of caskets for medicines introduced by Medea became a tradition in the following centuries and continued even to the 17th century. The Italian author mentioned caskets for drugs for the first time in connection with the pharmaceutical activities of the ruler of Megrelia Levan II Dadiani (1611-1657). He wrote that Prince Levan, whose pharmaceutical skills were at a professional level, "has studied many herbs and bulbs of plants used for seasoning and treatment and can make a lot of ointments and medicines for internal use. He has caskets full of such medicines and he is carrying them wherever he goes, giving them to everyone, who needs them".³⁷

The quoted fragment mentions caskets for medicines, which, as Greek authors wrote, were introduced by Levan Dadiani's remote ancestor Medea. Given the fact that Prince Levan visited about 70 of his palaces throughout his principality at least for a few days every year,³⁸ it follows that he carried caskets with drugs all over Megrelia every year, which points to the fact that the aforementioned caskets were typical portable pharmacies. The need for medicines kept in these caskets was high among the population everywhere, which becomes clear from the following passage from Lamberti's work: "They asked for these medicines in such a

³⁶ Saakashvili M., Gelashvili A., 32.

³⁷ Don Arcangelo Lamberti, 29.

³⁸ Don Giuseppe Giudice di Milano, 55, 86.

manner that one would think Galena herself was to distribute them".³⁹ Taking this into account, it is difficult to point to any other portable pharmacy, which would be used to serve people on such a vast territory and in such an intensive manner.

Other pieces of information provided by Lamberti make it clear that these were not isolated cases of the use of the prince's portable pharmacy in the shape of caskets in Megrelia. He wrote that other Megrelian noblemen also had such caskets: "Every nobleman in Odishi [Megrelia] has a kind of casket, in which they keep various pills, drinks, and rose water".⁴⁰ Correspondingly, it is out of question that these were isolated cases. Given the fact that the number of noblemen in Megrelia reached 150 at that time,⁴¹ it will become clear that the overall number of caskets for medicines was much higher than mentioned.

Against the background of the information provided by Apollonius of Rhodes and Dionysius of Byzantium, data provided by Arcangelo Lamberti confirm that Euhemerists were right when they argued that there are grains of truth in every myth or legend. The practice of using caskets for medicines was widespread in Megrelia of the 17th century, which enables to assume that the same was also practiced in ancient Colchis.

Given the materials considered above, we can conclude that *The Description of Megrelia* by Arcangelo Lamberti is yet another written source, which makes information on Medea's pharmaceutical activities found in old Greek myths seem quite realistic in some cases. His data make it clear that effectively the entire population of Megrelia of the 17th century had a special approach to pharmaceutical activities, which shows that the centuries old tradition in this field rooted in ancient Colchis was viable. It seems realistic that the skilled "medicine-maker", whom Greek myths of archaic period depicted as the pioneer of pharmacy, was from that country. It should also be stressed that caskets for medicines introduced by Medea were widely used many centuries later – in Colchis of Lamberti's times.

³⁹ Don Arcangelo Lamberti, 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁴¹ Don Giuseppe Giudice di Milano, 85.

Maia Shukhoshvili (Tbilisi)

FOR ANCIENT AND MODERN MEANING OF LIBERAL EDUCATION

The humanity began to search ways and methods of knowledge transfer in very ancient times. From ancient times until today different educational systems were founded, some of which continued to operate and the others became part of history of pedagogic. One of the unique educational systems indisputably is so called Liberal Education, which takes its origins from Antiquity and, in particular, from Ancient Greece. The aim of report is to discuss several aspects related with ancient and modern meaning, concept and goals of Liberal Education. What did mean Liberal Education for ancient Greeks and what it means for people of the 21th century?

The principles of Liberal Education first are introduced in works of ancient Greek philosopher Plato. Plato still is considered as a founder of concept of Liberal Education. So I'll shortly represent the basic concept and goals of Liberal Education in Plato's works. Plato describes education as an art to make perfect man. When Plato speaks about education he means liberal education.¹ Liberal education is education the end of which is man himself. When men are trained vocationally we may expect better products, but we have no right to expect better men in the wide sense of this term. That's why this product may not be useful for society. The key for Plato's system of education is the Greek term *μουσική* which had very specific meaning in ancient Greek and included within its comprehension of seven liberal arts. Greek mythology personified seven liberal arts making each one of them a Muse.

¹ Maluf F. M., Plato and Liberal Education, from IHM School:
<http://ihm.catholicism.org/2008/12/plato-and-liberal-education-part-one/>.

Plato organized educational plan – curriculum, which was designed for four epochs. 1. The first twenty years are concerned mainly with the body and the organic faculties. The children as early as age of three were introduced to mythology and then gymnastics, reading and writing, poetry, music and mathematics. From the eighteenth to the twentieth year military training was recommended. In the first epoch factual knowledge was not so important, but only skill of distinguishing good from bad and formation of right senses. 2. The second period, extending from the year twenty to the year thirty, is concerned with the sciences of geometry, astronomy and harmony. The fundamental knowledge transferred in this period prepared the way for philosophy. 3. The third period occupied the years thirty to thirty-five and is concerned with the arts of dialectics. 4. The fourth period, requiring fifteen years of life and terminating at the age of fifty, is a period dedicated to real experience in the world.²

After Greek philosophy reached full flower in the 4th century BC scholars and teachers sought to establish curriculum to prepare students for the higher and more difficult studies. The outcome of this model is ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία (educational circle). A first century BC scholar and statesman Marcus Terentius Varo codified this curriculum into nine disciplines and introduced it to Rome. This model became common for Roman “encyclopedists”. The next development of this curriculum is so called “canon of seven liberal arts”, which were adopted in Christian tradition (the architecture and medicine of Varo were dropped out).³

In the context of liberal education the term “liber” doesn’t refer to politics. It is derived from Latin word “liber” and means “free”. Thus in classical epoch liberal education is education which is appropriate for free human beings. In Classical epoch seven liberal arts formed the cycle of Trivium and the cycle of Quadrivium. The Trivium consisted of: Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic. The Quadrivium consisted of: Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy (Cosmology). The share to philosophy is possible only after training in these seven liberal arts. The system based on Trivium-Quadrivium cycle considered that human being needs not to know technical skills, but to teach him “how to learn”. Each technical skill and experience can be used fair and unfairly. Liberal education teaches how to use technical knowledge fair. That was the concept and main goal of liberal education in classical epoch.

² Maluf F. M., Plato and Liberal Education, from IHM School:
<http://ihm.catholicism.org/2008/12/plato-and-liberal-education-part-one/>.

³ DNP Materials, Artes Liberales.

With historical development of liberal education change its concept and goals. The medieval scholars of Paris and Bologna founded the first universities between 1100 and 1200 AD, where the seven liberal arts were taught. After 1800s the reformers of higher education decided that higher education must answer the problems based on the specific subjects and this was the principle of German model. In the middle of 19th century many American colleges and universities adopted the German model. Traditional liberal education became a much smaller part of the educational area.

At the beginning of 21st century the great part of society rejected liberal education and subject-based education was established. The very small part of society recognized the importance of liberal education to frame cultural well-educated people.⁴

From the 21st century liberal education has new defenders, but the concept and goals of liberal education are the same: to prepare human being to live responsible, productive, and creative, to be ready for lifelong learning. The liberal education means that we understand foundations of knowledge and inquiry about nature, culture and society, that we master core skills of perception, analysis and expressions, that we recognize the importance of historical and cultural context and that we explore connections among formal learning, citizenship and service to our communities.⁵

We must underline that when we speak about modern liberal education, first of all we mean American model of education. The American tradition is incorporated in some European countries with more or less success. The main purpose of the liberal education which is established by the U. S. model is to promote more employment and to enhance academic and student mobility.

In the modern statement on liberal education it is said that: liberal learning is not confined to particular fields of study, but it is rigorous methodology. The spirit and value of liberal education are equally relevant to all forms of higher education and to all students. Because liberal education aims to free us from the constraints of ignorance and myopia, it is global and pluralistic by its nature. It embraces the diversity of ideas and experiences that characterize the social, natural and intellectual world.

⁴ Conor W. R., *Liberal Arts Education in The Twenty-first Century*, New York 2008, 49.

⁵ Conor W. R., *Op. cit.*, 72.

The modern liberal education includes the disciplines of humanities, natural, social and political sciences. The curriculum of American liberal education is based on Trivium-Quadrivium cycle and includes propedeutical courses of arts and sciences.

A. Bloom believed that when we discuss the concept of modern liberal education, the main misunderstanding is that we cannot derive modern equivalent of liberal education from the “classics”. We mustn’t search the essence of the problem in past, but in present.

What, then, is the modern equivalent of a liberal education? A. Bloom’s suggestion is notable point: to be liberally educated one does not need to master the whole range of modern learning. This is why it is dangerous to compare closely ancient and modern models of liberal education.⁶ The key for curriculum of liberal education is curriculum which doesn’t bombard student with facts. The liberal education curriculum ought to adopt only this structure. Liberal education curriculum tells a story to the student and then gives him chance to make conclusions. After this story student ought to try to dig deeper into the psychological dynamics of this story. The curriculum which is designed by connection of syllabi structured in this way creates the model for liberal education curriculum.

What is common for ancient and modern models of liberal education? The common is that liberal education has always been to aspire to personal characteristics, critical thinking, skills and learning opportunities for future development. The main difference is that liberal education in the classical era was more accessible to small groups – free people, and in our era it is considered for wide range of people.

And finally it is fairly notable one similarity between ancient and modern models of liberal education, which is covered by the essence of liberal education itself, but isn’t declared neither by ancient nor by modern theorists of liberal education. The liberal education will be successful only in that case if it is combined with specific subject-based field. The liberal education considers this important and necessary. The liberal education is propedeutic and introduction for future learning. It prepares student to learn specific subject-based field and develops skills for such type of learning. Thus, the real outcome of liberal education will be useful and fruitful for society only after combining such kind of knowledge.

⁶ Bloom A., *The Closing of the American Mind*, New York: Simon & Schuster 1987, 44-51.

Tamar Tarkhnishvili (Tbilisi)

THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY IN GREECE AND GEORGIA'S HIGHLANDS

It is known that Greece was the cradle of democracy as a form of rule, which reached a condition that was quite developed for that time. From today's viewpoint, this is not surprising for the leading country of Antiquity. However, scientific research has shown that elements of democracy can be found in ethnic groups at a lower level of social development, including patriarchal societies.

The popular assembly played quite an important role in the life of society in Georgia's highlands. Of course, it was not a form of governance, but it enjoyed highest possible authority and had a decisive say in resolving problems.

Since the popular assembly implied people's participation, it bore signs of democracy. Given this, I believe it is interesting to see whether there is any similarity between the so-called democracy of Georgian highlanders and Greek democracy. We intend to use the comparison to show to what extent people could participate in public life in a society far removed from principles of democracy.

The popular assembly was regarded as the supreme governing body, which consisted of Athenian citizens, who had full rights and were at least 20 years old. In Aristotle's times, men aged 18, who had served two years in the army, could also become members of the assembly and obtain the rights of a citizen. It is difficult to establish the number of the members of the popular assembly in Athens. According to scientific assessments, it could be between 20,000 and 30,000. Some people could be banned from membership in the popular assembly for various reasons like debts to the treasury, elimination from the registry of the demos, prostitution, disrespect for parents or refusal to sustain them, and so forth.

As regards Georgia's highlands – Mtianeti, Svaneti, or Khevsureti, the age of members was not defined. When the assembly of a community was to be held, one man from each household was obliged to attend it no matter what personal affairs they might have. Unlike the popular assembly in Athens, where women were barred from political life, they were allowed to attend assemblies in Svaneti. Moreover, if a woman in a family was believed to be wiser than men, she would be given preference. However, this is true only of Svan women, as the situation with Khevsur women was quite grave and there could be no talk about giving them any rights (for example, it was prohibited for Khevsur women to ride a horse. No matter how old they might have been, they had to follow on foot their men mounted on horseback¹). In mountainous Racha, it was embarrassing for women to attend a gathering of men. However, there were no restrictions in Higher and Lower Racha and even children could be allowed to attend.

The popular assembly in Athens was traditionally held in the open air on the top of the Pnyx hill. On the day of a meeting, specially appointed officials placed barriers at the foot of the hill to divide members of the assembly and the citizens, who had assembled to watch the meeting. Professor Gordeziani wrote that "today, nothing but the tribunes for orators can remind us of an arena for holding the popular assembly. At least 5,000 citizens had to assemble to secure a quorum. It is difficult to say for sure now, where thousands of the participants of meetings were placed and how."² In some cases, the popular assembly was held in the temple of Dionysius.

There was no single place for the popular assembly in Georgia's highlands. People assembled in squares of the villages. They were called *sanakhsho* in Racha, *saanjmno* or *bekhvne* in Tusheti, *sapikhono* in Khevsureti, *saerobo* in Khevi, *jamikari* in Ajaria, and *svipi* in Svaneti. Village squares seem to have been important elements of rural life in the highlands of the Caucasus as a whole. They were called *jamaat* in Dagestan and *nykhas* in Ossetia.

Svipi was an indispensable component of every village in Svaneti. It was always situated on an elevated place in the centre of the village. The square was circular with circularly positioned stone benches. There were

¹ Khizanishvili N., *Ethnographic Writings*, Tbilisi 1940, 33 (*in Georgian*).

² Gordeziani R., *Greek Civilization*, I, Tbilisi 1988, 122 (*in Georgian*).

large rocks in the middle of *svipi* with places for the elders of the village.³ According to ethnographic materials, people gathered there to resolve all important problems. As regards problems of the whole of Svaneti, they were resolved at *lukhor/luzor* (large/community assembly). There were three locations in Svaneti, where such assemblies could be held: Lalveri, Lalkhori, and Simoni. A union of individual communities formed a valley community, which held its own assembly attended by *makhvshis* – prominent people – representing individual communities. In special cases, representatives of all communities attended the assembly.

In Khevi, leaders would assemble in a kind of building called *sabcheo* ("place for discussions") next to the Trinity Church. In Pshavi and Khevsureti, discussions were held in riverside copses or hills outside villages. Discussions seldom lasted for more than a couple of days. In Khevsureti, *sapikhvnos* were on elevations at the entries to villages (as a rule, almost all places of assembly were half-open buildings).

In Racha, there were *sanakhshos* in every neighbourhood, but villages also had a common *sanakhsho*, where people assembled from every neighbourhood. The council, where all public affairs of villages were raised and resolved, was called *soploba* (*village community*), which was a body governing communities. Some respondents said that *soploba* was previously called *eroba*, and there were places where it was called *tavqriloba*.⁴ *Soploba* was the institution that assembled in village squares and governed public life in villages.

In Tusheti, the locations of assembly were called *bekhvne* and *saanjmno*. The fact that *saanjmno* means "assembly" is confirmed by the term itself. In Old Georgian, *anjmnoba*, *anjamani* and *saanjmno* denoted what was to be publicly announced to people. Later, the terms *anjmnoba* and *saanjmno* became obsolete and were replaced with *Sheqra* (*gathering*).

In Athens of the 5th century BC, *prytaneis* convoked the popular assembly. If voting was necessary to resolve a problem, *prytaneis* distributed ballots. Chairman of the assembly – *epistates* – was then elected from among *prytaneis*. He was to act as chairman for only one day, as new chairmen – *epistates* – were elected at every assembly. In the times of Aristotle, the procedure for convoking and holding the assembly became more complicated. The chairman of the *boule* – *epistates* – appointed nine *proedri* for each assembly. They were selected from those members of the

³ Gujejiani R., From the History of Mentality of Mountineers, Svaneti, Tbilisi 2008, 19 (*in Georgian*).

⁴ Chikovani., *ibid.*

boule, who did not serve as *prytaneis* at that moment. Chairman of the assembly was then elected from among *proedri*, who managed the assembly, deciding how to vote on specific issues and when to end discussions. *Grammatei*, who were to read out documents, were also elected at the assembly.

As regards Svaneti, scientists have found several types of the popular assembly there. The assembly in individual villages was called *soploba* and was led by the *makhvshis* of the villages. Problems of specific villages were resolved at the assembly. However, in R. Kharadze's opinion, a village elected a *kheistau* for three years to bring in order affairs within the village and expose crimes. Depending on the size of a village, one or more *kheistau* was elected. If necessary, *kheistaus* could meet and elect a council of five people called *morual*.⁵ It was also elected for three years. In addition, there was the community assembly that united several villages and was governed by community *makhvshis*. If necessary, a community *makhvshi* would convoke the community assembly. He selected experienced, smart, and honest people and held consultations with them before drawing conclusions on specific problems and familiarized the assembly with the conclusions. The assembly, in turn, was authorized to confirm his conclusion, amend it, or disagree and violate it.

It is noteworthy that Strabo also noted that Svaneti was governed by the council of 300 people. S. Janashia and R. Kharadze think that Strabo meant the popular council and assembly created at the tribal level. In later periods, the council consisted of representatives elected by village communities for a certain period. It was called *Igtish mare* (prominent people) and led the assembly of communities. Its decisions were obligatory for fulfilment. Once in three years, all members of a community swore an oath that they would be loyal to the community and trust decisions taken by elected representatives. The latter were responsible for administering justice and resolving family disputes and other problems. The *morual* selected from among *Igtish mare* or councillors was to make appropriate decisions.

According to resident of Ienashi village Shavkhan Parjiani, son of Piri, the community assembly was held once in three years.⁶ Researchers differ on how regular the assembly met. Modern scientists think that meetings were not held regularly and that *makhvshis* did not lead them. They believe

⁵ Kharadze R., *The System of Governance in Svaneti*, MSE VI, Tbilisi 1953, 185 (*in Georgian*).

⁶ Kharadze R., *Op. cit.*, 168.

that the assembly was held when necessary and aged or experienced and smart people, including women, were tasked to lead it.

In other regions of Georgia, the popular assembly was held when necessary. Offenders were tried at the assembly led by a *khevisberi* (community head) in Pshavi.

Pekhoni (*sapikhvno* – place, where *pekhoni* was held) had no concrete head in Shatili. *Pekhoni* was the assembly of adult men, where problems of everyday life of the village were raised. Along with the resolution of disputes and problems of the community, people did public or family work in *sapikhvno* (leather working, making shoes, processing lime-tree bark for ropes, producing gunpowder, and so forth). When enemies threatened the village or the village intended to go for a campaign, they would assemble in the *sapikhvno* and produce gunpowder together. According to G. Chachalashvili, "a kind of 'military democracy' or a transitional stage to a class society was preserved in the shape of *pekhoni*."⁷

Soploba in Racha did not have leaders elected for a certain period. At the assembly, people would select a reasonable man to head it and the man would speak on behalf of everyone. A specially selected young man, who was called "caller" informed people that the assembly was to meet. In Svaneti people were summoned to the assembly with bugles and trumpets.

Khevi was governed previously by the council that comprised elders. The council itself was led by community leaders (*bches*). The Khevi council bore signs of self-government and enjoyed a certain amount of sovereignty. In the tribal governance system, communities were led by the council of elders of the tribe. Later, the council consisted of representatives of territorial communities, who established order within the community in accordance with norms introduced by people. The representatives in the council often referred to traditions when administering justice.

As tribal governance weakened, the tribal community council ceased to exist and the popular assembly no longer elected community representatives for a certain period. In spite of such changes, residents of Khevi and Svaneti, as well as other Georgian highlanders, continued to resolve everyday problems on the basis of traditions. Correspondingly, communities continued to have their leaders, who were no longer regarded as members of the permanent council, but assembled if necessary in accordance with the demands of the community. The popular governance

⁷ Chachalashvili G., From History of the Form of Public Government in Khevsureti (*Sapikhvno* in Shatili), T. 7, Tbilisi 1955, 237.

effectively had a certain amount of sovereignty and was subordinated to the authorities only partially. Only the community could change traditions extant from the ancestors.

The popular assembly in Athens elected the council of 500 men, which was an important body directly linked to the assembly that approved all decrees. In special cases, it could act independently of the *boule*. However, the popular assembly and *boule* acted jointly. The popular assembly could not vote on issues *prytaneis* had not put on the agenda, but on the other hand, *prytaneis* were also unable to submit specific problems for discussion. The *Boule* approved a *probouleuma* – a resolution, which was to be submitted to the popular assembly. In that case, the *probouleuma* became a *psephisma*, which was to be voted on.

The annual work of the assembly was divided in 10 cycles – *prytaneas*. Every *prytanea* consisted of 36 days and four meetings of the assembly were held in each cycle, one of the four being called the supreme assembly (*κυρία ἐκκλησία*). The approval of *magisters*, food supplies, defence, and other issues were discussed at the meeting. The assembly also elected treasurers, naval architects, supervisors, people responsible for sacrifices and so forth. Some of the meetings were earmarked for the resolution concrete problems. The role of the assembly was very important. It was possible to consider all issues pertaining to war and peace, finances and justice or others. Voting was secret for the exception of the cases, when people were elected to military positions. Every citizen had the right to express his opinion, propose a draft law or revoke one if it ran against democracy.

The assembly defined the state's foreign policy, elected envoys, and discussed the results of negotiations with other states. It also made decisions on starting war and concluding a truce. The assembly was authorized to grant citizenship to foreigners and exempt citizens from taxes. The assembly also considered issues pertaining to religion and finances. There was a separate organ – *Heliiaia* – that considered legal cases.

As regards Georgia, the assembly of communities was a full-fledged lawmaking, judiciary and political body, which made final decisions on public affairs and was not accountable to anyone.

In Svaneti, the assembly of communities resolved issues affecting the whole of Svaneti: declared war, mobilized the army, appointed commander of the army, discussed conditions of a truce, levied taxes from the population and so forth. The assembly of the communities enjoyed unrestricted authority. It could evict a household from their land and order to deprive a traitor of the community of his property or execute him.

The decisions of the assembly could not be appealed against. However, the assembly did not interfere in internal affairs and every community was free to make decisions independently.

The community assembly made decision on attacking a neighbouring tribe or establishing relations with neighbours or other communities. The assembly was responsible for the payment of *tsori*⁸ and *sakhsari*.⁹ Those, who left the community for another region without the assembly's permission, were punished, because they could import diseases. In accordance with the decision of the assembly, the community provided shelter to people fleeing other communities and protected them from enemies.

The assembly was authorized to punish thieves, bribe-takers, and other offenders. It could also remove from their posts clerics (*bapis*) caught on wrongdoing. It was the function of the members of the assembly to reconcile those involved in blood feuds. They passed sentences and none of the community members dared to resist.

As regards Pshavi, the popular assembly was authorized to order capital punishment by stoning or exile. However, ordinary civil disputes were resolved in Pshavi and Khevsureti through the mediation court or persons selected by mediators.

The popular assembly had similar important functions among other Georgian highlanders. Young people could also attend its meetings, but without the right to vote. This was supposed to be a good school, where they could become familiar with traditions and moral norms. It is also noteworthy that meetings of the popular assembly were mostly held in church courtyards or close to some buildings of worship in order to raise the legitimacy of the former.

The aforementioned facts make it clear that the popular assembly had a leading role in the highlands of Georgia. Democratic principles of governance were widespread in the whole of Greece, but in Georgia, the popular assembly existed only in highlands, where the population enjoyed more freedoms than in lowlands.

⁸ *Tsori* – material fee for blood feud killing, which the whole community paid, if one of its members killed a common enemy.

⁹ *Sakhsari* – a kind of fee a community paid for a person captured when doing public work.

Nana Tonia (Tbilisi)

TIME AND POETESSES

(Sappho, Cassia, Marina Tsvetaeva)

*И долго на свете томилась она,
Желанием чудным полна,
И песен небес заменить не могли
Ей скучные песни земли!¹*

Марина Цветаева

Reading poetry is a challenge; it requires thinking. However, this is the thought that carries away, enchants and captures. The charm is exercised by word, subordinated to the authors' style, which, being unique with each great poet, attracts the reader with its charm and at the same time, puzzles, as it compels one to grasp the depth of a poetically phrased event or thought, difficult to imagine, or unimaginable at all. "Poetry is ever more charming as step by step you are carried away by the truth, difficult to discover", these words were written by Petrarch² as early as 5 centuries ago, and readers of poetry cannot help agreeing with them even nowadays. However, the ideas were not a novelty even in the times of Petrarch: the Neoplatonians sought the philosophical truth in the Homeric poetry, Ovid's works were regarded as the allegory of moral truths in the Middle Ages, etc.

¹ "And in the world she languished for long,/filled with wondrous desire./and for her, the divine songs could not be replaced/by the dull songs of the earth."

And the years in the world could but sadden and tire
The soul filled with wondrous desire.
And vainly the dull songs of earth would have stilled
The song wherewith heaven had thrilled.

² Петрарка Ф., Эстетические фрагменты, Москва 45.

