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EDITORIAL NOTE

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*M A T E R I A L S F R O M T H E
I N T E R N A T I O N A L
C O N F E R E N C E*

**TOPICAL ISSUES OF ANCIENT
CULTURE AND ITS HERITAGE**

23-27 SEPTEMBER

TBILISI, GEORGIA

Medea Abulashvili (Tbilisi)

Greek State in the 19th Century Print Media

Though word of mouth as an early version of mass media was practiced already in Rome and Byzantium, journalism developed much later, after the invention of a printing machine. In Strasburg, Amsterdam and Paris the first weekly newspapers appeared in the 17th century. However, it was not before the 19th century that printed media became widespread in most countries worldwide.

It did not take long the Georgian public to respond to the new European invention. Printed fliers appeared in Georgia already at the end of the 18th century. The need for publishing newspapers was pointed out by Prince Ioane, the son of the last king of Georgia Giorgi XXII in his state management reformation project, while in his literary writings, statesmen were supposed to read papers.

The publication of the first Georgian newspaper was evidently hindered by the loss of independence. Despite this, Georgia was the first among the peoples of the Russian empire to keep pace with recently started journalistic practices and in 1819 the first official national periodical was established in its capital.

The 19th century Georgian print media present unique, so far unexamined materials and may be of remarkable interest for researchers thanks to the following:

- a. Georgian print journalism originated shortly after the European;
- b. It was distinguished by broad coverage, readability and relevance of issues covered;

- c. It provides interesting evidence for the history of journalism as well as for world history;
- d. It cites reputed foreign periodicals, thereby reflecting the perspectives of its contemporary international print media.

This paper aims to reveal how and to what extent the 19th century Greece was reflected in the Georgian print media. The question deserves close attention as even against the marvelous millennial history, 19th century Greek political life attracts attention by its dynamic character: The Greek uprising and the liberation from a four hundred year yoke, the accompanying struggle for territories and the related processes, attempts to address problems, formation of a new national discourse, national self-identification and so on.

It is interesting to find out how print media in Russian Tsarism-dominated Georgia responded to it, to what extent the Georgian reader was informed about the events unfolding on the territory of its historical partner and how the Georgian population evaluated these events, whether Georgian journalists were biased or objective and how they obtained material. No less important is to scrutinize the 19th century coverage of events from modern journalistic and historical perspectives.

The Greek issues are dealt with in the very first Georgian periodical *Sakartvelos Gazeti* (later called *Kartuli Gazeti* (*Georgian Paper*)). The November issue 1820 covers the events relating to the capitulation of the fortress Preveza and Ali Pasha's sending of envoys to the cities of Italy and other states. Regrettably, earlier issues of this newspaper survive only in fragments, which prevents us from having a clear picture. It is highly likely that the newspaper covered the 1821 uprising. In fact, the records of the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia contain a note that the Georgian Papers of March 28, 1921 reported on the Greek uprising against the Ottomans. However, as this issue is not presently available because of digitalization, I will try to discuss it in another article.

The first Georgian newspaper was published till the end of 1821. Due to the ensuing several-year silence, the budding Georgian journalism missed several important events taking place in Greece. In the following decades various Georgian newspapers used to be published at different times but were closed down either because of Russian ideological pressure or some other problems. From the 1850s/60s Georgian periodicals started

appearing without interruption and even influenced public opinion in the South Caucasus.

The newspaper *Droeba (Times)*, published by the progressively-minded Georgian elite, deserves special attention. A triweekly since 1866 and later a daily, *Times* most probably¹ offered the broadest coverage of events unfolding in Greece. It closely followed them and not only referred to foreign periodicals such as *Times*, *Public*, *Temps*, *Constitutionnelle*, *France*, *Partie*, *Independence Belge*, *Morning Post*, *Lerent Herald* and periodicals of Athens, but had its own reporters in Athens and Constantinople.

I will attempt to present the Greek-Turkish conflict over Crete as covered by *Droeba*:

The Ottomans deliver a notice of protest and a four-clause ultimatum to the Greek Foreign Minister, blaming Greece in supporting and funding Cretan reactionaries, deploying guerillas and engaging in anti-Ottoman and pro-Greece propaganda. In case of non-obedience, the Ottomans threaten to call their ambassadors. European states see the threat of war and try to act as mediators. However, an armed conflict cannot be prevented. Europe holds several diplomatic conferences and appeals to Greece to agree at least on several points in order to satiate the Ottomans. The Greek people categorically reject the conference recommendations. However, the high patriotic zeal is offset by low fighting capacity and poor armament, which compels the Greek government to yield and accept the European recommendations.

According to the 19th century print media, Greeks wage several parallel struggles: in the diplomatic arena, on the battlefield, at sea and within the country, via media. I will try to briefly describe each of them.

The Military Conflict

Georgian newspapers provide exhaustive coverage of the events preceding the conflict as well as the war itself. The events developed quite rapidly:

As reported from Athens, the Greek government has started intensive armament, is increasing its fleet, has invited specialists from abroad.²

Abdul Azi Khan appeals to the Muslims to unite under the flag of Allah and fight the Greeks, who support the rebellious Cretans.

¹ *Droeba*, 2, 1869.

² *Droeba*, 40, 1869.

On December 2, the Ottoman admiral Hobart starts hunting Greek trade vessels to prevent foot supply to Crete and establish a blockade around the island.

300 men are sent from Crete to collect weapons and food. They are sieged by the Ottomans unnoticeably in the fog. The Greeks give up their weapons but the Ottomans slaughter all the disarmed captives.³ One of the participants to the uprising of 1821 reports that the Ottoman barbarians outdid the events 45 years ago. They slaughtered even those families who surrendered. The Greeks were unable to hide women and children in secret places. 200 women and children were massacred in one grotto. 2 women and a man were burnt alive – they are trying to terrorize Christians in his way. “For God’s sake, for the sake of humankind, please try your best to make this known to the rest of the world,” - the Greeks appeal.⁴

One Greek priest exploded powder and blew up 600 Ottoman soldiers.

Greece adopted a law on borrowing 100 million drachms. Cash collection points opened everywhere to raise money, whatever one can effort. Rich Greeks from abroad donate money to the government. Neither fleet nor land forces were left without attention. 300 battalions were made up from volunteers, each containing 500. “Almost the entire Greek army was deployed along the Turkish border. They toil to fortify every single spot.”

The newspapers describe in detail the story of Petropoulakis surrender, his nephew’s death, etc.

Information War

Some contradictory information can be found in Georgian newspapers regarding the Cretan conflict, which can be qualified as the evidence of information war unfolding in parallel with the military conflict. Here are some examples:

According to the newspaper *Droeba*, Gavas’ correspondence of January 5 is not likely to be true. The spread of the information about the Cretan appeasement must have been spurred by the Ottomans. 27 December news from Retimnos totally contradict the ‘Ottoman tales’, the newspaper concludes and adds that the insurgents had been fighting the Ottomans for the whole week at Amaron.

³ *Droeba*, 4, 1869.

⁴ *Droeba*, 43, 1866.

Droeba 22,1 869 write that a Venetian reporter from Constantinople categorically denies some Greek newspapers' information about insurgent activities under Hadji Mikhalis and Korakos in Crete (Kandia). The reporter claims that both commanders had surrendered long before and had been pardoned.

Public Sentiments

Georgian newspapers write that the Greek people await with fear the government's decision regarding the diplomatic conference recommendations. They want to believe Greece will not accept these recommendations – otherwise, the country will lose its influence over the eastern issue. He who signs the protocol first will not escape death from the Greeks. People gathered at coffee houses (*kahwa khanas*) only talk politics. People are elated by the volunteers' determination and the government's patriotic mood.⁵ Public gathering started on February 5. Loud threatening messages are being delivered towards the king, as he accepted the conference declaration. The protesters could only be mollified through the application of force.

Official Position

The Georgian newspaper coverage of the Greek events may help us make inferences on the Greek official position: if the government yields to the European recommendations, people will proclaim them traitors, but if they follow public sentiments, they will be held accountable before the history. The only way left is to persuade the population, but the high patriotic passions interfere with sober judgment. 'Even the most miserable person talks proudly of politics.' The government has two options: put on a selfless hero's mantle and lead the country to a sheer destruction or choose the label of a traitor and save Greece from the war doomed to defeat. The new government takes the less popular but more sensible decision, agrees with the European conference declaration and disseminates a message among the population that "Greece did not refrain from warfare because of the Ottoman threats, or in order to win the favor of foreign states, but only yielded to the force of circumstances" (The President P. A. Zaimis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs K. Delian, P. Petzzali, Saravis, A. D. Avgerino, S. Stutzo, D. Tringeta, Athens, January 25, 1869).

⁵ *Droeba*, 10, 1869.

Meanwhile, the young and prudent king tried to calm people down. However, when he saw that nothing worked, he took a decision to abdicate and leave for Paris. 'Such daring had a due effect.' The Greek elite realized the responsibility they were about to assume, with no prospects for money and friends and with no king above them.

Diplomatic Controversy

At the onset of the Ottoman-Greek conflict, the European states seemed to sympathize with Greeks. Some European (e. g. French) volunteers even fought on the Greek side. German newspapers write that they would not recommend any country to accept the Ottoman ultimatum. Belgrade declares it is not going to agree if the Ottomans require the deportation of Greeks from Serbia. The Greek Foreign Minister's report to the Chamber of Deputies contains the following noteworthy information: As the Cretan conflict was unfolding, the fighters for independence receives donation and support from all sides, while later Greece was their only supporter.

European states were not happy with the Greek-Ottoman conflict. After standing by and scrutinizing awhile, they attempted to soothe the conflict. The Georgian print media highlighted expectations of Greece regarding the European support but later publish a passage from an Athens newspaper translated into Georgian: "Instead of allies, we encountered a European coalition that united against us." According to the Georgian media, Greek newspapers had started 'railing against' Europeans (January 24). French and Russian policies incurred the most criticism, as they pinned special hopes on the latter⁶ (The Russian censorship must have overlooked this information).

Georgian newspapers also present foreign media coverage of the conflict. *Droeba* publishes an article from *The Morning Post*, which qualifies Greek sentiments regarding European recommendations as ignorance and impatience and expresses a concern that European states have spoiled Greeks, who failed to understand what Europe was proposing.

The Greek king received a letter from Napoleon advising him to accept the Paris conference decision, as it reflected the whole Europe's position.

The following information published in the newspaper *Iveria* is particularly important: "Austria and Germany are against the Ottomans'

⁶ *Droeba*, 10, 1869.

withdrawal from Thessaly.” What probably remained then unnoticed but can be inferred from the modern perspective is that Germany was preparing for the first world war and envisioned Turkey as his ally.

The Position of the Georgian Print Media

19th century Georgian newspapers do not confine themselves to a mere account of facts. They also convey expectations, hopes and suppositions. The events unfolding in Greece are often reported so vividly and eloquently that even the modern reader can feel the emotional charge. It is not difficult to guess what effect the articles could have had on the 19th century public: they obviously stirred strong emotions and compassion. A proof to this is a poem by an anonymous author from Kutaisi, published in *Droeba*. The poem describes the pain of a Cretan woman who holds a little boy in her hands and vainly awaits her husband, gone to fight for liberation (I. M., *A Cretan Woman from Morea*, Kutaisi, February 22, 1869).

Georgian newspapers not infrequently disclosed their position by means of the following evaluative phrases: “The Greek ambassador acted in a way befitting the dignity of his country”, “Greeks do not spare anything for their independence”, “They do not allow themselves more”, etc. The newspapers also offer deeper insights and more profound analysis. In this regard, the newspaper *Iveria* is particularly noteworthy, especially so that it shaped its contemporary public opinion.

Here is an extract from a newspaper article by Iase Rachveli, a reporter for *Iveria*, in connection with the 13th European Congress held on July 26:⁷ Europe is split into 3 camps: Austria and Germany are against the Ottomans’ withdrawal from Thessaly; England, Italy and France insist thereupon, while Russia will not let the Ottomans do whatever they want. “Apparently, this is how European states have come to an agreement over the Eastern case,” the reporter adds ironically. The he continues: “As you see, the Ottomans have enough room for maneuvers and knows what they are about. They have undertaken a surprising enterprise – the Ottomans intend to trade in Crete for Thessaly. Turkey has lost Crete anyway. However, if this situation persists, Greece is going to lose it either. Greece may accept the Ottomans’ condition, as Crete is better than devastated Thessaly, unless the Europeans meddle once again.” Thus, while all foreign

⁷ *Iveria*, 6, 1867.

newspapers report on Europe as a benefactor, the Georgian newspaper *Iveria* appears quite bold and critical towards the European policy.

Abstract

The 19th century Georgian print media present unique, so far unexamined materials and may be of remarkable interest for researchers thanks to the following:

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Tamar Aptsiauri, Teona Gelashvili (Tbilisi)

**Lexicographical Studies Based on Euthymius the
Athonite's Translations of Gregory of Nazianzus's 30th and
31st *Orations* and Gregory of Nyssa's *The Life of Moses***

Examining original philosophical and theological works as well as their relevant early translations in the context of contemporary humanities is a subject of complex research. A comprehensive study of a particular translation involves an assessment of the original version in terms of the concepts and world-view it conveys, on the one hand, and a textual and philological analysis of the translated version, on the other, lexicological studies constituting one of the most important aspects of the latter. Development of a scientific terminology that can function as a special-purpose language is, in general, preconditioned by several factors and entails a rather long-term work. The history of the making of the Georgian theological terminology extends back over centuries. This process started in the oldest (5th c.) translated and original monuments of different genres and reached perfection in the translations of the Gelati Hellenophile theological school. Succeeding the old tradition, the translators from the Iviron Monastery at Mount Athos, including Euthymius the Athonite, a prominent 11th c. translator and founder of the Iviron school, had undoubtedly played a significant role in unfolding large scale translation activities. The present paper is an attempt to analyze the development of the Georgian theological terminology at its early-stage based on Euthymius the Athonite's translations of two works pertaining to two different genres. Notably, our research will focus on the analysis of the interrelation between Greek Gnoseological terms and Euthymius's corres-

ponding versions based on Gregory of Nazianzus's dogmatic writings – 30th and 31st *Orations* – and Gregory of Nyssa's exegetical work entitled *The Life of Moses*.

Cognizing the infinite Divine essence and dogmatic handling of the theoretical knowledge gained through the contemplation of the Christian Logos in the course of spiritual perfection is a great achievement of the Cappadocian school of theology. Subsequently, the early-stage translation of the above works into Georgian provides interesting material for observing the formation of the Georgian theological terminology as well as understanding the polysemy of relevant Greek terms. The broad range of Greek gnoseological terminology incorporates lexical units that underwent substantive semasiological changes while being transformed from everyday language-level into a theological term. Georgian translators most probably faced the same problem. Their task was apparently to render the extremely diverse Greek epistemological terminology and simultaneously overcome the conventional understanding of their equivalent terms established in everyday Georgian reality.

The most general term describing the cognition of the *Ens Supremum* is the Greek ἡ θεωρία, the original meaning of which is *observing, seeing, gazing, viewing*. This meaning is further augmented by its philosophical denotation as a mental contemplation of the transcendental.¹ Gregory of Nyssa's *The Life of Moses*, representing an extremely significant mystical and exegetical work, provides interesting material for understanding this lexical unit that has become a gnoseological term. "Theoria", standing for science in Christian theology, is opposed to "action", a term denoting practical activity (Melikishvili D., 128). The basic Georgian equivalent of the Greek "theoria" is *seeing*. The 11th and 12th cc. Georgian translators (George the Hagiorite and Ephrem Mtsire) also attest the terms "visual" and "active" as antonyms (*ibid*). The Greek θεωρία in Euthymius's translation of *The Life of Moses* has three matches: looking, seeing, and perceiving (ხედვა², ხილვა და გულისწმობა-ყოფა). Each of them reflects the

¹ Melikishvili D., *History of Old Georgian of Philosophical-Theological Terminology*, Tbilisi 1999, 128.

² τότε προσάγεται τῇ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης φύσεως θεωρία (Gregory of Nussa, *De Vita Moses*, H. Musurilo, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* (GNO), VII/I, Leiden 1964, 83, 6-7) რამეს ესე ყოველი აღესრულოს, მიეახლებს უზემთაესისა მის ბუნებისა ხედვება (P3,373r,59).

process of contemplation of the supreme nature by a person trying to achieve spiritual perfection. The translator renders the process of moving closer to the realm of mental contemplation by the term გულისკმობს-ყოფა (perceiving).³ The point at which Gregory of Nyssa provides an allegorical explanation of Moses seeing the God's back during the third theophany, i. e. when the Greek θεωρία in its original meaning denotes seeing physically, is translated by Euthymius the Athonite as "seeing" (ბილვა), while in the same sentence when the Greek verb (θεωρέω) stands for seeing mentally, i. e. perceiving history allegorically as a "fable image", the translator decides in favor of the term "perceiving" (გულისკმობს-ყოფა) again. We have a similar case with the translation of the Greek ὄραω. In particular, when the original describes physical seeing, i. e. seeing tangible things, the equivalent in the Georgian version has the words "seeing" (ბილვა) or "looking" (ხედვა), and when the author speaks about mental perception and conceptualization of a profound idea concealed in history, the translator goes back to the Georgian equivalent term of "perceiving" (გულისკმობს-ყოფა).⁴

When translating Gregory of Nazianzus's 30th and 31st *Orations*, Euthymius the Athonite renders ἡ θεωρία with a single Georgian equivalent "perceiving" (გულისკმობს-ყოფა). The rationale again lies in the context: dealing with the divine contemplation and mental seeing leading to the divine cognition, the Georgian translator disposes the Greek term of the meaning of the mundane and translates it as "perceiving" (გულისკმობს-ყოფა).⁵

³ σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν ἡμέτεραν ὑπόληψιν τὸ ὑπερβῆναι τὴν ἐξ αἰσθήσεως γενομένην γνῶσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν νοητῶν θεωρίᾳ (VM, 84,2-4) amas moaswawebs, viTar me vhgoneb, viTarmed, romeli uxilavTa maT gulisAmis-yofaTa Sevidodis, uAms, raATA AorcielTa maT saconbelTa mier momavalsa cnobasa da gulisAmis-yofasa Tana-warhAdes (373v, 59).

⁴ μετὰ ταύτην ἡ τῶν ὀπισθίων θεωρία ἐλόγώτερόν τι τῷ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς νόμῳ θεωρηθῆσεται (VM, 112, 5-6) zurgiT kerZoAsa RmrTisa xilvaA keTil ars, raATA igavis saxed gulisAma-vyoT (384v, 84).

⁵ λέγεται, μετὰ τῶν προσφόρων τῇ θεωρίᾳ μαρτυριῶν (Gregorie de Nazianze, *Discours*, 27-31 (discours theologiques), Introduction, Texte critique, traduction et notes par P. Gallay, Sources Chretiennes, Les Editionis Du Cerf, Paris 1978, 3. Or. 31, 2, 5-7) თქუმის წამებითა შემსგავსებულთა ამის გულისკმობსყოფისათა (Gregory of Nazianzus, 30th and 31st *Orations*, critical apparatuses and technical resources by T. Kurtsikidze (not published) 31. 2. 6).

When discussing synchronous theoretical and practical actions accompanying the striving to perceive the truth, Gregory of Nyssa uses the term *ὑπόληψις* originally meaning, as evidenced from multiple examples in the translation, *thought* (*გულვისბოტყუა*), *recollection* (*მოვინებდა*), and *meditation* (*სავინებდელ*), i. e. lexemes denoting the act of supposing. However, when Gregory of Nyssa argues that the foundation for learning virtues, on the one hand, is the liturgy and, on the other hand, having an appropriate outlook regarding the nature of the Divine, the translator substitutes this ambiguous assumptive term with the synonymous “perceiving” (*გულვისმოს-ყოფა*), denoting mental contemplation.⁶

When translating *ὑπόληψις* in Gregory of Nazianzus’s theological *Orations*, Euthymius provides a completely different term as its equivalent.⁷ The translator becomes all the more stricter in relation to dogmatic issues and renders *ὑπόληψις* by exceedingly categorical religious expression of *the truth*. In this case, we have to do with is a divergent translation, in which the translator renders the term with a totally different meaning to prevent the reader from a possible incorrect understanding of the dogmate.

A similar trend can be observed in the translation of the term *φαντάζομαι* attested in Nazianzus’s works and meaning theological visualization. Since visualisation in the minds of Georgian readers may evoke an association of subjective imagination, Euthymius substituted it by a lexical unit that is devoid of any subjectivity and suggests “perceiving” (*გულვისმოს-ყოფა*) as a Georgian equivalent for *φαντάζομαι*.⁸ We come across *ἡ φαντασία*, a noun of the same root, in Gregory of Nyssa’s work when the author contends that the first step in fathoming the truth is to discard falsehood, defining falsehood as an imagination about temporal

⁶ τὰς πρεπούσας ὑπολήψεις περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἔχειν (VM 22, 14-16) romelni-igi iynnes swavlani saTnoebisani, romlisa Tavadi ars RmrTismsaxurebaÁ da gulisÁmis-yofaÁ saRmrToÁsa mis bunebisaTÁs (351v, 14).

⁷ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ δυνατὸν λαβὼν τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπολήψεως (*Or.*, 31, 11, 17-20) kacobrivTa saxeTaganca ipoebis WeSmaritebaÁ (31. 11. 50).

⁸ οὐχ ὅς ἐῖρε τὸ πᾶν ... ἀλλ’ ὅς ἐὰν ἄλλου φαντασθῆ πλεον (*Or.*, 30, 17, 13-15) araTu romelmanca pova yovelive saidumloÁ RmrTismetyuelebisaÁ aramed romelmanca umetesad sxuaTa gulisÁma-yos (30. 17. 9). Δαβίδ ἐφαντάσθη πρότερον (*Or.*, 31, 3, 16-17) daviT gulisÁma-yo pirvel (31. 3. 10).

things. In this case, the Georgian translator retains the contextual meaning and renders ἡ φαντασία by the word “dreaming” (ოცნება).⁹

Both Gregory of Nyssa’s and Nazianzus’s works abound with the Greek terms that convey the process of cognizing the infinite and transcendental Divine essence. After correlating the two works with their Georgian versions, it became clear that when translating the Gnoseological vocabulary, Euthymius the Athonite gives preference to the term “perceiving” (გულისწმა-ყოფა).¹⁰ The Georgian translator tries to incorporate in this single and, so to say, safe lexeme all cognitive terms that have the philosophical implication of seeing beyond and that would definitely cause confusion of the untrained Georgian readers, eventually leading to a wrong understanding of the notion. Below we are bringing all the Greek lexical units from both works translated by the Georgian translator as “perceiving” (გულისწმის-ყოფა). However, we decided to highlight several instances: 1. გულისწმის-ყოფა is the sole equivalent of the pertinent Greek term; 2. გულისწმის-ყოფა is one of the equivalents of the Greek term and 3. The Greek word is rendered by a hendiadys of which გულისწმაყოფა is a component, i.e. the instances when Euthymius the Athonite resorts to hendiadyses to convey the depth of the wide cognitive meaning of a particular Greek term. Classifying the terms in this manner would also allow us to examine the solidity of the Georgian equivalents of the Greek lexemes and determine whether Euthymius alters the meaning of one and the same Greek term when translating the works of two different genres.