Aristotle, who was among the first appreciators and commentators on poetry, noted in his *Poetics* that poetry imitates the so-called general, 'common', and thanks to this, stands over history, which relates about particular and individual stories.³ This idea of Aristotle must have escaped the attention of the following authors of poetic theories as it was no earlier than the 15th century that Angelo Policiano attempted to comment on it, dwelling on the object of poetry proper. According to him, the object of poetry is exactly the 'general', the 'common', i. e. the humane in a human, the vegetative in vegetation, the elevated in love, the terrific in a crime. Hence, a poetic invention is not a form of the universal truth, but is the only means to approach the truth experienced, possessed by poetry itself, which is unattainable for other fields of art and scholarship. Consequently, the creator of poetic word has his/her own space where he abides having approached his own truth. The fourth dimension of the space is time, which becomes artistically visible in the poetic space. In his *Transcendental Aesthetics*, Kant considers time and space that is chronos and topos, as the indispensable forms of cognition determining the perfection of a work of art and its relationship to the reality. Therefore, the separation of a chronotope from the whole work is possible only based on an abstract analysis. Time and space are inseparable in art and literature and above all, they also are charged with an emotive import. However, abstract reasoning is capable of presenting time and space not only jointly, but severally as well, maintaining the emotive import.

The author's as well as the listener's/reader's chronotope is given in the text, which has its own place in space, while the creation and perception of the text proceeds in time. A text has a real author and a real reader/listener. They are in different time and space, sometimes separated by centuries. However, if viewed globally, they nevertheless belong to the same real world, which may or may not resemble the world presented in the text. A work of art and the fictional world it reflects influences the real world and this is the process of mutual influence, which in itself is chronotypical.⁴

All creatures have creators. The latter abide in their respective time and are free in the process of world perception. The following question may crop up in this regard: from which chronotope does he/she view the event he/she experienced and depicts? First of all, it should be mentioned

³ Aristotelles, *Poet.*, IX.

⁴ Бахтин М., Вопросы литературы и эстетики, Москва 1975, 234.

that an artist belongs to the epoch he lives in, while the epoch covers not only his immediate present, but also the past; hence, an artist converses from the chronotope of the world perceived by him. However, the world the author projects, especially if she/she is a poet, will never be identical with his/her contemporary world, no matter how realistic and adequate it may appear. Naturally, a listener or a reader can imagine the author of the work listened or read by him; he can also refer to autobiographical and biographical notes, study the epoch the artist lived in and the materials about him/her, etc. However, it is only possible to reconstruct the author's artistic and historical image, which cannot be accurate, though it may precisely fit the research criteria applied in such cases. Anyway, if the author's image as projected by the reader more or less resembles his/her true image, it will help the reader get a better and more profound understanding of the work in question.

In this regard, I found especially interesting to study the poetic worlds of poetesses, and specifically their poetic perception of time. I have analyzed the works of three poetesses of different times and received almost the same picture: Sappho, who lived in the 4th century BC, was recognized the coryphaeus of lyric poetry already in ancient Greece. Her works survived in fragments. There are only two verses whose completeness raises no doubts among scholars. However, regardless of the success of the papyrological search, the ideas of the great ancient thinkers prevailing over 27 centuries will not change.

According to Strabo, "At the same time (i. e. the times of Alcues and Pittacus - N. T.) lived Sappho, this amazing creature (θαυμαστόν τι γρῆμα) for all the following epochs. As historical sources mention, we do not know any other woman who could be her equal in poetry (poetic beauty) at least in the smallest degree. In those times, the city (Mytilene - N. T.) was ruled by many tyrants due to internal unrest."⁵

I believe, Strabo, the greatest geographer on ancient times, precisely defines the main conditions for the perpetuity of poetic works: a) a poet must be 'amazing' (θαυμαστόν) for all the following epochs; b) He/she must be original (ἐνάμιλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρόν); c) His/her work must be distinguished by poetic beauty (ποιήσεως χάριν).

As if incidentally, Strabo points out that in the times of Sappho and Alceus, Mytilene was ruled by many tyrants due to the internal unrest. What is implied in the sentence? In the times of Sappho and Alceus, Mytele, the capital of Lesbos, was overwhelmed by severe struggles

⁵ Strabo, XIII, 617.

between the aristocratic and democratic parties. These struggles are vividly reflected in Alceus' poems. As concerns Sappho, she seems to have never lived in the city troubled with 'internal unrest' and ruled by 'many tyrants'. Her life years coincide with the rule of the tyrant Pittacus, who had been elected *esimnete* with unlimited authority for 10 years. He mercilessly persecuted the aristocracy. According to the Parian Chronicle, Sappho fled Mytilene for Sicily. The poetess is believed to have been from a noble family and consequently she too must have incurred Pittacus' wrath. It is assumed that Sappho accompanied her husband into exile, who, being a Lesbian nobleman, must have taken part in the political struggle. Close to 590 BC Pittacus declared amnesty. According to Sappho's biographers, the poetess must have returned to Mytilene at the time.⁶ None of Sappho's surviving verses reflect the political turmoil. It can be argued that Sappho's poetry is entirely apolitical, whereas political motifs are foregrounded in the works of almost all archaic great lyric poets (Anacreon, who belongs to a later period, invites a different appreciation). The Sapphic chronotope is not real, it was imaginery as the poet used to converse with her diety who frequently visited her in the most dramatic minutes of her life (fr. 1),⁷ or during a celebration (fr. 2), etc. At any rate, Sappho did not recognize any boundary between the real and imaginary, material and heavenly worlds. She knew that the real time is transient. She argues in one of the fragments (fr. 90). "Time flows: (πάρρα δ' ἔρχετ' ὄρα). However, she also knew that her name was not doomed to oblivion and that she would be remembered in the future as well (fr. 147: μνάσασθαι τινα φαῖμ' ... χἄψερον ἀμιέων). This was her unconscious belief, the belief which is inherent with all artists endowed with the divine gift. However, from the modern perspective, we try to understand and to analyze in what respect Sappho's poetry is contemporary. The conclusion drawn sounds as follows: Sappho's poetic world is not determined in terms of time and space. The general and the elevated is presented in this world with an amazing lightness, simplicity and poetic finesse. Their profundity appeals to the readers'/listener's emotions with the same power as 27 centuries ago, which determines their eternal contemporaneity. This real world in which Sappho and Alceus lived was a free world. No one forced them to declare in public their religious and political stands. Tradition and law

⁶ See: Tonia N., *Poetessen der Antike*, Tbilisi 2008, 46.

⁷ Sappho, *Lyrik*, In linguam Georgicam e Graeco convertit, prolegomenis et commentariis illustravit Nana Tonia, Tbilisi 1977.

granted them full freedom to make choice, and no one infringed on their freedom. Despite this, Sappho was apolitical by her nature, while Alceus was the opposite – in his early literary works he firmly defended the interests and legitimacy of his clan. Time and space was boundless for Sappho. Already in ancient times he was regarded as the apologist of the most perpetual of perpetual problems. The Athenian philosopher and statesman Demetrisu (the 3rd century BC) noted in his writings that all of Sappho's works are fascinating as she sings to the garden of nymphs, to Eros, depicts the beauty of wedding,⁸ Himerius, the renowned rhetor of the Roman period (the spiritual father of the Gregory of Nazianzus, the 4th century) preached that "Sappho was the only woman who had a sharp sensation of love at the tune of lyre. Therefore, she devoted all her songs to Aphrodite and Eros, and chose as a theme the beauty and charm of young virgins."⁹

A lot can be said about Sappho's life and artistic works, however, the most important points can be set forth as follows:

- a) Unlike other poets, Sappho felt best of all the spirit of the age and all the respective peripetia. However, she managed to see in the most ordinary and common things the beautiful and the lofty that abides beyond time and space.
- b) Beyond time and space was her imaginery world, "where there are colourful flowers and the haven pleasing to the eye," where gather the Charites and the crowned."¹⁰
- c) According to the poetess, who was the best among ancient or rather all European lyric poets, only love (literary – "the love of the sun") gives the power that enables the overcoming of time and space limits.

Antiquity was succeeded by the Middle Ages. Almost 15 centuries were to pass until a poetess resembling Sappho by her originality and poetic inspiration would appear in European literature. It was no earlier than the 9th century that a charming nun Cassia came on scene, whom the Holy Church recognized equal of the great creators of canons. Of her poetry survived a cycle of odes *A Canon for the Departed*, hymns and gnome¹.

How was time interpreted in the Middle Ages? There were many theological disputes on the point. As early as the 4th century, the Holy Augustine

⁸ Demetrios, *P. έρμ.* 131.

⁹ Himerios, *Orationes*, 28, 7.

¹⁰ The study of Cassia's works started with extensive research by the 19th century renowned Byzantinist, Karl Krumbacher. Since then, a number of scholarly works have been devoted to Cassia's poetry, including N. Tonia, *From Sappho to Cassia*, Tbilisi 1990.

directly posed a question in his *Confession*: “What is time?” and himself provided the answer: “Surely we understand it when we speak of it. But we cannot define precisely what time is. It is imperceptible.”¹¹ The people of the Middle Ages, the theologians thought that time is god’s and it does not belong to man; time is governed by God. The hagiographers never referred to the date of birth of a martyr, but mentioned the date of his/her death as it was the date of his/her communion with God. As concerns Cassia, neither the date of her birth nor the date of her death is known to us. However, we know how she responded to the Emperor Theophilus, who, enchanted by her beauty, approached her at the bride show and said: “Through a woman [came forth] the baser [things]” Cassia said: “And through a woman [came forth] the better [things]”. Theophilus rejected her boldness and chose another woman as the Empress. Cassia founded a convent where she was the abyss till the end of her life. In the convent she composed hymns and secular gnomes. None of her works reveals the feel of time, as if she did even take notice of the endless turmoil raging in the Emperors’ court. Her thoughts were directed only towards the eternal values as she knew perfectly well that “all wordly is transient and will turn into earth and ashes”, only God is ever-lasting (Hymn IV).

She devoted all her work and her life to the eternal, abiding beyond time and space. The Archebishop Philaret, who wrote a highly significant work about the hymns of the Greek Church, pointed out with rare precision the power of love that drove Cassia and made her the best poet of the Byzantine period.¹² The whole of Cassia’s poetry is a hymn for the salvation of human soul.

Another 10 centuries will pass and the great poetess of an completely different period will say: “Вся моя жизнь – роман с собственной душой”, мне ничего не нужно, кроме своей души!” Indeed, her tragic life attested to the truth of these words.

In her article called *Поэт и время (Poet and Time)*, published in 1932, Marina Tsvetaeva wrote: “Гений дает имя эпохе” (“Genius gives a name to an age”). And this was true. The philosopher N. Berdyaev described Tsvetaeva’s epoch in the following way:¹³ “Это была одна из самых утонченных эпох в истории русской культуры... эпоха творческого подъема поэзии и

¹¹ Августин А., Исповедь, Москва 1991, 292.

¹² “Чтобы так верно выразить чувства возлюбившей много... необходимо было Кассии ощущать в душе своей полноту горького сокрушения о растлении души нашей, надобно было самой ей быть полною уповающей любви к Спасителю грешников...” Филарет, архиепископ Черниговский, Исторический обзор песнопевцев и песнопения Греческой Церкви, Чернигов 1864, 332.

¹³ Бердяев Н. А., Самопознание, Москва 1991, 164.

философии после периода упадка, культурный ренессанс начала века. Вместе с тем, русскими душами овладели предчувствия надвигающихся катастроф. Поэты видели не только грядущие зори, но и что-то страшное, надвигающееся на Россию и мир.¹⁴

Marina Tsvetaeva's epoch, so accurately described by the philosopher, witnesses many a poet, about whom Tsvetaeva noted: "I could name many non-modern living poets. However, they are not poets any more, or have never been. They were abandoned not by the feel of their own time, which they had not ever had, but by the faculty that enabled them to feel – depict – create something" (*Поэт и время*). What does the feel of one's own time mean? According to Tsvetaeva, "Современность поэта есть его обреченность на время. Обреченность на водительство им."¹⁵

The start of the 20th century was marked by revolutions. No great poet could be found in those times who would not have something of his/her own to say. The poetess put it precisely: "The theme of revolution was commissioned by the time. The theme of praising revolution – by the Party... However, commissioning a political theme to a poet is a mis-addressed commission" (*ibid.*).

Being steadfast and unconforming by nature, Tsvetaeva would have never become an eulogist of revolution, though at the same time she admitted that this was her time: "Admit, circumvent, reject revolution – it does not matter, it is within you anyway" (*ibid.*). All researchers of Tsvetaeva's works admit that even if her poems render the theme of revolution, the White Guard or even immigration, it does not mean at all that they are veiled in politics. The poet found it her duty to provide romantic protection to the losers and the doomed. The depiction of human passions in her verses sometimes reach the level of Shakespearean tragism. One of the researches describes her most precisely as "Душа не знающая меры..." Но здесь, на земле, «в мире мер», чувства осуществиться не могут здесь люди при встречах «сшибаются лбом».

¹⁴ "It was one of the most refined periods in the history of Russian culture ... The period of creative upheaval in poetry and philosophy after a decline, the cultural renaissance at the turn of the century. Besides, the Russian souls were gripped by the premonition of the coming catastrophes. The poets saw not only the pending twilight but also something terrifying coming over Russia and the world."

¹⁵ "A poet's being modern means his being doomed to time, being doomed to the guidance by it."

Лишь в ином мире, в Небе Поэта, мечтанном, совершенном мире, все умыслы должны сбыться...”¹⁶

Marina Tsvetaeva wrote: “Being modern does not mean to depict but to create your time.” And so it happened. However, this is difficult to understand. What is the relationship between poet and time? You can answer the question but the answer is invariably bound to be wrong. We would better resort to the poetess herself: “Простите Христа ради за то, что я – поэт, ибо пиши я так, чтобы вы мне не «прощали», а себя во мне узнавали – я бы не была тем, кто я есть – поэтом” (ibid).¹⁷

And finally, Tsvetaeva writes in the same article: “And this single thing remains on the skin surface of the world in the same way as the visible world remains on a poet’s skin surface.” In support of these words I would like to quote an extract from Tsvetaeva’s collection of poems that almost replicates Sappho’s lines:

*“Разбросанным в пыли по магазинам
(где их никто не брал и не берет!)
Моим стихам, как драгоценным винам,
Настанет свой черед.”*¹⁸

Here is one more quote in the Sapphic style:

*“Смерть и время царят на земле,
Ты владыками их не зови,
Все кружась исчезает во мгле
Неподвижно лишь Солнце Любви.”*¹⁹

This is how the great poets understand time. Many more examples can be cited to illustrate that true poets regard time as part of eternity, that true artists create their time by themselves and from the obscurity of night aspire to the light of the sun, to the light that fills the world with love. In the end, I would like to quote Marina Tsvetaeva again: “По существу все поэты всех времен говорят одно”.²⁰

¹⁶ Марина Цветаева, Стихотворения, поэмы, Москва 1997, 21. “...a soul knowing not the measure..., but here in the world, “in the world of measurements”, the feelings can not be fulfilled. Here people clash their foreheads as they meet. Only in the other world, in the poet’s Heaven – the dreamed, perfect world – all intents must come true ...”

¹⁷ Ibid.: “Please, forgive my being a poet, for God’s sake – because if I wrote so that you did not have to forgive me but recognized yourself in me, I would not be who I am – a poet.”

¹⁸ “Scattered in dust in various shops/(where no one has ever taken them),/my verses, like precious wines,/will await their turn.”

¹⁹ “Death and time reign on the earth,/all, whirling, vanishes in dark/only the Sun of Love remains motionless.”

²⁰ Any poet of any epoch in essence says the same.

Ana Tsanava (Tbilisi)

**ORESTES BY EURIPIDES
AND MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF THRILLERS**

Orestes by Euripides is probably one of the most problematic works of the antique literature. Its problematic nature becomes evident not only in its genres, topics, text, and specific features of heroes, but also in heated debates the interpretation of every part of this text gives rise to in the contemporary scientific literature. In this study, we will concentrate on the genre of the tragedy, which has been debated back since antiquity. We will try to clarify whether it is possible to regard it in the context of modern thrillers.

There were two mutually exclusive attitudes towards *Orestes* in antiquity. On the one hand, *Orestes* is one of the most popular plays among Greek tragedies of the Euripidean and following eras. M. L. West's well-known commentaries present impressive materials to prove this.¹ The play was quite popular also in the Roman and Byzantine eras.²

On the other hand, commentators of the antique era and authors of scholia and hypotheses are not so benevolent regarding the tragedy. This seems to be a result of direct influence of Aristotle, whose works contain numerous quotations from *Orestes*.³ The philosopher mentions the drama twice in his *Poetics* and in both cases, his critical remarks are linked to

¹ Euripides, *Orestes*, ed. with translation and commentary by M. L. West, Warminster 1987, 28.

² See: Biehl W., Euripides' *Orestes*, Berlin 1965, 108-33. On the popularity of *Orestes* in the Byzantine era and late antiquity see: Euripides *Orestes*, ed. with translation and commentary by M. L. West, Warminster 1987, 33-34.

³ *Poet.*, 1454a 28-29, 1461 b19-21, EN 1169 7.8. (*Or.*; 667), *Mag. Mor.*, 1212 b 27-28, *Rhet.*, 1371 a 26-28, (*Or.*, 234). EE 1235 a 16, EN 1154 b 28-29 1405 b 20-23 (*Or.*, 1587-88). *Rhet.*, 1397 a 19-30. The latter can be a replication of lines 538-539 in *Orestes*.

Menelaus as a hero with an "unjustifiably" bad character.⁴ Aristotle regards the concrete and unchanged nature of characters as a norm for genuine tragedies, Aeschylus and Sophocles providing numerous examples to support the assumption. Given this, the inconsistency of Menelaus in *Orestes* was regarded as inappropriate for the standards of the genre.⁵

As said above, commentators of the later period, whose opinions are represented in the scholia and hypotheses of the drama, effectively follow the tradition of Aristotle and his school, focusing on the imperfect nature of the characters. The author of a hypothesis went even farther than Aristotle, noting that all characters except Pylades are inappropriate for a tragedy.⁶

As regards the genre, opinions differ. In his 3rd hypothesis, Thomas Magistrus classifies the tragedy as a tragicomedy. He relies on the authors of old hypotheses, who classified *Orestes* and *Alcestis* as a series of satirical dramas, because at a glance, the text had a happy end. The author of the scholium believes that after the Phrygian slave appears on the scene, the tragedy runs back and the dialogue between them is comic rather than tragic.⁷ The same is true of the end of the drama, which is contrary to the demand that a tragedy should definitely have an unhappy end, as *Poetics* draws a clear line between tragedy and comedy. Aristotle does not deem it possible to allow a precedent of mixing up the two types of information (although, in my opinion, they are not at all mutually exclusive).⁸

For the same reason, commentators of the Hellenistic era removed both plays from the so-called canonical lists of great tragedies. In their opinion, *Orestes* and *Alcestis* were to be represented at theatre festivals as satirical dramas. Philologists of the post-classical era concluded that the genre of *Orestes* is something new. However, they believed that this was indicative of the drama's defects rather than its positive innovative aspects. It is noteworthy that modern researchers have not advanced much in studying problems of genre either. In the 19th c. and the first half of the 20th c., philologists, like commentators of antiquity, were under the

⁴ Arist., *Poet.*, 1454 a 28-29.

⁵ In this connection see: Dale A. M., *Ethos and Dianoia: Character and Thought in Aristotle's Poetics*, AUMLA 11, 1959, 3-16.

⁶ It is noteworthy that the author of the hypothesis uses Aristotle's term φαῦλοι, which denotes a character appropriate to a comedy and is opposite in content to the term σπουδαῖος, which denotes a character appropriate to a tragedy.

⁷ Detailed review of scholia and hypotheses of *Orestes* can be found in: Porter, *Studies in Euripides Orestes*, Leiden 1995, 16-44.

⁸ Porter, *Studies in Euripides Orestes*, Leiden 1994, 15.

influence of Aristotle's views. They were mostly occupied with searching for shortcomings in the plot and concept of the drama.⁹

A new stage in the critical studies of *Orestes* started in the second half of the 20th c. The interest in the drama doubled in the aforementioned period. Fundamental studies by Reinhardt, Greenberg, and Wolf were published in the same period. These works had a major impact on the directions of and methodology for philological research in the tragedy in general. They partially resolved problems arising in the interpretation of the main plots, structure, and content of the text.

However, differences persisted regarding the genre.¹⁰ Everyone agreed that the drama was a metaphoric image that reflected the moral and socio-political problems of Sophist Athens in the late 5th c. It is the culmination of prolonged experiments by Euripides, who tried to adjust form and content. However, it is still debated what the form itself is: a tragicomedy, melodrama, pure tragedy, or thriller. Latacz was the first to point to the possible connection of the genre of *Orestes* with thrillers. The researcher deemed it possible to consider the drama in the context of a thriller.¹¹

To expand on this view, I would like to revert to the popularity of *Orestes* in antiquity. In fact, if not the element of thriller, the play couldn't achieve such level of popularity among the spectators. The genre scheme of character and action developing represents the novelty suggested by Euripides to his audience and much more important is the fact, that his genre novelty was required by the Euripides' audience itself. In fact, this is the classical example of the self-reflective nature of Ancient Greek Theatre. Within the liminal space, theatre always reflects the socio-political perturbations of its era and moral and psychological changes under way within society.¹² Voluntarily or absolutely intuitively, high-class authors offer spectators what the spectators demand from them also absolutely intuitively. Thus, *Orestes* can partially be regarded as a product ordered by the public.

⁹ Porter, *Studies in Euripides Orestes*, Leiden 1994, 17.

¹⁰ See: Vellacott Ph., *Ironic Drama: A study of Euripides' Method and Meaning*, Cambridge University Press 1975. The researcher believes that the drama is full of historic allusions. Lines 1,167-1,171 of the text describe Athens' nostalgic feelings for the heroic era of Pericles. The fatal enmity between Atreus and Thyestes is interpreted as an allegory of the confrontation between Athens and Sparta. This interpretation transforms Helen into beauty, culture, and grace destroyed by war and the grave psychological condition of Orestes reflects the depressive condition of society in general.

¹¹ Latacz J., *Einführung in die Griechische Tragodie*, Gottingen 1993, 382.

¹² Latacz J., *Op. cit.*, 376.

Paradoxically, Athens that was tired of the 20 years of Peloponnesus War wanted to see on the scene a performance, which would constantly keep it in expectation of horror. This is qualitatively the same as taking tragic pleasure in seeing one's own misfortunes on the scene. *Orestes* was popular on the scene on the one hand, due to the coincidence of the emotional conditions of spectators and protagonists, similarity between the situations around them (I mean the post-war periods, which is very difficult for the public to survive psychologically – Athens/Peloponnesus war and *Orestes/Troy* war), the insane aspiration of protagonists to resort to any method to save their own lives, which seems to reflect the pathos of Euripidean era, and on the other hand, due to the spectacular visual side of the drama.

This correspondence with the contemporary era and its so-called "thriller" aesthetics, which emerged due to absolutely concrete causes and did not exclude the text's tragic nature, proved to be completely alien to the opinions on tragedy held by Aeschylus and Sophocles. However, it was something new in genre and content, which remained partially unclear to philologists of antiquity, and is clear and acceptable to us, because there is no difference between the spectators of the Euripidean theatre and spectators of our era as regards world views and tastes. Human beings' natural inclination towards physical or psychological violence and their particular desire to observe violence on the scene and take tragic pleasure from it seems to have been inherited, together with other aesthetic categories, by the modern Western European culture from the antique era. Thrillers have proved to be the best form of showing protagonists' violence against each other and others in the literature and cinema of the 20th century.

It is quite difficult to describe thrillers within one framework of definitions. This genre is at the same time complex and devoid of any structural or stereotype frames, which provide authors with major opportunities of improvisation. It comprises both written and modern audiovisual texts. It can be defined as the unity of certain features. The most important feature of them is to give spectators the feeling of horror, constant tension, uncertainty, fear, and expectation while the story unfolds. This is achieved by means of the quick alternations and completely unexpected turnarounds of events.

Crime, murders, revenge, political conspiracies, psychological anomalies, paranoia and so forth are the main themes in thrillers. Thrillers were probably most perfectly represented in cinematography. Although the list of novelists, who worked in this genre, is quite long, Alfred Hitchcock's

films are believed to be classical examples of thrillers, as they served as models for filmmakers of the following generation such as Martin Scorsese, David Lynch, David Cronenberg, Dario Argento, Darren Aranofsky and others, who created very high-class thriller films. It is also noteworthy that one of the most high-profile films of Hitchcock – *Psycho* – is a very interesting interpretation of the Orestes story.

Greek mythology and specifically the final episode in the story of Pelopides is an excellent material for a classical thriller. The Orestes story provides an opportunity for the artistic interpretation of crime and violence as independent socio-political and psychological phenomena, while crime and psychological anomalies are major components that bring closer the Euripides theatre and the concept of modern thrillers.