⁹ ψευδος γάρ ἐστι φαντασία τις περι τὸ μὴ ὄν ἐγγισομένη τῇ διανοίᾳ, ὡς ὑφ’εστῶτος τοῦ μὴ ὑπάρχοντος. ἀλήθεια δὲ ἡ τοῦ ὄντος ὄντος ἀσφαλῆς κατανόησις (VM 40, 6-8) rameTu tyuvili ars yovelI ucnebaÁ warmavaI Ta amaT saqmeTaÁ, xolo WeSmarit ars mecnierebaÁ WeSmaritisa mis arisaÁ (357r, 26).

¹⁰ გულისწმის-ყოფა (Abuladze I., Explanatory Dictionary of Old Georgian, Tbilisi 1973: acknowledging, remembering, informing, notifying, feeling, being aware, knowing, looking), (Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani: it means mental perception and opening up of hearts. Has been described by some as heart’s voice. Heart does not have voice (ჭმა(ა), but can be unlocked and opened ajar, which is called reason), (Melikishvili D., Documented Dictionary of Old Georgian and Old Greek Philosophical and Theological Terms, Tbilisi 2010: understanding, conceptualization, cognition), Z. Sarjeladze’s Dictionary of Old Georgian, Tbilisi 1995 – does not contain this term.

For a better visualization, we designed tables with the Greek terms and their correspondent Georgian versions in the Georgian translations of both Gregory of Nyssa's and Gregory of Nazianzus's works (see tables).

Although a vast majority of Greek cognitive terms are rendered by Euthymius the Athonite based on the same principle and using the same Georgian equivalent, we nevertheless encounter a number of differences in the translations of both Gregory of Nyssa's and Gregory of Nazianzus's works: 1. If the Greek term *θεωρία* in Gregory of Nyssa's *The Life of Moses* has a philosophical as well as a trivial bearing, in Gregory of Nazianzus's work it has a strictly defined and exclusively philosophical meaning of transcendental contemplation; 2. The Georgian version of *ὑπόληψις* in Gregory of Nyssa's work is closer to the basic meaning of this word as it is rendered by the Georgian *გულისებობა-ყოფა* (perceiving). In Gregory of Nazianzus's *Orations*, however, we encounter a totally different case with "the truth" appearing as the equivalent of *ὑπόληψις*; 3. When translating *φαντάζομαι/ή φαντασία*, on the other hand, Euthymius the Athonite is fully focused on the contents of the original and interprets the original idea correctly considering the readers' interest.

The examination of old Georgian translations of the above semantic units of cognitive terminology allowed us to draw certain conclusions. In particular, it was ascertained that Georgian theological terminology had not yet been strictly defined by Euthymius the Athonite's time. The translator tries to fully convey the depth of the original teaching, while, simultaneously takes into account the interests and intellectual background of the Georgian readers, which should explain why Euthymius tries not to confuse the reader by the polysemy of the Greek lexemes. He is especially strict when translating a dogmatic work and therefore at a point in Nazianzus's work dealing with the Holy Trinity dogmate, a particular Greek term often has one Georgian match instead of being rendered by several equivalents, like in case with the translation of Gregory of Nyssa's exegetical work. As to the fact that the translator renders nearly a two dozens of Greek gnoseological lexemes by a single term – *გულისებობა-ყოფა* (perceiving) – clearly indicates that we are witnessing the tendency to unify diverse Greek lexemes.

Greek Terms the Only Correspondence of Which is *perceiving* (გულისკმის-ყოფა)

Greek Term	Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nazianzus
περίνοια	გულისკმის-ყოფა	გულისკმის-ყოფა
σκοπέω	გულისკმის-ყოფა	გულისკმის-ყოფა
νοοῦμαι	გულისკმის-ყოფა	გულისკმის-ყოფა
διανοέω		გულისკმის-ყოფა
λογίζομαι		გულისკმის-ყოფა
ἐνοοῶ	გულისკმის-ყოფა	
ἐννοια		გულისკმის-ყოფაი
ἀκολουθία	გულისკმის-ყოფა	
διανοητικόν	გულისკმისმყოფელობა	
ὑπονοέω	გულისკმის-ყოფა	გულისკმის-ყოფა

Greek Terms, One of the Correspondence of Which is *perceiving* (გულისკმის-ყოფა)

Greek Term	Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nazianzus
ἐπίγνωσις	ცნობა, მეცნიერება, გულისკმის-ყოფა	მეცნიერებაი
γινώσκω	მეცნიერება, ცნობა, ცოდნა, საცნაურ ქმნა, სმენა, ხილვა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	ცნობა, მეცნიერება,
σημαίνω	მოსწავება, გამოსახვა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	
μανθάνω	გულისკმის-ყოფა, სწავლა, ცნობა,	სწავლა
μεταλαμβάνω	მიცვალება, გულისკმის-ყოფა	მიღება
νοέω	მოგონება, საცნაურ-ყოფა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	გულისკმის-ყოფა
ἐννοέω	მოგონება, გულისკმის-ყოფა	გულისკმის-ყოფა
εἶδω	ცოდნა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	
χάρεω	დატევნა, აღსლვა, მიახლება გულისკმის-ყოფა	შემოკრება, დამკვიდ- რება, დატევა, მიწევნა
ἀπαντάω		წარმართება, გულისკმა-ყოფა
γινώσις	ცნობა, ხედვა, გულისკმის- ყოფაი	მეცნიერებაი, გულისკმის-ყოფაი
συνίμι	ცოდნა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	
κατανόησις	გონება, მეცნიერება, გულისკმის-ყოფაი	მეცნიერება

κατανοία	ცნობა, პოვა, განცდა, ხილვა, პერობა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	
διάνοια	გონება, ძალი, გულისკმის-ყოფა	გონება, გულისკმის-ყოფა
ἐπίγνωσις	ცნობა, მეცნიერება, გულისკმის-ყოფა	მეცნიერება
σημασία	სასწაული, გამოჩინება, გულისკმის-ყოფა	
ἀναφέρω		გულისკმის-ყოფა, მიჩემება
ὄρα	ხილვა, ხედვა, გულისკმის-ყოფა	ხედვა
νόημα	გულისკმის-ყოფა	
νοῦς	აზრი, გულისკმის-ყოფა	გონება

Hendiadys, one of the Component Part of Which is perceiving (გულისკმის-ყოფა)

Greek Term	Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nazianzus
γινώσκω	გულისკმის-ყოფა ცნობად	
σπλέγω		მიწევა გულისკმის-ყოფად
βαδίζω		პერობა გულისკმის-ყოფით
καταίρω		მიწუთომა გულისკმის-ყოფად
γνώσις	1. ცნობა და გულისკმის-ყოფა; 2. ხილვა, ცნობა, მიწუთომა	
γνώριμος		უცხადესი და გულისკმისსაყოფელად ჭეშმარიტი

Abstract

The present paper is an attempt to analyze the development of the Georgian theological terminology at its early-stage based on Euthymius the Athonite's translations of two works pertaining to two different genres. Notably, our research will focus on the analysis of the interrelation between Greek Gnoseological terms and Euthymius's corresponding versions based on Gregory of Nazianzus's dogmatic writings – 30th and 31st *Orationes* – and Gregory of Nyssa's exegetical work entitled *The Life of Moses*. A comprehensive study of a particular translation involves an assessment of the original version in terms of the concepts and world-view it conveys, on the one hand, and a textual and philological analysis of the translated version, on the other, lexicological studies constituting one of the most important aspects of the latter. The early-stage translation of the above works into Georgian provides interesting material for observing the formation of the Georgian theological terminology as well as understanding the polysemy of relevant Greek terms.

Maia Barnaveli (Tbilisi)

Motivations for the Beheading of John the Baptist in Byzantine and Old Georgian Writings

There are five surviving Georgian translations of Byzantine homilies and several Georgian original writings dealing with the beheading of John the Baptist. According to Georgian manuscript tradition, the translations are attributed to John Chrysostom (two readers), Andrew of Crete, Theodore of Studion and John Xiphillinus. Georgian manuscripts of these works date from the 9th to the 16th centuries.¹

The authors foreground different motivations for Herod's crime. All of them rely on the story of the Gospel: 'For Herod had laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife. For John said unto him: 'It is not lawful for thee to have her.' And when he would have put him to death, he feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet. But when Herod's birthday was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod. Whereupon he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she would ask. And she, being before instructed of her mother, said: Give me here John Baptist's head in a charger. And the king was sorry: nevertheless for the oath's sake, and them which sat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her. And he sent, and beheaded John in the prison. And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel: and she brought it to

¹ See Gabidzashvili E., *Translated Works of Ancient Georgian Literature, Bibliography, 3, Homiletics*, Tbilisi 2009.

her mother.² The Gospels of Matthew and Mark mention that Herod was sorry, 'nevertheless for the oath's sake, and them which sat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her'³ and 'the king was exceeding sorry; yet for his oath's sake, and for their sakes which sat with him, he would not reject her.'⁴

Thus, according to Matthew and Mark, Herod seemed aggrieved but avoided breaking his oath and offending the girl before his fellow diners. It should be noted that in the Gospel of Luke, Christ calls Herod 'fox'. When the Pharisees approach Him and advise to leave the place as Herod is seeking to kill Him, Jesus responds: 'Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to day and to morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.'⁵

The first homily from the Sinai Polycephalon⁶ bears the name of John Chrysostom but in fact was composed by an anonym. The author expounds on why Christ called Herod a fox and not a lion: 'Because the Lord knew their deeds. Therefore, He said to them, 'go ye, and tell that fox ...', as he had the power of lion but was the embodiment of fox.' ο' .. ο Κύριος ἐπιστάμενος , οὐκ εἶπεν, Ἦΐπατε τῷ λέοντι τοῦτω (καίτοι τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον ἐδόκει βασιλικόν), ἀλλ' , Εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἔξουσία λέοντος, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος ἀλώπεκος.⁷

The author explains to the listener why the king and the queen persecuted John. He would fearlessly criticize and condemn Herod for marrying his brother's widow. The author explains when the Law of Moses allows for such a marriage: if the deceased did not leave a child, 'his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother'.⁸ Philip had a daughter. Herod banished his lawful wife, daughter of King Areta from his kingdom and married his brother's widow, Herodias, adding one sin onto

² *Mt.*, 14, 3-11.

³ *Mt.*, 14,9.

⁴ *Mark.*, 6,26.

⁵ *Luk.*, 13,32.

⁶ Greek original in MPG 59, col. 757-766. The homily is published in Sinai and Udabno Polycephala (Sinai Polycephalon of 864th Year, ed. by A. Shanidze, Tbilisi 1959, 206-212; Udabno Polycephalon, ed. by A. Shanidze and Z. Chumburidze, Tbilisi 1994, 300-303). It is also preserved in yet unpublished Jer. 17, 148v-152v (12th-13th cc. manuscript) at the National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi.

⁷ MPG 59, col.761.

⁸ *Mt.*, 22, 24.

another. This explanation appears in all the mentioned homilies but the second text from the Sinai Polycephalon. The text also highlights Herodias' guilt of marrying her husband's brother. The sin was even graver because it was committed by the king, who took the path of transgression.

The author of the Sinaic text adds that Herod became furious and Herodias even more exasperated. They had similar names and were kindred spirits, equally vile. ... παρωξύνθη μὲν ὁ Ἡρώδης, πλέον δὲ παρωξύνθη Ἡρώδιās (γείτονες γὰρ τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ τοῦ τρόπου πλέον ἤπερ ὁμόζυγοι· καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο, οὐκ εἰς σάρκα μίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀκрасίαν μίαν).⁹

The author marvels at the fearlessness of Christ's precursor, whose words contain a recurrent statement: 'It is not lawful for¹⁰ thee to have thy brother's wife.'¹¹

The author attempts to present a full picture of this horrible murder: nobles invited to Herod's birthday sit around the festive table tipsy with wine. It did not befit the King's daughter to appear before them and dance as if she was a commoner. The prelude to this crime starts when Herod impudently brings the virgin in and lets her dance in front of men. Moreover, he himself takes delight in this. He enjoys the girl's dance so much that even agrees to give up half of his kingdom, should she request this. Pseudo-Chrysostom sarcastically calls Herod to pray that his niece does not dance again, or he may turn into a beggar ['begging for bread']: if he lets her have half of his kingdom for one dance, the second dance may earn her the entire kingdom. The author emphasized the king's voluptuousness: 'Can you see his voluptuousness? He swears in advance: 'Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee'.¹² Then Pseudo-Chrysostom cites a passage from the Gospel: 'Swear not at all'.¹³ One must not bind oneself by oath. Herod killed a prophet because he did not break his oath. The conclusion is that giving an oath was evil and even a greater evil was to fulfill it. The oath and his fellow diners were so important for Herod that he did not even fear the Supreme Judge.

⁹ MPG 59, col. 762.

¹⁰ MPG 59, col. 762.

¹¹ *Mark*, 17,18.

¹² *Mark*, 6,23.

¹³ *Mt.*, 5,34.

Pseudo-Chrysostom believes that Herod feigned sorrow before others, as if it was hard for him to keep his promise. The author blames the king that he was more eager to commit the crime than the solicitors of John's death and adds that 'the contested head (of John) was paid as a price for dance'. The author of this homily highlights Herod's likeness with Pilates in wickedness and hypocrisy, and disclosing the king's insidiousness, writes: 'The fox did not hide himself.'

The second homily from the Sinai Polycephalon¹⁴ was likewise composed by a pseudo-Chrysostom. Both translations date from the 5th-7th centuries.¹⁵ The author names women as the source of evil. He writes: 'Methinks there is no other beast on the earth like an evil woman. Ἡμοὶ μὲν δόκεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι ἐν κόσμῳ θηρίον ἐφάμιλλον γυναικὸς πονηρᾶς.¹⁶ He then gives an account of Biblical stories where woman became a cause of many evils and adds: 'Because of woman, John, the light of the entire world, got killed.' It names evil woman as the cause of the crime. This Sinaic text ends with the author's remark that here he finishes his word with evil women. The same text was found in Tarasi Meskhishvili's manuscript collection,¹⁷ which continues with a word on good women, as it is in the Greek original.

In a homily by Andrew of Crete dedicated to this theme John the Baptist's words repeat as a refrain: 'It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife', Οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν ... τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.¹⁸

which enhances the dramatic effect of the narration. Andrew analyzes the working of the sin Herod was driven by. He was so 'possessed with bestial lust', that his mind was darkened. The Prophet warded him by teaching and censuring and tried to persuade him. Herod, on his part, avoided the Prophet, as he knew that John was holy and righteous. He could recall stories from the Bible (for example, Ahab's story) where a sinner listened to the censure and repented his wrongdoings. However, he did not want to follow what is good but added sin onto sin, yielded to

¹⁴ Sinai Polycephalon, 212-215; see also MPG, 59, col. 485-490.

¹⁵ The Georgian Translated and Original Homiletic Literature, ed. by N. Melikishvili and M. Maisuradze, Tbilisi 2012, 432.

¹⁶ MPG 59, col. 485.

¹⁷ A-1448, (1801-1862), 74r-75v.

¹⁸ MPG 97, col. 1132.

concupiscence and enslaved himself to grudge. He was entrapped by 'his passion for an adulteress and the dance of a lecherous girl'. Andrew does not think that oath was the cause of the crime. It is clear for him that Herod would use all his wicked guile to repudiate his promise if the girl asked him to abdicate or separate from her mother. Andrew finds Herod ineligible for kingship as he lacks 'royal consciousness'. The Bishop criticizes Herod for incontinence of speech: He did not 'keep the door on [his] lips'. His senses could not curb his voluptuous nature. The author thinks that the king was completely enslaved to passions and lost fear of God and men because of inebriety, while the fear of forswearing was only a guise. He had better break his oath in good faith rather than keep it, as by slaughtering John, he most of all harmed himself as he doomed himself to the fire of hell. 'Movements of legs and body suppressed royal reason'. Andrew describes this dance as demonic emulation. He mentions several musical instruments which he calls 'the weapons of temptation' not befitting a king to listen to.

In his homily, Theodore of Studion¹⁹ foregrounds the genetic sin. Theodore puts a question: who was Herod? and answers himself: 'His father was he who massacred infants.' Theodore gives forth the reasons why John the Baptist was persecuted and like Pseudo-Chrysostom in his first homily, explains when the Jewish Law allows for marrying one's late brother's wife.²⁰ He too notes that Philip, Herod's brother, had a daughter and that Herod banished his lawful wife, King Areta's daughter from his kingdom to marry Herodias. He was the king and was even more responsible to observe the laws of faith. It was for this reason that John censured him and called on him to separate from Herodias. The royal power compelled Herod to forget about God and he 'came into possession of what was not his due'. Herodias would abet him against John and say: 'I, the Queen, will not bear derision from the son of Zacharias. Arrest him, my censurer, kill him summarily with a sword, who wounds my soul with his word, as if with an arrow.' Οὐ φέρω, φησὶν, κωμωδεῖσθαι, βασίλισσα τυγχάνουσα, ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Ζαχαρίου· κάθες τὴν γλώσσαν ἐν φυλακῇ τὴν ἐμὲ στηλιτεύουσαν· κτεῖνον ἐν τάχει αἰχμῇ τὸν ἐμοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῖς λόγοις ὡς βέλεσι τραυματίζοντα. Καὶ θέλων αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ἐφοβήθη

¹⁹ MPG 99, col. 758-770; Georgian translation, done by George the Athonite (11th c.), is included in H-1347 (11th-13th cc).

²⁰ *Mark*, 6,18.

τὸν ὄχλον, ὅτι ὡσπερ προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶξον· οὐ γὰρ ἠνίκα βουλευθῶσιν οἱ κρατιῦντες πράξαι τι τῶν ἐκτόπων, εὐθύς τὴν ὀρμὴν εἰς ἔργον ἄγουσιν, αἰδοί καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ ὑπηκόου ἀναβαλλόμενοι καὶ κλωθέντες εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἐφαρμόζοντα καιρὸν τῆς μοχθηρίας.²¹ Herod wanted to kill John, but was afraid of people. Theodore adds that kings do not fulfill their desires immediately out of fear and deference for their people. Therefore, he writes, they keep their will secret in their minds and await a suitable time. Such a time was the king's birthday. According to the author, 'the dance gave birth to an oath and the oath to a crime'. Theodore sees a chain of sin, in which one wrongdoing brings forth another: evil must be prevented at the very beginning. The first instance of wrongdoing was Herod's banishment of his lawful wife and marrying his sister-in-law, while the last sin was the beheading of John the Baptist: 'Evil must be eradicated from the roots to prevent transgression, because if there exists a source of sin, it will necessarily be fulfilled.'

In the text attributed to John Xiphillinus²² and called *A word commemorating the birth, upbringing and beheading of the Holy Glorious Prophet John the Baptist and the recovery of His Venerable Head*,²³ the author focuses on a phrase from the Gospel: 'And when a convenient day was come ...'²⁴ According to Xiphillinus, these words indicate that the day was convenient for what Herod, and even more Herodias desired with all their heart but could not dare as people considered John a prophet. Herod too knew that John 'was a just man and an holy'.²⁵ Xiphillinus emphasizes that at first, the girl did not ask for any reward but the king himself proposed her to do so. The girl did not request half of the kingdom or anything Herod possessed, but him 'who was greater than anyone born of women'. The oath was not an excuse as the king promised to give away any of his possessions: the worldly glory, riches and power, which he could share with the girl, but not the head of John. Xiphillinus too believes that Herod's sorrow was feigned and addresses him: 'you even gave a false

²¹ MPG 99, col. 764-765.

²² Kekelidze K., *Studies from the History of Old Georgian Literature, Foreign Authors from the History of Old Georgian Literature*, 5, Tbilisi 1957, 183.

²³ Halkin, *bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, t. I, 835, 837; Bruxelles 1947, 268-269; Кекелидзе К., *Иоанн Ксифилин продолжатель Симеона Метафраста, Христианский Восток*, I, 1913, 340-347, К 1, 558-578.

²⁴ *Mark*, 6, 21.

²⁵ *Mark*, 6, 20.

appearance of grief.' The king pretended as if he found it hard to fulfill the girl's request but was bound by oath. However, the author of the homily argues that the king's gloat was even greater than the requesters' (the mother and daughter's).

The mentioned Byzantine homilies, written later than John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*,²⁶ owe a lot to the latter, though tend to introduce new motives and details, some to a greater and others to lesser extent. John Chrysostom, on the one hand, focuses on the adverse influence of corporeal pleasures on Herod's decision and on the other hand, emphasizes woman's crime in this drama. He points out that it was Herodias who threatened John the Baptist that she would have Herod kill him. Specifically, Chrysostom's *Teaching on the Beheading of the Precious Forerunner and on Shunning Singers and Actors*, Chapter 14, reveals from the very title that the author associates this ruthless crime with a spectacle. He vividly describes all circumstances leading to the crime. First, he points out that John the Prophet did not censure Herodias but called on Herod to separate from her, which made her furious. Chrysostom then mentions Herodias' threats addressed to John as her censurer that she would make Herod his murderer. The church father thereby foregrounds woman's crime as one of the central motifs of this Biblical drama. John Chrysostom also writes that Salome was instructed to dance before the guests by her mother. These two motifs – Herodias' threats to John and her prompting Salome to dance – do not repeat in homilies. However, like Chrysostom, other authors too mention that Herod, being inebriate, swore to his niece that he would give her whatever she wished. According to Chrysostom, Herod might have expected Salome to ask for something more befitting his birthday celebration, but was misled by his shortsightedness. Chrysostom believes that Herod should not only have resisted his niece's request but should have vehemently rejected it. However, the king chose to do a favor to the infamous woman at the expense of ruining his soul and angering God.

²⁶ St. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, translated by Euthymius the Athonite (11th century), ed. by a group of editors, editor-in-chief M. Shanidze, III, Tbilisi 1995, 29-33; Saint John Chrysostom, *Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew*, translated by St Euthymius the Hagiorite, prepared for publication by the Athonite Manuscript Research Laboratory *Orion*, Tbilisi State University.

The church father's message to the reader is that a sin cannot be eradicated by adding another sin, but through repentance and confession. Chrysostom, as well as the authors of the homilies,²⁷ does not think that Herod was aggrieved at Salome's wish. He also explains that sin is rooted in wine drinking, revelry and in listening to musical instruments that stir base passions in humans and dull their ability to discern the divine providence – to see the deeds of God.²⁸ This latter motif can be found in Georgian original church writing as well. Thus a 7th century Georgian homilist, John Bolneli and a well-known 17th-18th century Georgian clergyman and writer, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani consider inebriety as a cause for beheading John the Baptist. In his homily *For Wine Drinkers and Drunkards* John Bolneli convincingly expounds on adverse effects of excessive wine drinking and cites stories from the Bible: what happened to Noah, Lot and Samson when they got drunk. The author finally mentions Herod and his guests: 'Herodias entered and danced. And [Herod] had John, the Baptist and the Holy Forerunner, beheaded and thus inherited the abyss of the hell.'²⁹

Motives of the beheading of John the Baptist are also discussed in two teachings of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. In his homily (teaching) *On Inebriety and the Beheading of the Baptist*³⁰ he explains that filth lurks in drunkenness and therefore, the latter puts a righteous man in jeopardy. He too recalls Noah, who divested himself of his clothes and incurred Ham's derision. Sulkhan-Saba then proceeds with Herod, who killed the Baptist because he was drunk. Interestingly, Sulkhan-Saba distinguishes between five different types of inebriety, wine being responsible for only one of them. Herod was overcome by all of them. Apart from wine drunkenness, these five types of inebriety include lust for adultery – Herod wished to marry his brother's wife, arrogance, lust for sin and rage – Herod was exasperated by John's reluctance to make allowance for his sinful desire.