I think that it would be most appropriate to study *Orestes* in its juxtaposition with psychological and criminal thrillers, which are one of the quite numerous subgroups in the genre. So what is a psychological thriller? Conflicts between protagonists in these types of narratives are rather mental and emotional in nature rather than physical. Due to absolutely accidental and predetermined circumstances, heroes find themselves in hopeless situations, which they are unable to emerge from independently. Their mind is in the constant process of searching. The search for a way out of the situation that has taken shape and the instinct of self-preservation force them to become oppressors and extremely cruel towards others and even themselves.

Like in case of thrillers in general, we cannot speak about models or patterns of plots in psychological thrillers. The general concept is that the perception of reality, its acceptance and the complicated and contradictory path to self-perception, which often lead protagonists to self-destruction, are coordinating features that unite psychological thrillers in one circle. General standards of thrillers are observed at the level of unfolding events. What is most important, psychological thrillers differ from other sub-genres in one essential feature: the supremacy of action and the nominal nature of characters are reversed in psychological thrillers. Plots are of minor importance in them. Events are to unfold in the stories, because they are to describe the psychological conditions of characters and enable them to show their features. In the meantime, the minor importance of myths is one of the features of Euripides' dramatic vision and *Orestes* is the most prominent work among such tragedies.

The essential Euripidean novelty in the seemingly exhausted Orestes problem lies precisely in the completely new vision of the mental state of the hero. *Orestes* is effectively a tragedy, where everyone and everything –

even the most insignificant detail – runs on one central problem of showing the psychological condition of a desperate person, who killed his mother, and this is achieved due to the events that unfold in an absolutely unexpected and quick manner like in thrillers. If we take a look at the tragedy from this angle, the seemingly chaotic text will become more or less ordered semantically, as Euripides wanted to present the spiritual condition of the protagonist not only statically, but also dynamically.

The change in Orestes' spiritual condition marks the beginning of an essentially new phase of the tragedy. In this case, I share Conacher's theory of dividing the tragedy into three parts: psychological, rhetorical, and "violent", although making the division, researchers mainly rely on elements of the plot rather than the hero's mental state, which prevents them from resolving the problem of inconsistency.¹³ However, if we rely on Orestes' mental state as a criterion, we will see that events unfold in the manner they should unfold in accordance with the rules of thrillers, which, in this case, are very liberal. Visually, they are as unexpected and horrific as possible and, at the same time, absolutely logical and motivated intrinsically.

Two-sided relations between the myth and ethos take shape in the tragedy. On the one hand, the plot is given and Clytemnestra is killed, which makes Orestes such as he is at the start of the drama, but later, the protagonist creates a plot himself. It is this type of relation that should take shape in any text to enable us to consider it as a psychological thriller. *Orestes* is a tragedy about a hero, who feels the crime he has committed to the full extent and makes a certain attempt to perceive this crime in a rational manner. It is not essential for Euripides to clarify whether Apollo's appeal is just or unjust. It is much more important for him to clarify how a person can bear the heavy burden of killing his mother and what changes take place in his mind against this background. Thus, it is possible to say that Euripides is a kind of paradigmatic author not only for the leaders of the post-classical drama, but also representatives of the genre, which is regarded for now as a priority of the 20th c. cinematography.

¹³ Conacher D. J., *Euripidean Drama: Myth, Theme and Structure*, Toronto 1967, 234.

Rusudan Tsanava (Tbilisi)

ODYSSEUS: A MODERN DISCOURSE OF AN EPIC HERO

If Odysseus is considered in symbolic terms, i. e. as a traditional mythical image, it will appear as a static statuesque type of character whose actions are to be described by the well-known Caesarean phrase: *veni, vidi, vici* – with one small addition essential for the *Odyssey* – *reverti*. In fact, Odysseus came to Troy, acted, won and returned home. This is Odysseus' story in a nutshell.¹ In the epic text, Odysseus undergoes epic treatment – the mythical symbol is transformed into a multilevel metaphor. On the other hand, it acquires extremely individual traits, characteristic of a particular literary character. In the Homeric *Odyssey*, different levels of analysis enable us to distinguish between Odysseus as a symbol, Odysseus as a metaphor and Odysseys as an individual. This comprehensiveness is exactly what inspires incessant interest in the hero. I will dwell on the causes that may account for the vitality of the epic character. Specifically, my immediate concern can be set forth as the following question: What fosters the interest in Odysseus nowadays, in the 21st century?

It is no exaggeration to claim the Odysseus has been among the most popular texts since it was created. A great number of works has been devoted to the influence of the epic poem on European literature.² The

¹ Aristotle writes in his *Poetics*: "Thus the story of the *Odyssey* can be stated briefly. A certain man is absent from home for many years; he is jealously watched by Poseidon, and left desolate. Meanwhile his home is in a wretched plight-suitors are wasting his substance and plotting against his son. At length, tempest-tost, he himself arrives; he makes certain persons acquainted with him; he attacks the suitors with his own hand, and is himself preserved while he destroys them. This is the essence of the plot; the rest is episode" (17. 1455b 11-22).

² Here are several of the works: Stanford W. B., *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, Oxford: Blackwell 1968 (2nd edition); Stanford W.

quest for causes underling the popularity of the Odysseus leads us back to antiquity. In fact, Odysseus differs even from its contemporart mythical characters. If the central quality of other characters – Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon, Diomedes, Idomeneus and others – is their physical power, stamina, belligerence, fervor, etc., the dominant feature of Odysseus is shrewdness, foresight and infinite will to survive. This by no means suggests the impudence of the other heroes or the coverdliness of Odysseus, but only reveals their respective priorities and the qualities that set Odysseus apart from other heroes. This is attested by one of his permanent epithets “πολύτροπος”. I will not give an account of the episodes illustrating Odysseus’s versatility and cunningness – they are well-known enough. I will only foreground several relatively less discussed aspects.

Odysseus resorts to all possible means to survive – deception, perfidity, cruelty, simulation, etc. Among these tricks is *transformation*. We could recall several episodes when Odysseus transforms into various individuals (a beggar in Troy, Noman with the Cyclops, a Cretan in Ithaca). Transformation (fitting on masks) is a unique trait that distinguishes Odysseus from other heroes. The analysis of the phenomenon leads us to the origins of ritual, drama and performance in general. On the other hand, performance (from where ritual and drama stem) became a universal that remains relevant even nowadays and presumably, will be relevant throughout human existence.

In this respect, I will dwell on Proteus, which is among the popular mythical names entered the literary ‘circulation’ owing to the *Odyssey*. Proteus is an archetypal versatile character – the herd of seals. Scholars interested in shamanic teachings are well aware that seals, as a mamals, resemble humans in voice, size and the faculty to cry with tears. The animal is duly recognized in the metamorphic tradition of various cultures.³ Proteus is a source of special information for Menelaus: the king

B. and Luce J. V., *The Quest for Ulysses*, London: Phaidon 1974; Rubens B., & Taplin O., *An Odyssey round Odysseus: The Man and his Traced through Time and Place*, London: BBC Books, 1989; Boitani P., *The Shadow of Ulysses: Figures of a Myth*, translated by A. Weston, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994; Hall E., *The Return of Ulysses (A Cultural History of Homer’s Odyssey)* I. B. Tauris, London. New York 2008.

³ For example, in the Celtic myth seals turn into handsome male guests who become sexual partners for the widows of sailors lost in the sea.

learns from him about his relatives and his own future.⁴ Proteus is an emblematic character for the whole *Odyssey* as he holds a central position in terms of transformation. It should be noted that in post-modern theories of theatre, Proteus established as a set metaphor of the plasticity of actors.⁵ Odysseus himself is an excellent actor. Helen recalls how he entered Troy: „Marring his own body with cruel blows, [245] and flinging a wretched garment about his shoulders, in the fashion of a slave he entered the broad-wayed city of the foe” (*Od.*, 4,244-8). Later he demonstrated his acting skills on the Ithacan „stage”. As mentioned, in the world where Odysseus belonged it was believed that a visitor could be a god as „the gods in the guise of strangers from afar put on all manner of shapes, and visit the cities” (*Od.* 17, 483-7). The Best Actor Award would definitely go to Athena from the very instance she appeared in front of Odysseus’ palace disguised as Mentos, the leader of the Taphians (*Od.* I, 103-5) and afterwards, appeared as Mentor (*Od.*, I, 268). Athena is not only a great master of parody, but her role also consists in the protection of young Telemachus. She can turn into Nausicaa’s best friend (*Od.*, 6,22), acquire the form of various birds (*Od.*, I, 320; III, 371-372), be „Mentor’s voice” (*Od.*, XXIV,548), etc. Thus, *transformation* was considered to be a divine sign and a person endowed with such a faculty was regarded as select. Athena mentions this faculty of Odysseus: when Athena the herd listened to the story invented by Odysseus, she said: “Cunning must he be and knavish, who would go beyond thee in all manner of guile, aye, though it were a god that met thee” („καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσειε” – *Od.*, XIII, 292). Then Athena continues half-joking: („σκέτλιε, ποικιλομήτα, δόλων ἄτ’ – *Od.*, XIII, 293) „Bold man, crafty in counsel, insatiate in deceit, not even in thine own land, it seems, wast thou to cease from guile and deceitful tales, which thou lovest from the bottom of thine heart.” (XIII, 293-294). However, Athena admits Odysseus was fond of telling deceitful tales already as a child (from the bottom of thine heart): „λήξειν ἀπατῶν μύθων τε κλοπίων οἱ πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν” (*Od.*, XIII, 294-295). ἀπατῶ means „deceive”, „mislead” – thus Athena analyzed and most accurately designates one of Odysseus’ essential character traits – trickery, which enables him to transform into another person. Moreover, Athena does not

⁴ In particular gods settle him and Helen in the Elysian Fields. Menelaus is made immortal because of his being Zeus’ son-in-law. What Menelaus learnt on the earth prompted Odysseus to travel to Hades.

⁵ Lada-Richards I., *The Subjectivity of Greek Performance*, in *Greek & Roman Actors*, Cambridge University Press 2002, 411.

seem to be annoyed with this; just, the opposite, she continues with the following words: "... But come, let us no longer talk of this, being both well versed in craft, since thou art far the best of all men in counsel and in speech, and I among all the gods am famed for wisdom and craft" („εἰδότες ἄμφω κέρδε" - 296-297). „ἐπεὶ σὺ μὲν ἐσσι βροτῶν ὄχθῃ βέλτιστος ἀπάντων βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔν πάσι θεοῖσι μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν:" (Od., XIII, 297-299). Hence, Athena's appreciation of Odysseus' trickery, which he has had from an early age, is not negative (she regards it as a prank). Moreover, ἀπατάω acquires the sense of ingenuity and „giving excellent counsel various excellent pieces of advice". The dialogue reveals Athena's special fondness for Odysseus (as compared to other heroes), which exceeds her appreciation of other heroes - she and Odysseus are alike.

I share the opinion that tragedy could not allot a central place to Odysseus. However, this does not mean that he does not appear in tragedies. The 5th century BC tragedians present Odysseus as a person playing a special role in others' lives (*Ajax*, *Philoctetes*, *Iphigenia*, *Hecuba*, *Polixena*).⁶ He is an important character in three tragedies: Euripides' *Hecuba* and Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*. All the three plays highlight Odysseus' brilliant eloquence (he became the symbol of a skilled Sophist demagogue) and his ability to find ways to achieve his goal. His political instinct and talent is more foregrounded in the tragedies than in the *Odyssey*. He personifies a matter-of-fact, cold-blooded politician in a force majeure scenario. Odysseus as a character of tragedy invariably attests that the fittest survive and it is useless to go against a fact.

Among the reasons why Odysseus could not become the protagonist of a tragedy is that he is not the murderer of his family members, or a partaker in incest. He was allotted to die at an elderly age. Moreover, his pragmatism, self-discipline, unerring shrewdness and most of all, his never-failing success in all kinds of conflict did not comply with a plot necessary for a tragic drama where *fall* and *mistake* are indispensable.

In my opinion, for the very reason that prevented Odysseus from appearing as the protagonist of an ancient drama he became an acceptable and exemplary character for the following generations. The post-Homeric as well as modern writing abounds in „Odysseuses" - characters „endo-

⁶ Some believe that Odysseus's 'non-involvement' in tragedy (which developed under the aegis of Athens) can be explained by his not being an Athenian hero. Moreover, he supported the Peloponnesians in Troy. In the Classical period (5th century BC), Athens opposed Sparta of the Peloponnesians, waging a long war against it.

wed“ with one or a few qualities of Odysseus. These are the traits that can easily be recognized and identified with their prototype. Moreover, modern psychiatrists have observed that Odysseus is obsessed with psychosis. In the epic, the climax of this condition is believed to be the scene of slaughtering the suitors.

When considering Odysseus, Shay foregrounds the behaviour and the psychic state of a demobilized soldier. The main challenge for a warrior to overcome after the completion of warfare is his adjustment with peaceful life. Odysseus wrath was incurred by the very first city after Troy – Ismarus, the city of the Cicones. There were no motivations for destroying the city. It was undermined under the impact of the „destruction syndrome“, developed as a result of the ten-year warfare. Then follows the episode with the Lotophagi – ectacy with narcotics and alcohol, which likewise is a postwar syndrome.⁷ In the episode with the Cyclops, Odysseus himself provokes the danger: he enters the cave and makes fire. Then he boasts being Odysseus. Shay paid attention to the hero’s paranoid state after leaving the island of Aeolus: he does not sleep for nine days and nights (*Od.*, X, 50-51). When Odysseus heard that his men loosed the sack and let the winds go forth, he wanted to kill himself: war veterans are often prone to suicide.⁸ Calypso’s and Circe’s abuse of Odysseus can also be associated with veterans’ hard experience. Odysseus’ actions described in Book XIII is likewise interesting in terms of psychiatry: the hero is desoriented and cannot recognize Ithaca.⁹ When he meets a strange lad, who in fact is goddess Athena in a lad’s shape, Odysseus starts fabricating

⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁹ I will add that Odysseus returns from an irreal world by irreal means. Alcinoos asks Odysseus to say precisely where the ship is to take him “For the Phaeacians have no pilots, nor steering-oars such as other ships have, but their ships of themselves understand the *thoughts* and minds of men” (οὐ γὰρ Φαιήκεσσι κυβερνητῆρες ἔασιν, οὐδέ τι πηδάλι | ἐστὶ, τὰ τ’ ἄλλαι νῆες ἔχουσιν ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ἴσασι νοήματα καὶ φρένας ἀνδρῶν VIII, 557-559). They themselves can find “the cities and rich fields of all peoples” (VIII, 560). Alcinoos remembers his father’s, Nausithoos’ prophecy that Poseidon would become angry with them for taking everyone safely over the sea and “would one day wreck a Phaeacean ship ... and burry our city under a high mountain”. Odysseus, asleep aboard the Phaeacean ship, is described in the following way: [Ἀνδρὰ φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίχια μῆδε’ ἔχοντα, δὲ πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ’ ἄλγεα ὄν κατὰ θυμόν, ἀνδρῶν τε πολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων, δὴ τότε γ’ ἀπρέμας εἶδε, λελασμένος ὄσ’ ἐπεπόνθει (XIII, 89-92) (“one who was as cunning as the gods, but who was now sleeping peacefully, forgetful of all that he had suffered both on the field of battle and by the waves of the weary sea”).

lies. Before joining his son, father and wife, Odysseus is cold-blooded and callous. Then he again runs away.¹⁰

Odysseus has something that sets him apart from others, that makes him a hero of a new style. This is his intelligence, which distinguishes him from the unyielding and powerful but „simple“ warriors of the *Iliad*.¹¹ His wile and crafty intelligence („metis“) is encoded in his epithet „poly-metis“, which is partly associated with the inner side („the inner“), secret operations and darkness. According to C. J. Mackie, Odysseus closely resembles a modern superhero Batman¹² – he mainly employs his craftiness in the cave of Polyphemus, in the wooden horse, in Book X of the *Iliad*, *Dolonia*, while Achilles and Heracles always act in the daylight.¹³ We could also add that when washed up on the isand of the Phaeacians, Odysseus tells his adventures at night. It is likewise night when he relates an invented story to Eumaeus. Before slaughtering the suitors, he turns his home into an enclosed space and fights with his enemies standing on its threshold.

There are two more points that distinguishes Odysseus from others: one of these is *self-control*. Since Plato’s times, Socrates and Odysseus have frequently been compared on the grounds of strong self-control, characteristic of both. According to Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, Odysseus was not turned into Circe’s swine only owing to his self-restraint (2.6.10-12; 1.3.7). In Plato’s *Republic* (4.440e-441c) Socrates refers to Odysseus’ example to substantiate his idea that sound judgement and passion (rage) stem from different nooks of soul. He refers to an episode when Odysseus discovers that his maids sleep with suitors, but manages his emotions until an appropriate moment offers itself.

Odysseus’ second characteristic feature is expressed by his epithet “polytropos”. One of the meanings of the word is “able to turn his hand to many things” or “versatile.” This epithet resembles “polymetis” – “capable of many kinds of cunning”. Odysseus has many various faculties; he is a versatile person. He is an archetypal “man of the Revival” and may even feel quite at home in the 21st century. Odysseus is a gifted carpenter,

¹⁰ Shay J., *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming*, New York: Scribner 2002, 125.

¹¹ Frankel H., *Early Greek Poetry & Philosophy*, Translated by M. Hadas & J. Willis, New York: HBJ, 1962, 85-93.

¹² Odysseus attracted interest in popular culture. He combines the aspects of social and political myth (Hall E., 103).

¹³ Mackie C. J., *Men of Darkness*, in W. Haslem, C. J. Mackie and A. Ndalians, *Super/Heroes*, Washington, DC: New Academia 2006.

capable of building a raft in four days (*Od.*, V, 228-62). Once he even crafted a bed for Penelope and himself (*Od.*, 23, 184-204). He is an excellent navigator and can sail a ship by stars (*Od.*, V, 269-75). He is an expert in agriculture, fruit gardening and can overdo Eurymachus in ploughing (*Od.*, XXIV, 340-2; XVIII, 366-75). Along with these physical abilities, he has been given a nobleman's training: he is a fine athlete – a victorious wrestler (*Od.*, IV, 341-5), discus thrower (*Od.*, VIII, 186-98), lancer (*Od.*, VIII, 215-33), boxer (*Od.*, XVIII, 88-107) and an excellent swimmer.¹⁴

Odysseus is a modern type of man in terms of wealth accumulation as well. His is primarily concerned with the outcome. On the way back to Ithaca he acquires countless riches (the gifts of the Phaeaceans), which he cautiously hides in the cave of nymphs in Ithaca. Odysseus' "business activities" were commented upon by professors specializing in management.¹⁵ According to them, Odysseus is the archetype of management by objectives (MBO). Naturally, this is a strategic management technique. Especially remarkable is the Scylla and Charybdis episode, in which Odysseus can be credited with classical management skills: choosing the lesser of two evils, the one that would incur a smaller loss.¹⁶ The Scylla and Charybdis episode, which has already become classical, has been employed not only in fiction and figurative speech, but also in films (in the popular television series *Break Prison* the mentioned passage from the *Odyssey* is one of the puzzles that need to be solved). Every time Odysseus' men go ashore, they are exposed to danger.¹⁷ Eurycleia's accusations of Odysseus sound rebellious (*Od.* X, 431-7). In terms of companions' security, Odysseus is a poor leader. The death of his companions can be justified at the level of mythopoetic tradition: the warriors fallen at different times in different places are "surrogate sacrifices". They were to die at the time and in the place they did, so that Odysseus could be rescued. The will of gods is stern but this is the providence of the immortals. If we adopt a deeper insight and follow Vidal-Naquet, whose opinion is shared by other scholars, Odysseus

¹⁴ Hall E., 102.

¹⁵ Clemens J. K., Mayer D. F., *The Classic Touch: Lessons in Leadership from Homer to Hemingway*, Revised edition, Chicago, IL: Contemporary Books 1999, 18-30.

¹⁶ Hall E., 102.

¹⁷ He initiated a raid into the city of the Cicones (where he lost six men). He was boastful with the Cyclops. His eleven ships were destroyed by the Laestrygonians. Drunken Elpenor broke his neck as he fell from Circe's roof. Scylla devoured his other six men. He sent to Circe's island his twenty-two men led by Eurylochus, who returned and reported that all of his companions were turned into swines.

transcends into the other world from the land of the Cicones. This unreal place is a different spatial dimension, presumably the other world (or something of the kind). Not all return from it. Only Odysseus returns home, owing to his personal qualities and to Hermes the Psychopomp. He is twice helped by Hermes - in his escape from Circe and from Calypso.

Americans call an "American monomyth" a story of a devoted and honest hero who rescues society from evil all alone.¹⁸ The idea for this type of hero was first proposed by Joseph Campbell, who called it "the universal archetype of hero" or "the classical monomyth". The cornerstone of Campbell's concept is the initiation of a hero. Campbell's concept of hero, based on ancient religious practice, proved to be acceptable for Young, who called it the universal model of human soul. However, according to E. Hall, there is a difference between Campbell's "classical monomyth" and the American monomyth: modern story is oriented to redemption rather than initiation. According to this viewpoint, the pagan model of heroism was modified as the story of Judaistic and Christian redemption. A selfless hero with strong social consciousness, having denounced his own past sins and taken the moral path of righteousness, comes to the foreground. Odysseus tends to fit this very model.

¹⁸ Ibid., 153.

Giorgi Ugulava (Tbilisi)

IDEE DER UTOPIE IN ALTGRIECHISCHER LITERATUR UND IHRE MODERNEN REZEPTIONEN

Bildung einer idealen Gesellschaft ist auf jeder Entwicklungsstufe der Menschheit aktuell. Aber da keine von solchen Ideen oder die Bemühungen, sie zu verwirklichen, nie zur bestehenden Realität passten, sollte man alle diesen Ideen für Utopie halten. Obwohl der Begriff "Utopie" aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert stammt und mit dem Namen von Thomas Morus verbunden ist, gibt es auch in antiker Literatur eine Menge Konzeptionen zur Gestaltung der utopischen Macht und Gesellschaft. Die Feststellung des Zusammenhangs zwischen den in altgriechischer Literatur (vor allem in Kunstliteratur) dargestellten Konzeptionen und den utopischen Modellen zur Formierung der idealen Gesellschaft wird gerade unser Diskussionsobjekt sein.

Über das obengenannte Thema zu diskutieren, fangen wir mit Homer an. Bevor wir in der Epoche von Homer geschilderte ideale Gesellschaft von Phaiaken erörtern würden, beschreiben wir erst kurz die allgemeinen Kennzeichen, die für Utopie typisch sind. In seinem Werk "Sozialutopien der Antike" erwähnt R. Müller (9,18) von den Ursachen für die Bildung der Utopie: "Sozialutopie ist Ausdruck des Verlangens nach Veränderung bestehender Zustände im Leben der Gesellschaft". (9,21) "Nicht, wie man gemeint hat, eine unbestimmte Sehnsucht des Menschen nach dem verlorenen Paradies, der glauben an eine "gute alte Zeit", die Ehrfurcht vor der Vergangenheit als solcher waren es, die das Idealbild vom Goldenen Zeitalter heraufbeschwören, sondern das unmittelbare Erleben schwerer gesellschaftlicher Konflikte prägte die Gegenüberstellung von "goldener" Vergangenheit und "einsamer" Gegenwart."

In altgriechischer Literatur und Kultur begann es sehr früh, mythische Völker idealisiert zu werden. Nach der antiken Tradition lebten die

Libyener, Hyperboreer, Äthiopiener und die Einwohner der Insel am Westsee entfernt von zivilisierter Welt. Feste Verbindung mit Natur, gutes Klimat und hervorragende natürliche Bedingungen bestimmten ihr seliges Zusammenleben.

Bei der Beratung über die allgemeinen und Hauptmerkmale der idealen Gesellschaft sei es zu erwähnen, dass die ideale Gesellschaft normalerweise materiell gut versorgt ist; Es gibt keine Anzeichen, die die Ungleichheit nach den Sozialklassen und der Vermögenslage bezeugen. Ansonsten sagt es meistens das Privateigentum ab. Ein anderes Merkmal für die ideale Gesellschaft ist der Trieb zum Frieden, wenn, wie R. Müller bezeichnet (9,21), "Löwen und Schafe nebeneinander friedlich leben."

Moderne Utopien sehen die absolute Gleichberechtigung allerdings als Hauptgrund für die Bildung der idealen Gesellschaft an. Wegen der Gefahr des Terrorismus und der Atomkatastrophe wurde die Idee vom sogenannten "Worldpeace" – die Welt ohne Kriege, Waffen und irgendwelche Diskrimination am Ende 20.-21. Jahrhundert ziemlich populär.