²⁷ The second reader by Pseudo-Chrysostom does not expose the author's position on this question.

²⁸ St. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 32.

²⁹ *Homilies of Bishop John Bolneli*, Ecclesiastical Museum series #14, Mose Janashvili, Tbilisi 1911, 82-85. See also Chkonia T., *The Bulletin of the Institute of Manuscripts*, IV, Tbilisi 1962, 145-161.

³⁰ Beliani, *Works in Four Volumes*, vol. 3, prepared for publication and furnished with research notes, comments and glossary by I. Lolashvili, Tbilisi 1963, 195-199.

The author comments that rage makes a person more inebriate than wine or mead. Orbeliani's homily *Teaching on Drunkenness*³¹ dwells on the evil of wine intoxication. It starts with Apostle Paul's words: 'And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit'.³² Then the author notes that inebriety turns good into evil and cites several examples from the Bible, including Herod's beheading of John. Sulkhan-Saba appeals to drunkards and argues that wine drinking leads to the violation of all the commandments given by Moses.

All Byzantine homilies rely on the story of the Gospel and at the same time reflect the two main motives foregrounded by John Chrysostom: on Herod's part, it is his arrogance, reluctance to break the oath and offend Herodias before his fellow diners, his feigned sorrow and malignant joy rooted in his exasperation at John the Baptist's recurrent statement: 'It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife' (*Mark*, 17, 18); on the part of Herodias, it is her guilt of marrying her husband's brother and her hatred for John, who would call for observing the Law of the Bible and personal ethics. Along with these, the Byzantine authors also mention other general religious motives underlying the biblical crime: woman is the source of evil; one must not bind oneself by oath; the power of inherited sinfulness (Herod is a murderer like his father King Herod I, who massacred infants); one sin generates another and corporeal pleasures are reasons of sins. As concerns John the Baptist, as pointed out by Xiphillinus, he would have received every comfort and honor by merely being silent. However, he was Christ's forerunner, the greatest among those born of women, and would never keep silent when seeing sinfulness.

Abstract

This paper discusses Georgian translations of the homilies on the beheading of John the Baptist as well as Georgian original writings, specifically, Ioane Bolneli's and Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's sermons and teachings. All of them rely on the story of the Gospel (*Mat.*, 14,3; *Mark.*, 6, 26). There are five surviving Georgian versions of Byzantine homilies dealing with the beheading of John the Baptist. They were composed by Pseudo-Chrysostom (two texts), Andrew of Crete, Theodore of Studion and John Xiphillinus, and date from the 9th to the 16th centuries.

The authors foreground different aims and motivations of Herod's crime: the king's reluctance to break the oath and offend Herodias before his fellow dinners;

³¹ *Ibid.*, 212-219.

³² *Ephesians*, 5, 18.

the king's feigned sorrow and malignant joy fostered by his exasperation at John the Baptist's recurrent statement: "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife" (*Mark*, 17, 18); Herodias' guilt of marrying her husband's brother. The medieval fathers also point out that: women are the source of evil; one must not bind oneself by oath; Herod inherited sinfulness from his father, King Herod I, who massacred infants; one sin generates another; the king was driven by voluptuousness, as he was "possessed by bestial lust" that darkened his mind.

In this paper I only dwelt on Georgian translations of Byzantine homilies. However, it should be noted that the 7th century Georgian homilist, Ioane Bolneli and a well-known 17th-18th century Georgian clergyman and writer, Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani consider inebriety as the main cause for beheading John the Baptist.

Yevgeniya Chekareva (Kharkov)

Temporal Adjectives in Ancient Greek

The tasks of the modern linguistics are not only in description of language phenomena, but also in solving the problem of the way the world reflects in the people's conscious. To be implemented in a particular language form a phenomenon should be realized by a person, interpreted in light of his/her individual picture of the world, as well as in socio-cultural, historical context of native speakers.

The concept of time is an important component of any individual's picture of the world, as it is an absolute attribute of matter. All the objects, processes, phenomenon as components of people's life have space-time characteristics (Smirnov A. I., 1986, 3-16).

Time relations depend on the peculiarities of interaction of material objects. The properties of absoluteness and relativity of time are in dialectic unity. Its absoluteness in different processes shows itself being the universal attribute of matter, exposing unity of matter, movement and time. In its turn variety of time processes and phenomenon suggests its relativity (Sinkevich D. A., 2009, 148-152).

The concept of real and perceptual time appeared as a result of comprehension of ambivalence of time. Perceptual time, which is connected with individual time "sensation" and perception, not always precisely corresponds to real time, which can be measured and valued exactly and is connected with changes of real objects and phenomena's states (Mostonpanenko A. M., 1974, 5-14). Perceptual time is defined as internal empiric setup of person's perception, which reflects the objective temporal reality (Zvonska-Denisiuk L. L., 2005, 11).

Even taking into account all its special features perceptual time is basically correspondent to the reality. Despite the subjectivity of temporal phenomena's perception, the changes of individual feelings still reflect the order of real events' changes.

The concept of perceptual time can be applied not only to an individual with his/her subjective time perception, but also to a group of people, the language native speakers' community in a particular historico-cultural period.

As world outlook picture is transformed in the direction of its optimization due to fundamental necessities of a person, the understanding of the category of time has not always been the same, but has been changing taking into account mental behaviour of a person in a particular historical epoch (Bondarko A. V., 2003, 22). The factor of time, therefore, plays an important part in the creation of a human model, as well as a person does in the modelling of time (Arutiunova N. D., 1997, 52).

For Ancient Greek world outlook system, that was realized in mythological form, the idea of cyclical time was a feature. The background of such ideas is in essential dependence of a person and human society on environment and relation between a life rhythm and a sequence of the seasons. On the other hand, perishability of individual being stimulated the appearance of a fundamental for the time idea of timeless absolute being (Molchanov Ju. B., 1977, 6-7). The cyclical conception of the time is a periodicity with no deviation that repeats again and again under any conditions with no changes (Kovalev V. P., 2004, 42). Consequently there is the time's loss of three modi (past, present and future), as well as usage of eternal, frozen in time "now" (Zvonska-Denisiuk L. L., 2005, 12).

Archaic thinking is absolutely "atemporal" and denotes mostly emotionally-evaluating attitude to the environment. A person of that time lived feeling his/her belonging to the common space, feeling as a part of eternity. Therefore there was ignorance of physical time as simultaneous, homogeneous and irreversible, and its perception as heterogeneous, multivariate and reversible (Aleksina T. A.).

With civilization development, transformation to the state system surely changed the idea of time. Static, cyclic understanding of time gradually was changed by linear perception of temporal relations that reflected in the system of Ancient Greek on its different levels.

Language acts as an interpreter, expression of nation culture (Nikolaeva E. A., 2007, 72). There reflects all the experience and knowledge that

were gained by the people during its existence, its mental peculiarities and the type of its view of the world (Kolshanskiy G. V., 2005, 24). Language gives an opportunity to regulate and systemize all the multitude of knowledge to build a typical for a definite ethnocultural community language picture of the world (Maslova V. A., 2004, 11). As time is an objective category, the system of time values should reflect the general model of time relations that reproduces perception of existence and acting in time, which was formed by a person in the process of development and cognition of the environment (Vsevolodova M. V., 1975, 6).

Thus, universally-existential picture of time is realized on the mental and language levels. The process of category of time's reflection in language evolves from perception to onto-gnoseological ideas of time that exists in human conscious and has an influence on the choice of a particular time model. The datum point of forming language expressing of time relation is definite mental views of time that is correspondent to a language correlate. The forming in the conscious of definite views of time and these views' representation on the different levels of language on the different stage of its development depend on the kind and the way of perception, as well as on objective features of the language (Zvonska-Denisiuk L. L., 2007, 32-33).

Due to relevance of structures of human conscience and language the results of human perception of time reflects in time language picture of the world (Maslova V. A., 2004, 73).

There is no general point of view as for understanding and interpretation of category of time. The idea of time is loosely interpreted and expresses itself in several semantic categories: temporality, taxis, aspectuality and time localization. These categories are often united due to their complex expressing through tense verbal forms that don't often correspond exactly with each of named categories. The problem of distinguishing of the categories and differentiation of special means for their expressing is still rather actual (Zeleneckiy A. L., 1983, 138-139).

Aspectuality, as a rule, is considered as interpretive (subjective) category of the verb, that is an interpretation of an action's temporal structure by addressant (Maslov Ju. S., 1990, 83). It should be noted that the point of view of addressant may agree or disagree with the objective reality.

In his work *Shifters, Verbal Categories and the Russian Verb* R. Jakobson proposed to distinguish, besides known grammatical categories that are

expressed by the verbal forms, one more that he called "taxis". "The time – writes R. Jakobson – characterizes the informed event with the reference to the act of speech. Taxis characterizes the informed event with respect to another informed event without reference to the speech act" (Jakobson R. O., 1972, 100).

Category of temporality, which is traditionally also called the absolute time, reflects the relations between the informed fact, the event and the moment of speech and in this sense is really deictic category that is related to the conditions of the communicative act. Grammar tense is the core of temporality. Being agreed in content, tense and the field of temporality differ in their expression. Tense is attached to morphological forms of verb. Though temporality includes the whole range of expressed by means of language time's relations of objective world (in this sense temporality is a complex phenomenon) (Seniv M. G., 1997, 157-159).

In the works, devoted to category of time, it is semantic interaction of tense forms of the verb and the other means of time relation's expressing that are more often analyzed. The question of differentiation of two language paradigms of "grammar tense" and "lexical time" is rather topical and is intensively studied in the science of our country and abroad.

Traditionally the question of lexical time is considered in linguistics in the context of studying of category of tempus that includes lexical as well as grammar means and determines the correlation of time of action's realization correspondently to the time of expression production.

Grammar means of category of tempus are verb's tense forms, but they, according to a traditional point of view, are often insufficient for time correlation of the moment of expression production and time of action realization. Lexical means for demonstration of time correlation play an important part there.

Lexical component of temporality includes the range of means of time relations' expressing with the help of the special time vocabulary: conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, adjectives, nouns.

So, the most important concepts are coded in language, some of them on the grammar level, the other on the lexical one (Maslova V. A., 2004, 16). The concept of time on the logical level was realized in different groups of lexemes, particularly in the system of adjectives.

Adjectives name "particular properties or characteristics of subjects" (Kubriakova E. S., 2004, 281), besides these properties are not processual,

lack of “phaseability” and perceived in every moment of time. According to N. A. Basilaia, adjectives take a special place in the system of parts of speech, noting a separately comprehended aspect of the object, pointing to the single, entitative from its carrier, feature, moreover the feature is relevantly steady and stable (Basilaia N. A., 1988, 75).

The formation of the class of adjectival vocabulary symbolizes an important stage in language establishment and possibility of perception of features, qualities and characteristics of subjects separately from the subjects themselves in the process of logical thinking development. As it is noted by Z. Kharitonchik, the differentiation of the subject as it is in the aggregate of all its features and its individual qualities and characteristics resulted in separation of initially united for Indo-European system of names and forming of the special category of words that mean characteristics, features, and qualities of a subject – that is adjectives (Kharitonchik Z. A., 1986, 10).

The characteristic is “an index, the part of the subject or phenomenon that can help to know, identify or describe the subject or the phenomenon” (Kubriakova E. S., 2004, 250). The adjective points at the separately realized part of the object, the single, abstracted from its carrier, index, which is rather stable and constant (Kubriakova E. S., 2004, 251).

The contemporary researchers single out those structures of knowledge that, as a rule, are coded with the help of adjectives. In the best and fuller way nominative spaces, denoted by adjectives, were named by R. Dixon. The main among them are parametric, colour, age and temporal (Dixon R. M. W., 1982, 13).

Adjectives that indicate subjects’ properties in the time system of coordinates are a part of main vocabulary of the language that realizes a communicative process and a connection with the prior stage of language development. Temporal adjectives are characterized by relative stability and historico-cultural independence, reflecting the specificity of time perception and fixation of time properties by native speakers.

The features of adjectives according to their vocabulary, world-building structure, and semantics are peculiar for every single language and reflect, in particular, the character of cognitive activity and fixation of its results by a human.

Copious vocabulary of Ancient Greek contains valuable information about the way of world perception as a whole and time in peculiar. To

understand such encoded information the deep analysis of lexeme from the point of view of their semantics, quantitative indexes, filling of single lexical-semantic groups and world-building structures is necessary. Generalization of findings will allow understanding of what and how exactly was named by Ancient Greek speakers, in what quantity of elements important information of environment was fixed.

The adjectives of temporal semantics in Ancient Greek are an insufficiently learned group of words, though adjectives as main parts of speech (along with nouns, verbs and adverbs) are the subject of the closest examination.

Some particular problems connected with adjectives' functioning in the Classic Languages can be found in the works of M. Seniv, A. Dobiash, S. Sobolevskij, M. Slaviatinskaia, I. Tronskij, K. Kujbida, D. Kajer. That is why the analysis of temporal adjectives and identification of their part in forming of Ancient Greek's picture of the world is seen as rather topical and perspective.

Therefore semantic group of temporal adjectives' studies will allow revealing essential characteristics of the lexical system of Ancient Greek and identifying the relation between mental peculiarities of time perception and their realization in the concrete lexical unit.

In Ancient Greek temporal adjectives form a big group of units that are different in their form and content.

Among semantic classification of temporal adjectives basing on the materials of different language V. A. Karashchuk's classification that we'll take as a basic one in our research stands by because of its particularization and comprehensiveness.

The author suggests defining the group of qualitative-temporal and adverbial-temporal adjectives (Karashchuk V. A., 1978, 4).

Qualitative-temporal adjectives denote characteristics of particular objects (denotata), their semantics is complicated by different non-temporal semes, that is why they are not related as properly temporal. For example, ἀιθαλής nondeciduous, evergreen; immortal; γαμήλιος wedding, matrimonial; γεραῖός old, venerable; ancient; δίφορος yielding twice a year; εἰρηναῖος peaceful; ἐκτελής perfected, completed; mature, adult; μειρακιώδης adolescent, youthful, juvenile, βιοθάλλμιος in one's prime, in the bloom of youth healthy, blooming; νεόνυμφος newlywed, young married, newly married; ἀνέορτος ferial.

Adverbial-temporal adjectives are properly temporal that are relative in many aspects to temporal adverbs, as for example, ἡμερήσιος one-day; στιγμιαίος momentary; ἔμμηνος monthly; βαιός short, brief; μέτριος medium-lived or short-lived; ταχύς fast, momentary, immediate; δολιχός long, prolonged, ἑκατονταετής centenary, centennial, centenarian; πανεπόρφνιος lasting the whole night; ἀζηχής continuous; uninterrupted, unbroken; persistent, permanent; continual, ceaseless; steady.

So let's study the group of properly temporal adjectives.

Adverbial-temporal adjectives correlate with different parts of time field (Karashchuk V. A., 1978, 5). They can be divided into two main semantic groups: "duration" and "moment". Each of groups consists of micro-groups that differ in their quantitative and qualitative characteristics.

There are two groups in the "duration" group, precisely, the definite and indefinite duration.

The "definite duration" group includes lexemes with the meaning of ἐνιαύσιος one-year, annual; μηνιαίος one-month; ἑκατονταετής centenary, τετρακόρωνος living four crow's life that means very long-lived; τριέσπερος lasting three evenings; ἐφήμερος acting the same day; one-day, fleeting; πανεπόρφνιος lasting the whole night; πανέσπερος lasting the whole evening; covering ten sowing, i.e. ten-year, decennia, ten years, ten-year-old; μυριατής lasting ten thousand years, i. e. endless, infinite, unlimited, boundless, interminable, eternal, everlasting, perpetual; τελεόμηνος containing the full number of months, i. e. whole, all year round, (here and then the translation from Ancient Greek is ours – E. Ch.): ἐννέα τοι ζῶει γενεᾶς λακέρυζα κορώνη, ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων ἔλαφος δέ τε τετρακόρωνος· τρεῖς δ' ἐλάφους ὁ κόραξ γηράσκειται (Plut., *De def. orac.*, (409e-438d)) – a chattering crow lives for nine generations, while people are in their prime; a deer [lives] for four crow's lives; and during three [lives] of a deer a crow gets old: εἰ δ' ἦν μυριατής ὁ βίος ἢ χιλιετής, παμμεγέθεις τ' ἂν ἔδει γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ φύεσθαι πολλάκις (Arist., *De gener. animal.*, 745 a) – if the life lasted ten thousand or one thousand years, [teeth] would have to be initially huge and cut a lot of times.

The "indefinite duration" group is divided into such microgroups: "indefinite duration with regard to the norm" and "indefinite duration with no regard to the norm."

The “indefinite duration with regard to the norm” microgroup is made of the words with the following meanings:

1) “less than norm”: αἰψήρως immediate, quick; βραχύς short, not long; μινυυθάδιος brief, short-lived, short-term; ὀλιγοχρόνιος short-termed; of short duration, short-term; παναώριος an adjective used to characterise the one to die untimely; untimely; σύντομος premature; short, brief; ἀκαριαῖος quite small, rather little, insufficient, slight, minor; μινυώριος short-lived, ephemeral, of short duration, transient; ταχύπομος going fast, i. e. impetuous, violent, rash, headlong, quick, fast, swift, rapid; prompt: οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, μινυυθάδιος δὲ οἱ αἰὼν ἔπλεθ’ ὑπ’ Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι (Hom., *Il.*, 4, 477-479) – but he didn’t thank even his kind parents, his life was short, it was broken by ruthless spear of brave Ajax: ἀλλ’ ἔμπης, πάντας μὲν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων, πολλάκις ἐν μεγάροισι καθήμενος ἡμετέροισιν ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρομαι, ἄλλοτε δ’ αὐτε παύομαι αἰψήρως δὲ κόρος κρυεροῖο γόοιο (Hom., *Od.*, 4, 100-104) – often crying and grieving for them, here I sit under the home roof, sometimes feasting my heart with the grief, sometimes forgetting of my grief as freezing sorrow makes you tired quickly;

2) “more than norm”: μακρός long; πολλοστός prolonged; ἐπίμονος long, long-continued, constant; χρόνιος long, lengthy, protracted, lingering; μακραιών long, prolonged; durable, long-run; παμμήκης extremely long, excessively prolonged; συχνός constant, lengthy, long; δολιχός long, enduring; prolonged, long-drawn; μακεστήρ prolonged, durable; παραμόνιμος long, vast, extensive diffuse, verbose, wordy, long-winded, lengthy: ὄψε δὲ δὴ μετὰ νῶϊ κίε Ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, ἐν Λέσβῳ δ’ ἔκικεν δολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντας (Hom., *Od.*, 3, 168-169) – later golden-haired Menelaus went on ship, he met [us] in Lesbos thinking of long voyage; τὸ δ’ ἦθος ὀξύς λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς χάριν, οὐ μὴν ὀμοίως, ἀλλ’ ἐλαφρὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ κολάζειν καὶ οὐκ ἐπίμονος (Plut., *Vitae parall. Titus*, 1. 2. 3) – they say, he was hot-tempered and knows no limits either in wrath or in mercy, but he demonstrates it in different ways, he punished slightly and was not vindictive.

The “indefinite duration with regard to the norm” microgroup include lexemes with the following meanings:

1) limited duration: καίριος transient, fleeting;

σὺ δ', ὦ γεραῖέ – καίριος γὰρ ἤλυθες – λέξον, τί δρῶν ἂν φονέα τει-
σαίμην πατρός (Eur., *Electr.*, 598) – and you, an old man, you are in time
here, give me advice, revenge for my father to this evildoer;

2) unlimited duration: ἀϊδιος eternal; μυρίος interminable, never-ending;
ἐνδελεχῆς continuous, constant; κατάμονος constant; διατελής constant,
continuous, long-continued; ἀειχρόνιος eternal, imperishable; ἀμετρόβιος
living eternally long, extremely long-lived; ἀκατάπαυστος continuous,
endless, constant, lifelong perpetual; συνεχῆς ceaseless, constant: τὰ γὰρ
ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα
καθοραῖται, ἢ τε ἀϊδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης (NT, *Rom.*, 1, 20) – so,
his invisible from creation of the world through a creation becomes
visible; ὅθεν ἅμα τῷ διελθεῖν τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς ἡμέρας κατάμονος
αὐθις ὁ πόλεμος ἐγγέγονει τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς (Polyb., *Hist.*, 20, 10, 17) – that is
why as soon as the time of armistice ran off, the prolonged war with the
Aetolians were recommenced.

At the same time the concept “unlimited duration” supposes rather no
indication of the limit than real infinity: ἐννῆμαρ δ' ἐς τεῖχος ἴει ῥόον· ὕε
δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς συνεχές, ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἀλίπλοα τείχεα θείη (Hom., *Il.*,
12, 25-26) – nine days he directed them to the stronghold; Zeus constantly
shed the rain to make the stronghold sink in the deep.

If to compare quantitative indexes in the groups above, clear
dominance of adjectives with the meaning of duration of a feature in time
becomes obvious. Adjective with the meaning of “eternal, endless” in
Ancient Greek form a big group of 58 units, while the meaning “transient,
fleeting” is represented by 12 lexemes.

The semantic group “moment” represents time in different ways. Pre-
sence or absence of reference time is of great importance there. Such start-
ing point in the system of time coordinates is “today”, as in the process of
conceptualization and categorization of environment a person identify
himself/herself and nearest objects within the concepts “here” and “now”.

Therefore, the semantic group “moment” is divided into two subgro-
ups: “the moment with no regards to the starting point” and “the moment
regarding the starting point.”

The subgroup “the moment with no regards to the starting point” is
represented by such lexemes: ὑπόρθριος occurring before dawn, early,
morning; ἠωρόνυκτος midnight, late; μεσημβρινός midday, noon; ἀπόκ-
λιτος drooping; ἐαριόρπετος spring; ἡμερόφαντος appearing at day, day;

φθινοπωρινός autumn; χειμερινός winter; (before) evening; σεληναῖος lunar: κἄν ἔγρη μεσημβρινός, οὐδεῖς σ' ἀποκλείσει θεσμοθέτης τῆ κιγκλίδι (Arph., *Vesp.*, 774) – when you wake up at midday, they will not lock the bars, as it is there; ὁ δὲ φθινοπωρινός, ἐν ᾧ φυλλοχοεῖ τὰ δένδρα, πολλὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἔχων καὶ τραχύτητα διαστρέφει (Plut., *Quaest. Conviv.*, 612c) – autumn air in the period of abscission is uneven and rough.

The subgroup “the moment regarding the starting point” includes such microgroups:

1) “the moment regarding present time”: ἔνος last year's; λοιπός future, coming; προτεραῖος previous, former, preceding; τελευταῖος last, latest, final; ὑστεραῖος next, tomorrow; ἐπιεπής referring to the current year, this year; καθημέριος present; ἀρχέγονος initial, original, primary, prime; πανημέριος going to be during the rest of the day; χθιζός yesterday's, of yesterday, last night's:

βραχὺς δέ σοι πάντως ὁ λοιπός ἦν βιώσιμος χρόνος (Eur., *Alcest.*, 650) – your age [ad verbum *the rest time of the life*] was too little; ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου Λακεδαμονίων ἀνήρ ἀπήγγειλεν (Thuc., *Hist.*, 4, 38, 3) – the last [messenger], that sailed to them from those who were on the continent brought a decision;

2) “The moment regarding fixed time”: μέσος average; ὀμφακίας premature, early; ἄκαιρος untimely, irrelevant; ἄνωρος premature; καιρός in-time, appropriate, proper; τυχικός accidental, fortuitous; ὠριος in-time, well-timed; ὠμός premature, early, untimely; ἐξαίφινιδιος sudden, unexpected; surprise; κύριος appointed, assigned, set, prescribed, established, fixed; γνώμα δ' οἷς μὲν ἄκαιρος ὄλβου, τοῖς δ' ἐς μέσον ἦκει (Eur., *Iphig. Taur.*, 419) – their opinion is not welcomed by the fate that is favourably disposed toward self-restrained [i. e. reserved]; γάμος δέ τοι ὠριος οὗτος (Hes., *Op. et dies*, 697) – this marriage is in time for you.

The group of adjectives with the meaning of reiteration that include lexemes with the shade of periodic, cyclic feature or property should be named separately. They are ἀμοιβαῖος alternate, rotational; ἕκαστος every, any; πυκνός frequent, quick; ἐπημοιβός interchangeable, alternate, aguish; ἡμερήσιος daily; ἐγκύκλιος circular, round; περιοδικός alternate; regularly alternate, periodical; διάτριτος recurring every third day; πενταετηρικός taking place every five years; ἐτεροήμερος alternating in a day:

αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἡμάτιος μὲν ἐν οὐρεσι φύλλ' ἐτίνασσεν τυτθὸν ἐπ' ἄκρο-
τάτοισιν ἀήσυρος ἀκρεμόνεσσιν (Apoll. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, 2, 1100) – win-
ded the whole day in the mountains, slightly swing leaves in the upper
branches by its gentle breathing.

In the semantic group “moment” adjectives of the group “the moment
regarding fixed time” should be special emphasised. There such lexemes
that indicate the feature regarding the next moments can be singled out:

1) annual cycle:

a) year (5 unites): ἐνιαύσιος annual, yearly; ἔτειος annual; yearly, lasting
during a year; ἐτήσιος annual, yearly; διετήσιος annual, yearly; ἐπετή-
σιος annual, yearly: καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ
γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζοντες,
ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις τὸ
λύπτρον ἐκπλήσσει (Thuc., *Hist.*, 2. 38. 1-2) – we established a lot of
entertainment for a soul to rest after work, that relieves hardship of
everyday life by happiness of annual competitions and celebrations, as
well as by modesty of home life; κάκεινων <...> ἢ φύσις φρυγανώδης, ἢ
μὲν ἐπέτειος οὔσα μόνον, ἢ δὲ πολυχρονιωτέρα (Theophr., *Hist. Plant.*, 6,
6, 2) – their nature is diverse, some of them are annual, the others live
much longer;

b) month (2 unites): ἔμμηνος month's, monthly; ἐπιμήνιος month's,
monthly: ἢ δ' ἔμμηνος κάθαρσις οὐ πλήθους ἀλλὰ διαφθορᾶς καὶ φαν-
λότῃτος ἐστὶν αἵματος (Plut., *Quaest. Conviv.*, 612 c) – monthly clarifica-
tion happens not because of blood fullness, but because of infirmity and
sickness;

c) day (9 unites): ἡμερήσιος one-day, day's, ephemeral, ephemeral;
ἡμέριος one-day, day's, ephemeral, ephemeral, living not longer than a
day; ἐφημέριος one-day, day's, ephemeral, ephemeral, lasting one day;
ἐφήμερος happening the same day, one-day, day's, ephemeral, epheme-
rous, lasting one day; καθημερινός daily, everyday; καθημέριος daily,
everyday; παρήμερος daily, everyday; πανημέριος lasting the whole day,
taking place in the last part of the day; πανήμερος daily, everyday,
happening from day to day, happening during the current day: ἐγένετο
δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ
θεοῦ (NT. *Lc.*, 1.8) – once he served his day turn in the sight of God;

2) day, day and night, 24 hours:

a) morning (9 unites): έωθινός morning, early; έξως occurring before dawn, morning; ήέριος morning, occurring at dawn; όρθριος morning, early; σύνορθρος occurring at dawn, occurring before dawn; ύπηϊος occurring before dawn, morning; ύπόρθριος occurring at dawn, occurring before dawn; πρωινός morning: πρωί δ' ύπηϊοί σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες στησόμεθ' ἄμ πύργους (Hom., *Il.*, 18, 277-278) – in the morning at dawn [*ad verbum we, that are at dawn*] we, armoured, will stand on the towers; ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας γίνεται σφι ό ήλιος κατά περ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ό έωθινός (Her., *Hist.*, 3, 104, 13) – after the midday the sun is shining there as bright as in the morning at our place;

b) day (7 unites): ήμάτιος day, day's, daily, working during daylight hours; ήμερήσιος day, day's, daily; ήμερινός day, day's, daily, arriving at daytime; ήμέριος day, day's, daily, happening at daytime; μεθήμερινός day, day's, daily; μεσημβρινός midday, meridional; ήμερόφαντος day, day's, daily, emerging at daytime: ένθα και ήματιή μὲν ύφαίνεσκεν μέγαν ιστόν, νύκτας δ' ἄλλύεσκεν, ἐπὴν δαΐδας παραθεῖτο (Hom., *Od.*, 2, 104-105) – at daytime [*ad verbum daily*] she wove a big linen, at night, having lighten the torches, she unravelled it; πρὸ γάρ τ' ἄλέγνυνεν ἕκαστα ήμάτιος (Apoll. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, 3, 1199) – after all, it was made beforehand at daytime;

b) evening (6 unites): έσπεριος evening, night; έσπερος evening, night; ἀκρέσπερος appearing early or late at night; ἀκροκνέφαιος appearing with dusk coming; ἀπόκλιτος drooping; καταφεγής just before the sunset: Τηλεμάχῳ εἰκυῖα κατὰ πτόλιν ὤχετο πάντῃ, καί ῥα ἑκάστῳ φωτὶ παρισταμένη φάτο μῦθον, έσπερίους δ' ἐπὶ νῆα θοῖν ἀγέρεσθαι ἀνώγει (Hom., *Od.*, 2, 383-385) – she took the shape of Telemachus and ran all over the city, addressing kindly to everyone, invited everybody to the fast ship in the evening [*ad verbum happening in the evening*]; έσπεριος δ' ἂν ἔπειτα λοεσσάμενος ποταμοῖο ἰδρῶ ἀποψυχθεὶς προτὶ Ἴλιον ἀπονεοίμην (Hom., *Il.*, 21, 564-565) – and there I, as soon as evening [*ad verbum happening in the evening*] comes, will wash myself in the torrent of sweat and come back to Ilion again;

c) night (13 unites): παννύχιος lasting all night long; πάννυχος lasting all night long; νυκτερήσιος night; νυκτερινός night; νύκτερος night; νύκτιος night; νύχιος night; έννύχιος night, midnight; ἐπινύκτιος night; ἀκρόνυχος emerging with night's coming; ἀωρόνυκτος midnight, late; μεσονύκτιος midnight; νυκτερωπός emerging at night, night: ἔγρεο

Τυδέος υιέ' τί πάννυχον ὕπνον ἀωτεῖς (Hom., *Il.*, 10, 159) – Get up Tydeus' son! The one that sleeps [*ad verbum* lasting the whole night] the whole night; εἶθε με κοιμάσειε τὸν δυσδαίμον' Ἄιδου μέλαινα νύκτερός τ' ἀνάγκη (Eur., *Hipp.*, 1388) – You, Hades' dark night power, make me, the poor thing, asleep.

In subgroup “the moment with no regards to the starting point” adjectives with general meaning “timely” (5 unites) are found: καίριος timely, opportune, well-timed, convenient, appropriate; ὤριος timely, opportune, well-timed, being in time; ἐπικαίριος timely, opportune, pressing, urgent; εὐκαίριος timely, opportune, appropriate, pertinent, well-timed; and “untimely” (9 unites): ἄκαιρος untimely, inopportune, unseasonable, tardy, inappropriate, irrelevant; ἄωρος untimely, inopportune, unseasonable, tardy, premature, early, untimely; ἄνωρος premature, early, untimely; ἀποκαίριος untimely, inopportune, unseasonable, tardy, unnecessary, needless useless; ἔκκαιρος untimely, inopportune, unseasonable, tardy; ἔξωρος untimely, inopportune, unseasonable, tardy, inappropriate; irrelevant; παρακαίριος untimely, inopportune, unseasonable, tardy, inappropriate, irrelevant: ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα ἔφασαν ἐρεῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὅποια ἂν δύνωνται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους (Xen., *Anab.*, 7. 7. 15) – after having listened Laconians said that they can propose these as well as other convincing arguments; and started out at once, taking with them everybody who had any connection to this.

The analysis of quantity and quality of particular semantic groups and subgroups allowed making some interesting conclusions.

On the whole, the meaning of duration in the group of temporal adjectives is represented by a greater number of units. Semantic groups of “duration”, “moment”, “reiteration” have the following percentage: 53% – 40% – 7% correspondently.

The quantitative index within the group also differs. For example, unites with the meaning of “indefinite duration” prevail in the semantic group of “duration” (59%). Correspondently the subgroup “definite duration” includes 41% of lexemes.

In the semantic group “moment” the adjectives with the meaning of “the moment regarding the starting point” dominates over the subgroup “the moment with no regards to the starting point” (67% and 33%). There is essential predominance of lexemes with the meaning of “the moment

regarding fixed time" comparing with the adjectives that denote the "the moment regarding present time."

The quantity of unites in the above studied subgroups certainly gives some evidence of level of significance of single time intervals in Ancient Greeks' perception. Thus, the presence among adjectives of annual cycle of nine unites with the general meaning "daily", "everyday" shows the importance of the interval for perception and measuring of time. These adjectives are derivatives from the noun *ἡμέρα* made by the prefixes that specify the characteristic of being inside the time interval named by noun stem (*ἔφημέριος*, *ἐφήμερος*, *καθημερινός*, *καθημέριος*, *παρήμερος*). A year interval also plays an important part in comprehension of time process. Adjectives with the meaning "annual", "yearly" are based on the nouns *ἔτος*, *ἐνιαυτός* and are made by suffix (*ἐνιαύσιος*, *ἔτειος*, *ἐτήσιος*) or prefix (*διετήσιος*, *ἐπετήσιος*) word building way. It should be noted that a month interval, which is represented by a minimum quantity of units, is irrelevant for Ancient Greek native speakers.

The parts of a day are represented in Ancient Greek by great number of units with their special structures. Nine adjectives with the meaning of "morning" are mostly derivatives of the nouns with the meaning "dawn, daybreak" (*ἔως*, *ὄρθρος*) and indicates the interval of time before the dawn or just after the sunrise. So, morning for Ancient Greeks is mainly the time of dawn. Seven unites with the meaning of "day, daily" are based on the noun "day", the one of the same root as the day as a whole, as a part of the annual cycle. "Day, daily" in the Ancient Greek is relevant to light part of the day after the dawn before the dusk. "Evening" is based on the General-Indo-European root **Fεσπερ-* and also contains some verbal unites with the meaning of "taking place after the dawn". The adjectives with the meaning of "night" are mainly derivatives from the noun *νύξ* and, having a compound structure, are made with the suffixes (*νυκτερήσιος*, *νυκτερινός*, *νύκτερος*, *νύκτιος*, *νύχιος*), prefixes (*ἐννύχιος*, *ἐπινύκτιος*), by stem-compounding (*παννύχιος*, *πάννυχος*, *ἀκρόνυχος*, *ἄωρόνυκτος*, *μεσονύκτιος*, *νυκτερωπός*). The variety of ways of making adjectives with the meaning "night", the inspiration to concretize this temporal characteristic of objects or phenomena indicates a special status of this time of day. Night, as the most mysterious, as the time of a day that, in a way, is beyond comprehension, finds its realization in a number of units with the difficult and various structure, and that reflects a human

desire to name in a most concrete way the phenomenon that cannot be fixed and evaluated from time point of view. It is obvious that comprehension of contemporaneity/incontemporaneity of an event or a phenomenon was important for Greeks, the meaning of “impertinence, irrelevance” of the event dominates and finds its realization in a number of lexemes.

Basing on the give statistics we may conclude the following.

The quantitative filling of the particular groups and subgroups, on the one hand, testify the objective fixation of the pieces of reality in language. That can be well illustrated by the ratio of microgroups “the moment regarding present time”/“the moment regarding fixed time”, as present time being the starting point is characterized by limited quantity of points that interact with it in the time system of coordinates. The other points of time, which are chosen and fixed by a speaker, are various and have a great number of connections with the other points of time; that found its reflection in the structure of the microgroups of the temporal adjectives.

On the other hand, predominance of unites in one of the groups under the comparison shows the great importance, significance of the part of the knowledge of the world that expresses itself in these lexemes for native-speakers.

So, we can say that perception of time duration appears to be more essential than a particular moment fixation for Ancient Greek native-speakers. Besides the vision of indefinite duration gets its expression and particularizes in a number of lexemes.

The group of adjective with the meaning of reiteration shows by its quantity (7% of the whole quantity of temporal adjectives) Ancient Greek’s typical perception of time as cyclic, repetitive current of events.

Important information for understanding of peculiarities of the category of time’s expression in the system of adjectives is given by the analysis of their world-building structure in different semantic groups and subgroups.

As a whole, the dominance of noun stems of nouns and adjectives is evident here. Moment/duration adjectives, derivatives of nouns (often temporal, acting to concretize the space of time) dominate in the groups with the meaning of definite time: ἡμερῖνός day; θερινός summer; νυκτερινός night; ὅλοτελής whole, complete, finished; ἐπιμῆνιος monthly; διετήσιος a year-long.

The “indefinite duration” subgroup attracts special attention as adjectives that are derivatives from verb stems dominate there (65% of this group’s lexemes). Verb stems’ basis in the case strengthen the aspect of duration, eventfulness that is not limited by time, as a part of semantic structure of the adjectives: ἀδιάπαυστος continuous, permanent, constant; ἀμετάστατος firm, stable, invariable, constant; δύσλυτος endless, infinite; προσεχής constant, continuous, permanent; συμφύής entire, unbroken.

As the received data are based on the results of the continuous sampling from the dictionary, the question as to accuracy of proposed conclusions may arise, the lexemes that were analyzed are really elements of different dialect groups and sometimes relates to different periods of development of Ancient Greek. There we proceed from the fact of the unique status of Ancient Greek that during all its development harmoniously united “new” and “old” in itself – in different periods archaic forms always co-existed with contemporary ones, obsolete grammar and lexical unites are deeply intertwined with neologisms. The mosaic structure of Ancient Greek never prevented its native speaker from adequate perception of its functional variants: spoken and literary language. As both variants were relevant to the principals of objectivation of knowledge about the world, framework of successful communication Ancient Greek always was apprehended and realized integrally. At the same time it should be noted that the perspective of diachronic analysis of functions and semantics of some adjectives is also seen as rather productive, that is proved by the results of similar researches based on the other languages’ material.

So returning to the thought given before, language is an expresser, an interpreter, a keeper of knowledge about the world. The result of cognitive and transforming activity of people is reflected in it. In that sense the language itself can become our way of perception, a way of getting information about results of cognitive activity of particular peoples, of their world view, in particular, perception of the category of time.

The analysis of semantic and world-building structure of temporal adjectives, studying of particular components of these structures in their correlation gives an opportunity to reconstruct the temporal picture of the world of Ancient Greeks, to identify its dominants and priorities.

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Abstract

The concept of time is an important component of any individual's picture of the world, as it is an absolute attribute of matter.

The forming in the conscious of definite views of time and these views' representation on the different levels of language on the different stage of its development depend on the kind and the way of perception, as well as on objective features of the language.

In the works, devoted to category of time, it is semantic interaction of tense forms of the verb and the other means of time relation's expressing that are more often analyzed. The question of differentiation of two language paradigms of "grammar tense" and "lexical time" is rather topical.

The concept of time on the logical level was realized in different groups of lexemes, particularly in the system of adjectives.

The features of adjectives according to their vocabulary, world-building structure, and semantics are peculiar for every single language and reflect, in particular, the character of cognitive activity and fixation of its results by a human.

Copious vocabulary of Ancient Greek contains valuable information about the way of world perception as a whole and time in peculiar. To understand such encoded information the deep analysis of lexeme from the point of view of their semantics, quantitative indexes, filling of single lexical-semantic groups and world-building structures is necessary. Generalization of findings will allow understanding of what and how exactly was named by Ancient Greek speakers, in what quantity of elements important information of environment was fixed.

The analysis of semantic and world-building structure of temporal adjectives, studying of particular components of these structures in their correlation gives an opportunity to reconstruct the temporal picture of the world of Ancient Greeks, to identify its dominants and priorities.

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Topical Issues in Ancient Greek *scholia* and Their Presence in Modern Science¹

The article focuses on scholia – the ancient and early medieval critical-literary genre, whose main purpose was to comment on any given literary work in order to simplify its reception. Critical commentaries were written on the manuscripts of the commented works – on the margins or between the lines.²

Article I. Scholia are one of the most interesting and, at the same time, least analysed collections of ancient texts. They present numerous aspects of commented works and constitute an exceptionally valuable source of knowledge on various issues regarding the ancient and, sometimes, also medieval science and culture.³

Despite their doubtlessly substantial value, so far very few collections of scholia have been translated into modern languages. Thus, scholia are by no means a popular research topic among academics specialising in Classical Philology, mainly due to the difficulty with their translation. A

¹ This article is a part of the research project *Ancient Theatre and Drama in the Works of Scholiasts* founded by the National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2012/07/B/HS2/01475).

² With regard to their position in the manuscript, there are two types of scholia: *scholia interlinearia* – often called glosses due to their short form, and *scholia marginalia*.

³ The tradition of writing scholia has been proved to date back to the classical period, with the oldest preserved commentaries being the scholia D to *The Iliad* from the 5th and 4th century BC. It is the Hellenistic period, however, which stands out as the most prolific chapter in the work of scholiasts. Due to medieval manuscripts these scholia have survived to our times.

complete understanding of scholiasts' commentaries requires the reading of the commentaries themselves as well as the work to which they refer. Therefore, the information contained in scholia is not fully utilised by researchers from various branches of science.

Now the time has come for a short presentation on the construction of scholia. They usually consist of a *lemma* – the commented phrase or word, and the text of the explanation. *Lemma* corresponds with the English term *headword*, known from lexicographical works.⁴ In the case of scholia, *lemma* is the quotation of the commented piece of the literary work.

In the article I shall attempt to demonstrate the variety of topics in scholia on the example of the commentaries chosen from the Medicean scholia on *The Persians* by Aeschylus.⁵ The collection is relatively extensive and contains commentaries regarding various areas of knowledge, quite representative for the scholiast literature.

The issues discussed in the Medicean collection can be divided into several thematic categories.

The first one consists of historical and social scholia. The Medicean collection is rich in such commentaries as a result of the historical context of the tragedy it refers to.

The great majority of the historical and social commentaries concern the Persian nation,⁶ while the most significant issues commented on are: the characteristics of Persian rulers and the genealogy of royal dynasties

⁴ Short *lemmata* were, at times, written prior to the text of the commentary, although, more often than not, the commented part of the literary work was too extensive to be quoted in full on the pages of the manuscript. In such cases the so called shortened *lemmata* were used, in which the scholiast would only include the initial words of the explained phrase. Another common practice was the omission of the *lemma* prior to the scholion, leaving to the reader the task of finding the commented phrase in the literary work.

In the scholia quoted in the article, for the sake of its purpose, the *lemmata* are provided by the author.

⁵ All the *scholia* discussed in this article are quoted from: *Scholia Medicea in Aeschyli "Persas"*, [in:] Dähnhardt Oscarus (ed.), *Scholia in Aeschyli "Persas" recens., adnotatione critico instruxit, cum praefatione de archetypo codicum Aeschyli scripta* ed. O. Dähnhardt, B. G. Teubner, Lipsiae 1894.

⁶ The Persian aspects in Aeschylus's work were discussed by West in: West M. L., *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1997, Chapter XI: *Ajschylos*, 544-585.

(scholia 6, 656, 719, 769, 774, 775, and 862), the organisation of the Persian state and army (scholia 1, 950, and 951), the scope of Persian domination and the description of Persian relationships with other nations (scholia 24, 34, and 864), the Persian course of military actions (scholia 812, and 858), and the political system in the state as well as the regulations governing the king's reign (scholion 213). One may also find scholia regarding specific events in the Greco-Persian Wars: the Battles of Salamis and Plataea (scholia 355, 809, and B 923), and the famous construction of the pontoon bridge built upon the order of Xerxes, which allowed the Persian troops to traverse the Hellespont (scholion B 72).

One of the most interesting commentaries in the category is the scholion on line No. 950:

(950) ὀφθαλμὸν] τὸν ὄντα ὀφθαλμὸν. – *eye*⁷] acting as (the official called – K.Ch.) 'the eye'⁸.

This explains the word 'eye' used by Aeschylus, the meaning of which might have been unclear to the readers of the tragedy.⁹ The scholiast clarifies that by using the word 'eye' the poet described an army official responsible for counting troops.

Another scholion which offers interesting information is a commentary on line No. 858. The scholiast refers to the words by Aeschylus regarding the former glory of the Persian army.

⁷ English quotations of *The Persians* by Aeschylus come from: Aeschylus, *Persae*, transl. Herbert W. Smyth, vol. I, Harvard University Press; W. Heinemann, London 1973.

⁸ The information on the royal official called 'the king's eye' can be found, among other sources, in *The Souda s.v. ὀφθαλμὸς βασιλέως*, in *The Histories* of Herodotus (I, 114) and in *The Acharnians* by Aristophanes (v. 92). Xenophon mentions the existence of 'the king's eye' in *The Cyropaedia* (VIII, 2, 9, 6 - 10, 4), and Kazimierz Kaszewski writes about the officials called 'the eye' and 'the ear' (cf. Aeschylus, *Persowie*, transl. K. Kaszewski, preface and annotations by S. Witkowski, Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, Kraków 1922, footnote to line No. 987).

⁹ Scholion on line No. 950 comments the following passage of the tragedy:

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ καὶ τὸν Περσῶν αὐτοῦ / τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ' ὀφθαλμὸν / μυρία μυρία πεμπαστῶν (...). (v. 949-951).

Chorus

Did you really lose your trusty eye there, that which counted tens upon tens of thousands of the Persians (...). (v. 980-981).

(858) πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιάς ἄπε- / φαινόμεθ', οἱ δὲ νομίματα πύργινα πάντ' ἐπήρθονον] πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον διὰ στρατιάς εὐδοκιμοῦμεν καὶ ὀρμῶμεν κατὰ νενομισμένα ἔθη ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς πορθουμέναις, οὐ τεμένη θεῶν πορθοῦντες, οὐ τάφους ἀνασπῶντες, ὡς Ξέρξης τολμήσας ἐποίησεν. – *In the first place we showed to the world armies worthy of our fame]* formerly our armies brought us fame and we followed the code of the conquered *poleis*, without destroying sanctuaries and graves, which Xerxes dared to do.

In the commentary the scholiast explains the meaning of the poet's words by paraphrasing the lines of the tragedy.¹⁰ He elucidates that the earlier Persian behaviour is in contradiction with their conduct during the Persian Wars, and draws the reader's attention to the fact that formerly, upon conquering the *polis*, the Persian army acted honourably and in accordance with the generally accepted rules, respecting the rights of the conquered communities. However, under the command of Xerxes the Persians began to break the code of military conduct, e.g. by devastating graves and temples.