Moderne Utopien können in ein paar verschiedenen Gruppen verteilt werden: Die Erste davon – ökologische Utopie, sieht die Umweltverschmutzung vom Menschen und schädliche Einwirkung auf die Natur als die wichtigste Gefahr an und forscht nach solcher Form, die dem Menschen, der mit der Natur in maximal harmonischem Verhältnis steht, ermöglicht, glücklich und unbesorgt zu leben (zu dieser Gruppe gehören der Novelist Jack Vance und der Philosoph Marius de Geus). Die zweite ist technologische Utopie, die im Gegensatz zu der ökologischen Utopie findet, dass der Mensch für sein Wohleben vor allem den technologischen Aufschwung zu erreichen hat (das Werk von Lain Bank – "die Kultur"). Ökonomische Utopien entwickeln hauptsächlich in zwei Richtungen: Die Erste – kapitalistisch, die jede Form des Privateigentums akzeptiert und um ideale materiell-ökonomische Bedingungen zu schaffen, freies Marktprinzip als das Mittel dafür hält. Die Zweite – sozial-kommunistische, die im Gegenteil jede Form des persönlichen Eigentums verneinet und im Rahmen von der Ablehnung der Ungleichheit bei der Vermögenslage, Verneinung der Geldscheine und Idee der Sammlung des materiellen Wohlhabens entwickelt. Das sind die Hauptmerkmale, die allgemein für antike und moderne Utopien typisch sind. Unten werden wir in altgriechischer Literatur dargestellte utopische Modelle schon detailliert im Einzelnen beurteilen und die mit den modernen Konzeptionen der Utopie vergleichen.

Der erste Autor, der das Modell der idealen Utopie beschreibt, ist Homer. In *Odysee* geschildertes Königreich von den Phaiaken nährt sich

mit dem Einrichtungsstil des Staates und der Konzeption der idealen Form und ähnelt mit dem Lebensstil und den Prinzipien den anderen Modellen des idealen Raums, wo die Menschen in ewiger Seligkeit leben.

Der Gott ist den Phaiaken wohl gemeint, ihre Stadt ist selbst von Hephaistos aufgebaut; Reichtum und hervorragende natürliche Bedingungen, die die Fruchtbarkeit und dementsprechend materielles Wohlhaben bestimmen zählen zu den meist notwendigen Wohnbedingungen. Das prächtige Schloss von Alkinoos, die Hafen und gut verarbeiteter Erdboden weist gerade auf diesen Reichtum hin. Das sind zugleich wesentliche Anzeichen für Zivilisation. Da Phaiaken gute Seeleute sind, ist in ihrem Staat der Handel auch stark entwickelt. Aber trotzdem gehören Händler zur Unterschicht im Vergleich mit den Kämpfern und der Leute, die die Waffen gut verwenden können.

Im Staat herrscht der König Alkinoos. In diesem Fall geht es um die Alleinherrschaft, was schon später von den Theoretikern der Staatseinrichtung (Aristoteles, Cicero) als die meist positive Form der Verwaltung bezeichnen, bzw. Die monopolische Verwaltung eines gutmütigen und weisen Mannes, dessen Volk glücklich und zufrieden ist. Homer betont mehrmals: "Alkinoos ist ein weiser König, gelobt von der Leute (*Od.*, VII, 10-11; 23)." Obwohl uns die Gutmütigkeit und Weisheit von Alkinoos nicht lässt, bei ihm in Verdacht kommen und Kritik an ihm üben, gibt es im Reich von Phaiaken das Prinzip der Machtverteilung und der Balancierung. 12 Könige walten über Phaiaken und der 13. König ist selbst Alkinoos, der noch höher steht, als die Anderen, aber trotzdem ist er meist der Erste unter den Gleichberechtigten als der absolute Alleinherrscher. Es sei zu erwähnen, dass im Reich der Phaiaken Feudalschicht existiert, die stimmenberechtigt sind und ohne sich mit ihnen zu besprechen und ihre Beratung in Betracht zu ziehen, trifft der König keine Entscheidung. Beim ersten Treffen mit dem Leser tagt der König gerade mit Adligen (*Od.*, VI, 55). Da diese Besprechung nicht einmalig ist, wird damit bestätigt, dass die Adligen im Königsschloss einen festen Platz besitzen (*Od.*, VII, 98) und obwohl der König Alkinoos dabei ist, wird die Bitte von Odysseus von dem ältesten Adligen unter Phaiaken, Echeneos beantwortet (*Od.*, VII, 155-159). Ansonsten will sich der Alkinoos für die Heimkehr von Odysseus ohne die Beratung mit Adligen nicht entscheiden (*Od.*, VII, 186-190). Und zwar, er fängt die Tagung nicht an, bevor sich nicht alle Adligen versammeln und ihre Plätze nehmen (*Od.*, VIII, 11; 24-26). Diese Episoden zeigen, dass die adlige Schicht und aus ihr formiertes Tagungsorgan systematisiert und institutionell sind, eine der wichtigsten

Regierungsstufen bildet, wodurch die Staatsregierung balanciert ist und Phaiaken gemeinsam regiert.

Das Prinzip der Herrschaftsteilung auf verschiedenen Stufen, die Existenz vom Monopolisten im Staat und die beeinflussende Schicht der Adligen, was die Voraussetzungen für die stabile und effective Regierung sind, halten sich für eines der Hauptprinzipien für die Staatseinrichtung, die für ein vollständiges Staatsmodell obligatorisch sind. Da dieses System bei Phaiaken bereits funktioniert, wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass diese Prinzipien schon in der Epoche von Homer idealisiert waren.

Die Situation, dass die Einwohner das Wasser im Hof des Königsschlusses füllen (*Od.*, VII, 130-131), weist darauf hin, dass es zwischen dem König und seinen Bürgern minimale Distanz gibt. Die werden zusammen in einem rechtlichen Raum beurteilt; selbst der König und sein Vermögen sind am Wohlstand des Volks orientiert. Diese Ansicht unterstützt der Dialog zwischen Odysseus und Nausikaa, wenn Nausikaa Odysseus alles verspricht, was zur Unterstützung der Armen dient (*Od.*, VI, 192-193). Wie sie sagt, funktioniert im Reich von Phaiaken ein gut organisiertes System für Sozialhilfe, was ein hohes Entwicklungsniveau vom Staat noch einmal bezeugt.

Allgemein für Phaiaken ist die hohe Qualität der Freiheit charakteristisch, was sich auf jedem Lebensstufe des Landes zeigt. Im Gegensatz zur patriarchalischen Gesellschaft von Achaiern, sind bei Phaiaken sowohl Männer, als auch Frauen gleichberechtigt. Arete – die Frau von Alkinoos ist besonders respektiert. Das ganze Volk folgt ihr und zwar sehr oft hat sie Konflikte zwischen Männern gelöst und bereinigt (*Od.*, VII,69-78). Nausikaa ist auch eine ziemlich unabhängige und mutige Person. Gleichberechtigung zwischen Männern und Frauen war für die egeische Gesellschaft in der Homerepoche eine absolute Innovation.

Eines der Hauptprinzipien zur Beurteilung der Phaiaken als ideale Gesellschaft ist ihr Verhältniss zur Kunst und zum Sport. Boxen, Laufen und andere Sportarten sind hier entwickelt (*Od.*, VIII, 100-104). Man singt und tanzt während des Festes (*Od.*, VIII, 245-255). Der Sänger Demodokos ist von allem geehrt (*Od.*, VIII, 472). Die hohe Entwicklung der Kunst und Kultur ist allerdings das Zeichen für die hohe Entwicklung des Staates und dieses Hochniveau ist eine der wichtigen Voraussetzungen zur Bildung einer idealen Gesellschaft.

Die "Welt" von Phaiaken liegt viel weitab vom menschlichen Raum. Dieses Faktum sollte zeigen, dass Homer, wie auch andere Theoretiker und Künstler, meint, dass eine ideale Gesellschaft nur theoretisch existiert.

Auf eine praktische Weise könnte solches System nicht funktionieren. Gerade deswegen ist dieses Modell als utopisch bezeichnet.

Mit dem Einrichtungsprinzip nähert sich der Staat von Phaiaken dem modernen wesentlichen Ideal, der die maximale Balancierung der Macht, hohe Qualität der Freiheit und Gleichberechtigung meint. Trotz alles könnte man die Konzeption von Phaiaken für die Staatseinrichtung für realistisch halten, denn die Gleichberechtigung in ihrer Gesellschaft ist keine Art der absoluten Gleichberechtigung, die ungerecht, unecht und zwar einigermaßen unerreichbar ist. Wegen der menschlichen Natur und Mentalität ist eine absolute Gleichberechtigung nicht zu erreichen. Das Modell von Phaiaken gilt für die Gleichberechtigung nach Ehre. Die Beziehungen zwischen Regierung und Bürgerschaft ist meist partnerschaftlich als despotisch.

Ein utopisches Modell zeichnet uns Hesiod – ein Dichter aus der Archaik Epoche. "Goldenes Jahrhundert" von Hesiod ist ein klassisches Bild der Utopie. Die Menschen vom "goldenen" Jahrhundert, die harmonisch mit Natur und Gott leben, sind mit allem versorgt und fühlen sich glücklich. Zwischen Menschen gibt es totale Gleichberechtigung aber trotzdem meint Hesiod, dass die Wiederkehr der goldenen Zeit unmöglich ist. R. Müller bemerkt (9,21): "Freilich glaubte Hesiod nicht an eine Wiederkehr des Goldenen Geschlechts." Für ihn ist das Goldene Jahrhundert verlorenes Paradies, das nicht mehr wiederkehrt. Daran ist vor allem der Mensch schuldig, der vom Gott Abstand nahm und nach menschlicher Entwicklungsrichtung ging. Es gibt noch ein viel realistischer Konzeption von Hesiod, die auch mit obengenannter Frage verbunden ist. Die bezieht sich auf zwei Prinzipien: Arbeit und Gerechtigkeit. Für Hesiod bedeutet Arbeit der Weg zur Vervollständigung und bringt Freude. Gerechtigkeit ist eine Hauptwaffe gegen soziale Ungleichheit. Die Motiven der Utopie sind auch in moderner Welt ständig. Heutzutage sind Gerechtigkeit und Arbeit, die auf gesellschaftliches Wohlwollen gerichtet sind, als Hauptkriterien zum Bau der idealen Gesellschaft anerkannt. Bestimmte Anzahl der Wissenschaftler sieht während technologischen Aufschwungs eine Gefahr vor dem maximalen Rückzug des Menschen vom Gott, was in erster Linie wichtige Bedrohung für die Erde ist. Diesbezüglich hält Hesiod den Verzicht auf technologische Fortschritte und den Drang zur Harmonie mit Natur als eine Voraussetzung für glückliche und unbesorgte Zukunft.

Noch ein antiker Autor, der eine utopische Gesellschaft beschreibt, ist Aristophanes. Er findet, dass der Anlass zur Bildung einer utopischen Gesellschaft die Unzufriedenheit mit existierender Realität ist. Euelpides (Aristophanes "die Vögel") gefällt das Leben in Athen nicht, weil man in

Athen Steuer und Strafen bezahlen, ständig auf Gerichtverhandlungen sind und gerade aus diesem Grund suchen sie nach einem ruhigen Wohnort. "Genau deswegen plant er, aus Athen wegzuziehen und zusammen mit den Vögeln zu leben. Euelpides sagt, dass ihm Aristokratie nicht gefällt. In der "Weibervolksversammlung" ist für Praxagora die Unzufriedenheit mit bestehendem Zustand das Hauptmotiv für die Formierung einer neuen Staatseinrichtung. Praxagora bemerkt, dass "die Stadt von unwürdigen Personen regiert wird, " "die Staatsregierung wird sinnlos durchgeführt"; " Staatsbeamten beräuben das Volk, keine erinnert sich an gesellschaftlichen Wohlstand und kümmert sich nur um sich selber". Es funktionier kein Rechtssystem: "In der Stadt sind Vorräter und angebliche Zeugen und sie ist voll von Hungrigen, Nackten, Auseinandersetzungen, Neid und Gewalt". In 1570-ster Zeile jauchzt Poseidon: "Demokratie, wohin willst du uns?!" In 685-690-en Zeilen bezeichnet Koryphäe die Menschheit als ein "ehrloser" und "armer" Volksstamm.

In beiden Komödien versuchen die handelnden Figuren von Aristophanes aus der schweren Situation einen Ausweg zu finden. In "die Vögel" bemühen sich Euelpides und Peithetairos unter Vögeln einen alternativen Raum zu schaffen. Hiermit werden Vögel als oberste Lebewesen der Welt gepriesen. Euelpides meint, dass sie die Welt besser steuern, als Menschen. "Weibervolksversammlung" _beschreibt Aristophanes ausführlich neue Gesellschafts- und Staatsordnung. Mit der Leitung von Praxagora beabsichtigen die Frauen, die an der Spitze der Stadtverwaltung sind, im Rahmen des Verzichts auf die Privateigentumsformen (inkl. Annulierung des Geldscheins, und die Existenz gemeinsames Ehefrauen und Kinder), gemeinschaftliches Eigentum an Grund und Boden einzuführen und tatsächlich, kraft der Stiftung absoluten Kommunismus, eine Form der Stadtverwaltung zu gestalten, die fürs Wohlleben der Einwohner sorgt. Für Praxagora bedeutet Privateigentum der Hauptgrund fürs Unrecht, Gewalt und andere Unannehmlichkeiten. Am Ende der Komödie überzeugt und das von Praxagora gestaltete Bild, das bis zum Nonsens der Staatsordnung erreicht hat und auf dem einen Erwischungsversuch eines Mannes von Frauen dargestellt ist, dass Aristophanes mit seinem üblichen satirischen Schreibstil sowohl die athenische Demokratie, als auch wegen der Verneinung des Privateigentums formierten Kommunismus. R. Gordesiani bemerkt: "Heutzutage, wenn die Menschheit kraft der praktischen Durchführung der kommunistischen Idealen wichtige Erfahrungen gesammelt hat und zwar dafür ziemlich scharfe Muster bekommen hat, könnte man nicht umhin, sich über die geniale Einsicht über die kommunistische Organisation des Le-

bens einer Gesellschaft zu wundern, die in der Komödie von Aristophanes geschildert ist.“ Und noch ein Zitat von R. Gordesiani: “Und “die Vögel” beabsichtigt, utopische Neigungen von Athener, die wegen der Kriege, anstrengender politischen Atmosphäre und sozialer Instabilität “erschöpft” sind, bis zum Nonsens zu erweitern.”

Die Tendenz der Neigung zur Flucht vor anstrengendem Alltagsleben ist in der letzten Zeit ziemlich aktuell geworden. Ständiger Zeitdruck, alltäglicher Stress und übertriebene Konkurrenz führen zum Trieb nach Einsamkeit. Solche Willen werden auch in der modernen Kinematographie dargestellt (z. B. der Spielfilm “Into the wild”).

Während der Krise des Systems von griechischen Polisen hat der größte Philosoph dieser Epoche – Platon an Forschung nach neuen Wegen teilgenommen. Wenn Aristophanes mit seiner üblichen Ironie sowohl bestehende Realität, als auch ihre Kampfmethoden kritisiert, beabsichtigt Platon durch eine Reformation der Gesellschaft glückliche Zukunft zu erreichen. Auch in diesem Fall wurde die Unzufriedenheit mit vorhandene Wirklichkeit die Ursache für Entstehung einer utopischen Konzeption. Nachdem Platon alle bekannten Systeme für die Staatseinrichtung zur Begutachtung vorlegt, schliesst er, dass keines von diesen Systemen ideal und langfristig ist. Er schafft ein innovatives Modell, zu dem durch die Ablehnung jeder Form des persönlichen Eigentums und die Öffentlichkeit jeder materiellen Größe die Bildung eines seligen und harmonischen Zusammenlebens als Grund liegt.

Bekanntlich besteht das Staatsmodell von Platon aus drei Sozialgruppen: Lenker-Philosophen, Wächter und Arbeiter. Nach seiner Meinung, ist es für den Staatswohlstand nötig, dass entweder die Philosophen an die Spitze der Regierung kommen, oder selbst die Verwalter Philosophen werden, den für jeden Menschen, der würdig sein will, ist es sehr wichtig, dass er die Wahrheit respektiert.

Tatsächlich spielen die Lenker-Philosophen im Staat von Platon bei der Beschlussfassung (Kriegeserklärung, Waffenstillstand, Erziehung der Bürger und s. w.) und Legislative eine wichtige Rolle. Die Wächter sind als ausführendes Organ bevollmächtigt. Sie durchführen die Entscheidungen von Leitern, schützen den Staat vor dem Aussenfeind und innerlichen Verwirrungen. Bei Wohnverhältnissen werden sie von anderen Bürgern gefördert. Wächter besitzen überhaupt kein persönliches Eigentum und werden mit Nahrung und Wohnort von der Regierung versorgt. Als Wächter werden körperlich gut gebaute Kinder gewählt, die von Geburt an von ihren Eltern getrennt werden und sich mit anderen Gleichaltrigen auf Staatskosten mit ständiger Militärgymnastik beschäftigen. Ein nicht

ganz besonderes Alltagsleben, ständige Gymnastik und Verzicht auf alles sind Garantien für ihre Erziehung als beste Kämpfer.

Platon verneint jede Form des Privateigentums, mit Ehefrauen und Kinder eingerechnet, denn in seinem Staat sind sowohl Frauen, als auch Kinder gemeinschaftlich für alle Bewohner.

Eine Frage, die in der liberal-demokratischen Gesellschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts nicht unterstützt werden darf, ist ewige Kontrolle vom Staat bei jedem Aspekt des gesellschaftlichen Lebens. Der Staat von Platon ist absolute totalitär. Das heist, dass die Staatsregierung alle Informationen über Staatsbürgerschaft von Grund auf kontrolliert. Die Bürger dürfen keine Informationen einholen, die durch literarische oder künstlerische Quellen geliefert werden und für Staatsideologie unakzeptabel sind.

Es gibt sehr viele Beispiele für die Gesellschaftsbildung durch gewalttätige Massnahmen. Sowjetunion, faschistisches Deutschland, das Kuba von Fidel Castro überzeugen uns vom Misserfolg solcher regierungsmethoden.

In "Weibervolksversammlung" von Aristophanes und in "die Republik" von Platon dargestellte utopische Modelle wurden von der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts mit einigen bestimmten Transformationen besonders aktuell. Sowohl in Griechenland, als auch in der modernen Welt wurden die sozialistischen Ideen auf dem Boden der Kriege, des Unheils und der sozialen Ungleichheit entstanden. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts ist die Idee der Bildung eines gemeinsamen staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Wohlhabens mit hohen Massstaben besonders populär geworden. Obwohl die Sowjetunion unerfolgreich funktioniert hat, wirken auf der kommunistischen Ideologie gegründete utopische Konzeptionen noch weiter. Im Rahmen der Staatseinrichtung entwickelten sich eine Menge Staaten im Bereich von Ausbildung, Medizin und Sozialschutz mit einer sozialistischen Form weiter.

Schliesslich kann man anlässlich vier beurteilter Utopien aus der altgriechischen Literatur als Konsequenz ziehen, dass die modernen Utopien mit den antiken Modellen wesentlich und konzeptabel eng "verwandt" sind. Ein einziger Unterschied ist damit verbunden, dass heutzutage, in der Epoche des technischen Aufschwungs, sind die Baumittel einer idealen Gesellschaft meistens auf technologischen Innovationen und fantastischen Entdeckungen bezogen. Ansonsten beeindruckt uns die liberalen Phaiaken, relativ konservative und in dem herkömmlichen Modell des "Goldenen Jahrhunderts" "Goldene Generation" von Hesiod bis zum Nonsens erreichte "die Vögel" von Aristophanes und auch sein

Werk "Die Weibervolksversammlung," kurze Bagutachtung der totalitären Gesellschaft von Platon, dass die utopischen Konzeptionen zur Staatseinrichtung in altgriechischen Literatur mit hohen Maßstäben geschildert waren.

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Εμμανουήλ Βαρβούνης (Κομοτηνή)

**Η ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΛΑΪΚΗ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΣ
ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΗΣ: ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ ΣΤΗ
ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ**

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζονται οι επιδράσεις που δέχθηκαν οι επιμέρους μορφές της ελληνικής λαϊκής λατρείας, τόσο από την Ανατολή, όσο και από τη Δύση. Η εξέταση γίνεται σε δύο επίπεδα: στα σχετικά με τα έθιμα που περιβάλλουν και προσδιορίζουν την εκκλησιαστική λατρεία, όπως μορφές τελετουργικών στοιχείων που έχουν συμπεριληφθεί στις λατρευτικές τελετουργίες, αλλά και στα σχετιζόμενα με λαϊκά δρώμενα, τα οποία απαντούν σε διάφορους λαούς, με ποικίλες συγγενικές μεταξύ τους μορφές, όπως για παράδειγμα τα λαϊκά δρώμενα που περιλαμβάνουν μιμικές παραστάσεις του αρχετυπικού ζεύγους θάνατος - ανάσταση. Με βάση συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα, που προέρχονται τόσο από επιτόπια όσο και από βιβλιογραφική έρευνα, προκύπτει ότι ορισμένα από τα κοινά αυτά στοιχεία προέρχονται από αρχαίες, προχριστιανικές λατρείες της Ανατολής (1), άλλα οφείλονται σε δυτικές επιδράσεις, λόγω της λατινοκρατίας πολλών περιοχών του ελληνικού χώρου και κάποια αποτελούν αρχετυπικά στοιχεία του λαϊκού πολιτισμού, που αν και εκ πρώτης όψεως φαίνεται ότι οφείλονται σε πολιτισμικές επιβιώσεις, ουσιαστικά προέρχονται από μορφές που επιχωριάζουν διαχρονικά σε τοπικά πολιτισμικά συστήματα, χωρίς να συνιστούν περιπτώσεις ευθείας προέλευσης ή καταγωγής από το παρελθόν (2). Πρόκειται για τη διερεύνηση διαδικασιών πολιτισμικού διαλόγου στο πεδίο της θρησκευτικής λαογραφίας, που ουσιαστικά διαμορφώνουν την ουσία και τις εκδηλώσεις των λαϊκών πολιτισμών στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης.

Όσον αφορά το πρώτο από τα επίπεδα διερεύνησης του θέματος που διακρίθηκαν παραπάνω, είναι γνωστό ότι ο χριστιανισμός και η ορθοδοξία ενσωμάτωσαν μια σειρά από προχριστιανικά στοιχεία, τα οποία με το πέρασμα των αιώνων εντάχθηκαν ομαλά στις αντίστοιχες μορφές της λατρείας, εκκλησιαστικής και λαϊκής. Τα στοιχεία αυτά, που κατά καιρούς Οικουμενικές και Τοπικές Σύνοδοι, αλλά και Πατέρες της Εκκλησίας προσπάθησαν να εξοβελίσουν και να αντικαταστήσουν με άλλα, τελικά, στη συντριπτική πλειονοψηφία τους, ενσωματώθηκαν στην χριστιανική λαϊκή λατρεία και μεταστοιχειώθηκαν, πήραν δηλαδή προσωρινό χριστιανικό περιεχόμενο (3). Η ενσωμάτωση των μορφών, των ιδεών, των αντιλήψεων και των τελετουργικών πρακτικών που τις συναποτελούν στο σώμα της χριστιανικής λαϊκής λατρείας, συνιστά μια εξόχως ενδιαφέρουσα περίπτωση πολιτισμικού διαλόγου: για παράδειγμα, οι πανάρχαιες αντιλήψεις για τον θνήσκοντα και αναστημένο νέο θεό, αποτέλεσμα της φυσικής παρατήρησης της πορείας των δημητριακών από τη σπορά = θάνατο στην βλάστηση = ανάσταση (4), στον χριστιανισμό απέκτησαν ένα νέο σωτηριώδες περιεχόμενο, που πραγματικά άλλαξε την πορεία της ανθρώπινης ιστορίας.

Γύρω από τις ιδέες αυτές περιστρέφεται ένα μεγάλο μέρος των λαϊκών θρησκευτικών τελετουργιών όλων των ορθόδοξων λαών της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης, που πραγματικά προσδιορίζουν την λαϊκή λατρεία τους. Από τον ίδιο μάλιστα κύκλο της αγροτικής λατρείας, οι ρίζες του οποίου μπορούν να εντοπιστούν στις απαρχές της ενασχόλησης του ανθρώπου με την τροφοπαραγωγική διαδικασία, άρα και στην αυγή του ανθρώπινου πολιτισμού, υπάρχουν πολλές μορφές που και σήμερα βρίσκονται εν χρήσει, όπως για παράδειγμα πολλά λαϊκά δρώμενα, οι απαρχές (5), οι αποδιδόμενοι θρησκευτικοί συμβολισμοί σε βασικά είδη διατροφής (6), ακόμη και οι άνθινοι στολισμοί (7), με τη μαγικοθρησκευτική σημασία τους. Σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις λαϊκών δρωμένων που εντάσσονται στο σώμα της λαϊκής λατρείας, που εγγράφονται δηλαδή στον εθιολογικό κύκλο και συνδέονται με την εορτή κάποιου αγίου ή με τον εορτασμό σημαντικών θρησκευτικών γεγονότων, ενυπάρχουν οι ίδιες ρίζες και παρόμοιες καταβολές. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα, εν προκειμένω, αποτελούν οι πασχαλινές λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες, οι περιφορές των αναστάσεων, οι αγιασμοί και οι τελετουργικοί χοροί, δια των οποίων επιδιώκεται ο καθαγιασμός της φύσης (8). Σε όλες αυτές τις τελετουργικές μορφές ενυπάρχουν φυτολατρικά και φυσιολατρικά στοιχεία με πανάρχαια καταγωγή, που ενσωματώθηκαν γόνιμα στις εκφράσεις της λαϊκής θρησκευτικότητας,

αποτελώντας χαρακτηριστικό δείγμα πολιτισμικού διαλόγου, στο επίπεδο της παραδοσιακής θρησκευτικής συμπεριφοράς του λαού.