The second category in the Medicean collection consists of scholia including geographical data, which discuss the names, locations and specific character of the places mentioned in Aeschylus's tragedy (scholia 2, 16, 17, 38, 39, 130, 131, B 238, 303, 306, 413, 447, 466, 483, 487, A 494, B 494, 497, 572, 738, 870, 864, 872, 876, A 878, and B 878).

Interesting information can be found in the commentaries on lines No. 413 and 487.

(413) ἐν στενωῷ] μεταξὺ Σαλαμίνοσ καὶ Αἰγίνης τὸ στενὸν ἦν. – *in the narrows]* the straits was located between Salamis and Aegina.

(487) Σπερχειὸς] ὁ Σπερχειὸς ἐξ Αἰνιάνων ῥέων εἰς τὸν Μηλιακὸν ἐμβάλλει κόλπον. – *Spercheus]* the Spercheus River flows from (the state of – K.Ch.) Ainianians and empties into the Malian Gulf¹¹.

¹⁰ Scholion on line No. 858 comments the following passus of the tragedy:

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πρῶτα μ ν εὐδοκίμους στρατιάς ἄπε- / φαινόμεθ', οἱ δὲ νομίματα πύργινα πάντ' ἐπήρθονον. / νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους ἀπαθεῖς... εὐ πρᾶσ- / στοντας ἄγον οἴκους. (v. 858-861).

Chorus

In the first place we showed to the world armies worthy of our fame, and civil institutions, like towers in strength, regulated all the state; and our return from war brought back our men, unworn and unsuffering, to happy homes. (v. 859-861).

¹¹ Cf. Herodotus, *The Histories* (VII, 198, 9).

In the scholion on line No. 413 the scholiast explains the location of the straits mentioned by Aeschylus in the main text – placing it between two islands, Salamis and Aegina,¹² while in his commentary on line No. 487¹³ he points to the estuary and riverhead of the Spercheus.

The third category includes the scholia containing information on mythology, religion and ethnology, with particular focus on the rituals and ceremonies typical for the described nations. The majority of the commentaries concern Persians (scholia 56, 79, and 666).¹⁴ One of the most interesting ones refers to the Persian origins:

(79) χρυ- / σονόμου γενεᾶς· νῦν τῆς πλουσίας. τινὲς δὲ ἀνέγνωσαν χρυσογόνου, διὰ τὸ τὸν Περσέα ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ γεγενῆσθαι| ὃ καὶ βέλτιον. ἄλλως· τῆς Περσέως γενεᾶς ἀπόγονος· ἢ τῆς τῶν χρυσῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἢ πολυχρύσου. – *sprung from gold*] today (we would say – K.Ch.) ‘rich’. Some (say – K.Ch.) ‘born of gold’, because Persian was born of gold. It is (a) better (explanation – K.Ch.). In other words, ‘descendant of the Persia tribe’, ‘gold people’ or ‘pure gold’.

In the quoted commentary the scholiast refers to the myth of the Greek hero Perseus, who is considered the eponymous hero of the Persian. As the prophecy has it, his mother Danaë, who was the daughter of Acrisius and Eurydice, was supposed to give birth to a son who would one day kill his grandfather. In order to prevent this and keep his daughter childless, Acrisius imprisoned her in a bronze chamber. Nevertheless, Zeus fell in love with Danaë and came to her in the form of a shower of gold, impregnating her. As a result Danaë gave birth to Perseus.

¹² Scholion on line No. 413 comments the following passus of the tragedy:

ὡς δὲ πλήθος ἐν στενωφὶ νεῶν

ἦθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὐτις ἀλλήλοις παρήν· (v. 413-414).

When, however, the mass of our ships had been crowded in the narrows, and none could render another aid (...) (v. 414-415).

¹³ Scholion on line No. 487 comments the following passus of the tragedy:

στρατὸς δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἔν τε Βοιωτῶν χθονὶ / διώλλυθ', οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ κρηναῖον γάνος / δίψη
πονοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἄσθματος κενοὶ / διεκπερῶμεν ἕς τε Φωκέων χθόνα / καὶ Δωρίδ' ἄ
αν, Μηλιά τε κόλπον, οὗ / Σπερχεῖος ἄρδει πεδίον εὐμενεῖ ποτῶ· (v. 482-487)

As for the survivors of the army, they perished in Boeotian territory, some, faint from thirst, beside a refreshing spring, while some of us, exhausted and panting, [485] made our way to the land of the Phocians, to Doris and the Melian gulf, where the Spercheus waters the plain with kindly stream. (v. 481-487).

¹⁴ The scholia in this category include information not only on Persians, but also on other peoples mentioned in the tragedy (scholia A and B 914, and 1020).

According to the myth, gold is the element constituting Perseus and, therefore, he should be considered the very first Persian. Thus, Perseus – born of gold – defines, *pars pro toto*, the whole nation.¹⁵ The reference to the mythological story in the scholion renders it clear for the reader why Aeschylus calls Persians the race *sprung from gold*.¹⁶

Another interesting phenomenon are the commentaries informing the reader about how rulers are typically seen by eastern civilizations. In scholia on lines No. 157 and 628 the scholiast explains that perceiving Persian rulers as gods was a characteristic feature of Persian culture and religion.¹⁷

(157) θεοῦ] τοὺς βασιλεῖς θεοὺς καλοῦσιν οἱ Πέρσαι. – *god*] Persians call their kings gods.

(628) δαίμονα] ὡς θεὸς γὰρ παρὰ Πέρσαις τιμᾶται. – *divinities*] (Aeschylus says so – K.Ch.) because (Darius – K.Ch.) was worshipped like a god by Persians.

¹⁵ In the alternative version of the myth, Perseus – the son of Andromeda and Perseus – was the Persian progenitor.

¹⁶ Scholion on line No. 79 comments the following passus of the tragedy:
 πολυάνδρου δ' Ἀσίας θού- / ριος ἄρχων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν / χθόνα¹⁶ ποιμανόριον θεῖ- / ον ἐλαύνει διχόθεν, πε- / ζονόμοις τ' ἔκ τε θαλάσσης, / ἐχυροῖσι πεποιθῶς
 στυφελοῖς ἐφέταις, χρυ- / σογόνου γενεᾶς ἴσότηος φῶς. (v. 73-80).
 The fiery lord of populous Asia is leading his wondrous warrior-flock against the whole earth in two divisions, on foot and by the sea, putting his trust in his stalwart and stern commanders; he himself, a god-like hero whose race is sprung from gold. (v. 74-80).

¹⁷ The following scholia on lines No. 157 and 628 comment the following passus of the tragedy:
 ὦ βασιζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη, / μήτηρ ἢ Ξέρξου γεραία, χαῖρε, Δαρείου
 γύνα: / θεοῦ μ ν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφυς, / εἶ τι μὴ δαίμων
 παλαιῶς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῶ. (v. 155-158).

O Queen, most exalted of Persia's deep-girdled women, venerable mother of Xerxes, wife of Darius, all hail! You were the consort of the Persian's god, and of another god the mother, that is, unless its former good fortune has now forsaken our host. (v. 155-158).

and

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλοι, χοᾶσι ταῖσδε νεπτέρων / ὕμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τόν τε δαίμονα / Δαρεῖον
 ἀνακαλεῖσθε. γαπότους δ' ἐγὼ / τιμᾶς προπέμψω τάσδε νεπτέροις θεοῖς (v. 627-630).

But come, my friends, [620] chant solemn songs as I make these libations to the dead, and summon forth the divine spirit of Darius, while I convey, in honor of the gods, these offerings for the earth to drink. (v. 619-622).

The Medicean scholia also contain information on typically Persian items of clothing. In the commentary on line No. 666 the scholiast explains that the word 'tiara' means a Persian headgear.¹⁸

(666) τιάρας| τῆς κυρβάσιας.¹⁹ – *tiara*] Persian headgear.

Only the synonym of the word used by Aeschylus was given in the text of the scholion, which probably means that the synonym given by the scholiast was, at that time, easier to understand for the reader.

The largest category of the Medicean scholia on *The Persians* are commentaries regarding the field of philology. They include remarks on practically every single aspect of the language Aeschylus uses in the text, and are meant to make the reading much easier and more unambiguous. They explain the non-Greek terms and phrases used in the tragedy (scholia 22, 34, 312, and 318), discuss metric issues (scholia 21, and 331), and even punctuation (scholia 737, 984, and 992).

The scholiast also indicates the places where Aeschylus used forms that could be obscure for the reader, e.g. the fragments of the text where the poet used less popular variants of words or changed their tone (scholia 292, 574, 875, and A 913). The commentary on line No. 63 is a perfect illustration, as the scholiast explains there the etymology and usage of the Greek adverb ἡμερολεγδόν (they count the days).²⁰ It may be generally

¹⁸ Scholion on line No. 666 comments the following passus of the tragedy:

βαλῆν, ἀρχαίος βαλῆν, ἴθ' ἴθ', ἰκοῦ, / ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου, / κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὐμαριν ἀείρων, / βασιλείου τήρας φάλαρον πιφάυσκων (v. 663-666).

King, our king of old, come forth, draw near! Rise to the barrow's topmost point, lift your saffron-dyed sandal, display the crest of your royal tiara! Come forth, O blameless father Darius. (v. 660-663).

¹⁹ The scholion on line No. 666 is an example of gloss. The Greek term *glossa* or *glossema* means a rarely used or foreign word, which is unclear or requires explanation. Scholiasts often provided readers with synonyms that were easier to understand than the words originally used in the literary work. In time the meaning of *glossa* was extended to explanations written by commentators. The synonyms offered by scholiasts were usually of the same grammatical and inflectional form as the original word, which made it easier to insert them into the original text. This type of scholia did not require the *lemmata*, because, in the manuscript, the glosses were most often placed directly over the explained word. Such scholia also triggered the development of lexicographic works, as philologists would collect synonyms written in manuscripts and create glossaries.

²⁰ Scholion on line No. 63 comments the following passus of the tragedy:

assumed that at the time when the scholia were created this adverb was not commonly used, and its appropriate interpretation may have been problematic.

B (63) ἡμερολεγδὸν μακραῖς ἡμέραις λεγόμενον – *the lengthening delay*] you say so when time is dragging.

Numerous scholia refer to rhetorical devices, tropes and figures,²¹ used by Aeschylus in *The Persians*. In the Medicean collection there are commentaries discussing, among other things, ellipsis (scholia 4, 122, 248, 292, 330, 338, 428, 586, and 984), euphemism (scholion B 319) and synecdoche or the Latin *pars pro toto* (scholia 38, B 49, and 494). A large number of commentaries also refer to Aeschylus's metaphors – the scholiast presents the fashion in which the poet created them or explains their meaning (scholia B 90, 167, 252, 277, 300, 310, 365, 400, A 419, 433, 465, 885, and 989).

Article II. Several Medicean commentaries also regard phonetic phenomena such as synalepha (scholion 862), synopes (scholia 1, and 2) and tmesis (scholion 501).

The Medicean scholia also include several categories which focus on the technical and formal surface of the text or on the poetics of the tragedy. One of the most interesting commentaries are those identifying the character who is saying something. As the ancient manuscripts lack annotations on *dramatis personae*, such information may have been invaluable for the first modern readers. In the commentary on line No. 364, upon quoting the line of the text, the scholiast added a note saying: ὡς

τοιόνδ' ἄνθος Περσίδος αἶας / οἴχεται ἀνδρῶν / οὖς πέρι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιήτις / θρέψα-
σα πόθῳ στένεται μαλερῶ, / τοκέες τ' ἄλοχοί θ' ἡμερολεγδὸν / τείνοντα²⁰ χρόνον προ-
μέονται (v. 59-64).

Such are the warriors, the flower of the Persian land, [60] who have departed, and in fierce longing for them the whole land of Asia, their foster-nurse, laments, while parents and wives, as they count the days, shudder at the lengthening delay (v. 59-62).

²¹ Tropes are usually defined as semantic transformations of single words, while figures are defined as syntax transformations which affect whole phrases or sentences. More information on rhetoric can be found in: H.h Lausberg, David E. Orton, R. Dean Anderson, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, transl. M. T. Bliss, A. Jansen, R. D. Anderson, Brill, Leiden 1998; W. Jost, W. Olmsted (ed.), *A Companion to Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford 2008.

ἀπὸ Ξέρξου ὁ λόγος – “Xerxes’s speech”, while in the commentary on line No. 683: ὑποκρίνεται ὁ Δαρεῖος – “says Darius”.

Another interesting piece of information is included in the scholion to the very first line of the tragedy, where the scholiast informs the reader that the prologue is delivered by Persian elders.²²

(1) τὰδε μ ν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων (et sqq.) διὰ γερόντων προλογίζει. – Here we are, the faithful Council of the Persians (et sqq.) the Prologue is delivered by the elders (...)

It is worth remembering that, according to the poetry rules of classical tragedy, *Prologos* – the opening song in the tragedy – was performed by an actor. The Chorus would enter the Orchestra later, and the ode it would sing or recite was called *Parodos*. It is known this structure was used in *Phoenissae* (*The Phoenician Women*) by Phrynichus, the work published prior to *The Persians*.²³

The text of the Medicean scholia also contains numerous references to ancient Greek authors, and most commonly to Homer (*The Iliad* – 8 times, *The Odyssey* – 3 times). The main purpose of these references is to demonstrate the similarities between the language of Aeschylus’s work and Homer’s epic poems. The comparison of the tragedian to the author of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, who is an unquestionable authority in the realm of poetry, was undoubtedly meant to emphasise the artistry of *The Persians* (scholia 8, A 87, A 93, B 112, 309, A 345, 570, 610, 868, and 959).

²² The same information can be found in *The Hypothesis of The Persians* (cf. *Argumentum fabulae e codice M editum*, [in:] *Scholia in Aeschyli “Persas”*, recens., apparatu critico instruxit, cum praefatione de archetypo codicum Aeschyli scripta ed. O. Dähnhardt, B. G. Teubner, Lipsiae 1894, v. 8).

²³ Cf. lines 6 – 8 in *The Hypothesis of The Persians* by Aeschylus: πλὴν ἐκεῖ εὐνοῦχος ἔστιν ἀγγέλλων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν Ξέρξου ἦτταν [...]. ἐνταῦθα δὲπρολογίζει χορὸς πρεσβυτῶν (*Ibidem*, v. 6 – 8).

“First, however, there (in Phrynichus’s work – K.Ch.) was a eunuch telling a story of the Xerxes’s defeat [...], and here (in Aeschylus’s work – K.Ch.) the prologue was delivered by a chorus of elders” (transl. K.Ch.).

Robert Chodkowski also comments on the measure taken by Aeschylus: ‘The opening of *The Persians* with *Parodos*, and not *Prologue*, is a clear reference to old technique, even though, at that time, the former had already been known, and for many years’. (Chodkowski R. R., *Ajschylos i jego tragedie*, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 1994, 36).

Apart from Homer, the scholia also refer to Herodotus (3 times), Hellanicus and Sophocles (both twice), and once each to Alcaeus, Anacreon, Andron of Halicarnassus, Euphorion, Eupolis, Euripides, Ion, Callistratus, Mnaseas, Pindar, and Timoxenos. All the quotations from Greek poets included in the Medicean collection to *The Persians* enrich the commentaries and play the critical-literary role, so typical of the scholia genre.

The author of the Medicean scholia also included the quotations from historical and geographic works, and the role of such references is to confirm and develop the information mentioned by Aeschylus in his tragedy. The quotations from Herodotus or Hellanicus of Mytilene are a perfect illustration of this.

The most interesting remark seems to be the scholion informing the reader on the genealogy and the name of the Persian queen, the name which Aeschylus fails to mention in the tragedy.

Ἄτοσσα, θυγάτηρ Κύρου, γυνὴ Δαρείου, μήτηρ Ξέρξου κατὰ Ἡρόδοτον (III, 68). – Atossa, according to Herodotus, the daughter of Cyrus, the wife of Darius, the mother of Xerxes (*inter alia* III, 88, 8 *et* *sqq.*; III, 133, 2 *et* *sqq.*; VII, 2, 12 *et* *sqq.*, *et alia*).²⁴

Scholia Medicea in Aeschyli "Persas" include over 500 remarks on different subjects. Despite the thematic diversity, however, there are two aspects that determine the information demonstrated by the scholiast. The first one is the contents of the commented work, which is confirmed by a large number of notes on Persia and Persians in the Medicean scholia. The second one is the literary form of the commented text, as exemplified by the scholia regarding broadly defined philology.

The collection of Medicean commentaries contains notes which not only facilitate the reading of the tragedy, but also provide researchers from various branches of modern science, who may not be interested in the literary work itself, with a tremendous amount of useful information. The knowledge derived from the scholia may be particularly beneficial in our times to the representatives of the auxiliary sciences of classical philology, e.g. experts in culture and religious studies, historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and ethnologists.

²⁴ The fragments of Herodotus' work that the scholiast refers to are quoted from: Hérodote, *Histoires*, ed. P.-E. Legrand, vol. 1-9, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1970-1983.

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- › Martin W. L., *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1997, Chapter XI: *Aeschylus*, 544- 585.

Abstract

The paper concerns scholia – the least developed, but a very important genre of ancient literature. Scholia were regarded in Antiquity and the early Middle Ages as critical literary genre, which task was to comment on the literary text, and thus to facilitate its reading and comprehension. Scholiasts were often also ancient scholars and therefore the notes written in the margins of manuscripts were of high scientific value.

Numerous themes and issues addressed by the scholiasts were firstly acknowledged and studied by scientists from previous era, but since then they continued their presence in scientific research and have become also the matter of discussion of contemporary researchers.

In this paper I aim to demonstrate the presence of scholia in different fields of knowledge such as: philology (etymology, grammar, punctuation, metrics, rhetoric, poetics of tragedy), ethnology, geography, history, mythology, religion, etc. The paper also examines the relations of scholia with other fields of knowledge.

Every separate thematic group is defined with a set of examples from the ancient commentaries on the *Persians* by Aeschylus.

The still little interest of researchers in this kind of critical literary genre has become a reason for making the ancient commentaries the main theme of my paper. Despite the undoubted value of scholia there are only few translations of them in modern languages, so all the precious information contained in the collection of comments are not sufficiently used by scientists from different fields of science.

Lela Chotalishvili (Tbilisi)

On Cretan-South Caucasian Toponymic Parallels

The linguistic problems of the Pre-Greek world have recently become topical again. Certainly, this was not caused by deciphering A-linear inscriptions or discovery of new Pre-Greek inscriptions. In our opinion, activation of the issue was facilitated by the fact that a new Etymological Dictionary of Greek made by a well-known Indo-European linguist Robert Beekes was published,¹ which made the opinion on peculiarities of alteration of sounds in Pre-Greek languages raised by E. Furnee in 1970 topical again.² After publication of this book, E. Furnee actively began searching the linguistic environment which may be close to the systems of the Pre-Greek linguistic environment defined by him. It is well-known, that he shared the opinion of Rismag Gordeziani and saw the most connection with the Kartvelian linguistic environment. Research in this direction brought R. Gordeziani and later, E. Furnee to nearly a similar conclusion that Pre-Greek and Kartvelian parallels are the result of not only the ancient Caucasian-Anatolian-Aegean relations, but they are more related to the migration which must have taken place in the III millennium B.C from the Caucasus to the West in two directions: to the South Black Sea Coast and the North Black Sea Coast, which caused introduction of a strong Kartvelian component to Aegean region.

The methodological problems related to this issue were widely discussed in the report presented by Rismag Gordeziani at the plenary

¹ Beekes R., *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Brill –Leiden-Boston 2010.

² Furnee E. J., *Vorgriechisch-kartvelisches. Studien zum ostmediterranen Substrat nebst einem Versuch zu einer neuen pelasgischen Theorie*, Louvain 1979.

session. In this case, I will limit myself to only one aspect of the issue, namely, Cretan-South Caucasian parallels in geographic names. According to R. Beekes, the Pre-Greek linguistic world demonstrates a clear unity and one of the best examples of this unity are geographic names of the Island of Crete, which have numerous parallels in the entire Aegean region – on islands, as well as in the Continental Greece and Anatolia. This issue is substantially accentuated by R. Brown in his well-known book.³ Unfortunately, both R. Brown and R. Beekes share the opinion of E. Furnee only to a certain extent, when they see a unified, non-Indo-European linguistic world in the Pre-Greek language, however they do not follow E. Furnee further and hardly say anything about linguistic parallels with the Caucasian linguistic world.

Mediterranea-Kartvelica by R. Gordeziani was published in three volumes (Tbilisi 2007-2008). It dedicates too much place not only to the parallels which are abundantly shown at the level of appellatives but also in geographic names. It is sufficient to review the part of the book of R. Gordeziani, where more than hundred parallels are shown and we will notice that significant place is dedicated to the names which are confirmed on the Island of Crete and which show parallels in the Aegean region, Anatolia and the Caucasus. I will provide statistical data:

Brown has reviewed about 257 Cretan toponyms. The researcher assumes that 150 of them are of Greek origin and 115 are of non-Greek origin. In case of non-Greek, certainly, it implies geographic names whose stem shows neither Greek nor Indo-European origin in general. In the opinion of Brown, in this case we mainly deal with Pre-Greek names. I would like to accentuate one circumstance: he successively reviews the names presented at different places of the Island of Crete and divides the island into four parts: western, western-central, eastern-central and eastern. According to Brown, 42 toponyms out of 63 toponyms are Greek on the Western Crete and 21 toponyms are non-Greek; 14 toponyms out of 30 toponyms are Greek, 15 toponyms are non-Greek and one toponym is of uncertain origin on the Western-central Crete; 36 toponyms out of 71 toponyms are Greek, 34 toponyms are non-Greek and one toponym is of uncertain origin on the Eastern-Central Crete; 55 toponyms out of 84

³ Brown R., Evidence For Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources, Amsterdam 1985, 97-215.

toponyms are Greek on the Eastern Crete and 29 toponyms are non-Greek; 3 regions are Greek and 6 regions are non-Greek out of the unidentified regions (their location is unknown by the present moment).

R. Gordeziani found parallels with the South Caucasian languages for too many toponyms presented by Brown, for example, parallels were found for 14 names out of 21 names of the Western Crete, for 12 names out of 15 names of the Western-Central Crete, for 20 names out of 34 names of the Eastern-Central Crete, for 13 names out of 29 names of the Eastern Crete and for 3 names out of 6 names of unidentified regions.⁴ Certainly, it is not excluded that some of these parallels are accidental. As it is known, geographic names of the world may show accidental coincidence as they are made of consonant-vowel combination.

If we consider the fact that majority of reviewed names cover the area of Crete-Anatolia-South Caucasus, we can say that this is mainly the area from where South-Caucasian tribes must have come from Caucasus to the Aegean region, in the opinion of R. Gordeziani and E. Furnee. In this case, one circumstance draws our attention: the names for which parallels are found cover nearly entire Crete which means that if this is the result of migration, it must have been essential and it is not excluded that creation of geographic names is related to this migration.

Another circumstance is interesting: which regions of the Caucasus connection is observed with? In fact, geographic names which show parallels are not accumulated in one region and cover the entire South Caucasus which makes us think that this was not the result of movement of a small group of emigrants only.