Το ίδιο μπορεί να παρατηρηθεί και για τις περιπτώσεις κατά τις οποίες συναντούμε ψήγματα στοιχειολατρίας, δεδνδρολατρίας ή πυρολατρίας στα λαϊκά θρησκευτικά έθιμα. Οι εθιμικές πυρές, για παράδειγμα, και το τελετουργικό άναμμά τους σε εορτές αγίων (π. χ. στις 23-24 Ιουνίου κατά την εορτή του Γενεσίου του Τιμίου Προδρόμου, στις 20 Ιουλίου κατά την εορτή του προφήτη Ηλία κ. λπ.) ή σε μεγάλους εορτολογικούς σταθμούς (Χριστούγεννα, Θεοφάνεια, Πάσχα κ. λπ.) (9), αποτελούν εξ Ανατολών προερχόμενα αρχαία λατρευτικά δεδομένα, που ήρθαν σε γόνιμο πολιτισμικό διάλογο με την επίσημη χριστιανική θρησκεία – διάλογο που δεν αποκλείει και την ύπαρξη βιαιοτήτων, όπως φαίνεται από την σφοδρότητα των τιμωριών για τους παραβάτες των σχετικών εκκλησιαστικών απαγορεύσεων, που προκύπτουν από τις ανάλογες συνοδικές αποφάσεις – και τελικά ενσωματώθηκαν στο σκέλος της λαϊκής ορθόδοξης λατρίας, με την ανοχή της ποιμαίνουσας Εκκλησίας και παρά τις επίσημες αντιθέσεις και αντιδράσεις της (10).

Αν αυτά τα προχριστιανικά επιβιώματα της λαϊκής λατρίας ήρθαν κυρίως από την Ανατολή, μια σειρά από άλλα τελετουργικά στοιχεία προέρχονται από την χριστιανική Δύση, από τους Λατίνους της Ρωμαιοκαθολικής Εκκλησίας, που λόγω των ιστορικών συγκυριών, από τον 13^ο αι. και μετά, κυριάρχησαν σε πολλές περιοχές με σχεδόν αμιγώς ορθόδοξο ελληνικό πληθυσμό. Όπως ήταν φυσικό, οι θρησκευτικές τελετές των Λατίνων, που ήταν επίσης χριστιανοί και μάλιστα ακολουθούσαν λειτουργικό τυπικό με πολλές εξωτερικές και τυπικές ομοιότητες προς το αντίστοιχο ορθόδοξο, επηρέασαν και τους Ορθοδόξους, με αποτέλεσμα σταδιακά ορισμένα τελετουργικά στοιχεία να ενσωματωθούν και στο ορθόδοξο τελετουργικό, εκκλησιαστικό και λαϊκό. Χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα αποτελούν η βαθμιαία επικράτηση της περιφοράς και της προσκύνησης ολόκληρου του Σταυρού με την παράσταση του Εσταυρωμένου Ιησού κατά την Ακολουθία των Παθών, το βράδυ της Μεγάλης Πέμπτης, αντί της εικόνας της Σταυρώσεως, κατά την αρχαία ορθόδοξη συνήθεια (11), αλλά και η πρόθεση της χρυσοκέντητης παράστασης του Επιταφίου Θρήνου όχι σε τραπέζι, στο κέντρο του ναού, κατά την παλαιότερη παράδοση που κατά κανόνα τηρείται σήμερα στα παραδοσιακότερα ορθόδοξα μοναστήρια, αλλά σε ανθοστόλιστο κουβούκλιο στο κέντρο του ναού (12). Μάλιστα, βαθμιαία και κατά λατινική επίδραση, επικράτησε η συνήθεια το βράδυ της Μεγάλης Παρασκευής να λιτανεύεται έξω από το ναό όχι ο χρυσοκέντητος επιτάφιος, αλλά το κουβούκλιο ολόκληρο, ο γνωστός μας «Επιτάφιος»

κάτω μάλιστα από τον οποίο συνήθως περνούν οι πιστοί εισερχόμενοι στο ναό μετά το τέλος της λιτανείας, για να πάρουν τελετουργικά την ευλογία του (13).

Πρόκειται για στοιχεία δυτικής προέλευσης, που ήρθαν στην πράξη σε διάλογο με την ορθόδοξη λαϊκή λατρεία, και ενσωματώθηκαν σε αυτήν, προσαρμοζόμενα στο ορθόδοξο λειτουργικό τυπικό, και αποτελώντας μερικά από τα πλέον κοσμαγάπητα έθιμα της παραδοσιακής θρησκευτικότητας του λαού μας. Ακόμη και κατά τις εορτές κατά τις οποίες η Εκκλησία προβάλλει προς προσκύνηση τον Τιμιο Σταυρό, δηλαδή κατά την εορτή της Υψώσεως του Τιμίου Σταυρού (14 Σεπτεμβρίου) και κατά την Κυριακή της Σταυροπροσκυνήσεως (Γ' Κυριακή των Νηστειών), η έκθεση προς προσκύνηση όχι μόνο του σταυρού αγιασμού σε δίσκο με λουλούδια, όπως ορίζει το σχετικό ορθόδοξο τυπικό (14), αλλά και του μεγάλου ξύλινου σταυρού της αγίας τράπεζας, χωρίς την παράσταση του Εσταυρωμένου, όπως γίνεται σε όλο και περισσότερους ορθόδοξους ναούς, δυτική προέλευση έχει, και υπάγεται στη γενικότερη αρχή της προσπάθειας δημιουργίας προσκυνημάτων, που παρατηρείται στη σύγχρονη και νεωτερική λαϊκή θρησκευτικότητά μας. Στην ίδια κατηγορία μπορούν επίσης να ενταχθούν η διατήρηση του κουβουκλίου του Επιταφίου μέσα στο ναό, στολισμένου με τα λουλούδια του που ξεραίνονται σιγά-σιγά και με μια εικόνα της Αναστάσεως του Χριστού στο εσωτερικό του, αλλά και του στολισμένου με άνθη μεγάλου ξύλινου σταυρού, και πάλι χωρίς την παράσταση του Εσταυρωμένου, μέσα στον κυρίως ναό προς προσκύνηση από τους πιστούς ως και την εορτή της Αναλήψεως, σαράντα μέρες μετά το Πάσχα (15), οπότε και εορτάζεται εκκλησιαστικώς η απόδοση της εορτής του Πάσχα, που και πάλι συνηθίζεται σε ολοένα και περισσότερες ενορίες.

Στις περιπτώσεις που προαναφέρθηκαν, ο πολιτισμικός διάλογος συνίσταται στην αποδοχή και πρόσληψη των τελετουργικών αυτών στοιχείων, και οι επιδράσεις έμειναν μόνο στο επίπεδο της τελετουργίας, χωρίς να προχωρήσουν σε ζητήματα πίστης ή δογμάτων. Άλλωστε, το ίδιο συνέβη και με τους Ρωμαιοκαθολικούς της Ελλάδας, κυρίως στις Κυκλάδες και στην Κέρκυρα, οι οποίοι επίσης υιοθέτησαν ορθόδοξες τελετουργικές μορφές – ας μην ξεχνούμε ότι εορτάζουν το Πάσχα μαζί με τους ορθόδοξους, κατά παρέκκλιση και με ειδική παπική απόφαση – τις οποίες και ενσωμάτωσαν στην λαϊκή λατρεία τους, όπως η χρήση χρυσοκέντητων λαβάρων, οι πασχαλινές λιτανείες κ. λπ., χωρίς αυτό να σημαίνει και επιδράσεις στην ουσία και στον δογματικό πυρήνα της πίστης.

Τέλος, υπάρχει και μία ακόμη μορφή αξιοπρόσεκτων πολιτισμικών διαλόγων στο επίπεδο της λαϊκής λατρείας και της παραδοσιακής

θηρσκευτικῆς συμπεριφορᾶς, ποὺ ἀφορᾶ ὄχι ὁμοθρήσκους ἀλλὰ ετεροθρήσκους. Αναφέρομαι στὸ γνωστὸ, καὶ ἐν μέρει μελετημένο ἀπὸ τὴν σχετικὴ ἐθνολογικὴ, λαογραφικὴ καὶ θρησκευτολογικὴ βιβλιογραφία, φαινόμενο τῶν ἐπιδράσεων ὀρθόδοξων χριστιανικῶν τελετουργικῶν μορφῶν στὴ λαϊκὴ λατρεία τῶν συνοίκων μουσουλμάνων, στὰ Βαλκάνια, τὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία καὶ τὴν ἐυρύτερη περιοχὴ τῆς Νοτιοανατολικῆς Εὐρώπης (16). Σὲ μιὰ σειρὰ καταγραφῶν καὶ πρωτογενῶν μαρτυριῶν ποὺ διαθέτουμε, κυρίως ἀπὸ τὸν 19^ο καὶ τὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 20^{οῦ} αἰ., στὶς ὁποῖες ὁμως ἀποτυπώνονται σαφῶς παλαιότερα λατρευτικὰ μορφώματα, διαπιστώνουμε ὅτι ἀποτελοῦσε κοινὴ πρακτικὴ, σὲ περιοχὲς ὅπου τὸ ὀρθόδοξο χριστιανικὸ καὶ τὸ μουσουλμανικὸ στοιχεῖο συνυπήρχαν, οἱ μουσουλμάνοι νὰ συμμετέχουν μερικῶς σὲ μορφές τῆς ὀρθόδοξης λαϊκῆς λατρείας, νὰ παίρνουν μέρος σὲ πανηγύρια καὶ λιτανεῖες, νὰ μεταλαμβάνουν ἀπὸ τὰ αγιάσματα καὶ νὰ κάνουν τάματα καὶ αφιερώματα σὲ θαυματουργοὺς ἀγίους, λείψανα καὶ εἰκονίσματα τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων (17).

Ἀκόμη καὶ κοινούς τόπους λατρείας ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινούς ἀγίους εἶχαν καὶ τιμοῦσαν. Χαρακτηριστικὴ εἶναι ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ νέου στὴ Δρυμιά τῆς Ξάνθης (18), ποὺ ταυτοχρόνως εἶχε καὶ τὴ χρῆση τεκέ ἀπὸ τοὺς μπεκτασήδες μουσουλμάνους τῆς περιοχῆς. Χαρακτηριστικὴ εἶναι ἐπίσης ἡ ἀνάλογη περίπτωση τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Μάμα, στὴ Μαμασό τῆς Καππαδοκίας, ποὺ ἦταν ταυτοχρόνως καὶ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ὀρθόδοξος ναὸς καὶ μουσουλμανικὸ τέμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ὁποῖου τὰ λείψανα οἱ μουσουλμάνοι δὲν ἐπέτρεψαν νὰ ἐκπατριστοῦν ὡς ἀνταλλάξιμα θρησκευτικὰ ἀντικείμενα κατὰ τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴ πληθυσμῶν τοῦ 1923-1924, με τὴν δικαιολογία ὅτι ἦταν καὶ δικὸς τοῦς ἀγίος (19).

Στὶς περιπτώσεις αὐτές, ποὺ ἐκ πρώτης ὄψεως φαίνονται παράλογες, ἀλλὰ ποὺ ἔχουν καταγραφεῖ ἤδη ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχές τῆς ἰσλαμικῆς ἐπέκτασης καὶ κυριαρχίας στὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία, κατὰ τὰ βυζαντινὰ χρόνια, συνέβαλε βεβαίως ἡ ὑπαρξὴ κρυπτοχριστιανῶν, ποὺ ἀκόμη ὑπάρχουν στὴν Τουρκία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θρησκευτικὸς συγκρητισμὸς μεταξὺ ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ ἰσλάμ ποὺ προωθήθηκε καὶ ἀπὸ τὴ σουλτανικὴ ἐξουσία, ἀιχμὴ τοῦ δόρατος τοῦ ὁποῖου υπῆρξε ὁ μπεκτασισμός καὶ ἡ δράση τοῦ τάγματος τῶν μπεκτασιδῶν στὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία καὶ στὰ Βαλκάνια (20). Μέσω τῶν συγκρητικῶν αὐτῶν θρησκευτικῶν μορφῶν, ὅπως ἀκριβῶς ἐγίνε καὶ ἀπὸ τὴ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία με τὴν ὁργάνωση καὶ υποστήριξη τῶν Λατίνων Οὐνιτῶν, τῶν αυτοαποκαλουμένων «Ἑλληνορθόμων», ἐπιχειρήθηκε ὁ προσηλυτισμὸς στὰ ἄλλα δόγματα καὶ ξένες θρησκείες τῶν Ρωμιῶν, τῶν Ἑλληνορθόδοξων δηλαδὴ πληθυσμῶν τῆς περιοχῆς, με ἀποτελέσματα ὡστόσο πενιχρά, ὥστε ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία ὄχι μόνον νὰ διατηρηθεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ ἀποτελέσει βασικὸ συστατικὸ τῆς πολιτισμικῆς

και εθνικής ταυτότητας των αντιστοιχών πληθυσμών της περιοχής, μέχρι και την εποχή της επίδρασης των εθνικισμών, των επαναστάσεων και της δημιουργίας των εθνικών κρατών, κατά τον 19^ο και το α' μισό του 20^{ου} αι., αλλά και εν μέρει μέχρι και τις μέρες μας (21).

Από τα παραπάνω συνάγεται ότι στην περίπτωση των εθίμων της λαϊκής λατρείας, ο πολιτισμικός διάλογος υπήρξε το όχημα, δια του οποίου εξυμνητήθηκαν και πραγματώθηκαν πολιτικοί, θρησκευτικοί και άλλοι σχεδιασμοί, αλλά και δια του οποίου συνεχίστηκε ο αέναος διάλογος μεταξύ παλαιού και νέου, αρχαίων και νεότερων θρησκειών, στον ευρύτερο χώρο της ανατολικής λεκάνης της Μεσογείου. Ένας διάλογος που έλαβε πρακτικό περιεχόμενο και αναλύθηκε σε πλήθος τελετουργικών μορφών, η εξέταση των οποίων μας δείχνει σήμερα το υπόστρωμα των δεδομένων που συναποτελούν την ελληνική λαϊκή θρησκευτική παράδοση, κυρίως στο τελεστικό και τελετουργικό σκέλος της.

Σχετικά με το δεύτερο επίπεδο διερεύνησης του ζητήματος, το οποίο αφορά τα θρησκευτικά λαϊκά δρώμενα και τις αντίστοιχες τελετουργίες, ενδεικτικό είναι το παράδειγμα των αποκριάτικων εθίμων που τελούνται στον ελληνικό λαϊκό πολιτισμό: Ανοιξιάτικη, ως προς τον χρονικό προσδιορισμό της, είναι πάντοτε και η Αποκριά, η πολυσημάντη αυτή περίοδος, που μεσολαβεί ανάμεσα στο Δωδεκάημερο και στην Μεγάλη Τεσσαρακοστή. Παρά τις σχετικές αυστηρές εκκλησιαστικές απαγορεύσεις, ο λαός δεν εκλαμβάνει την Αποκριά ως περίοδο πνευματικής προετοιμασίας για τη νηστεία που ακολουθεί, αλλά την θεωρεί χρόνο γλεντιού και ξενοιασιάς, αλλά και διαβατήρια περίοδο, κατά την οποία μπορεί συμβολικά να επηρεάσει την ερχόμενη και προσδοκόμενη εαρινή βλάστηση και καρποφορία (22). Για τον λόγο αυτό, τα έθιμα και τα δρώμενα αυτής της αποκριάτικης περιόδου έχουν έναν σαφή ερωτικό χαρακτήρα, καθώς ο λαϊκός άνθρωπος πίστευε ότι αναπαριστώντας συμβολικά, με λόγια ή πράξεις, τη γενετήσια διαδικασία μπορούσε να επιδράσει θετικά πάνω στη γονιμότητα της φύσης στο σύνολό της.

Φυσικά, με την πάροδο των χρόνων οι αντιλήψεις αυτές άλλαξαν, με συνέπεια τα ερωτικά αποκριάτικα δρώμενα να προσλάβουν τον χαρακτήρα μοητικών τελετουργιών για τα νεότερα μέλη της κοινότητας, και κατόπιν να εκπέσουν σε απλές σατιρικές παραστάσεις, στο βάθος ωστόσο των οποίων διακρίνονται οι παλαιοί ισχυροί συμβολισμοί. Για τους λόγους αυτούς, τα λαϊκά δρώμενα της Αποκριάς έχουν ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα, συχνά δε προβάλλουν το ιδεολόγημα ενός «ανάποδου» ή «ανεστραμμένου» κόσμου, στον οποίο οι αξίες και οι κανόνες έχουν αντιστραφεί, δίνοντας στον άνθρωπο την δυνατότητα να βγει, για συγκεκριμένο χρονικό διάστημα (23), έξω από τους κανόνες της

καθημερινής ζωής. Η διαδικασία αυτή λειτουργεί ως μηχανισμός εκτόνωσης, και στο πλαίσιο αυτό πρέπει να θεωρηθούν και τα αποκριάτικα δρώμενα της Θράκης, για τα οποία θα γίνει λόγος στη συνέχεια.

Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποκριάτικης πομπής έχουμε από πληροφορίες και καταγραφές για τον λαϊκό πολιτισμό στο Σαμοκόβι της Ανατολικής Θράκης (24). Με βάση τα παραπάνω, στο Σαμοκόβι της Ανατολικής Θράκης απαντούν τόσο οι ζωόμορφες και οι θηριόμορφες μεταμφιέσεις, όσο και το άσεμνο και βωμολοχικό στοιχείο (25), συνδυασμένο με την γονιμική παράσταση του γάμου, στον οποίο τελικά ένας από τους νεονύμφους πεθαίνει, για να αναστηθεί από τον γιατρό. Και είναι ακριβώς στην ανάσταση αυτή, που βρίσκεται το αρχέτυπο της ποθούμενης «ανάστασης» του σταριού από τον χωμάτινο «τάφο» του, όπου το εγκλώβισε η φθινοπωρινή σπορά, για να αποδώσει τη σπορά που θα θρέψει την κοινότητα για έναν ακόμη χρόνο (26).

Στο σημείο αυτό, πρέπει να αναφερθούμε ιδιαιτέρως στο ζήτημα της μεταφοράς τελετουργικών μορφών από μια περιοχή σε άλλη, σύμφωνα με την πάγια και ισχυρή αγάπη που ο λαός τρέφει για κάθε μορφή τελετουργίας, και με βάση την οποία υιοθετεί πάντοτε τις τελετουργίες που τον εντυπωσιάζουν, εμπλουτίζοντας το τελετουργικό ρεπερτόριο κάθε περιοχής. Ο Ευστρ. Ζήσης, για παράδειγμα, παραδίδει μια τέτοια περίπτωση μεταφύτευσης μορφών από το καρναβάλι της Κεφαλλονιάς στην περιοχή της Ραιδεστού, από έναν Κεφαλλονίτη δάσκαλο, στις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα (27). Η περίπτωση αυτή μας δείχνει πόσο σημαντική είναι η συγκριτική μελέτη και η διασταύρωση των πληροφοριών για τις λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες, αφού αυτές με όχημα την αγάπη του λαϊκού ανθρώπου για τις τελεστικές και τελετουργικές παραστατικές μορφές, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, συχνά ταξιδεύουν από τόπο σε τόπο, εμφανιζόμενες σε περιοχές, στην παράδοση των οποίων δεν προϋπήρχαν (28).

Και δεν περιορίζονται οι τελετουργίες μόνον στα υπερφυσικά και συμβολικά στοιχεία. Σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις αγκαλιάζουν και άλλους τομείς της λαϊκής καθημερινότητας, όπως για παράδειγμα η τροφή. Μέσα από το τελετουργικό παιχνίδι με τις συμβολικές τροφές (*χαλβής/Σαρακοστή vs αβγό/αρτίσιμη περίοδος*) καθαγιάζεται η τροφή, και δίνεται μια παιγνιώδης ευκαιρία στα μέλη της οικογένειας να επικοινωνήσουν, εγκαινιάζοντας τελετουργικά, γι' αυτό και συμβολικά, αλλά και εφετηρικά, υπό την έννοια της ποθούμενης επάρκειας τροφών, την νεοεισερχόμενη Σαρακοστή (29). Πρόκειται για μια οριακή και για τον ερχομό της άνοιξης, άρα και για τις σοδειές, περίοδο, κατά την οποία η καλοχρονιά και η υγεία θα αποτελέσουν πρόκριμα για την επιτυχία της ανοιξιάτικης

άνθοφορίας και της καλοκαιρινής καρποφορίας. Άρα πρόκειται, σε τελική ανάλυση, για μια ακόμη διαβατήρια τελετουργία.

Τα αποκριάτικα δρώμενα της Θράκης κορυφώνονται ωστόσο κατά την Τυρινή Δευτέρα, μια μέρα που κινείται εθιμικά στην περιοχή της μεθοριακότητας μεταξύ Αποκριάς και Σαρακοστής, μεταξύ οργιαστικού και κατανυκτικού, χαρμούνου και πένθιμου, προχριστιανικών επιβιωμάτων και ορθόδοξης χριστιανικής θρησκευτικότητας. Στην Ανατολική Θράκη κυριαρχούσε το λαϊκό δρώμενο του «Καλόγερου», κατά το οποίο δυο άνδρες συγκρούονται για μια γυναίκα, σκοτώνονται και κατόπιν ανασταίνονται θαυματουργικά, προσιωνίζοντας την ανοιξιάτικη ανάσταση της φύσης, η οποία και αποτελεί το κέντρο του ετήσιου εορτολογικού και παραγωγικού κύκλου στις καθαρά γεωργικές περιοχές, όπως η Ανατολική Θράκη και η Ανατολική Ρωμυλία (30).

Ήδη ο Γεώργιος Βιζυηνός, το 1888, είχε προσέξει ότι η Τρίτη και τελευταία φάση του δρωμένου παρουσίαζε χαρακτηριστικά μιας τελετουργικής αρχαιότητας, η οποία διέφερε κατά πολύ από τον ευτράπελο και σατιρικό χαρακτήρα του υπολοίπου δρωμένου, ακριβώς επειδή συνδέεται με παλαιότερες αντιλήψεις και τελετουργίες, που στόχο είχαν την εξασφάλιση και την συμβολική ενίσχυση της γονιμότητας της γης, σε μια θρησκευτική βάση (31). Στην Αδριανούπολη, και μάλιστα στο προάστειο Κιζίκ, το τελετουργικό δρώμενο του Μπέη, όπως το έχει περιγράψει ο Πολ. Παπαχριστοδούλου, παρουσίαζε ορισμένα «διονυσιακά» στοιχεία, σχετιζόμενα κυρίως με την παρουσία φαλλικών συμβόλων και συμβολισμών, και συνδυαζόταν με το δρώμενο της εικονικής δίκης, που παρουσιάζει μεγάλη εξάπλωση όχι μόνο στον ελληνικό χώρο, αλλά και ευρύτερα στην περιοχή της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης. Στην περιγραφή του τελετουργικού αυτού δρωμένου επικρατούν λοιπόν τα κωμικά (32), τα σκωπτικά και τα βωμολοχικά στοιχεία, η όλη μάλιστα δομή δείχνει καθαρά ότι πρόκειται για μια δευτερογενή χρήση του βωμολοχικού στοιχείου, που έχει χάσει πλέον τον αρχικό τελετουργικό χαρακτήρα του και έχει περπέσει στο στάδιο της αστειότητας, αποσκοπεί όχι τόσο στην συμβολική και τελετουργική πρόκληση της γονιμότητας, όσο στην πρόσκληση του εύκολου γέλιου, και στην προβολή της ιδέας για τον «ανάποδο κόσμο» της Αποκριάς.

Αντιθέτως στο Ορτάκιϊ της Αδριανούπολης, το δρώμενο έχει περιγραφεί διαφορετικά από τον Ν. Ροδοσίνο. Στην περίπτωση αυτή είναι τα αρχέγονα τελετουργικά στοιχεία που δίνουν τον βασικό τόνο, και που δίνουν στον συλλογέα την αφορμή να παραλληλίσει το δρώμενο με την «μυστικοπαθή μεγαλοπρέπεια» αρχαίων τελετών και εορτών, τουλάχιστον όπως ο ίδιος τις αντιλαμβάνονταν και τις φανταζόταν. Κατά την

περιγραφή αυτή, το στοιχείο που κυριαρχεί και δίνει τον τόνο είναι η σπορά και η καλλιέργεια των δημητριακών, αλλά και η προσπάθεια τελετουργικού ευνοϊκού επηρεασμού της, γι' αυτό και ο Ν. Ροδοσίνοσ, σε μια έκρηξη αρχαιολατρίας, ονόμασε το δρώμενο «Δημήτρια», διακρίνοντας μάλιστα σε αυτό τριμερή τελετουργική δομή, αποτελούμενη από προπαρασκευαστικό, πομπικό και τελετουργικό στάδιο (33).

Από τη σύγκριση των περιγραφών αυτών, προκύπτουν ενδιαφέροντα συμπεράσματα για τον ρόλο της τελετουργίας σε κάθε περίπτωση. Στην περίπτωση των τελετουργικών δρωμένων, σημειώνονται ευδιάκριτες εξελίξεις, που προέρχονται από τα στάδια ένταξης του δρωμένου στο κοινωνικό και εθμικό περιβάλλον του. Διαφορετικές ανάγκες εξυπηρετούσε το τελετουργικό δρώμενο σε μια αγροτική κοινωνία, που ο κύριος στόχος ήταν η γονιμική και ευετηρική ενίσχυση της σοδειάς, και διαφορετικούς σκοπούς υπηρετούσε σε ένα λιγότερο ή περισσότερο αστικοποιημένο περιβάλλον, όπου η καλλιέργεια των δημητριακών ήταν συλλογική ανάμνηση, και κυριαρχούσε η αστικής κατασκευής ανάγκη για «ξεφάντωμα». Οι φάσεις μάλιστα αυτές δεν είναι απαραίτητο να είναι χρονικά διάδοχες, μπορεί και να συνυπάρχουν (34), υπό την έννοια της ασκήσεώς τους σε διαφορετικά - αλλά σύμβια - κοινωνικά, επαγγελματικά και πολιτισμικά περιβάλλοντα.

Το ίδιο δρώμενο υπήρχε πρωταρχικά στο Κωστί της Ανατολικής Ρωμυλίας, όπου όμως κυριαρχούσε ο οργιαστικός και ευτράπελος χαρακτήρας, καθώς της σκηνης της τελετουργικής αροτρίωσης προηγούνταν διαγωνισμός μεταξύ των γέρων και των νέων του χωριού, σχετικά με το «αμάξι του βασιλιά». Εδώ ο βασικός ήρωας ήταν ο «Κούκερος» ή «Χούχουτος», ο οποίος πριν γευτεί τα φαγητά του τραπεζιού ρίχνονταν τελετουργικά στο ποτάμι, που γονιμοποιούνταν επίσης με την δαιμονική παρουσία του. Παρόμοια αγωνίσματα είχαν συμβολικό γονιμικό χαρακτήρα ήδη από τα αρχαία χρόνια, αλλά και σε άλλους λαούς (35).

Η τελετουργική αροτρίωση εδώ συνδυάζεται με την επίσης τελετουργική χρήση και σηματοδότηση πολλών άλλων γονιμικών και αποτροπαϊκών συμβόλων: στάχτη, πιπεριές, σκόρδα, στεφάνια, τελετουργικές πράξεις και ευχές ευετηρικές, μέσα σε ένα πλαίσιο μεταμφιέσεων και αστειώμων, μας δείχνουν ότι οι ίδιες κατά βάσιν τελετουργίες είχαν διαφορετικές όψεις σε διαφορετικούς, ακόμη και γειτονικούς ή πλησιόχωρους οικισμούς (36). Ηι τελετουργική αυτή ποικιλία, που αποτελεί και γενικότερο γνώρισμα του ελληνικού λαϊκού πολιτισμού, αλλά και του λαϊκού πολιτισμού της Θράκης, ειδικότερα, συντελεί ώστε η μελέτη των λαϊκών θρησκευτικών τελετουργιών να αναδεικνύεται σε εργαλείο για την γενικότερη και ουσιαστικότερη μελέτη των πολιτισμικών παραμέτρων,

αλλά και των κατά τόπων παραγόντων της παρατηρούμενης μερικής πολιτισμικής διαφοροποίησης, στην Ανατολική και τη Βόρεια Θράκη.

Όπως και να έχει το πράγμα, στο δρώμενο του Καλόγερου υπάρχουν οπωσδήποτε πολλαπλά πολιτισμικά στρώματα, τα οποία αντικατοπτρίζουν και την πολυσύνθετη φύση του γενικότερου λαϊκού πολιτισμού στην Ανατολική Θράκη και στην Ανατολική Ρωμυλία, όπως κυρίως διαφαίνεται από την μελέτη των τελετουργιών που υπάρχουν στην εθιμική ζωή των Ελλήνων Θρακών στις δύο αυτές περιοχές (37). Ο κύκλος των εορτών της Αποκριάς, πέρα από τα τελετουργικά λαϊκά δρώμενα για τα οποία γίνεται λόγος σε ειδικό κεφάλαιο της παρούσας μελέτης, περιλαμβάνει και άλλες λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες, που έχουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον. Στις τελετουργίες αυτές, που εντάσσονται στον ετήσιο εορτολογικό κύκλο, κυριαρχούν τα νεκροδαιμονικά και νεκρολατρικά στοιχεία, αφού η συγκεκριμένη χρονική περίοδος από τον λαό συσχετίζεται με τους νεκρούς, στα πλαίσια μιας δοξασίας για την «απόλυση» των ψυχών, που κατά τον Γ. Α. Μέγα έχει μάλλον ινδογερμανική προέλευση (38).

Την Κυριακή της Τυρινής, στην Αγχιάλο της Βόρειας Θράκης συνήθιζαν να πηγαίνουν στην παραλία, όπου διοργάνωναν τελετουργικούς ιππικούς αγώνες, ο νικητής των οποίων έπαιρνε ως έπαθλο μαντήλια (39). Η ανταγωνιστική τελετουργία των αγώνων σχετίζεται με την έννοια της ενδυνάμωσης των πνευμάτων της φύσης και της βλάστησης, που ο λαός πιστεύει ότι ξυπνούν αυτή την περίοδο. Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο, επιστρατεύονται ηλιολατρικές τελετουργίες, όπως το άναμμα φωτιάς που την υπερπηδούν όλοι - εξορκίζοντας μάλιστα τα βλαπτικά έντομα με την επωδή «ψύλλ' κόρφες στον καλόγερο» - στα πλαίσια μιας καθαρτήριας τελετουργίας, που κατά τον Γ. Α. Μέγα αποσκοπεί στον εξορκισμό και των δαιμονικών, άρα επικίνδυνων για τον άνθρωπο πνευμάτων, αλλά και των δαιμονοποιημένων από τον λαό ασθενειών (40). Αυτές τις εθιμικές πυρές, στα χωριά της Ανατολικής Θράκης τις ονομάζουν «μπουμπούνες» (41).

Στο Σιναιλί και στο Καβακλί της Βόρειας Θράκης συνήθιζαν τους τελετουργικούς πυροβολισμούς στη διάρκεια των αποκριάτικων γλεντιών. Είναι βέβαια γνωστό ότι οι τελετουργικά δημιουργημένοι θόρυβοι έχουν - κατά τη λαϊκή πίστη - την ιδιότητα να αποδιώκουν τα κακοπιά πνεύματα, και αυτή ακριβώς είναι η λειτουργικότητά τους, στα πλαίσια των τελετουργιών που μας απασχολούν εδώ (42). Σε ένα δεύτερο ωστόσο επίπεδο, τα ίδια τελετουργικά στοιχεία λειτουργούν και επικοινωνιακά, υπό την έννοια της δια του πανηγυρικού θορύβου γνωστοποίησης, κάποτε δε και επισημοποίησης, ενός σημαντικού για τη ζωή των ανθρώπων

γεγονότος: χωρίς πυροβολισμούς, σε πολλές ελληνικές περιοχές, ο αρραβώνας ή ο γάμος δεν μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί τελειωμένος και ολοκληρωμένος (43).

Μια τελευταία παρατήρηση, αφορά τα συνήθη, σε παρόμοιες οριακές στιγμές και διαβάσεις, τελετουργικά μαντεύματα. Την τελευταία Κυριακή της Αποκριάς οι κοπέλες, στην Βόρεια Θράκη, αλάτιζαν την τελευταία μπουκιά του δείπνου, και την κρατούσαν κάτω από το μαξιλάρι τους, περιμένοντας ότι θα έβλεπαν τον άντρα που θα παντρεύονταν (44). Την επόμενη πάλι μέρα, την Καθαρή Δευτέρα, στην Ανατολική Θράκη, η κοπέλα που ήθελε να προκαλέσει μαντικό περι γάμου όνειρο, στα πλαίσια μιας τελετουργικής ονειρομαντείας, τυλιγόταν με «χρυσομάντηλο», το οποίο έδενε πίσω της με τρεις κόμπους ή έβαζε μια τελετουργική πίδα κάτω από το μαξιλάρι της, που ονομαζόταν «αρμυροκουλούρα» ή «σαρακοστοκουλούρα» (45).

Η στιγμή θεωρείται από τον λαό κατάλληλη για την άσκηση τελετουργικής μαντείας, και μάλιστα για το κρίσιμο ζήτημα του γάμου, που σχετίζεται με την έννοια της γονιμότητας, αφού τις ίδιες μέρες τα μαγικά, παντοδύναμα και μαντικά πνεύματα των νεκρών προγόνων βρίσκονται στον «πάνω κόσμο» και πλησιάζουν τους ζωντανούς. Στην πίστη άλλωστε αυτή στηρίζεται και η νεκρολατρική πρακτική των Ψυχοσάββατων, που έχει υιοθετηθεί - υπό χριστιανικό βέβαια επικάλυμμα και με τους δικούς της όρους - και από την Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία (46). Είναι πράγματι εορτολογική περίπτωση τελετουργικά φορτισμένη, γι' αυτό και ιδιαίτερως ενδιαφέρουσα για την ατομική, οικογενειακή και συλλογική-κοινωνική ζωή του λαϊκού ανθρώπου.

Από το παράδειγμα των αποκριάτικων λαϊκών εθίμων και τελετουργιών της Θράκης, που παραπάνω αναλύθηκε, προκύπτει ότι στον τομέα των λαϊκών δρωμένων και των παραστατικών λαϊκών θρησκευτικών εθίμων ο πολιτισμικός διάλογος έλαβε κυρίως τη μορφή της ανταλλαγής τελεστικών μορφών (47), καθώς εδώ δεν διαπιστώνονται οι πολιτικές ή άλλες σκοπιμότητες που διακρίθηκαν στο πρώτο μέρος της διερεύνησής μας. Στα ζητήματα αυτά, ο πολιτισμικός διάλογος που προηγήθηκε της σύνθεσης που σήμερα διαπιστώνουμε, υπήρξε χωρίς ουσιαστική καθοδήγηση, άρα πιο αυθόρμητος, ίσως και πιο γνήσιος, γι' αυτό και πιο κοντά στις αυθεντικές διεργασίες δημιουργίας και διαχείρισης των πολιτισμικών φαινομένων στον ελληνικό λαϊκό πολιτισμό.

Συμπερασματικά, και με βάση όσα προηγουμένως διαπιστώθηκαν στην διαπραγμάτευση των δύο βασικών πτυχών του ζητήματος σχετικά με την λειτουργία της διαδικασίας των πολιτισμικών διαλόγων στο πεδίο της θρησκευτικής λαογραφίας (48), θα μπορούσαμε να παρατηρήσουμε τα

ακόλουθα: η ελληνική λαϊκή θρησκευτικότητα, στις πιο τελετουργικές εκδηλώσεις της, που αποτελούν τα λαϊκά θρησκευτικά έθιμα και οι περιεχόμενες σε αυτά λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες, υπήρξε αποτέλεσμα γόνιμου διαλόγου, παραγωγικής ώσμωσης και αλληλοπεριχώρησης μορφών από την Ανατολή και τη Δύση (49). Μορφών όχι μόνο ορθοδόξων, αλλά και αρχαίων, προχριστιανικών, ετεροδόξων, ακόμη και αλλοθρήσκων, και με τη σειρά της επέδρασε πάνω στη διαμόρφωση αναλόγων τελετουργικών στοιχείων άλλων συνοίκων μονοθεϊστικών θρησκειών, όπως το ισλάμ (50).

Στις διαδικασίες αυτές, που υπήρξαν μακροχρόνιες και όχι πάντοτε ειρηνικές, αυτόματες και αυτονόητες, τον πρώτο λόγο είχε ο λαός, που διαχειριζόμενος την παράδοσή του και τα νέα στοιχεία που προσλάμβανε σύμφωνα με το αισθητήριο και το θρησκευτικό του αίσθημα, δεν δίστασε να υιοθετήσει και να προσεταιριστεί νέα στοιχεία, με κύριο κριτήριο την τελετουργική τους υπόσταση, ακόμη και ενάντια στη γνώμη της επίσημης ποιμαίνουσας Εκκλησίας ή στη δογματική υπόσταση της πίστης του (51). Αυτήν ακριβώς τη διαδικασία περιέλαβαν εν προκειμένω οι πολιτισμικοί διάλογοι, στην λειτουργία των οποίων οφείλεται μεγάλο μέρος της τελετουργικής ελληνικής λαϊκής παράδοσης, όπως την γνωρίζουμε και την μελετούμε σήμερα. Ας σημειωθεί μάλιστα εδώ ότι η κίνηση αυτή μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσεως, που χαρακτηρίζει γενικότερα τις εκφάνσεις του ελληνικού – και όχι μόνον του λαϊκού – πολιτισμού και οφείλεται στη γεωγραφική και γεωπολιτική θέση του ελληνικού χώρου, που αποτελεί ουσιαστικά γέφυρα μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης, συνεχίζεται και σήμερα, που η ελληνική κοινωνία έχει πάψει να είναι εθνικά, πολιτισμικά και θρησκευτικά ομοιογενής (52). Η διαλογική αλληλεπίδραση των διαφορών, από θρησκευτική άποψη, πληθυσμών που ζουν σήμερα στην Ελλάδα με την Ορθοδοξία και την παράδοσή της, σε τελετουργικό και εθιμικό πάντοτε επίπεδο, θα φανεί, πιστεύω, τα επόμενα χρόνια, ως μια συνέχιση του ατέρμονος πολιτισμικού διαλόγου στο θρησκευτικό και τελετουργικό πεδίο (53), που διαπιστώνεται στο χώρο μας από τα πρώτα κιόλας βήματα του ανθρώπινου πολιτισμού.

NOTES:

1. Μερακλής Μ. Γ., *Ελληνική Λαογραφία*, Αθήνα 2004, 253-255; Σέργης Μ. Γ., *Εκκλησιαστικός λόγος και λαϊκός πολιτισμός τον 16^ο αιώνα: η περίπτωση του Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2008, όπου και σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

2. Για το σπουδαίο αυτό ζήτημα βλ. Πούχγερ Β., *Θεωρητική Λαογραφία. Εννοιες-Μέθοδοι-Θεματικές*, Αθήνα 2009, 191-192. Περιπτώσεις ανάλογων διαπολιτισμικών διαλόγων με αιχμή του δόρατος τη λαϊκή θρησκευτικότητα εξετάζει πρόσφατα η

Karamihova Marg., Διαπερατά εθνοτικά και θρησκευτικά όρια: Η περίπτωση της Ζλατάριτσας, στον τόμο Εθ. Αυδίκος (επιμ.), Λαϊκοί πολιτισμοί και σύνορα στα Βαλκάνια, Αθήνα 2010, 55-92, με σχετική, ξένη κυρίως, βιβλιογραφία, 93-95.

3. Βλ. Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Λαϊκός πολιτισμός και εκκλησιαστική παράδοση. Μια λαογραφική ανάγνωση του «Πηδαλιού» των Αγαπίου ιερομονάχου και Νικοδήμου Αγιορείτου, Αθήνα 2006 με πολλά σχετικά παραδείγματα. Ο ίδιος, Survival of Ancient Elements in the Traditional Culture of the Greek People, Mesogeios 1, 1998, 161-169, με την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

4. Ρωμαιοσ Κ. Α., Λαϊκές λατρείες της Θράκης, Αρχείον Θρακικού Λαογραφικού και Γλωσσικού Θησαυρού 11, 1944-1945, 99-100.

5. Πρβλ. Λουκάτος Δ. Σ., «Απαρχή (Λαογραφία)», Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια 2, 1963, 1043-1046; Frazer J. G., The Golden Bough V: 2. London 1933-1937, 109 κ. εξ. Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες στην Ανατολική και τη Βόρεια Θράκη, Αθήνα 2010, 341-344; Αικατερινίδης Γ. Ν., «Απαρχές (λατρευτικές και ευετηρίας) στη νεοελληνική εθιμολογία», Λαογραφία 37, 1993-1994, 63-67; Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Αναίμακτες προσφορές στην παραδοσιακή θρησκευτική συμπεριφορά των κατοίκων της Θάσου, Θεασιακά 9, 1994-1995; Πρακτικά Β' Συμποσίου Θεσιακών Μελετών «Η Θάσος δια μέσου των αιώνων: Ιστορία-τέχνη-πολιτισμός», 79-84; Σέργης Μ. Γ., Διαβατήριες τελετουργίες στον Μικρασιατικό Πόντο (μέσα 19^{ου} αιώνα-1922): Γέννηση-γάμος-θάνατος, Αθήνα 2007, 43-48.

6. Βλ. σχετικά Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Νεοελληνικοί εθιμικοί εκκλησιαστικοί πλειστηριασμοί, Θεσσαλονίκη 2002, 267-268; Παπαθανάση-Μουσιοπούλου Καλλ., Λαογραφικά Θράκης 1, Αθήνα 1979, 75-76. Σταμούλη-Σαράντη Ελπ., Από την Ανατολική Θράκη 1. Η Σηλόβρια με τα γύρω της χωριά, Αθήνα 1956, 190-192; Λουκάτος Δ. Σ., Πασχαλινά και της άνοιξης, Αθήνα 1980, 134-138, όπου και ανάλογα παραδείγματα.

7. Πρβλ. Μαρία Μηλιγκου-Μαρκαντώνη, Δένδρα, φυτά, άνθη στον λαϊκό πολιτισμό των νεωτέρων Ελλήνων, Αθήνα 2006; Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Δένδρα, φυτά και άνθη στη λαϊκή λατρευτική μας παράδοση, Πεμπτοσσία 25, 2007, 16-18. Ανάλογες πληροφορίες βλ. και στους Λουκάτος Δ. Σ., Τα φθινοπωρινά, Αθήνα 1982; Σταμούλη-Σαράντη Ελπ., Από την Ανατολική Θράκη. Η Συληβρία με τα γύρω της χωριά 1, Αθήνα 1956; Ακογλούς Ξεν., Λαογραφικά Κοτυώρων (Πόντου), Αθήνα 1939; Μιχαηλίδης-Νουάρος Μ., Λαογραφικά Σύμμεκτα Καρπάθου, Αθήνα 1932; Καρποδίνη-Δημητριάδη Ευφρ., Η θρησκευτική συμπεριφορά των κατοίκων της Κέας. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του κυκλαδικού χώρου, Αθήνα 1988; Κυπριανού Θεοδ., Από τη χλωρίδα της Κύπρου. Μύθος-παράδοση-χρήσεις και θεραπευτικές ιδιότητες, Λευκωσία 2002.

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20; Αικατερινίδης Γ. Ν., Γιορτές και δρώμενα στο νομό Δράμας, Δράμα 1997, 106-109; Nikolakakis G., *La litanie dans le Lassithi Crete, Etudes et Documents Balkaniques et Mediterraneens* 16, 1979, 156-158.

9. Πρβλ. Πετρόπουλος Δ. Α., Λαογραφικά Σκοπέλου-Πέτρας (Αν. Θράκης), Αρχείον Θρακικού Λαογραφικού και Γλωσσικού Θησαυρού 8, 1941-1942, 160. Παρόμοια παραδείγματα βλ. και Πούχγερ Β., Θεατρικά στοιχεία στα δρώμενα του βορειοελλαδικού χώρου, Πρακτικά Δ' Συμποσίου Λαογραφία του Βορειοελλαδικού χώρου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1983, 252; Χρηστίδης Χρ., Ηθη και έθιμα του Λαγού, Θρακικά 42, 1968, 242; Γραμματικόγλου Ελ., Λαϊκή λατρεία εις Πύθον Διδυμοτείχου, Θρακικά 43, 1969, 197; Πετρόπουλος Δ., Λαογραφικά Σκοπέλου-Πέτρας Ανατολικής Θράκης, Αρχείον Θρακικού Γλωσσικού και Λαογραφικού Θησαυρού, 1941-1942, 144-145; Βραχιόλογου Δ., Μορφές λαϊκού πολιτισμού στη Θράκη και στον Έβρο, Αλεξανδρούπολη 2000, 52; Γενικότερα για τις εθιμικές περιοδικές πυρές βλ. Ήμελλος Στ. Δ., Ζητήματα παραδοσιακού υλικού βίου (ενδεικτικές επισημάνσεις), Αθήνα 1993, 109-111. Ο ίδιος, *Kurzer Kommentar zu den Jahresfeuern und dem hölzernen Pflug des Atlases der Griechischen Volkskunde (AHL)*, Επετηρίς Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας 22, 1969-1972, 22-25, με εκτενείς περιγραφές και σχήματα.

10. Για σχετικά παραδείγματα πρβλ. Παπαθανάση-Μουσιοπούλου Καλλ., Λαϊκή Μεταφυσική, Αθήνα 1981, 180 κ. εξ. Βαφειδής Θ., Δημάδες δοξασίες και δεισιδαιμονες συνήθειες από την Αδριανούπολη, Θρακικά 1, 1928, 23 κ. εξ. Βογιασλής Δ., Ηθη, έθιμα και προλήψεις των Βορειοθρακικών, Αρχείον Θρακικού Γλωσσικού και Λαογραφικού Θησαυρού 21, 1956, 234 κ. εξ.; Επίσης, Μέγας Γ. Α., Οι Αδώνιδος κήποι των Σερρών, Πρακτικά Α' Συμποσίου Λαογραφίας του Βορειοελλαδικού Χώρου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1975, 183-184; Κυριακίδης Στ., Το δυσσοίων του αριθμού 13, Γέρας Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου, Αθήνα 1953, 551-566; Πολίτης Ν. Γ., Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα 1,3, Αθήνα 1920, 1931; Κουκουλής Φ., Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός 1, Εν Αθήναις 1948, 150-155; Παπαδόπουλος Ι., Πέρι αποφράδων ημερών, Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 10, 1948, 228-244; Μπουγάτσος Ν., Προλήψεις. Η σύγχρονος ειδωλολατρεία, Αναμόρφωσις 1955, 23-24; Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Συνέχειες και ασυνέχειες στον παραδοσιακό ελληνικό πολιτισμό. Ιδεολογικές αντιπαραθέσεις και επιστημονικά δεδομένα, Απόψεις 7, 1995, 499-509.

11. Πρβλ. Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Λαϊκή λατρεία και θρησκευτική συμπεριφορά των κατοίκων της Σάμου, Αθήνα 1992, 195-196; Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες στην Ανατολική και τη Βόρεια Θράκη, Αθήνα 2010; Μέγας Γ. Α., Ελληνικές εορτές και έθιμα της λαϊκής λατρείας, Αθήνα 1956, 32-33; Λουκάτος Δ. Σ., Συμπληρωματικά του χειμώνα και της άνοιξης, Αθήνα 1985, 18-27; Πετρόπουλος Δ., Ανδρεάδης Ερμ., Η θρησκευτική ζωή στην περιφέρεια Ακσεράι-Γκέλβερι, Αθήνα 1970, 124.

12. Βλ. σχετικά Λουκάτος Δ. Σ., Πασχαλινά και της άνοιξης, Αθήνα 1980, 52-53; Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Λαϊκή λατρεία και θρησκευτική συμπεριφορά των κατοίκων της Σάμου, Αθήνα 1992, 212; Βαρβούνης Μ. Γ., Λαϊκές θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες στην Ανατολική και τη Βόρεια Θράκη, Αθήνα 2010; Μέγας Γ. Α., Ελληνικές εορτές και έθιμα της λαϊκής λατρείας, Αθήνα 1956, 143-149; Πολίτης Ν. Γ., Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα 2. Εν Αθήναις 1975 (β' έκδ.), 366-374; Menon P., Lecotte R., *Au village de France, Marseille* 1978 (β' έκδ.), 55-57; Στεφάνου Μ., Συριανές σελίδες 1. Αθήνα 1971, 102-105; Χατζημιχάλη Αγγ., Σαρακατσάνοι Α1. Αθήνα 1957, ρζα-ρζβ., Πετρόπουλος Δ.,

Ανδρεάδης Ερμ., Η θρησκευτική ζωή στην περιφέρεια Ακοεράι-Γκέλβερι, Αθήνα 1970., Μαμμόπουλος Α. Χ., *Ηπειρος* 1, Αθήνα 1961, 138-142, όπου ανάλογες περιγραφές.