In order to make more evident how deep the connections between geographic names are and that they are not limited to phonetic resemblance only, I would like to focus on several essential toponyms:

Etymology of the name "Krhvth/Krhvta" caused controversies as early as in the antique period. The Jewish *kaptor* and Egyptian *keftiu*, as well as the name *k'rētīm*.⁵ mentioned in respect to philistines in the *Old Testament* were associated with it. In the contemporary science it is considered that it must belong to Minoan linguistic environment. In the opinion of R. Gordeziani, we can distinguish the stem *kr-* and suffix element – *thin* in

⁴ Gordeziani R., *Mediterranean-Kartvelian Relations* (vols. I-IV), Tbilisi 2007, II, 316-355.

⁵ Gordeziani R., 2007, II, 338.

the name of Crete, whose addition to the stem *kar- has caused syncope of the vowel and this stem may be related to the Aegean stems denominating "stone", "rock", "door, gate", which show a clear connection with Kartvelian languages, according to the assumption of R. Gordeziani. The initial point must be common Kartvelian stem *kar- (Georgian *kar-i* "door", *me-kar-e/ me-kr-e* "door-keeper"; Svanetian *li-kr-e* "to open"), which is found in Kartvelian languages in the form of full-step allomorph *kar-* and zero-step allomorph *kr-* and *kr-et/kr-eṭ* is considered to be the archaic form of its genitive case. In the opinion of R. Gordeziani, if we take the location of the island into consideration, it must be real to see the formative of the semantics of "doors", "the opened" in the name of one hundred city of Crete.

Assumingly, the same root is observed in the geographic name *Καρνησόπολις* confirmed on the Eastern-Central Crete. It is reviewed as a composite, as *πόλις* is clearly a Greek formative, which was attached to the initial name **Καρνασσος*/**Καρνησσος*. The suffix containing *σος* and the stem *Καρν-* widespread in the Mediterranean region are distinguished here: *Καρναλις* (Asia Minor), *Καρνία* (Ionia), *Ἀλικαρνασσός* (Asia Minor). Majority of researchers consider this stem to be Pre-Greek. According to the assumption of R. Gordeziani, it must have been obtained as a result of extension of the root "kar-" by suffix "n". Some scientists associate it with the stem *carn-* "heap of stones, stone hill" saved in Celtic, for which R. Gordeziani finds reliable parallels in Kartvelian languages, however he does not exclude that sometimes, in particular, in case of *Ἀλικαρνασσός*, the stem *kar-/karn-* may have the meaning of gate. The Georgian *qari* is intensively presented in the Georgian toponyms: *Qldeqari*, *Qareltqari*, *Tašišqari* etc.

According to Hesychius, the second name of *Καρνησόπολις* is *Λύττος*. (κ 840 *Καρνησόπολις*· *Λύκτος* ἢ *Κρητική* οὕτως *εκαλείτο*). Brown considers *Λύττος* as a Pre-Greek name and considers **Λύκτος* as its early form. Stephanus of Byzantium informs us of the settlement *Lyktos/Lyttos* on Crete: "*Λύκτος*· city of Crete ... as it is [located] high and the height is called *Λύττους*. In this name the stem **λυκ-* must be the initial point which is found in many geographic names of the Mediterranean region (Brown, 1985, 161 ff.), including *Λύκαστος*. R. Gordeziani associates this stem with the Georgian stem *lix-* which is confirmed in the name *Likhi Mountain* and is often found in the plural form: *Lixt-Imereti*,

Lixt Ikit. Likhi is used to denominate a high object in dialects of the Georgian language.

The main city of the pre-historic Crete – Κνωσός is called the seat of Minos in *The Odyssey* (XIX, 178-179). Ko-no-so mentioned in B-linear documents a number of times must be this city. Later it is found in the form of Κνωσσός. Despite a number of attempts, its etymology is unidentified. In the opinion of Brown, this name is explained neither on the basis of Greek nor any other Indo-European language and belongs to the Pre-Greek Minoan language. It is considered that similar to Carian names Αλωσσός, Πιδωσσός, suffix –ωσσ should be distinguished here. In this case, κν- complex would remain, so, in the opinion of R. Gordeziani, it is more logical to review Κνωσ- element as an entire stem. If we consider that Knossos represented a marine gate of Crete, it is justified to search for a respective meaning in the name. In this regard, R. Gordeziani associates it with Georgian-Zanian *κονcx- [cape] (Georgian *κονcx-i “cape”; Megrelian *κονčx-i “edge”) as the location of the Minoan capital fully corresponds to the meaning of cape. R. Gordeziani considers the development of *κονcx → *κονc → *κονs → κnos absolutely allowable.⁶

We think that Ἰδαΐδη located on the Western-Central Crete is an interesting name. Brown associates the woody highlands as well as a Greek adjective ἰδη – “woody place” with it.⁷ Some scientists assume in the anlaut of the stem.⁸ R. Gordeziani considers that restoration of ƒ before the stem is not justified, as neither A-linear nor B-linear documents confirm such name with “w” in the anlaut which would be equivalent to the stem in the formative of Ἰδαΐδη. It is also noteworthy that the trace of ƒ is not seen when using this name in the epos of Homer. In the opinion of R. Gordeziani, wide dissemination of the stem in Mediterranean geographic names seems to suggest its Indo-European origin (WKE, 47 ff.; Brown, 1985, 130 ff.). In this case it may be assumed common Kartvelian *tqe (Georgian tqe; Megrelian tqa; Svanetian tqe-n [forest]; Laz. tka-š-i kotume [forest hen] would acquire the form of *tqe in Paleo-Kartvelian as a result of adding a prosthetic sound i- or prefix si- or l'i-. There were two possibilities of introduction of tq complex in Greek: a) tq would turn into

⁶ Gordeziani R., 2007, II, 195 ff.

⁷ Brown R., 1985, 130.

⁸ Brown R., 1985, 131.

kt complex; b) q would be lost. Accordingly, ite → ide could have become the basis of formatives interesting for us.

The name of the city located at the northern bank of Crete – Κύταιον – which is mentioned in antique sources a number of times arises interest. As it seems, this city had already existed on the Island of Crete in Mycenaean epoch, which is proved by multiple references to it in B-linear documents. It is assumed that forms: ku-ta-i-jo (KN As 1517), ku-ta-i-si-[jo] (KN X 7891), ku-ta-i-to (KN C 902, Xd 146), ku-ta-si-jo (KN Dr 1237, 1394), ku-ta-to (KN [Ce59]), De 1648, Df 119, Dk 1072, 1074) denominate this city. R. Brown considers the geographic name Κύταιονς to be Pre-Greek and suggest that it must be related to the place of birth of Kolkhi Medea – Κυταία.⁹ Κύταια/Κυταία has been mentioned by various authors as the main city of legendary as well as historic Colchis since the Hellenic epoch. We find several options of this name in sources: Κύτα, Κύτη, Κυταίος, Κυταίς, Κυτηίς etc. This geographic name appears in Greek sources from the Hellenic epoch which may suggest that it is of a comparatively later origin. However, as it seems, the name of location of Aeëtes was not created in the Hellenic epoch. Assumingly, this is suggested by the name of the son of Phrixus – Κυτίσωρο“, which is already known to Herodotus and the names of cities located in Anatolia: Κύτωρος (Paphlagonia),¹⁰ Μασσί-κυτος (Lycia) and possibly, Κότα (Caria).¹¹ Κυταία must be connected with the Georgian Kutaisi which is confirmed by consistent equivalents in all three Kartvelian languages: Georgian Kutaisi, Megrelian Kuteši, Svanetian Kutaši,¹² which allows R. Gordeziani to assume that this settlement or residence existed in the period of circulation of the common Kartvelian language. Etymology of the toponym is noteworthy. In the opinion of R. Gordeziani, in this case the stem reflects the Pre-Greek stem κυτ- and the Kartvelian stem *kut-.¹³ The same stem seems to be contained in the word κύτινος – “pistel of pomegranate flower“. It is noteworthy that in the Etymological Dictionary of Beekes this term (κύτινο) is absolutely

⁹ Brown R., 1985, 132.

¹⁰ Interestingly, Homer mentions Κύτωρος among cities of Paphlagonia which had been associated with the name of Kvitisoros as early as in the antique period (Strabo, XII, 3, 10).

¹¹ Brown R., 1985, 132.

¹² Ониаи А., Сарджвеладзе З., Против извращения вопросов грузинской топонимики, Matsne, 3, 1971; Gordeziani R., 2007, III, 471-473.

¹³ Gordeziani R., 2007, III, 471 ff.

certainly attributed to the Pre-Greek vocabulary and lexical formatives containing a similar stem are mentioned: *κύταρον* "spoon, ladle", *κύτταρος* "honeycomb, husk of Egyptian beans", *κύδαρος* "little ship", *κυττοί* "nests, boxes". According to Hesychius, *κύστεροι*= ἄγγεῖα τῶν μελισσῶν ("honeycomb").¹⁴ On the basis of analysis of various formatives, Brown arrives at a conclusion that the stem *κυτ-* *μυστ* *ἡέ* *τῆς* *μεανιγ* *οφ* *α* *σηρολλω* receptacle". R. Gordeziani also assumes that the stem **kut-* shows connection with the root confirmed in the Georgian *kut-n-a* and has the meaning of a hollow item, cavity, husk, pistil.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that **kurt-/ḳut-* was recently restored at the common Kartvelian level by Heinz Fähnrich – Georgian *kurd -/ kut -*, for example, *kut-n-a/ga-mo-kut-n-a* "to core a pumpkin", *kurd-i* [thief], i.e. "the one who takes everything away"; Megrelian *kwirt-i* [thief], Svanetian *kwit, kwt-* [thief].¹⁶ This made the connection between the Pre-Greek *κυτ-* and the common Kartvelian stem and accordingly, connection between *Κύταιον* and Kutaisi clearer.

As already mentioned, when considering the toponym *Κύταιον* Brown mentions that Kolkhi Medea was born in the city of a similar name. This resemblance had been suggested earlier a number of times. I think that in this case connection is rather extensive, as it can be based on arguments substantiated by several circumstances:

1. The origin of the Cretan geographic name is clearly connected with the Minoan environment. Accordingly, we should assume that it had existed before Achaeans entered Crete. As for the Kartvelian toponym, as we have already mentioned it is one of the ancient toponyms which is restored at the common Kartvelian level. Accordingly, the fact that it is Kartvelian is undisputed and it is absolutely logical to connect the existence not only of the geographic name but of this stem in general in Pre-Greek to the migration assumed by the hypothesis of Gordeziani-Furnee;
2. According to the Greek Mythology, the Island of Crete is the place where Minos, the son of Zeus and Europa, the "First European", was the king. The antique sources unanimously mention Pasiphae, the sister of Aeëtes as his wife. The name Pasiphae means "wide-shining". If we consider this semantics, it can be organically connected with Helios and

¹⁴ Beekes R. S. P., 2010, 809-810.

¹⁵ Gordeziani R., Pre-Greek and Kartvelian, Tbilisi 1985, 117.

¹⁶ Kartvelisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heinz Fähnrich, Brill. Leiden-Boston 2007, 472-473.

the universe of his descendants. Therefore, the analogy of the name of the ancient "city" of Colchis with the name of the place on the Island of Crete – Κύταλον, can to a certain extent be related to the mythological tradition connected with Pasiphae;

3. The fact that this name (Κύταλον) was introduced in the Island of Crete, one of the significant centers of the Pre-Greek linguistic world rather early is also confirmed by the fact that the stem of this name is widely spread in the lexis which is generally attributed to the Pre-Greek and which shows such an organic connection with the Kartvelian linguistic world.

4. Naturally, if such parallels were limited to only one-two examples, we could talk about certain contingency but it is significant that Cretan-Kartvelian parallels demonstrate a systemic nature in the aspect interesting for us. As already mentioned the names for which parallels are found are not accumulated in one region and cover the entire island. This suggests that existence of these parallels is caused not by borrowing a separate geographic name only, but it must have been created from within the Pre-Greek language.

Abstract

The Pre-Greek linguistic world demonstrates a clear unity and one of the best examples of this unity are geographic names of the Island of Crete, which have numerous parallels in the entire Aegean region – on islands, as well as in the Continental Greece and Anatolia. This issue is substantially accentuated by R. Brown in his well-known book *Evidence For Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources* (Amsterdam 1985). He successively reviews the names presented at different places of the Island of Crete and divides the island into four parts: western, western-central, eastern-central and eastern.

Mediterranea-Kartvelica by R. Gordeziani was published in three volumes 2007-2008. It dedicates too much place not only to the parallels which are abundantly shown at the level of appellatives but also in geographic names. R. Gordeziani found parallels with the South Caucasian languages for too many toponyms presented by Brown.

If we consider the fact that majority of reviewed names cover the area of Crete-Anatolia-South Caucasus, we can say that this is mainly the area from where South-Caucasian tribes must have come from Caucasus to the Aegean region, in the opinion of R. Gordeziani and E. Furnee. In this case, one circumstance draws our attention: the names for which parallels are found cover nearly entire Crete which means that if this is the result of migration, it must have been essential and it is not excluded that creation of geographic names is related to this migration.

Another circumstance is interesting: which regions of the Caucasus connection is observed with? In fact, geographic names which show parallels are not accumulated in one region and cover the entire South Caucasus which makes us think that this was not the result of movement of a small group of emigrants only.

It is significant that Cretan-Kartvelian parallels demonstrate a systemic nature in the aspect interesting for us. This suggests that existence of these parallels is caused not by borrowing a separate geographic name only, but it must have been created from within the Pre-Greek language.

Koraljka Crnkovic (Zagreb)

Η ελληνική γλώσσα στην Κροατία Χθες, Σήμερα, Αύριο

Παρά το γεγονός ότι οι πολιτισμοί των δύο χωρών, της Κροατίας και της Γεωργίας είναι δεν έχουν κοινές βάσεις, είναι δεδομένο ότι η ιστορική Κολχίδα, πασίγνωστο σημείο στην πορεία των Αργοναύτων οι οποίοι σύμφωνα με την παράδοση πέρασαν και από τις Αδριατικές ακτές. Σύμφωνα με τις αρχαίες πηγές¹, στο γυρισμό τους από την Κολχίδα η Αργοναυτής κατέληξαν στην Αδριατική, μαζί με το στρατό του Αψύρτου ο οποίος μάλιστα βρήκε και το τραγικό του τέλος ακριβώς στα μέρη της σημερινής Κροατίας.²

Ο στόχος της εισήγησης είναι, μέσα από τον εκπαιδευτικό και τον εκδοτικό τομέα να παρουσιαστεί την ελληνική φιλολογία (αρχαία και νέα) της Κροατίας.

Η Κροατία, χώρα που τον πολιτισμό της θεμελιώσαν οι Αρχαίοι Έλληνες αποικιστές και ύστερα οι Ρωμαίοι διάδοχοι, είναι περφόρητη για την τετρακοσιαετή παράδοση της αρχαιομάθειας. Το πρώτο Κλασσικό Λύκειο ιδρύθηκε το 1607 από τους Ιησουίτες στα πλαίσια του προγράμματος της πνευματικής ανάπτυξης των περιοχών, όπου υπήρχαν οι κοινότητες τους. Αυτό το πρόγραμμα ήταν βασισμένο στη δομή της κλασσικής εκπαίδευσης και του ηθικού κώδικα των

¹ Στράβων, Απολλόνιος ο Ρόδιος, Καλλίμαχος (στο έργο) “Αίτια” όπου ερμινεύει τη ονομασία της πόλης Πόλα ως Πόλη των φυγάδων.

² Βλ. Η παρουσία του Ελληνισμού στην Αδριατική, Phasis, vol. 15-16, Τυφλίδα 2012-2013.

Χριστιανών. Από την ίδρυσή του, το πρώτο Κλασσικό Λύκειο στο Ζάγκρεμπ δραστηριοποιείται ακατάπαυστα, υλοποιώντας πολλές και αξιόλογες μεταρρυθμίσεις, μεριμνώντας αδιάλειπτα για την παράδοση των κλασσικών γλωσσών, της λατινικής από έξι έως οκτώ ώρες την εβδομάδα από την πρώτη γυμνασίου και της αρχαίας με πέντε ώρες από την τρίτη γυμνασίου. Από το δέκατο όγδοο αιώνα, το Κλασσικό Λύκειο περνάει στα χέρια του Κράτους και στωϊκά ζει τα θυελλώδη γεγονότα τής μακράς ιστορίας τής χώρας μου, καθώς και τις διαδοχικές αλλαγές τού εκπαιδευτικού της συστήματος. Το 1947, το σχολικό σύστημα οργανώθηκε οριστικά σε οκτώ χρόνια δημοτικού και τέσσερα χρόνια λυκείου. Η εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση τού 1970 αποπειράθηκε να καταργήσει τη διδασκαλία των κλασσικών γλωσσών. Ευτυχώς καταφέραμε να πετύχουμε τη διατήρησή τους στη δευτεροβάθμια, αλλά και στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, ώστε να μη μειωθούν οι ώρες τις διδασκαλίας (από τρεις ώρες εβδομαδιαίως τα λατινικά και τα αρχαία ελληνικά), αλλά και να μη μεταβληθούν το βασικό πρόγραμμα: η διδασκαλία της γραμματικής και η μελέτη των αντιπροσωπευτικών έργων από την ανθολογία των κλασσικών δημιουργών. Από την ανεξαρτητοποίηση της Κροατίας, το 1995, σταδιακά ιδρύονται και άλλα κλασσικά λύκεια σε άλλες μεγάλες πόλεις της χώρας.

Οι κλασσικές γλώσσες σήμερα διδάσκονται στη δευτεροβάθμια, αλλά και στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση (από την πέμπτη δημοτικού τα λατινικά και από την έβδομη τα αρχαία). Σήμερα λειτουργούν δεκαέξι κλασσικά λύκεια, όπου διδάσκονται οι κλασσικές γλώσσες ως υποχρεωτικό μάθημα (από τα οποία τα δεκατρία είναι εκκλησιαστικά λύκεια!). Σε έξι δημοτικά σχολεία διδάσκονται τα λατινικά και τα αρχαία ελληνικά ως μάθημα επιλογής.³ Ανάλογα με το εάν οι μαθητές συνεχίζουν τη διδασκαλία κλασσικών γλωσσών από το δημοτικό σχολείο ή την επιλέγουν στο λύκειο, η κλασσική εκπαίδευση είναι τετραετούς διάρκειας για τους αρχάριους και εξαετούς για τους προχωρημένους. Η διδασκαλία των κλασσικών γλωσσών λοιπόν στην Κροατία παρουσιάζεται σε τρία επίπεδα:

³ Εγώ έρχομαι ως αντιπρόσωπος του Ιδιωτικού Κλασσικού Λυκείου που ιδρύθηκε το 1996, ταυτόχρονα με το Ινστιτούτο αυτό.

- α) Διδασκαλία κλασικών στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση (από την 5^η Δημοτικού τα λατινικά, από την 7^η τα αρχαία ελληνικά.
- β) Διδασκαλία κλασικών στην δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση (για προχωρημένους και αρχάριους)
- γ) Διδασκαλία κλασικών γλωσσών στον Τομέα της Κλασικής Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου στο Ζάγκρεμπ και Ζαντάρ.

Στην εισήγηση αυτή ακούμαστε μόνο στο πρόγραμμα της ελληνικής γλώσσας της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης που περιλαμβάνει την ανάγνωση σχεδόν όλων των κορυφαίων ονομάτων της αρχαίας λογοτεχνίας, αρχίζοντας από τον Όμηρο και των λυρικών μέχρι και τον Αριστοτέλη, συμπεριλαμβανομένων κάποιων σημείων της Καινής Διαθήκης και μερικών αποσπασμάτων από το ελληνιστικό μυθιστόρημα. Ο βασικός των φιλολόγων δεν είναι μόνο οι μαθητές να γνωρίσουν τη γραμματική της γλώσσας, τη μυθολογία και την ιστορία των αρχαίων λαών. Αυτά είναι μόνο μέσο που στην πραγματικότητα θα τους βοηθήσει να γίνουν ικανοί να διαβάσουν και να καταλάβουν ένα αρχαίο κείμενο από πρωτότυπο, γνωρίζοντας ταυτόχρονα και τα βασικά θεωρητικά φαινόμενα του κάθε συγγραφέα, όπως οι χαρακτηριστικές εκφράσεις, ιδιώματα και τις βασικές του σκέψεις, ούτως ώστε να μπορέσουν να αναγνωρίσουν τον συγγραφέα και το έργο του. Ομολογούμε πως στην εποχή μας η τεχνολογία μας διευκολύνει στη διανομή των κειμένων με διάφορες εφαρμογές για tablets, android και άλλα, βοηθώντας τους μαθητές να συνοιδотоποιούν τις σχέσεις των δεδομένων, διάφορων γνώσεων και επιστημών. Έχοντας όλα αυτά τα μοντέρνα βοηθητικά μέσα που μας δίνουν την αυτόματη μετάφραση ακόμα και γραμματική ανάλυση κειμένων, η σημασία της αρχαιομάθειας σήμερα είναι οι διδασκόμενοι να καταλάβουν την επικαιρότητα των αρχαίων κειμένων, τα αιώνια θέματα – να καταλάβουν τους λόγους Κατά Φιλίππου, τον αγώνα της Αντιγώνης, την θυσία της Ιφιγένειας. Μέσω τους να γνωρίσουν τις αρχές της ανθρωπικότητας.

Βέβαια παρ' όλα αυτά οι Κροάτες φιλόλογοι αντιμετωπίζουν και τον ακατάπαυστο αγώνα με την πολιτική για την διατήρηση των κλασικών γλωσσών, την βαθιά οικονομική κρίση και τον κίνδυνο να καταρτηθούν οι κλασικές σπουδές, την έλλοιψη εγχειρηδίων και άλλα. Για παράδειγμα, το μεγαλύτερο υπάρχον λεξικό στην Κροατία εκδόθηκε στις αρχές του 20 ου αιώνα για χρήση στο Γυμνάσιο. Το

επίπεδο του σημερινού φοιτητή είναι ισόβαθμο του επιπέδου ενός μαθητή Γυμνασίου του 1910 την εποχή που εκδόθηκε το υπαρχόμενο λεξικό. Το βασικότερο είναι η επεξεργασία του λεξικού. Όσο αφορά τα βιβλία, χρησιμοποιείται μια καινούρια μέθοδος για τους αρχαίους και επεξεργασμένα βιβλία της παλιάς μεθόδου για τους προχωρημένους. Παράδοξο αλλά αληθινό είναι το γεγονός ότι η αιώνια παράδοση αρχαίων στην Κροατία έχει αποτελέσει η Κροατία να μείνει στην “ιδανική εποχή” του 19 του αιώνα με φόβο να αλλάξει κάτι – από τον κώδικα των πιο βασικών συγγραφέων μέχρι και τα βιβλία που σε ορισμένες επανεκδόσεις. Έχοντας όμως τη συνείδηση πως οι εποχές αλλάζουν είναι βασικό να αλλάξουν οι μέθοδοι και τους στόχοι. Η πιο σημαντική είναι η σχέση των κλασικών με τις άλλες γλώσσες.

Στο σημείο αυτό καταλήγουμε στη στενή σχέση των αρχαίων και των νέων ελληνικών. Στην Κροατία, η διδασκαλία, αλλά και η μελέτη της Ελληνικής γλώσσας, ακόμα και σε πανεπιστημιακό επίπεδο ερμηνεύει τη μακροαίωνα εξέλιξη της από τις αρχέγονες φάσεις της έως και τη Βυζαντινή περίοδο, περιορίζοντας αισθητά την Αρχαία Ελληνική. Άμεση απόρροια λογίζεται η πλήρης άγνοια των θεμελιωδών εκφάνσεων της Νεοελληνικής (καθαρεύουσας και δημοτικής), αλλά και της διαχρονικής εξέλιξης της Ελληνικής γλώσσας, ούτως ώστε και ο σύγχρονος ελληνικός πολιτισμός να παραμένει σχεδόν άγνωστος.

Το τελευταίο στοιχείο που σημαντικό να θεθεί ως παράμετρο της εισήγησης είναι να διαπιστώσουμε το γεγονός ότι οι περισσότερες χώρες της Δυτικής Ευρώπης ακολουθούν το υφιστάμενο παραδοσιακό σύστημα της εκπαίδευσης και παραμένουν προσηλωμένες στο απαρχαιωμένο εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα που βασιζόταν στη διδασκαλία της λατινικής και λιγότερο της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Παρά την ανάπτυξη και διεύρυνση του ευρωπαϊκού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος (τουλάχιστον στα πλαίσια του πανεπιστημιακού επιπέδου) και τη διεύρυνση των σπουδών της Νεοελληνικής στην Ευρώπη, στην Κροατία, μια χώρα με ένα από τα πιο αξιόλογα τμήματα της κλασικής φιλολογίας, δεν υπάρχουν σπουδές της Βυζαντινολογίας ούτε της Νεοελληνικής γλώσσας και πολιτισμού, και ως εκ τούτου οι συναφείς εκδόσεις είναι ελάχιστες. Είναι σημαντικό να γνωρίσουμε μια πρωτοποριακή προσπάθεια ώστε τα νέα ελληνικά να διεξαχθούν στη διδασκαλία αρχαίων ελληνικών ως μια εξελικτική φάση της γλώσσας, που πολύ συχνά μοιάζει με κυνήγη των ανεμόμυλων. Βασικά η ρίζα

του προβλήματος εδράζεται στη διδασκαλία της γλώσσας. Είναι ελάχιστα οι Κροάτες καθηγητές των αρχαίων ελληνικών που γνωρίζουν και τη νεοελληνική, ώστε να μπορούν ουσιαστικά να δείξουν στους μαθητές την άρρηκτη σχέση των δύο γλωσσών (κάτι που θεωρούμε ως *sine qua non* στοιχείο στη διδασκαλία μιας γλώσσας στον εικοστό πρώτο αιώνα). Είναι δεδομένο ότι τα νεοελληνικά αποτελούν μια από τις εξελικτικές φάσεις των αρχαίων ελληνικών, με τις αναπόφευκτες αλλαγές, που είναι εύλογες λόγω της μακροχρόνιας ιστορίας αυτής της γλώσσας. Είναι αναμφισβήτητο το γεγονός ότι η αρχαία μορφή επιβιώνει και στη σημερινή γλώσσα, όπως και η καθαρεύουσα, η οποία σε λιγότερο ή μεγαλύτερο βαθμό μαρτυρείται στη λογοτεχνία και τον επίσημο λόγο.

Στα πλαίσια της εκπαιδευτικής – παιδαγωγικής πρακτικής του, ένας φιλόλογος πρέπει να ενεπικεντρώνεται στη συνειδητή προσπάθεια να μεταδώσει στους μαθητές τις βασικές γνώσεις της σημερινής γλώσσας μέσα από διαδραστικά μαθήματα των αρχαίων ελληνικών. Παρά τις πολλές καιριές διαφορές μεταξύ της νέας και της αρχαίας Ελληνικής γλώσσας, εάν εστιάσουμε την προσοχή μας, αντιλαμβάνομαστε ότι τα φαινόμενα αλλαγής στη γλώσσα δεν πρέπει να τα αντιμετωπίζουμε ως αγεφύρωτο χάσμα ή αξεπέραστο εμπόδιο.

Παρ' όλο που η αρχαιομάθεια μπορεί να αποτελέσει μεγάλο εμπόδιο στην αρχική εκμάθηση της νεοελληνικής είναι γεγονός ότι λειτουργεί ως μέσο διευκόλυνσης για την αντίληψη της νεοελληνικής, κυρίως στο γραπτό λόγο. Είναι δεδομένο το ότι πολλοί φιλόλογοι είναι αυτοδίδαχτοι και χειρίζονται τη νεοελληνική μόνο σε επίπεδο ανάγνωσης. Όταν πρόκειται για κείμενο της καθαρεύουσας, η ανάγνωσή τους είναι πλήρης, άνετη.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό είναι αναμφισβήτητη η σημαντικότητα διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής γλώσσας βασισμένης στη μελέτη της αιόνιας εξέλιξης της γλώσσας.

Στο σημείο αυτό καταλήγουμε στην ερώτηση που μας τίθεται καθημερινά ιδίως σε αυτή την πνευματική κρίση που βιώνει η ανθρωπότητα σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο. Γιατί η φιλολογία σε αυτή την εποχή; Εάν καταργιόταν η φιλολογία, θα καταργιόταν και η ανθρωπότητα. Θα χάναμε το πιο βασικό που μας κάνει ανθρώπους.

Καταλίγοντας σε αυτό το σημείο, επιτρέψτε μου να σας παρουσιάσω εν συντομία τα επίπεδα και τις μεθόδους διδασκαλίας των

Νέων Ελληνικών στην Κροατία η οποία διδάσκεται σε δύο επίπεδα: α) Διδασκαλία της γλώσσας στους φοιτητές της Κλασσικής Φιλολογίας. Τα μαθήματα των Νέων Ελληνικών είναι υποχρεωτικά τα τέσσερα τελευταία εξάμηνα με στόχο οι φοιτητές να γνωρίσουν την εξέλιξη της γλώσσας από την αρχαιότητα έως τη σύγχρονη περίοδο. β) Νεοελληνικά ως ξένη γλώσσα στο Κέντρο Ξένων Γλωσσών της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου του Ζάγκρεμπ.

Σε όλες αυτές τις περιπτώσεις το βασικό πρόβλημα που αντιμετωπίζουμε εμείς, οι διδάσκοντες, είναι να συνεχιστεί η διδασκαλία πλέον των δύο εξαμήνων, καθώς οι φοιτητές αποκτώντας τη βάση που είναι επαρκής για την καθημερινή επικοινωνία δε δείχνουν ενδιαφέρον να ολοκληρώσουν τη σπουδή της γλώσσας. Εξίσου αντιμετωπίζεται η έλλειψη ανθρώπινου δυναμικού, αλλά και το μεγαλύτερο εμπόδιο: η απουσία απαραίτητου υλικού – βιβλίων, εγχειρίδιων και άλλων διδακτικών μέσων.

Είναι διάφορες οι αιτίες αυτού του έντονου προβλήματος. Πρώτον, η σύντομη παράδοση της Νεοελληνικής γλώσσας, όχι μόνο στην Κροατία, αλλά και στις πιο πολλές χώρες της Δυτικής Ευρώπης. Μολονότι τα Νέα ελληνικά, ως μία από τις φάσεις της αρχαίας γλώσσας, θα πρέπει να διδάσκονται τουλάχιστον σε βασικό επίπεδο σε όλους τους πανεπιστημιακούς τομείς και κατευθύνσεις που σχετίζονται με τις κλασσικές επιστήμες, οι πιο πολλοί φιλόλογοι θεωρούν τα νέα ελληνικά μια ξένη γλώσσα με ελάχιστη ή και ανύπαρκτη γλωσσολογική συνάφεια με τα Αρχαία. Βέβαια, η άγνοια είναι ο πιο επικίνδυνος εχθρός. Προκειμένου να επιτευχθεί η διάδοση της Νεοελληνικής γλώσσας, πρωταρχικός μας στόχος είναι η Ελληνομάθεια να καταστεί προαιρετικό μάθημα σε διεθνή σεμινάρια για φιλόλογους που διοργανώνονται υπό την αιγίδα της “Euroclassica”. Δυστυχώς αντιμετωπίζουμε έλλειψη κατανόησης.

Για τη βελτίωση της κατάστασης αυτής, βασικής σημασίας θα ήταν η συνεργασία με τους συναδέλφους από άλλες χώρες και η ανταλλαγή των γνώσεων.

Πριν ολοκληρωθεί αυτή η σύντομη παρουσίαση της φιλολογικής εικόνας της Κροατίας, θα πρέπει να εκθέσουμε και τον σπουδαίο ρόλο του εκδοτικού τομέα ως ενός άλλου πολύ σημαντικού μέσου για την παράδοση αρχαίας και νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας. Όσο αφορά την έκδοση αρχαίων γραμμάτων, σύμφωνα με την τετρακοσιαετή παρά-

δωση κλασικών σπουδών, δεν μας λείπουν οι εκδόσεις της κλασικής λογοτεχνίας. Μεγάλο και κύριο ρόλο στην έκδοση των κλασικών έχει ο εκδοτικός οίκος *“Latina et Graeca”* που ιδρύθηκε το 1976 ξεκινώντας ως όνειρο – πρωτοβουλία κάποιων άσκων φοιτητών κλασικής φιλολογίας, με σκοπό να εκδίδονται έργα Ελλήνων και Ρωμαίων συγγραφέων, αλλά και φιλολογικά εγχειρίδια. Το όνειρο έγινε πραγματικότητα. Στην ως σήμερα αδιάλειπτη δραστηριότητά του ο εκδοτικός οίκος έφερε στο φως μια σειρά από 56 δίγλωσσες εκδόσεις αρχαίας ελληνικής και λατινικής γραμματολογίας. Ταυτόχρονα εκδίδει περιοδικό στο οποίο δημοσιεύει νέα από τους τομείς της Κλασικής φιλολογίας, Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, επιχειρώντας να φέρει τον αρχαίο κόσμο πιο κοντά στο ευρύτερο κοινό. Παράλληλα, από τους ίδιους δραστήριους, κάποτε φοιτητές με όραμα, αλλά σήμερα μεγαλύτερους Κροάτες φιλόλογους, το 2009 ιδρύθηκε το ομώνυμο Ινστιτούτο *“Latina et Graeca”* (το οποίο λειτουργεί στα πλαίσια του Ιδιωτικού Κλασικού Λυκείου στο Ζάγρεμπ. Στα πλαίσια των δραστηριοτήτων του Ινστιτούτου διοργανώνουμε συνέδρια και σεμινάρια για τους μαθητές με στόχο να διευρυνθεί το ενδιαφέρον των παιδιών για τη διδασκαλία των κλασικών γλωσσών και να προσφέρει καινούργιες μεθόδους και άλλους τρόπους διδασκαλίας στους διδάσκοντες. Πιστεύουμε πως η διδασκαλία του 21 του αιώνα σύμφωνα με τις μαθητοκεντρικές μεθόδους θα πρέπει να βγει από την τάξη δείχνοντας στους νέους τρόπους με τους οποίους να υλοποιήσουν τις γνώσεις τους στην καθημερινή ζωή. Να μην μείνουμε στην *“ex cathedra”* διδασκαλία της γραμματικής. Όλα αυτά το Ινστιτούτο έχει ως στόχο του να βοηθήσει τους διδάσκοντες και τους διδασκομένους, ώστε να καταλάβουμε ότι οι δρόμοι μας στην εκμάθηση είναι παράλληλοι. Και εμείς οι διδάσκοντες καθημερινά μαθαίνουμε από τους μαθητές ή τους φοιτητές μας.

Αντίθετα όμως από την πλούσια παράδοση της αρχαιοελληνικής φιλολογίας, στον τομέα έκδοσης την νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας είμαστε ακόμα στην αρχή. Γενικώς παρατηρούμε έλλειψη ουσιαστικού ενδιαφέροντος για τη Νεοελληνική λογοτεχνία, καθώς και το σύγχρονο ελληνικό πολιτισμό. Οι αιτίες για αυτό πιστεύω ότι εδράζονται στις πλημμελείς γνώσεις, στην απουσία συντονισμένης προσπάθειας από τους επίσημους κρατικούς φορείς, τη μη ευρεία προβολή των πολιτιστικών αγαθών.

Μέχρι σήμερα έχει εκδοθεί μόνο η Ανθολογία ποιημάτων του Κωνσταντίνου Καβάφη (σε 50 μόνο αντίγραφα, που έχουν εξαντληθεί). Μια άλλη αξιοσημείωτη προσπάθεια, να βγει στο φως της δημοσιότητας η ποιητική Ανθολογία του Γιώργου Σεφέρη δεν έχει βρει ανάλογη ανήχηση από του εκδοτικούς οίκους. Ωστόσο, δεν χάνουμε την αισιοδοξία μας καθώς οι μερικές από τις προσπάθειές μας έγιναν πραγματικότητα. Είναι σημαντικό να επισημαντεί ότι πέρυσι εκδόθηκε και το πρώτο Ελληνο-κροατικό λεξικό της συγγραφέα της υποφαινομένης. Συνεχίζουμε με μια πολύ σημαντική κίνηση – να φέρουμε για πρώτη φορά στο φως της Κροατικής δημοσιότητας μια ανθολογία έργων του Καζαντζάκη. Ευελπιστούμε πως με τον τρόπο αυτό αρχίζουμε το “οδυσσειακό” μας ταξίδι στο βαθύ, ανεξερεύνητο ως τώρα πέλαγος των νεοελληνικών γραμμάτων.

Να ευχόμαστε το ταξίδι στο στόχο μας, τον κοινό σε όλους – τη μετάδοση των Ελληνικών γραμμάτων (αρχαίων και νέων) να είναι καλό και όμορφο και να μη φοβόμαστε δυσκολίες – τους Λαιστρυγόνες και τους Κύκλωπες ούτε τον θυμωμένο Ποσειδώνα – όπως λέει ο Καβάφης.

The Program of Classics in Primary and Secondary School in Croatia

Program in Six Years of Education (Primary and Secondary School)

7 th Class of Primary	8 th Class of Primary	1 st Class Secondary	2 nd Class Secondary	3 rd Class Secondary	4 th Class Secondary
Grammar	Grammar	New Testament (parts) Hellenistic novel (parts)	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> (A, Z, X) Homer, <i>Odyssea</i> (A, Z, Ψ)	Herodotus (parts)	Heraclitus and Democritus (parts)
Mythology	Mythology	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i> (parts)	Lyrics (selection)	Thoukidides (parts)	Plato, <i>The Republic</i> Aristoteles, <i>Poetics</i> (parts)

Ancient civilisation	Ancient civilisation	Plato, <i>Apologia,</i> <i>Protagoras</i> (parts)		Demosthenes (parts)	Aischylus, <i>Prometheus Bound</i> Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i> , <i>Oedipus the King</i> Euripides, <i>Medea</i>
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*Program in Four Years of Education
(Secondary School)*

1 st Class Secondary School	2 nd Class Secondary School	3 rd Class Secondary School	4 rd Class Secondary School
Grammar	Grammar	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> Homer, <i>Odyssea</i>	Heraclitus and Democritus (parts)
Mythology	Mythology	Lyrics (selection)	Plato, <i>The Republic</i> (parts) Aristoteles, <i>Poetics</i> (parts)
Ancient civilisation	Ancient civilisation	Herodotus (parts)	
	<i>New Testament</i> (parts) Xenophon <i>Memorabilia</i> (parts)		Aischylus <i>Prometheus Bound</i> Sophocles, <i>Antigone,</i> <i>Oedipus the King</i> Euripides, <i>Medea</i>

Περίληψη

Η παράδοση των κλασικών γλωσσών είναι πολύ διαδεδομένη στην Κροατία. Το πρώτο Κλασικό Λύκειο ιδρύθηκε το 1607 από τους Ιησουίτες στα πλαίσια του προγράμματος της πνευματικής ανάπτυξης των περιοχών με τις κοινότητες τους. Αυτό το πρόγραμμα ήταν βασισμένο στη σύνθεση της κλασικής εκπαίδευσης και του ηθικού κώδικα των Χριστιανών. Από την ίδρυσή του, το πρώτο Κλασικό Λύκειο στο Ζάγκρεμπ δραστηριοποιείται ακατάπαυστα, μεριμνώντας αδιάλειπτα για την παράδοση των κλασικών γλωσσών, με αποτέλεσμα οι κλασικές γλώσσες σήμερα να διδάσκονται στη

δευτεροβάθμια, αλλά και στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση σε δεκαέξι κλασικά λύκεια, ως υποχρεωτικό μάθημα. Σε έξι δημοτικά σχολεία διδάσκονται τα λατινικά και τα αρχαία ελληνικά ως μάθημα επιλογής.

Παρόλο αντιμετωπίζεται πρόβλημα ότι διδασκαλία, αλλά και η μελέτη της Ελληνικής γλώσσας στην Κροατία, ακόμα και σε πανεπιστημιακό επίπεδο ερμηνεύει την εξέλιξη της έως και τη Βυζαντινή περίοδο, περιορίζοντας την Αρχαία Ελληνική και αγνοώντας την ύπαρξη της Νεοελληνικής (καθαρεύουσας και δημοτικής) ως αποτέλεσμα διαχρονικής εξέλιξης μιας γλώσσας.

Είναι αναμφισβήτητο το γεγονός ότι η αρχαία μορφή επιβιώνει και στη σημερινή γλώσσα, όπως και η καθαρεύουσα, η οποία σε λιγότερο ή μεγαλύτερο βαθμό μαρτυρείται στη λογοτεχνία και τον επίσημο λόγο.

Παράλληλα, είναι γεγονός ότι η αρχαιομάθεια αποτελεί μεγάλη διενκόλυση για την αντίληψη της νεοελληνικής, κυρίως στο γραπτό λόγο. Είναι δεδομένο ότι πολλοί φιλόλογοι είναι αυτοδίδαχτοι και χειρίζονται τη νεοελληνική μόνο σε επίπεδο ανάγνωσης. Όταν πρόκειται για κείμενο της καθαρεύουσας, η ανάγνωσή τους είναι πλήρης, άνετη.

Είναι αναμφισβήτητο ότι τα νεοελληνικά αποτελούν εξέλιξη της γλώσσας, η οποία στο διάβα των αιώνων πέρασε από διάφορες φάσεις και μορφές. Η εξέλιξη αυτή είναι ευνόητη για τη σύγχρονη εποχή. Εντούτοις είναι πολύ σημαντικό να σεβόμαστε τη γλώσσα εμπλουτίζοντάς την συνεχώς με το γλωσσικό και εκφραστικό θησαυρό της “αρχαίας μητέρας” της.

Nino Dianosashvili (Tbilisi)

Mad Dance: From Bacchus to Rock

Bacchic dance, a remarkable element of ancient culture, held an important place in the Dionysiac cult from early times.¹ It frequently attracted poets, artists, sculptors and even historians. Though the Bacchantes sank into oblivion over centuries, the practice of mad dance used to rebound in powerful bursts at different times and in different cultures. In this regard, my attention was attracted by medieval Europe, occasionally inundated by strange mad dance, and by modern-day rock festivals.

Dance, in general, is an ancient form of art. By dancing primitive men would 'celebrate' almost all important life events – birth, date, wars, health recovery etc., would invoke rain, sunlight, fertility, would talk to god. The multiple functions of dance have generated diverse definitions: it is believed to be an improvised evolvment of the sex impulse,² or corporal manifestation of communication,³ expression, deep and powerful

¹ Allusions to Bacchic dance date as early as Homer's *Iliad*. When describing Achilles' shield, Homer mentions that Hephaestus' depicted a dancing floor, choros, which had been fashioned by Daedalus in Knossos for Ariadne (*Il.*, XVIII, 591-592). According to the mythological tradition, Dionysus returned Ariadne to Crete after she had been taken away by Theseus. As in the Homeric description the shield featured a whirling dance of young girls and boys, scholars believe that the dancing floor arranged for Ariadne must have been intended for Bacchic dances. See Gordeziani R., *Greek Literature, Hellenic Epics, Lyrics, Drama*, Tbilisi 2014, 28 (in Georgian); Latacz J., *Einführung in die griechische Tragödie*, Gottingen 1993, 30 ff.

² Ellis H., *The Dance of Life*, Boston & New York, Houghton Mifflin Company 1923.

³ Van Camp J., *Philosophical Problems of Dance Criticism (Dissertation)*, Temple University, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International 1982.

emotions.⁴ The numerous scientific definitions have only one point in common: dance is a set of rhythmical body movements mostly performed to music. There is a big variety of dance types, styles and forms. One of them is religious dance, which is described as a fossilized form of ritual involving aimless rhythmical body movements of a group of people united by a common belief.⁵

There are groups of people across different nations that develop religious sensations through ritual dance. They find dance most convincing and satisfying of all other movements and become initiated into divine knowledge through dance. Rhythmical movements stimulate religious ecstasy in modern day Muslim Dervishes, American shakers, Hasidic Jews and Siberian shamans.

Bacchic dance must have had the same function in the cult of Dionysus. The dancers were eager to experience communion with the divine. Thus they forgot for a while earthly concerns and taboos. Individuals, humiliated and frustrated by the daily life, had an opportunity to free themselves in Bacchic rituals. Freedom was the essence of the Dionysiac cult – freedom from age or sex constrains, from aggressive state institutions.⁶

Dionysiac cult dance was basically the core element of Oreibasia,⁷ which is attested in many sources.⁸ Bacchantes would worship Dionysus

⁴ Blacking J., Kealiinohomoku J. W., *The Performing Arts: Music and Dance*, Bristol: Walter de Gruyter 1979.

⁵ Иванов В., *Эллинская религия страдающего бога, Эсхил, Трагедии*, Москва 1989, 388-389; Burkert W., *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1977, 67-168.

⁶ Nadareishvili K., *Women in Classical Athens and Greek Tragedy*, Tbilisi 2008.

⁷ Oreibasia was an archaic Dionysian ritual, a nocturnal procession of Bacchantes performed every other year in mountains (Paus., 8. 23. 1; Ael., *Var. Hist.*, 13. 2; Firm. Mat. Err. Prof. Rel. 6. 5) in the cold of the winter solstice (Plul., *De Primo Frigido*, 18, 953 D). According to Pausanias, women would walk up Mount Parnassus (8 000 feet) (Paus., 10. 32.). Plurach describes an event when thyiads' procession on Parnassus (ταῖς θυιάδων – ἡ θυιάς, ἄδος – thyiads (ἡ θυιάς, ἄδος) is another name of Dionysus' female worshippers) was prevented by a snowstorm and a rescue team was sent to save them. Their garments turned crystal from frost (Plul., *De Primo Frigido*, 18, 953 D). Even in Plutarch's times, this ritual was performed in many places across Greece (Plul., *De Primo Frigido*, 18, 953 D).

⁸ A. TrGF III 57; S. Ant., 152, 1154; S. OT 1093; Eur., *HF.*, 680-687, 889 ff., Eur., *Ion*, 1079, 1084; Eur., *Hel.*, 1312 ff., 1345; Eur., *Ph.*, 655, 788-791, 1756; Pratin., TrGf I 4 F 3, 1. 5. 17;

by dancing and would dance until they fell. Moving around the same circle at a frantic speed with one's head thrown back is a typical scene of a Bacchic dance. It was accompanied by music, song and yells. The participants of this procession were in a state of altered consciousness, which was important in the cult service and was qualified as a religious sensation (Epict., III 21, 14). According to Plutarch, night Dionysiac rituals caused full transformation of an individual. The participants lost consciousness and were unable to manage their actions (Plul., *Mul. Virt.*, 13. 249E). According to Iamblichus, at this time human actions did not comply with human categories. They were unaware of what they were doing (Iamb., III. 4-6). Loss of individuality was considered to be the only way to experience god. One's personality faded away in mass mania triggered at the service.⁹ The surviving information about the Dionysiac mania is rather scarce¹⁰ and only leaves room for assumptions over what processes might have been taking place in people during the ritual.