13. Πρβλ. Πετρόπουλος Δ., Λαογραφικά σύμμεκτα εξ Αιτωλίας, *Λαογραφία* 12, 1938-1948, 15; Κουκουλές Φ., *Οινουντιακά*, εν Χανίοις 1908, 131; Πρβλ. Κυριακίδης Στ., Τα κόκκινα αβγά του Πάσχα, *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου* 3, Θεσσαλονίκη 1957, 5-13; Επίσης, Αικατερινίδης Γ. Ν., Εαρινά έθιμα λαϊκής λατρείας από την περιοχή Σερρών, *Πρακτικά Α' Συμποσίου Λαογραφίας του Βορειοελλαδικού Χώρου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1975, 14-19. Επίσης, Πούχνερ Β., *Λαογραφία* 4. *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, Αθήνα 2010. Αικατερινίδης Γ. Ν., *Γιορτές και δρώμενα στο νομό Δράμας*. Έκδοση Τοπική Ένωση Δήμων και Κοινοτήτων Νομού Δράμας 1997. Κατ. Κακούρη, *Διονυσιακά*. Εκ της σημερινής λατρείας των Θερακών, Αθήναι 1963. Άλλη Κυριακίδου-Νέστορος, *Λαογραφικά Μελετήματα*, Αθήνα 1975.

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Maria Vergeti (Komotini)

**WAVES OF IMMIGRATION OF GREEKS
FROM THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IN THE 20TH CENTURY**

**THE COLLECTIVE IDENTITY OF THE IMMIGRANTS
AND THEIR CULTURAL IMPACT ON THE BROADER GREEK SOCIETY**

This paper attempts to present the collective identity of the immigrants of Greek origin from the former Soviet Union and to study their cultural impact on the broader social whole.

The methodology combines: a) personal interviews with first generation immigrants, conducted in 1986-1992; b) personal or telephone interviews with representatives of Greek-Pontic cultural associations, conducted in 2011, and; c) participant observation of activities of Greek-Pontic associations over the period 1985-2011. The 37 persons interviewed (4 from the first wave of emigration, in the 1920s, who came from the shores of the Black Sea, and 33 from the later influx from Central Asia) were selected by the snowball technique. The biographical approach was used in evaluating the data. Representatives of associations were selected on the basis of "an active association with a long cultural presence". In Greece there are 460 associations of Greeks of Pontic origin (Greeks from Pontus and from regions of the former Soviet Union, primarily from the northeast coast of the Black Sea and Central Asia), of which only 238 can be described as active (cultural and intellectual activity known at least within the local society and with at least one hundred active members); and of these, fewer than 40 have an active history extending over several decades. A total of 25 interviews (7 personal, 18 by telephone) were conducted with representatives of associations from all across the country.

Waves of Emigration and Reasons for Emigrating

There have been successive waves of emigration to Greece from the former Soviet Union since the beginning of the twentieth century; these have involved mainly people of Greek origin, born in the then socialist republics, whose mother tongue is the Pontic dialect.

The first wave, which began in 1918 and continued throughout the 1920s,¹ involved a total of 47,091 persons, all Pontic Greek refugees who described themselves in the 1928 census, as reported in Greece's 1930 statistics yearbook, as natives of the Caucasus region.² The flow of emigration from the former Soviet Union into Greece continued after this initial wave, albeit with long pauses punctuated by new influxes, the most important being those of 1937-1939, 1965-1967 and the 1990s.

The second great wave of emigration of Greeks from the Soviet Union was sparked by the persecution of a substantial sector of the population during the period 1937-1939. Roughly 20,000 Greek women and children emigrated from the Soviet Union to Greece in 1938.³ After 1939 only a limited number of families managed to secure exit permits for emigration to Greece, for leaving the Soviet Union was essentially prohibited.⁴

¹ The emigrants were refugees from northern Anatolia (historic Pontus), who had fled to the Soviet Union to escape persecution at the hands of the Young Turks in 1914-1924, and Greeks living in the Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. They came to Greece because of the poor prospects for the Greek communities in the wake of historic events such as the October Revolution (1917), the advance of Turkish troops into the Caucasus in 1918, the violence practised by the Armenian authorities in drafting them into the armed forces, the unsuccessful Entente campaign in the Ukraine against Bolshevik troops in 1919, and the nationalist policies of the Mensheviks in Georgia. See Βεργέτη Μαρία Κ., Παλινοδότηση και Κοινωνικός Αποκλεισμός 3rd edition, Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Brothers 2010, 72-73 [Vergeti M., Repatriation and Social Exclusion].

² At least 230,000 Pontic refugees from northern Anatolia and the former Soviet Union came to Greece between 1918-1930. The 1928 census recorded 229,260 Pontic refugees, of whom 182,169 declared Pontus as their place of origin, while 47,091 said they came from the Caucasus. This number certainly falls short of the reality, not least because of the heavy mortality suffered by the refugees during the first post-emigration years.

³ Ζαπάντης Ανδρέας Η., Ελληνο-οσβετικές σχέσεις 1917-1941, Μετ. Άγγελος Σ. Βλάχος, Athens: Estia 1989, 341 [Andreas I. Zapantis., Helleno-Russian Relations 1917-1941, tr. Angelos S. Vlachos].

⁴ Few families came between 1946 and 1948. The families that acquired emigration permits in 1946 were residents of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and those who were allowed to leave in 1948 were residents of the Uzbek city of Kokkan. In 1957 another one hundred families emigrated from Central Asia. See Vergeti M., Repatriation and Social Exclusion, 76-78.

A new wave of emigration, mainly from Central Asia, began in 1965; this was interrupted in 1967 by the coup d'état which imposed a dictatorship on Greece from 1967 to 1974, but resumed after normalcy was restored.⁵ According to information supplied by Greek-Pontic associations, another 30,000 Pontic Greeks, mainly from Central Asia, settled in Greece between 1965 and 1988.⁶

With the re-organisation of the Soviet Union that began in 1985 the borders were gradually opened and the barriers to emigration lifted. The groundswell of emigration that began in 1987 brought increasing numbers of people of Greek origin (mainly Pontic) to Greece. For most of these immigrants, what drove them to leave was the desire to live in their "native" land, coupled with a minority syndrome⁷: with the other Greeks leaving, they lost the sense of security provided by a community and felt the need to move to the place where their own people had decided to settle.

The period 1985-1991 was characterised by economic recession, nationalist unrest and local conflicts. This was followed by the collapse of existing socialism in 1991 and a further worsening of the economic crisis and nationalist troubles. The impact on the Greek communities was immediate and highly unfavourable. The wave of emigration to Greece swelled again over the period 1991-1993,⁸ substantially fuelled by a number of new considerations, including fear of nationalist upheaval and civil war, economic reasons, and the desire for "a better life for the children".⁹ Of the total number of families recorded as having emigrated to Greece between 1987 and 2000 (48,980), for 42% the reason for emigrating was the desire to live in Greece, for 22% unemployment, for

⁵ In 1971 a limited number of families emigrated from the city of Kentau in Kazakhstan. See Vergeti Maria., *Repatriation and Social Exclusion*, 78.

⁶ This number was first cited in 1988 by Theodoros Kiahopoulos in a paper presented to the Second World Congress of Pontic Hellenism on *The Problems of New Arrivals from the Soviet Union and their Fellow-Countrymen Rhere*.

⁷ Βεργέτη Μ., (ed.), *Ομογενείς από την πρώην Σοβιετική Ένωση 1985-1995*, Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Brothers, 1998, 79-83; 140-141 [Vergeti Maria, *Ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union 1985-1995*].

⁸ Γενική Γραμματεία Παλιννοστούντων Ομογενών, Υπουργείο Μακεδονίας-Θράκης (2000), *Η ταυτότητα των παλιννοστούντων ομογενών από την πρώην Ε.Σ.Σ.Δ.: Απογραφικά στοιχεία Ελλάδας, Μακεδονίας, Θράκης, Αττικής*, Thessaloniki, 46 [General Secretariat for Repatriated Greeks, Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace, Identity of the repatriated Greeks from the former USSR: Census data for Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Attica].

⁹ Vergeti M., *Ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union 1985-1995*, 79-83, 140-141.

19% civil war, for 8% the fact that family members were leaving, for 6% terrorism, while the remaining 3% cited various other reasons.¹⁰

Over the period 1997-2000 the General Secretariat for Repatriated Greeks (a department of the Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace) made an effort to compile a list of all the immigrants from the former Soviet Union who had arrived and remained in Greece between 1987 and 2000, entering either with a tourist visa or with a visa for immigration. By the end of this period (December 2000), the total had reached 155,319 persons, while according to the records there were 1593 who did not declare their year of arrival. Between 1977-1986 the number of immigrants to Greece was 334; of the rest, 169 people arrived in 1987, 669 in 1988, 5195 in 1989, 16,716 in 1990, 17,331 in 1991, 19,846 in 1992, 25,720 in 1993, 14,737 in 1994, 14,586 in 1995, 14,298 in 1996, 12,381 in 1997, 5761 in 1998, 4676 in 1999 and 1307 in 2000.¹¹

This total figure of 155,319 is certainly short of the mark, largely because the census was not compulsory. According to the General Secretariat for Repatriated Greeks, 97,000 Greeks from abroad, or 63% of the total, had followed the proper legal procedures; the remaining 37%, or 58,000 people, had entered Greece on tourist visas.¹² The largest number of arrivals in any single year was 26,000 (1993).¹³

Since the turn of the new century the flow of emigration has dwindled to a trickle, and there is thought to be no reason to expect any new surge in the rate of arrivals of Greeks from the former Soviet Union.

Interaction Processes

The focus of this paper is on the contribution of the immigrant population from the former Soviet Union to the broader social whole and not on problems of integration, although it must be said that numerous problems arose on the institutional and economic level, as well as in terms of social intercourse. The social marginalisation these immigrants experienced in Greece was possibly more painful than the economic. Emigrating to a country of fellow-nationals is not the same as emigrating to a foreign land. When that state and those people, their own country and their own fellow-countrymen, failed to give them the expected sense of security, the problems of integration were perhaps even greater than for other groups

¹⁰ General Secretariat for Repatriated Greeks, *Identity of the repatriated Greeks from the former USSR*, 52.

¹¹ General Secretariat ..., 46.

¹² General Secretariat ..., 28.

¹³ General Secretariat ..., 28.

of immigrants. This social exclusion operated most powerfully against the immigrants of 1965-1967.

From the end of the 1980s and throughout the following decade the Greek state, with the assistance of numerous public and private organisations, did try to facilitate the economic, educational and cultural integration of Greeks from the former Soviet Union. But despite the multitude of organisations involved, there was no co-ordinated intervention that could have limited their deprivation of what constitutes the national way of life.

From interviews with representatives of cultural associations it is clear that the Greeks from the former Soviet Union have played an important role in preserving and passing on to younger generations such basic elements of culture as dance, music and theatre. Interviewees regularly made statements like: "We Pontian Greeks ran the association, but the dance teacher and the lyricist were from the wave of 1939". Suffice it to mention, in this connection, just two names: theatre director Polis Haitas, born in Pontus in 1902, who studied music and theatre in Russia and whose role in creating and preserving Pontic theatre in Greece is inestimable; and, in the field of letters, academician Theoharis Kessidis, born in Georgia in 1920, who was a regular member of both the Moscow Academy of Research in the Humanities and the St Petersburg Academy of Arts and, after 1987, a corresponding member of the Academy of Athens. Another area where the impact of these immigrants has been important is in the preservation of the Pontic dialect, especially in places where there are large communities of Pontic Greeks.

Collective Identity

Settling in Greece enabled the incomers to mix and interact with metropolitan Greeks whose roots lay in northeast Anatolia (Pontus). They became members of the broader group of Pontic Greeks, which is a diaspora population. Pontic Hellenism is characterised by its connection with a place that is no longer socially present. The social bonds with historic Pontus were shattered by violence, the local communities dispersed, and mass return made impossible by international treaty. The historic memory of Pontic Hellenism is the memory of a place, the historic and cultural particularity of a population, and the memory of a shared destiny of diaspora.

It is important to remember that the immigrants from the former Soviet Union are a mixed population. Collective identity is shaped by a group's relation with its social environment, and the social environment of the Black Sea coast was very different to that of Central Asia. It is a feature

of this group that a significant proportion, most notably among the immigrants of the period 1965-1987, knew nothing of their historic connection with Pontus before arriving in Greece.

Cited below are passages from two interviews, which show how different the Greek various populations from the former Soviet Union were, depending on their region of origin and the decade in which they arrived in Greece: "My grandfather, Georgios Makridis of Trebizond, had a little fleet of seven sailing vessels, with which he traded between Pontus and the Caucasus, via Novorossiysk. In 1877 many of the Greeks in Pontus left for Russia, because of the Russo-Turkish War. My grandfather was a Russian citizen, and all Russian citizens living in Turkey were expelled. In 1878 he settled permanently in Krymskaya and continued to trade, as did my father, Christophoros Makridis. My family lived in Krymskaya until 1921. As bourgeois, we suffered a great deal in the years 1917-1921. In the mountains there were guerrillas who raided the towns, killing Bolsheviks and seizing arms and other goods before disappearing again. Then the Bolsheviks started arresting people, priests, professional people and merchants. They held them as hostages, and some were killed. My father was imprisoned three times, as a hostage, in the basement of the Greek school in Krymskaya. Had we not fled in secret in 1921, he might have shared the fate of his friends, who were all executed later."¹⁴

"The first years were very difficult. In Kazakhstan they said that we were Greeks and had to go back to our own country. We came here, and they said we were "Pontii" (Pontic Greeks). I didn't know anything about Pontus when I came here, except that the Greek families came from there. Only, a classmate of mine, who had come to Greece as a tourist, told me when she got back to Kazakhstan that there is a difference between us and the Greeks from Greece: they speak differently, and they call us "Pontii" and themselves "Dopii" (natives, locals). Here things were pretty bad for me. I went to night school, and worked all day in a printer's shop to help my family. My parents didn't ask me to work, but my brother and I saw it as the only way we could help them. I was really upset, because I didn't understand why things should be like that, why we were in the Soviet Union when "Greece is our country", why they called us "Pontii". Our relatives and other Pontic Greeks from the Soviet Union, who had come years before, told me that things had been worse for them, we had no one, they said, and you've got us, but that was no consolation to me. It was not

¹⁴ Mrs. Athena Makridi-Kalliga and her father and grandfather are identified by name with her permission.

until I met some kids and they told me about our history from Pontus and that we should be proud of who we were, that I began to feel better. Back in Kazakhstan there was no Greek school to tell us about our history, nor was there any Greek association, and my family didn't know how they had come to be in Georgia."¹⁵

The collective identity of the Greeks from the former Soviet Union in Greece is shaped by two determinant factors, namely the creation of a deeper historical awareness, which connects them to the other Pontic Greeks, and the changes consequent upon emigration. At the same time, the waves of emigration from the former Soviet Union have kept alive the memory of historic Pontus, and reinforced Pontic Hellenism in Greece with new bearers of their particular culture, as this has evolved from compact groups in different geographical reference spaces.

¹⁵ From an interview with an immigrant woman who came to Greece in the 1970s.

Ana Zhorzholiani (Tbilisi)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE MANIPULATION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS IN ANCIENT GREECE AND CONTEMPORANEITY

Manipulation is a necessary element of individual and social life. Manipulation means to mislead the other person, group of persons, the public with a definite purpose. The goal may be personal or political. Manipulator knows what the truth is and proceeding from his (her) own political and selfish interests, distorts the truth consciously.

History shows that manipulation is a necessary element of social and political life. Human activity or political activity requires necessarily the multiplicity of supporters and neutralization of opponents. In Antiquity manipulation or to win over a neutral position man to own side was the main sign of demagogues, sophists. It is widely distributed in the society in which the main means of implementing of power is a word.

Manipulation is a characteristic of political life of distorted form of democracy. One form of image manipulation is an image, or revealing a politician's best side, or in such a way as public sentiment requires. With the difference of manipulation an image is a different form of manipulation. Antiquity rather used to create a positive image of practice, than a political means of manipulation. With the difference of Antiquity, today manipulation is one of the main elements of political process. But today there is no manipulation in a rough form. It combines image, public relations, political advertisements.

Today the manipulation takes the form of the one single time action, but it is a necessary element of the policy and permanent process. The ratings, the election campaigns make this. The manipulation may be where the imperfect democracy and is not a transparency of political process.

As soon as the first society had been created there appeared the desire of working with it. The creative product of the earliest period of the mankind spiritual culture – even the myth, fulfilled the formation function the same way as it does the contemporary theoretical, social, political or scientific myth.

Regis Debrei, in his book *Course de mediologie generale* tries to formulate a definite system of exchange of opinions and means of interrelations. According to his theory, after appearance of a written language in the public relations three spheres of relations have changed each-other: a logosphere, a graph sphere (where the written word dominated) and a video sphere (when the printing practice is changed by audiovisual one). Of course, Debrei considered the development of these spheres in diachronic section, which did not exclude their synchronic coexistence. We can nominate the contemporary epoch as the best sample of active use of all three spheres. The development of technologies and communications has created the so called fourth power – media, which, according to Debrei's theory is the most effective mean of formation of public opinion through the tandem of logo, graph and video spheres and through manipulation with it.

We've put the question, whether it was possible that in the first democratic city-state – Athena there were a synchronic like logo, graph and video spheres?! It is true that the 21st century and the antique epoch are too far from each other for giving a possibility to make direct parallels, but there are the principle and systematic relations, resemblance of which should give a rather interesting picture in the context of a dialogue of cultures between the epochs.

It might be said that in the Greek world there has not been left any of the non-mastered resource, which gave possibility of manipulation with public relations and public opinion.

In nearly all polices of Antique Greece, despite the fact was it democratic as Athena or oligarchic as Sparta, by all means there existed two most important spaces of public relations – agora and theatre which gave the most effective results in the issue of formation of public opinion.

Agora, as a political, and the theatre, as the spaces of cultural relations, in Athena were in service of common state purposes (or the authorities). You should know that theatrical festival was not able to be the host none of the plays and the dramatist who would not be “given a green light” (permitted by) from Archonta. And on Agora where numerous people were crowded, at the People's meeting the state, public or private issues

have been discussed, such a censorship could not be worked. Instead of it here worked well the Institute of sycophants or professional informers.

It is clear that the verbal side occupied a leading position in Antique Greece, but nearby there existed a great experience as well. Using the term of Debrei the tradition of execution the monumental epigraphic inscriptions have appeared rather interesting among the graph-sphere, which achieves the highest stage of development in the classical epoch. The epigraphic inscriptions which help us in restoration of historical reality in its time, of course, have been prepared with the quite other aim. The content and, correspondingly, the destination, as well, of epigraphic inscriptions are of various types. A special interest provokes the epigraphic inscription of different contents created in the name of the state. Already by the 7th-6th cc. BC in many polices of Greece it has become habitual a tendency to bring to the society a Constitution, Decrees and various texts of state significance. These inscriptions which have been executed on the stone stelas have been allocated on the most noticeable places of public gathering, by which they appear as the archaisms of the contemporary billboards. The rather interesting systematic relativities should be indicated between the billboards and the epigraphic inscription.

As you know, the word "billboard" means an advertizing, poster board which is located in the central, crowded street or road of the city. The image of modern great cities is unbelievable without the advertizing information containing the different dazzling information. Its purpose is to create an instant and indelible impression, accordingly, to have an influence on the conception and action of a man. It is the truth that the billboard are mainly of commercial destination, because of which it has not been thought of among the media types but in some cases it plays much more important role in spreading of information of noncommercial purposes and in the issue of influence of one and the same message simultaneously through transferring to a wide group of various individuals. Consequently, an attempt of effecting the informational influence might be considered as one of the most important common signs among the modern billboard and epigraphic inscriptions.

It should be indicated that there are available the definite marketing accounts concerning to what kind and forms of inscriptions must be performed on the billboards for providing the best results. As a rule, the advertising billboards are adorned with a slogan constituted of several words which are distinguished by bold print and bright/sharp colors.

It should be noted that the definite rules of fulfilling the inscription existed in the Antique Greece. E. g., The resolutions of the People's

Meeting have been written in strictly established form. It is possible that the resolution, as a juridical document is not the best example, but we can't avoid the formula with which the text, as a rule, had been initiated: "It has been resolved by the Meeting and the People." The indicated formula was followed by the information about the membership of the Committee of Five hundreds' Board, secretary of the meeting, chairman of the People's Meeting and the personality of Archont-Eponimos, and only after this it was written the text of the resolution itself.

Besides the resolutions the epigraphs contained the information on various great constructions, names of officials, names of the winners of the championships and those perished in the fights, Decrees of religious societies, etc. All these served to propagate the state interests, underline its powerfulness, both from the political and economical points of view.

The contemporary advertising signboards of noncommercial content are decorated by the slogans and photos of the persons or association participating in this or that elections, the religious appeals, images of famous sportsmen and artists which aim at popularization of various public activities. The memorial plaques and monuments of soldiers perished in battles have been erected which are not only the indicators of respect to the heroically perished, but aims as well at the propagation of national policy.

Number of inscriptions in Athena has been sharply increased after 460 years when finally had been formed a Democratic Slave-owning state.

According to the existing rule in Athena the State Treasury stipulated the special expenses for inscriptions. The cost for inscription depended not only on the number of lines and letter-marks, on the quality of an inscription, size of symbols, but on those materials as well on which the inscription should be executed. In Athena, fulfilling the 100 line inscription on the marble tile, where in each line there would be several decades of marks in the IV c. cost 60 Drachma.

It is worth-mentioning that in accord to the form and material, both the billboard and the epigraphic monuments have been distinguished by diversity. If in Antiquity they used the stone, cliff, wall of the building, memorial plaque, pillars and stelas for execution of monumental inscription, the contemporary billboards are prepared of metal constructions on which the digital, painted and other advertising banners. As well there are widely used the walls of the buildings. In spite of multi-century distance between the epochs, it is still arranged to search out even one resembling sample. For example, in the city of Miletus for the inscriptions on the agora there were available the special wooden plaques

– kirbs of prism form, on which the laws or decrees have been written in paints. The indicated kirbs, were rotating, for more clearness, around own axis. I think that you've not a single time the advertising billboard of like construction.

For epigraphic texts of special importance a rocky cover was widely used. As an example we can state the inscription of Gortin available on the isle Creta which otherwise is called the first constitution of Europe. The resolutions of the People's Meeting on establishment of a democratic system in the cities of Erifra, Colophon, Millet. It is especially interesting a resolution received about the city of Erifra which determines a new system of city management.

This tradition of stamping on the rock was widely spread not only in Antique Greece but in the Near East as well. E. g. in Iran, on the way from Baghdadi to Teheran, between the cities of Kermanshah and Hamadan there was the cliff of Behistoon on which is curved an inscription fulfilled by the order of Darios I. The inscription has been located on the height of 152 meters from the surface of the ground, on the territory of Old Midii and it was well seen from the way which once had communicated once upon a time Babylon and Ekbatan. Sizes of the inscription constitute 7 meters in height and 22 meters in width. Here has been depicted as well a bas-relief on which in front of the king Darrios there are standing 9 kings whose hands a necks are chained And on the tenth king stands Darios by foot. This inscription which has been performed in Persian, Babylonian and Newelamic languages is some kind of manifest of the King of Persia, Darios the First. Imprinting on high rock of an inscription and bas-relief for it were visible for everybody, demonstrates us clearly the purpose – to consolidate over the society the influence, confidence, fear and respect.

All the above mentioned can be summarized in the following way: the question which concerns the synchronization of the logo, the grapho and the video spheres, obviously coexisted in the ancient world (in different forms, but not within a single institution).

The similarities of the so-called Out-door Media and epigraphic inscriptions, which are shown by the visualizations and the usage of technical means for achieving the above mentioned effects, once again reminds us that everything new is well forgotten old and proves that notwithstanding the distance between Antiquity and other epochs, it's influence and connection can be found in any sphere of human activities.

BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

SHORT VERSIONS

Rusudan Tsanava

FACES AND MASKS IN *ODYSSEY*, TBILISI, LOGOS 2011, 230 P.

Summary

Preface

The preface introduces my vision of *Odyssey* and the method I used to study the text. I analyse three main heroes (Telemachus, Odysseus, and Penelope), trying to focus on what has been given little attention before. Essential aspects are sometimes kept low key in texts, as writers "play" with readers, testing whether they are able to understand what the writer has to say. We paid attention to precisely such episodes, which seem not to be very "loud" at a glance. In my opinion, it is such episodes that create invisible inside layers that shape the image of personages.

Let us consider subchapter "*Cretan*" *Odysseus*, which features a lie invented by Odysseus, who says he is Cretan. Odysseus tells his pseudo-story three times and more than 270 lines are devoted to it. The passage is quite long and amounts to almost half a one book (song). Having analysed the text, we conclude that by claiming to be Cretan, Odysseus involuntarily reveals his greatest dream. The problem is that 20 years ago, Odysseus took several hundred young men on 12 ships from his native island to Ilium. They were several hundred fathers, brothers, husbands, sweethearts, hopes... However, it was only he who returned 20 years later. How can he show his face to men and women, mothers and fathers, children and wives in rocky Ithaca? What can the head of the army tell them, as he did not bring a single soldier back home? Why did he, the defamed commander, return? This return is most painful for Odysseus and he opposes an allusion - being Cretan - to this pain.

Why did Odysseus take the mask of a Cretan? We can find the answer to this question in the text. Nestor narrates how Greek heroes returned home after the end of the Trojan War and it turns out that only Cretan Idomeneus returned to his home island together with his companions-in-

arms, suffering fewer losses than others and continuing his happy reign. It is Odysseus's dream to be such a successful commander. That is why a *Cretan Odysseus* was born in his dreams.

In my opinion, this and other features, which became clear-cut in the chapter *Odysseus with and without Masks*, will add new strokes to Odysseus, who is well known to us, but still remains unknown.

In this study, I laid particular emphasis on the **hermeneutic** analysis of the text, which implies interpreting a text through the text itself. Every author "conceals" the main thing he has to say somewhere in the text and readers have to find out what the author has to say. This "play" between author and reader makes the reading and comprehension process more attractive. In long texts (epic poems, novels), the "play" is longer and more interesting. This is also true of the hermeneutic interpretation of *Odyssey*.

The paradigmatic function of the myth is quite obvious in Homer's texts. We will concentrate on one aspect. As a rule, the paradigmatic function is attached to stories (myths) that took place much earlier, the so-called "old" myths. For example, comparing Meleagros' and Achilles' rage, it becomes obvious that the story of Meleagros is from much earlier times. In my opinion, one noteworthy trend can be seen in *Odyssey* together with the traditional format of myths: a new story is taken as a paradigm and it takes the shape of a myth right in front of the reader. The problem is that *trinomial parallelism is obvious in Odyssey: Odysseus-Agamemnon, Penelope-Clytemnestra, Telemachus-Orestes*. The comparison between these characters and their fates is visible at every level of the text. The founder of literary taste and laws – Homer – gets his readers involved in the transformation of "new stories" into myths.

I. The Initiation of Telemachus

According to *Odyssey*, Odysseus' son Telemachus is precisely in the age of initiation (20-21 years old) and admission to adulthood. The status of ajnhvr (man) could be obtained in different ages in different times. Eighteen was the officially accepted age in classical Greece. The initiation of Telemachus takes place in front of the reader in *Odyssey*. The first four books of the text (*Telemacheia*) are the description of the process. Goddess Athena assumes responsibility for and carries out the initiation of Telemachus. She appears to Telemachus in two forms – those of Mentos and Mentor, "preparing" the son to meet his father. Telemachus must meet his father as a man in order to be able to support him and implement gods' plans.

Quotations taken from the text have the function of subheads, presenting the main stages of the initiation: "Ah, you have dire need of lost

Odysseus" (ὧ πόποι, ἦ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποιχομένου Ὀδυσῆος δευῆ/I, 253-4); "It is not right for you to follow childish ways, being no more a child" (οὐδέ τί σε γρῆ νηπιᾶς ὀχέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλικός I, 296-7); "There are not many sons, indeed, who resemble their fathers: most are worse, and only a few are better" (παῦροι γὰρ τοὶ παῖδες ὁμοῖοι πατρὶ πέλονται, οἱ πλέονες κακίους, παῦροι δέ τε πατρὸς ἀρείους II, 276-177); "I hold the authority in this house today" (τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ XXI, 353).

Initiation is the leading motive of epic poems and the example of Telemachus represents it in *Odyssey*. However, if we take a deeper look into the text, we will also find episodes depicting the initiation of Odysseus. The image of aristocratic culture shaped in Homer's poems is a vivid expression of education in that circle. *Telemachia* played a key role in the pedagogic of the Antiquity. This explains the fact that there were numerous individual excerpts of this episode in the poem. Opinions differ on whether *Telemachia* was an independent epic poem or it was always part of *Odyssey*. We share the opinion that *Telemachia* is an inseparable part of *Odyssey* and the structural and hermeneutic analysis of the text confirms the opinion.

II. Odysseus with and without Masks

1. The "Cretan" Odysseus

Homer's Odysseus is a convergence of characteristics of well-known folklore types of tricksters and adventurers. At the same time, it is considered as a "parent" of fictional characters (heroes and antiheroes) since classical epoch till nowadays. The reason of immortality of this hero is simple – Odysseus is a character rooted deep in Folklore with various masks.

This article discusses (at the level of text analyses) one of the falsehoods (lies) of Odysseus, that takes great enough part in the poem – more than 230 lines and includes 3 songs: XIII (199-359), XIV (199-359), XIX (166-204). The point is that after 10 year of wondering returned on Ithaca – Odysseus hides his name and tells everyone that he is from Crete, brother or brother-in arms of Crete Idomeneus. On the bases of text's detailed analyses I observed that Odysseus claims that he was from Crete not for the reason that Crete is the most famous island (as accepted in scientific literature), but because the fact that Idomeneus was the only from the military leaders gone to Troy who managed to return back the most compatriots to their motherlands. Despite that in *Odyssey* Odysseus failure expedition is not highlighted it's still obvious from the text, on the one hand, Odysseus sorrow about lost of his compatriots and on the other hand, Ithacans anger caused by lost of their relatives. Hence, comparison

of himself with successful leader – Idomeneus of Crete unveils Odysseus very essential aspect of character. This is an illusion that is in its turn one of the most interesting masks of Laertid and is related to a hero's unconsciousness. Accordingly, Odysseus' this lie differs from other ones, which he used to tell in various places and for various reasons. Fictions (allusions, imaginations) create the other structure of the text, and penetrating in it is only available for emotional and imaginative readers. Returned as No-man a hero of Troy is bifurcated, tortured and nameless. The essential reason of his "sufferings" is that he returned home alone. That's why he, in his imagination, considers himself successful.

The poem's textual analyses and summing up approaches of thetoreicians of Antique epoch literature lets us conclude that Homer skillfully manages to put other fictions in fiction (myth) that cinfluence together organically with myth telling. These fictions in its turn have defined function of unclosing a character of a hero. They give possibility to unveil even the most implicit emotions and feelings.

Various readers see different masks of Odysseus: some see one or two, others – several, and the others even see many. For some readers, he is just an adventurer, for others he is a flexible man who can think of way out anytime, but a few are who can imagine crying Odysseus (and he cries frequently), who doesn't know how to return to his island and hides his feelings even from himself.

2. The Wooden Horse

Since they all tell the story of the wooden horse, we are given an opportunity to read the same story in different ways – or rather, to see how different characters can give an account of one and the same story. The wooden horse is not merely a mythic figure. It has a sacral function as the wall around Ilium was erected by gods (Apollo and Poseidon); and it was also under the divine will that Illus found the site where the city was to be built.

The first protagonist is Demodocus – a blind aedios from Scheria (The *Odyssey*, Book VIII). His story is true and unbiased, which is attested by Odysseus himself. The second and third stories are told by Menelaus and Helen (The *Odyssey*, Book IV). The paper pays particular attention to Helen's story and the atmosphere she created before starting the conversation (she put a magic drug in the vine and was continuously spinning as she talked). According to the episode, Helen is an oath breaker and a traitor. However, she succeeds in dazing the listeners and picturing herself innocent (fiction).

Evidently, the story of the wooden horse is very important to the three characters: through the courageous act Odysseus attains unfading glory and the renown of the shrewdest of all Achaeans. For Helen, it is the second most embarrassing event after her escape with Paris. Menelaus, dazed with Helen's charm, discerns nothing in the event but the chivalry of Odysseus and the unconditional victory of the Greek people. So, the interpretation of the story about the wooden horse discloses some more interesting traits of the characters of *Odyssey*. It perfectly illustrates how the same story can be related in three different ways. Anyway, what the three accounts have in common is the indisputable and invaluable role of Odysseus: he is the initiator and the chief implementer of the "wooden horse"; he is the crown of the Trojan epopee. Telemachus, son of Odysseus, is told this story in order to fully comprehend the contribution of his unknown father to the victory and his unparalleled property which made him different from other Greek heroes – his infinite shrewdness.

3. Odysseus and Cyclops

The Cyclops episode is interesting for us in several aspects. What is behind the island of Cyclops and the mythopoetic symbol of Cyclops? On this island, Odysseus *wears a mask* and takes another name – Ὀδυσσεύς - "No-man" (IX, 366; 408). Odysseus *makes a grave mistake* on this island.

According to the most widespread and popular theory, Odysseus behaves on the island of Cyclops as a typical conqueror. Describing the island, he speaks like a shrewd colonist (IX, 131-136). Quite a different aspect in the episode with Odysseus and Cyclops attracted our attention. This is the only episode (at any rate, the only such extant one) used in Greek drama. I mean the satyr play *Cyclops* by Euripides.

There are two noteworthy dramaturgical components in the Polyphemus episode: 1. Odysseus puts on a mask and *introduces himself to Polyphemus with another name*. Odysseus makes a *mistake*, two of them: first, it was not necessary to enter Polyphemus' cave and wait for him; second, a tragic mistake made when Polyphemus is already blind. Odysseus, who is on board the ship, shouts to Polyphemus his real name. This act of *hubris* is followed by a punishment. Polyphemus prays to his father, Poseidon, for revenge. Because of Poseidon's rage, Odysseus loses all of his fellow travellers and has to wander for 10 years. The 10 years were the payment for the mistake until Gods interfered and persuaded Poseidon to stop persecuting Odysseus.

Odysseus has to *expiate by suffering torments*, and it is known that torments and expiation are the basics of drama. Thus, Homer introduces elements of dramatic poetics. Not only the general analysis of the text, but

also concrete passages confirm this view. Athena explains, why *multiple torments* were sent down on Odysseus. The first and most important aspect is that, like other Trojan heroes, he should also be held responsible for the crimes committed during the destruction of Troy (it is a common crime, particularly Aias' loathsome behaviour in front of Athena's statue). Although it was gods, who decided that Troy was to be destroyed, they also decided to punish those, who would destroy it (double paradox). Second, crimes committed personally by heroes (blinding Polyphemus) are added to the common crime. The third aspect is the comparison of the fates of Odysseus and Agamemnon and the consideration of the behaviour of their family members in a parallel context.

4. Killing of Suitors

The story of killing the suitors is told in the text three times and the persons who interpret it are always different. Let us focus on the weapon of revenge (bow is an Asian weapon) and the day, when Odysseus killed the suitors (Apollo's feast day). We also consider the symbolism of threshold and enclosed space. We share the opinion that the Cyclops episode has the function of a paradigm in the scene of the killing of suitors.

We mentioned double paradox above. For example, Troy must be destroyed (this is what gods want), but those, who destroy the town, will be punished. Odysseus must punish Penelope's suitors, but if he kills them, he will be punished. The hero seems to have a choice and, at the same time, not to have it. In spite of that, the epic (and tragic) hero makes decisions himself. He advances to meet danger. He aspires to confront danger and test himself. The hero becomes involved in this "game" called life on his own free will. However, since he is a man, not god, he has weaknesses characteristic of human beings. According to psychiatrists, Odysseus suffers from psychosis. The scene of killing suitors, which is preceded by numerous episodes confirming this "diagnosis", is the culmination of this disease.

The analysis of these four passages from *Odyssey* makes Odysseus' features more concrete and obvious, drawing the hero very close to our time.

III. Odysseus and Women

This chapter introduces women, whom Odysseus trusts unconditionally – Anticlea and Eurycleia; women (or rather goddesses), whom he does not trust (Circe and Calypso); and the woman, whom he trusts and does not trust at the same time (Penelope). Athena deserves special mention. The

problem is that many believe that Athena helped Odysseus for the whole 20 years. However, the analysis of the text shows that this is not so. For nine years following the Trojan War, Athena takes no part at all in the hero's adventures. The first time after the Trojan War, the goddess appears to Odysseus on Ithaca. We analysed the reasons for Athena's "disappearance". The epic model of testing Odysseus' wife is considered in the same chapter.

IV. Penelope

In this chapter, we consider Penelope, whose fidelity has been an issue for discussion for thousands of years. We consider Penelope's personality at the level of the hermeneutic analysis of the text, proceeding step by step and viewing her from various angles – as a mother and wife. The analysis of the text makes it clear that Homer shaped Penelope as a model of a faithful wife. The cloth Penelope knitted for Laertes became a shroud for suitors. The reckless young men found themselves in Penelope's "net". Knitter Penelope (unlike knitter Circe) is supported by Athena. Penelope is anti-Clytemnestra. She is a faithful wife and attentive mother. According to the "triple parallelism", Penelope, Clytemnestra, and Helene (who are of one generation and are also relatives) represent different mythic models. However, given the paradoxical nature of the myth, all the three have the potential to resemble the other two. In other words, each of them can be regarded as the "unrealised other".

The conception regarding Penelope as a so-called symbol of a faithful wife as opposed to Helene and Clytemnestra was elaborated back in the Antiquity. *Thesmophoriazusaie* by Aristophanes can be referred to as one relevant example. Here Euripides criticises women – both mythic and contemporary, without mentioning only Penelope, since she is probably the model of a faithful wife and mother (a paradigmatic image).

V. Antique Tragedy and Agamemnon's Family

We noted that Odysseus and his family members did not become key heroes of the Antique drama and attempted to explain the reasons. Unlike, Odysseus, Agamemnon and his family members are most prominent heroes of the Antique drama. Since one of the directions of our study implies analysing the paradigmatic model of trinomial parallelism (Odysseus-Agamemnon, Penelope-Clytemnestra, Telemachus-Orestes), we deemed it necessary to concentrate on some aspects of ancient Greek tragedy. The problem of connections between Clytemnestra-Agamemnon and Clytemnestra-Orestes is discussed in this chapter.

Clytemnestra sees Agamemnon as a murderer of Iphigeneia who must stake his life on his crime, and she decides to sacrifice Agamemnon. In tragedies Clytemnestra herself kills and dismembers Agamemnon's body – the act that Aeschylus and Sophocles call *μασχαλίζω* – a term that signifies putting the cut-off hands and feet under the armpits of the victim's dead body.

After Agamemnon was killed, the only problem that Clytemnestra thinks and worries about is Orestes. When she is informed of the death of Orestes she says: "I cherished hope to hold a wonderful bacchian festivity and enlist him [Orestes] on his homecoming" (Aesh., *Cho.*, 698-699). These words of the mother, reacting at the news of her son's death, to say the least, sound a bit out-of-place. The analysis of the passage shows that a youth could enjoy the civil rights completely, i. e. included in the list of *demi* and become *ἄνθρωπος* – i. e. a man – after he reached 18. According to classical sources and calculations of researches, Orestes should have been 18 after he returned to Argos. Putting these details together, Clytemnestra's words acquire a specific meaning, and they signify an initiation ritual that had to take place after the end of the bacchian festivity and a ritual of initiation. The latter should make the youth an "*ἄνθρωπος*", proclaiming him a rightful member of citizens' community. We can assume that Clytemnestra was ready to carry out the ritual, and in case everything would develop in the course she envisaged, i. e. Orestes being obedient to her will, the conflict between the mother and her son would be eliminated, Clytemnestra would feel free from the fear of awaiting vengeance, and the whole situation would prove the story represented the only way to soften up and pacify the confrontation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GIORGI UGULAVA*
ANCIENT CONCEPTS OF STATE ARRANGEMENT, TBILISI,
LOGOS 2010, 150 P.

The issue, how to arrange the State, has been puzzling the humanity for centuries. Despite of the huge historical experience in this area, this subject is still actual for the modern society. Moreover it becomes more and more meaningful. The problem of State arrangement is actual for the modern Georgian society as well, because of the difficulties, which Georgia is facing during the first two decades of its State system reestablishment.

Observing the ancient historical-political experience has to be very important for analyzing modern events. Especially when ancient civilization has in both, practical and theoretical ways united in itself almost every model and concept of State arrangement, which are known to the world history. The goal of the author is, considering these circumstances, not to make the work detached from modern problems and based on discussions of ancient historical experience to give us an opportunity to make actual conclusions. The book parallels from historical events and political-social problems of state arrangement, both from modern and different historical periods.

* The book represents remade version of master work of the student of TSU Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Institute.

Phasis 13-14, 2010-2011

**MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, SPEECHES AND DIALOGUES.
TBILISI, LOGOS 2010, 304 P.
(Translation, Introduction, Comments by IAMZE GAGUA)**

The book is a Georgian translation of Cicero's eight well-known speeches (*Against Catalina, In Defence of Roscius, In Defence of Poet Archias*, and others) and two dialogues (*On Old Age* and *On Friendship*).

**PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO. SELECTED POEMS.
TBILISI, LOGOS 2011, 108 P.
(Introduction, Texts, Comments, Latin-Georgian Dictionary
Compiled by IAMZE GAGUA and KHATIA BERULAVA).**

The book is a manual for students attending the course named *Roman Author*. The manual comprises excerpts from almost all works by Ovid with comments and a Latin-Georgian dictionary supposed to make it easier for students to read, translate, and philologically analyze Latin texts. The book also has an introduction by Iamze Gagua on Ovid's life and work.

**DICTIONARY OF MORPHEMES OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE.
TBILISI, LOGOS 2011, 176 P.
(Compiled by IAMZE GAGUA)**

The Dictionary comprises Latin affixes, prepositions, particles, conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs. It explains their functions and origin, pointing to parallel forms. Each entry of the vocabulary includes examples in the shape of sentences or phrases from works of Roman authors and their Georgian translations.

Phasis 13-14, 2010-2011

EDITIONS OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE LOGOS

CATALOGUE 2010-2011

Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclopedia, I, Sources

2010: 290x200, 900 p., 976-9941-401-76-3

Hypocoristic, Diminutive, Pejorative and Hyperbolic Names in Georgian and Greek Languages

M. Kukchishvili

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D. Nollas

Translated by A. Udzilauri

2010: 168 p., 200x140, 978-9941-401-70-1

Claudius Aelianus

Varia Historia

edited by I. Garakanidze

2010: 265 p., 978-9941-401-95-5

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A. Trapaidze, D. Kuridze

2010: 320 p., 200X140. 999-65-96-2

Διάφορα

V. Asatiani. Complete Works

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L. Chotalishvili

2011: 136 p., 200X140. 978-9941-401-99-2

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I. Gagua

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Plutarchus. *Morales*

Translation, Introduction, Comments by Nana Tonia

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Remember the Athenians!

M. Pkhakadze

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M. Mchedlidze

2011: 62 p., 210X297. 978-9941-401-89-3

Ancient Traditions of Literature and Modernity

N. Tonia

2011: 344 p., 200X140. 978-9941-401-90-9

ANNIVERSARY

A Day of TSU Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of Professor *Rismag Gordeziani*

On June 9, 2010, TSU Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies hosted an event dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of Distinguished Georgian Scientist, the Head of the Institute, Professor Rismag Gordeziani.

Achievements of one year implemented in the Institute, such as: starting and completing of many important scientific projects (New Greek-Georgian Dictionary, Encyclopedia - Caucasus Antiquus, Old Greek-Georgian and Latin-Georgian Dictionaries), conducted scientific conferences, scientific activities of students and professors, scientific works and translations, published by the Publishing House *Logos*.

A short film about Rismag Gordeziani's life and activities was specially prepared by students' initiative.

A significant fact was pointed out: on March 25, 2010 - Greece Independence Day - The Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Greece to Georgia - His Excellency Giorgos *Khadzimikhelakis* handed an honorary diploma and medal to Prof. Gordeziani on behalf of the President of the Hellenic Republic - Mr. *Karolas Papulias*. Mr. *Karolas Papulias* awarded Prof. Rismag Gordeziani with the highest order of the Hellenic Republic and a Cavalier of Dignity Order for exceptional deed in the development of Hellenic Studies.

Coworkers and students of the Institute, TSU Rector, Director of Shota Rustaveli National Scientific Foundation, the Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Greece, the President of the National Scientific Academy, The President of German Academy of Sciences, the Minister of Education and Science of Georgia congratulated Professor with the anniversary.

The Minister of Education and Science of Georgia handed the professor Presidential Decree about awarding him with **The Presidential Order of Excellence** for his activities in raising and educating students, personal dedication in the matter of founding the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, for fruitful pedagogical and scientific activities and significant merit dedicated to the country.

LETTERS OF CONGRATULATION

Dear Mr. Gordeziani,

It is with great pleasure that the National Academy of Sciences and the Department of Language, Literature and Art congratulate you, a distinguished Georgian scholar and public figure, a Corresponding Member of the Saxonian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of Georgia, Director of the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University – on your 70th birthday and the 45th anniversary from the commencement of your brilliant academic career.

Owing to your outstanding talent, versatility and tireless work, you have made a significant contribution to the development of Homeric, Aegean, Etruscan, cultural and ancient literary studies.

Your publications have always been highly appreciated by Georgian as well as foreign specialists and have earned various university, Republic and Soviet Union wide awards. You are a member of the Greek Archeological Society, of Winkelmann International Society, and a Corresponding Member of the Saxonian Academy of Sciences, which attests to the international acknowledgement of your scholarly activities.

You frequently appear at conferences and deliver lectures at foreign research centers and universities including those in the Hellenic Republic, Germany, Russia, Italy and US. Your high reputation among your western colleagues has often played a favourable role for the Department of Classical Philology of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, for the Laboratory of Mediterranean Studies and for the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, established in 1997 thanks to your direct involvement and to joint efforts. Nowadays, the Institute is among the most important centers of research and translation. It is staffed by qualified professors, your former students, who worthily continue the scholarly traditions. Their professional activities are manifested by their numerous works published by Logos, likewise established by you. Logos books have already made up an important and voluminous library.

Please, once again accept our sincere congratulations of this great day. We wish you long life, good health and further success in your prolific work.

Academician Tamaz Gamkrelidze
President of the National Academy of Sciences

Leipzig, am 9. Juni 2010

Sehr geehrter Herr Gordesiani,

zu Ihrem 70. Geburtstag entbiete ich Ihnen – zugleich im Namen des Präsidiums und aller Mitglieder unserer Gelehrtenegesellschaft der Sie seit 1997 angehören – sehr herzliche Glückwünsche.

Von Haus aus Klassischer Philologe, arbeiten Sie auch althistorischen und im archäologischen Bereich und wenden sich anderen frühen Kulturen der Ostmittelmeerwelt einschließlich des Schwarzmeerraumes zu. So wirken Sie – und wirkten schon vor 1990 als profiliertester, innovativster Altertumswissenschaftler auf dem Territorium des damaligen Sowjetunion – fruchtbar über die Grenzen Ihres ursprünglichen Faches hinaus. Damit machten Sie bereits damals die Universität Tbilisi zum Zentrum altertumswissenschaftlicher Forschung. Ferner integrierten Sie die nachantike griechische Sprache und Literatur in die von Ihnen geleitete Einrichtung, das Institut für Klassische, Byzantinische und Neugriechische Studien. Die langjährige vielfältige Zusammenarbeit zwischen georgischen und deutschen Altertumswissenschaftlern und Neogräzisten, die sich in Gastvorlesungen (von Ihnen in Leipzig und Jena gehalten) sowie in gemeinsamen Forschungen und Publikationen bewahrte, ist wesentlich Ihrer Initiative zu danken. Die klassischphilologische Forschungskooperation der Universitäten Leipzig und Saarbrücken zum Thema “Kenntnis und Bewertung fremder Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike” nahm dank Ihrer Vermittlung noch vor der “Wende” bei einem Kongress in Tbilisi ihren Anfang.

Ihre unkonventionellen fachübergreifenden Fragestellungen und Antworten prägen die zahlreichen wertvollen Veröffentlichungen, die Sie in georgischer, russischer, französischer, englischer und deutscher Sprache verfassen. Wir freuen uns mit Ihnen des positiven Echos, das Ihre Vorträge und Schriften finden, unter

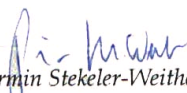
anderem in Würdigungen unseres Mitglieds Jürgen Werner. Ihre wissenschaftlichen Leistungen wurden nicht zuletzt durch Ihre Wahl zum Mitglied der Akademie des Wissenschaften Georgiens und zum Ehrenmitglied der Griechischen Archäologischen Gesellschaft gewürdigt. Fachkollegen im In- und Ausland schätzen Sie als kundigen, anregenden Gesprächspartner. Es ist uns bekannt, dass bei seinem Staatsbesuch in Georgien dem damaligen Bundespräsidenten Herzog die Begegnung mit Ihnen sehr wichtig war.

Unsere Akademie ist stolz darauf, Sie zu ihren Mitgliedern zählen zu dürfen; wir erinnern uns gern des Vortrags, den Sie 1999 in unserer Gelehrtenegesellschaft gehalten haben.

Wir wünschen Ihnen zu Ihrem Ehrentag gute Gesundheit und weitere wissenschaftliche Erfolge.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Ihr


Pirmin Stekeler-Weithofer
Präsident