An ecstatic condition can be easily induced by a variety of either combined or individual stimulants. Time-proven means include alcoholic drinks, hypnotic suggestion, rapid breath, specific smoke inhalation, mu-

Pratin, TrGf II 629, 6; Philod. Paian 8 ff., 19 ff., 40, 133 ff., 146 ff. In the tragedy *Semele* by Diogenes of Athens, 'dance' is used as a synonym of 'orgy' (Diog. Ath. TrGF I 45). Dance as a part of the Dionysiac procession is also mentioned by Plutarch: 'Sacrifices, choral dances, and many of the sacred ceremonies usually held on the road, when Iacchus is conducted forth from Athens to Eleusis, had of necessity been omitted...' (Plul., *Alc.*, 34. 4).

⁹ Доддс Э. Р., Менады (Греки и Ирациональное), Санкт-Петербург 2000, 389-390; Иванов В., 1989; 317-320; Gurchiani K., *Dionysian Mysteries and their Reflection in Euripides' The Bacchae* (dissertation), Tbilisi 1999, 53-57.

¹⁰ Der Neue Pauly, *Enzyklopädie der Antike, Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte*, Stuttgart 3, 950 ff.; Gordeziani R., 2014, 285 (in Georgian). Ecstasy (ἔκστασις) is the term that later replaced mania and, in my opinion, is the most adequate designation of a human condition during the Dionysiac cult service – 'be outside oneself' (Plot., 6. 9. 11; Herm in Phdr. p. 103 A). In an ecstatic, i. e. maniacal state, the line between inner and outer processes disappears. Man is detached from reality and does not respond to external stimulants, is overwhelmed with the sensation of happiness, bliss and delight. He resembles a 'vessel' filled with cosmic content, crosses the lines of individuality, loses his personality and joins the world, the absolute, the deity. See Spoerri Th. (Hrsg.) *Beiträge zur Extase*. Basel: Karger 1968; Josuttis H., Leuner H. (Hrsg.) *Religion und die Droge*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1972.

sic and narcotic drugs such as mescaline, lysergic acid and other psychotropic alkaloids.¹¹

Undoubtedly, the Dionysiac dance was one of the ways to induce ecstasy. Neurophysiologists believe that apart from rhythmical movements, the ecstatic state was also brought by the high physical strain which the women developed through running around, whirling and powerful shaking of head, also by remarkably low temperatures and oxygen scarcity. The high level of physical strain might have caused low blood glucose and adrenaline release, while oxygen scarcity affected neuronal activity and brain metabolism, which could have led to intoxication and hallucinations. Modern scientists qualify Lydian maenads' account of milk, wine and honeys streaming from the earth (Eur., *Bacch.*, 146-147) and Theban women's analogical miracles¹² as ecstatic hallucinations. The condition must have been further intensified by vigilance, as the rituals were performed at night and affected the participants' circadian rhythm. The simultaneous effect of several factors could have easily induced mind alteration in the women.¹³

Ecstatic dance was always performed in a group. The worshippers of Dionysus always danced in a thiasos (Eur., *Bacch.*, 56, 75, 115, 136, 680; Arph., *Ran.*, 15-66, 327; Plul., *De Primo Frigido*, 18. 953 D, Hdt. 4. 79, D. 18. 260). This dance even spread to polises, which is quite natural, as the Dionysiac mania was a collective event and triggered collective behavior mechanisms: contagion, imitation and suggestion. The collectiveness of Dionysiac mania was reflected in myths, literature and historical writings.¹⁴

¹¹ Lewis I, *Ecstatic Religion*, Harmandsworth 1971, 39.

¹² Theban bacchantes would strike a thyrsus against a rock and a stream of water would sprang forth, they would push a thyrsus into the ground and wine would come out or would scratch the earth with their fingers and milk would pour out (Eur., *Bacch.*, 704-710).

¹³ Graf F., *Milch, Honig und Wein: Zum Verstandnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual*, in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich*, Rome 1980; Bremmer J. N., *Greek Maenadism Reconsidered*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (ZPE)*, Bd. 55, Bonn 1984, 280.

¹⁴ Neither mythical Dionysus not his worshippers ever experienced solitude. See Burkert W., *Greek Religion* (trans. Raffan J.), Harvard University Press 1985, 161-162. In the very first written source, the Homeric *Ilaid*, Dionysus is surrounded by mad women (nurses) (Hom., *Il.*, VI, 132-133). See Gordeziani R., 2014, 283-284. In vase paintings Dionysus often appears in the company of nymphs, sileni, satyrs and Pan. See Kerenyi K., *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*, Princeton Univer-

As mentioned, this type of dance was not limited to the ancient world. It expanded in time and space and later covered entire Europe. However, at that time, it was not a conscious imitation of Bacchantes. To put it simply, Medieval Europeans were recurrently overwhelmed by fits of spontaneous, nonstop mad dance.

According to medieval chronicles, this strange dance 'epidemic' first erupted in a small German city of Kelbig in the 11th century (1021).¹⁵ Later, the mad dance gripped not only Germany but England, France, Luxemburg, historical Netherlands and Italy. The outbreak was the most ferocious in the 13th-17th centuries. It was believed that the dance was sent by Saint John the Baptist or Saint Vitus. The dancing processions were mainly performed at the churches of St. John and St. Vitus and very often started on their commemoration days. Hence the names St. John's Dance and St. Vitus' Dance.¹⁶

In Italy dancing fits were called tarantism as their etiology differed from the European dance epidemic. The name tarantella was associated with a

sity Press 1976, 6th-century vase, fig. 39/A and B. Lets us recall Proetus' three daughters, who were driven mad by Dionysus and the mad Argive women (Apollod., 2. 2. 2, Hes. fr. 20). In Euripides' *The Bacchae*, mania afflicts all Theban women. They turn mad all of a sudden, leave their houses, rush to Mount Cytheron and jointly perform various actions (Lydian and Theban women perform ring dances (χορός/χορεύουσιν/χορεύω Eur., *Bacch.*, 21, 63, 114, 220, 379, 680, 862, 1143), whirl on the same place (εἰλίσσω Eur., *Bacch.*, 569), shake their heads/ throw their heads back (ῥίπτω Eur., *Bacch.*, 865) and run at a surprising speed. They cross fields like birds and run across mountains and valleys in a blink (Eur., *Bacch.*, 665, 748-749, 1090-1094). Pausanias too describes how mania gripped the city (Paus., 7. 21). Crowd is a characteristic feature of the cult of Dionysus. See Burkert W., *Antike Mysterien: Funktionen und Gehalt*, Munchen 1990, 47-48; Dianosashvili N., *The Phenomenon of Mass Madness in Bacchae* by Euripides, *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 2012-2013, 15-16, 386-396.

¹⁵ Waller J., *A Forgotten Plague: Making Sense of Dancing Mania*, the *Lancet*, V. 373, 2009 (February), 625. Eighteen people surrounded a church and would not let the priest officiate the Christmas mass. They would dance hand in hand, would clap hands, jump and yell. The chronicler writes that the infuriated priest cursed them to dance nonstop for the whole year. And truly, they danced almost till next Christmas, hardly able to control their hands and legs.

¹⁶ Midelfort H. C. E., *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, Stanford 1999, 32; Bartholomew R. E., *Little Green Men, Meowing Nuns and Head-hunting Panics: A Study of Mass Psychogenic Illness and Social Delusion*, USA, McFarland & Company 2001, 132; Marks R. W., *The Story of Hypnotism*, USA: Kessinger Publishing 2005, 201; Waller J., 2009, 625.

south Italian tradition that dance either prevented the bite of tarantula, a poisonous spider especially widespread in the province of Taranto, or in case of bite, prevented the penetration of the poison into the blood.¹⁷

St. Vitus' and St. John's dance and tarantella only differed in terms of location, name and the related beliefs, while the symptoms were the same. Like the Bacchic dance, all of them were collective and epidemic, involving dozens, hundreds and even thousands of participants.

The medieval dancers, like Bacchantes, were in the state of altered consciousness. They were unable to manage their body. The eye-witnesses describe the dances as shows: "while they danced their minds were no longer clear' or 'they went raging like beasts over the land."¹⁸ Otherwise, it would be impossible to dance unceasingly with sore and bleeding feet. People danced nonstop for hours, days, weeks and even months, yelling, roaring, laughing, howling, writhing, foaming at the mouth. They were sexually excited, suffered from pain and seizure and hallucinated. They danced to loss of consciousness and would fall powerlessly to their peers' feet, like a Lydian woman in *The Bacchae* (Eur., *Bacch.*, 136). In the Middle Ages, this strange dance would often end in human deaths.¹⁹

The European mad dance was accompanied by music, like the Dionysiac cult dance by sounds of drum and flute. Scientists believe that the accompanying music had the same function as dance movements: drive the dancers into ecstasy. Drums (tympani) activated certain grid cells in the brain and caused excitement. The rhythm gripped and governed the dancers. Flute (aulos) might have had a likewise exciting effect.²⁰

¹⁷ Carpitella D., In the Fundamental Study of Tarantism by E. de Martino, La terra del rimorso, Milano 1961, 365; Bartholomew R. E., Tarantism, Dancing Mania and Demonopathy: The Anthro-Political Aspects of 'Mass Psychogenic Illness', Psychological Medicine, vol. 24 (2), Cambridge University Press 1994, 281-306; Midelfort H. C. E., 1999, 39.

¹⁸ Cited in Backman E. L., Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine (trans. Classen E.), London: Allen & Unwin 1952.

¹⁹ Hecker J. F., Die Tanzwuth, eine Volkskrankheit im Mittelalter: nach den Quellen für Aerzte und gebildete Nichtärzte bearbeitet (trans. by Babington 1888), Berlin: Enslin 1832, 132 ff.; Midelfort H. C. E., 1999, 32; Bartholomew R. E., 2001, 126; 136; Waller J., Looking Back: Dancing Plagues and Mass Hysteria, The Psychologist 22 (7), UK: British Psychological Society, 2009 (July), 644-647; Waller J., 2009, 624-625.

²⁰ Midelfort H. C. E., 1999, 37; Waller J., 2009, 624-625.

As mentioned, yells were not alien to medieval dancers either. Similarly to Dionysiac $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$, south European dancers would occasionally cry out a-hi.²¹ The repetition of these syllables would bring on them sensation of freedom and would also cause rapid breath. Thus, it too can be seen as an ecstasy-inducing technique.²²

1374 and 1518 witnessed the greatest outbreaks of mad dance. In 1374 it gripped entire Germany, historical Netherlands and North-East France. Thousands of people danced for weeks on.

“From Italy it spread to ... Prusia, and one morning, without warning, the streets were filled... They danced together, ceaselessly, for hours or days, and in wild delirium, the dancers collapsed and fell to the ground exhausted, groaning and sighing as if in the agonies of death. When recuperated, they swathed themselves tightly with cloth around their waists and resumed their convulsive movements. They contort their bodies, writhing, screaming and jumping in a mad frenzy. One by one they fell from exhaustion...” – Benjamin Lee Gordon wrote.²³

After several decades, an abbot from a monastery near Trier once again called people for dance, which continued for 6 months nonstop, generating fatal spinal and rib fractures.²⁴

In 1518 the mad dance gripped Strasbourg. About 400 people were involved. According to the chronicler, daily deaths would reach fifteen. Fatal outcomes were frequently caused by heart attack.²⁵

What was the cause of this strange phenomenon called either collective mental disorder²⁶ or collective hysterical disorder²⁷ or mass madness.²⁸ Opinions vary: according to the most popular theory, it must have been

²¹ Carpitella D., 1965, 365.

²² Bremmer J. N., 1984, 280.

²³ Gordon B. L., *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine*, New York: Philosophical Library 1959, 562.

²⁴ Backman E. L., 2009, 625.

²⁵ Backman E. L., 1952.

²⁶ Kaplan H. I., Sadock B. J., *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry*, vol. 2, Baltimore, MD: Williams and Wilkins 1985, 1227.

²⁷ Carson R. C., Butcher and Mineka S., *Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life*, New York: Harper Collins 1998¹⁰, 37.

²⁸ Comer R. J., *Fundamental of Abnormal Psychology*, New York: W. H. Freeman and Company 1996, 9.

caused by ergotism – poisoning from infected rye, as in those times people would mainly consume molded rye.

Others interpret it as a posttraumatic stress disorder associated with large-scale calamities. This may be particularly true for 1374 and 1518 dance epidemics preceded by a disastrous flood in the first case and crop failure in the second, resulting in inconceivably high prices on grain. Syphilis broke out, leprosy and plague reappeared.²⁹

The medieval mad dance is also seen as pilgrims' practice, a deviant behavior of a religious sect, which was spread to the local population.³⁰ According to a different opinion, the European population of those times had superstitions and expectations of dance curse, a fear of raging souls capable of visiting a dance curse upon humans. These beliefs could have spread to Europe through naval routes.³¹ As concerns tarantism, it is described as a regional version of mad dance stemming from local traditions.

Despite various theories, this strange occurrence remains unexplained. The mentioned opinions are only assumptions that may invite counterarguments: 1. Frequent floods in the Middle Ages caused high levels of humidity, which contributed to the molding of cultivated grain, especially rye. The economic slump compelled people to consume molded cereals. Convulsive ergotism could in fact cause hallucinations, spasms and shivering but it is highly unlikely to induce wild movements lasting weeks or months. As concerns gangrenous ergotism, it results in the decomposition of extremities but has nothing in common with dance movements;³² 2. Neither mind alteration alone can account for mad dance, though the high level of distress may also cause the loss of individuality and increases a likelihood of spontaneous trance; 3. Pilgrimage was widespread in medieval Europe and the dance could certainly be part of

²⁹ Hecker J. F. C., *Epidemics of the Middle Ages* (trans. from German by Babington), London: The Sydenham Society 1844, 87.

³⁰ Bartholomew R. E., *Rethinking the Dance Mania*, *The Skeptical Inquirer* 24(4):42-47 (July-August). *Gender Issues; Medicalization of Females; Deconstruction; St. Vitus' Dance*, 2000.

³¹ Waller J., 2009, 644-647.

³² Ergotism is poisoning by alkaloids produced by ergot, a group of fungi infecting rye. There are two types of argotism: convulsive and gangrenous. Convulsive symptoms include painful seizures and spasms, while gangrenous symptoms are blisters and dry rot of the extremities. See Eadie MJ., *Convulsive Ergotism: Epidemics of the Serotonin Syndrome?* *Lancet Neurol., PubMed.*, 2003 Jul; 2(7): 429-434.

their ritual behavior; 4. It is likewise possible that several instances of this wild practice could have given birth to superstitions and fears that they would recur; 5. Doctors' ideas about Italian poisonous tarantulas are nowadays found unconvincing.³³ There are poisonous spiders in other countries as well but tarantella is only performed in Italy. Moreover, according to medieval chronicles, most of the dancers did not even mention spider bites but directly joined the dance at a certain time.

I believe each factor could have a role in the mad dance epidemic. The dance used to be started by a group of individuals but would spread to a large part of the population, evidently, under the influence of all the three mass behavior mechanisms. Contagion and suggestion provoked spontaneous involvement, while imitation was a conscious behavior. Medieval chronicles describe structured dances: e. g. participants of dance processions would tie up their garments and would leap, clap hands and appeal to St. John the Baptist.³⁴ In 1375 and 1376 processions, couples were followed by single participants in a row. They danced, jumped and hugged each other.³⁵ In 1518 a special stage was arranged and professional musicians and dancers were hired to keep the emotional impulse.³⁶

The prerequisite for all the three mechanisms is susceptibility to being 'infected' with collective sensations. The susceptibility of medieval Europeans was determined by the posttraumatic stress, superstitions about the dance curse and people's awareness of the mind alteration risk after a tarantula bite, while ergotism and pilgrimage with strange rituals were triggers of ecstatic dance. In fact, dance was regarded as a 'contagious' disease and at the same time, as a treatment against it – a punishment and a way of redemption. Those caught by the virus of dance could only be healed through dance. This belief predisposed them to a euphoric dance at least once a year.

As mentioned above, the dance epidemic was spread in Europe till the mid-17th century. It recurred only once in Madagascar in 1840,³⁷ while

³³ Bartholomew R. E., 2000.

³⁴ Jean d'Outremeuse's chronicle *La Geste de Liege* cited in Bartholomew R. E., 2000.

³⁵ Slichterhorst's chronicle, cited in Backman E. L., 1952, 210.

³⁶ Waller J., 2009, 625.

³⁷ Sharp L. A., *Social Change, Social Protest: The Dancing Mania in Nineteenth Century Madagascar* (paper presented in the session on "Charisma" at the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association) US, Washington 1985.

tarantism was observed at random and on a smaller scale in Italy up to 1959.³⁸

Finally, outbursts of tarantism developed into an annual festival. The Hellenic oreibasia must have taken the same path before spontaneous hysterical outbreaks transformed into an acceptable practice and a special time and space was devoted to it. The Dionysiac cult framed this hysteria as an organized ritual and gave it a shape and direction.³⁹

What happens in this regard in our contemporary world? What is the repercussion of the Bacchic dance in the 21st century? Does it take place anywhere? If yes, what does it look like? The state of public at modern rock festivals can be likened to Bacchic dance. "Drink, drugs, ecstatic loss of self in illusion of every kind (especially drink and madness), violent dance, crowds, theatrical spectacle and violence: as a summary of sixties rock, Dionysus couldn't be better. There he was, mad, Greek and ancient,"⁴⁰ Ruth Padel writes as she explores the relationship between rock and Greek myth.

According to rock historians, rock ideology rests on the Dionysian, which is the most irrational, wild and mad impulse.⁴¹ Bacchic leaps, rhythmical twitches and sharp movements, whirling, hadbanging, yells, cries and roar are common at rock festivals. The archaic Dionysiac practice of dismembering animals is replaced by tearing of clothes, which happens almost at every concert.⁴² Rock not only borrows but even promotes lax sexual norms typical of the Dionysiac cult. Sexual revolution is commonly associated with the origination of rock. According to Bob Larson, low frequency vibrations of bas-guitar accompanied by weird lighting affect the cerebrospinal fluid, which in turn has a direct influence on endocrine glands and disturbs the balance of reproductive and adrenal gland hormones. Besides, the blood insulin level significantly alters causing the loosening of moral brakes below the permissible threshold or their

³⁸ Bartholomew R. E., 2001, 134.

³⁹ Додас Э. П., 2000, 390-392.

⁴⁰ Padel R., *I'm a Man: Sex, Gods and Rock'n'Roll*, UK: London, Faber & Faber 2000, 186.

⁴¹ Palmer R., *Dancing in the Street*, BBC Books 1996.

⁴² Padel R., *Ozzy Osbourne, a Black Sabbath vocalist, had the habit of biting off a living bird's head before a concert, 2000.*

complete loss.⁴³ Wild yells of thousands of sexually aroused girls remain a characteristic feature of rock concerts and festivals.

Another characteristic of rock concerts is mind-alteration. The most popular psychoactive substance at rock festivals is LSD. The combination of LSD and rock gave birth to the so-called psychedelic rock. Jefferson Airplane, Soft Machine and The Yardbirds are psychedelic groups. The Beatles' album *Sgt. Peppers Lonely Hearts Club Band* is considered to be psychedelic and a song from this album, *Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds*, is believed to promote LSD. The Rolling Stones too recorded a psychedelic album *Their Satanic Majesties Request*.⁴⁴ However, it is not necessary to take LSD or any other narcotic drugs to induce mind alteration. Similarly to Bacchic dances, lights, music and rhythmical movements can easily drive people into ecstasy. Even at present, people with altered consciousness dance to the fall at rock festivals and concerts.

Rock originated in the 1960s, which was the age of protests against reality, the age of revolution in collective *weltanschauung*. Rock too was a protest music aimed at acquiring total freedom through destroying any kinds of frames, norms and constraints, whether religious, family-related, administrative, political, economic or military. Such moods were triggered by the posttraumatic stress caused by two world wars, several dictatorships, racial and national problems and ideological pressure. Rock became the main event of those years. Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Joe Cocker, Bob Dylan and others turned into international icons.⁴⁵ They had a power over people, like Dionysus in the ancient world. Our contemporary rock concerts trigger the same spontaneous and unconscious behaviors as the Dionysian festivals and dance epidemics in medieval Europe. The Dionysian continues to prevail and break out as a temporary 'switch-off' from the rational.⁴⁶

As we can see, the behavioral 'symptoms' of the Dionysian, as well as their triggers, have persisted over centuries. Whether in antiquity, in the Middle Ages or in the 20th century, mad dance outbreaks are invariably associated with social frustration and spontaneity and occur as the

⁴³ Larson B., *Rock & Roll: The Devil's Diversion*, McCook, Neb: Larson 1967.

⁴⁴ Padel R., 2000, 222, 252-253.

⁴⁵ Palmer R., 1996.

⁴⁶ Latacz J., 1993, 31; Gordeziani R., 2014, 285 (in Georgian).

awaking of something latent but constantly present in humans. The only difference lies in the intention of these mad behaviors: in ancient Greece, the Bacchic dance was seen as a path towards divine communion, in the Middle Ages it was a treatment against dance itself, while now it marks defiance and revolt against reality.

Abstract

Bacchic dance, a remarkable element of ancient culture, held an important place in the Dionysiac cult from early times. It frequently attracted poets, artists, sculptors and even historians. Though the Bacchantes sank into oblivion over centuries, the practice of mad dance used to rebound in powerful bursts at different times and in different cultures. In this regard, in the paper the attention was attracted by medieval Europe, occasionally inundated by strange mad dance, and by modern-day rock festivals.

What happens in medieval Europe and in our contemporary world? What is the repercussion of the Bacchic dance in the 13th-17th and in the 20th-21st centuries? What do they look like? And what is the difference among these dances? There are the questions examined in the paper.

The behavioral ‘symptoms’ of the Dionysian, as well as their triggers, have persisted over centuries. Whether in antiquity, in the Middle Ages or in the 20th-21st century, mad dance outbreaks are invariably associated with social frustration and spontaneity and occur as the awaking of something latent but constantly present in humans. The only difference lies in the intention of these mad behaviors: in ancient Greece, the Bacchic dance was seen as a path towards divine communion, in the Middle Ages it was a treatment against dance itself, while now it marks defiance and revolt against reality.

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Peculiarities of the Phenomenon of Overcoming Death by Hero and Saint

Cult of hero was one of the most distinctive features of ancient Greece. Based on religious and epic traditions hero is venerated because of his fame during life or unusual manner of death.¹ Late antiquity is marked by substitution of heroic ideal by ideal of sainthood. According to P. Brown, the victory of Christianity in the Late Roman society was not the victory of the one God over the many, it was the victory of man over the institutions of their past.² One significant manifestation of this mentality could be found in peculiarities how these two cultures integrate the death in social environment. The goal of my paper is to trace changing perception of the death in the crucial period of transition from antique to Christian ideology. The following issues ought to be discussed: antique background of heroic ideal and the end of antique world, Christian ideology of victory of soul over the body and the notion of Holy War.

In this context it might be useful to explicate such notions as heroic death and martyrdom. The heroic death can be seen as a transition to everlasting glory, which comes with a "beautiful death" – καλός or εὐκλεῆς θάνατος. J.-P. Vernant suggests that the Greek idea of heroic death, since archaic to Hellenistic times, represents heroes achieving perfection in battle. On the battlefield a man had a chance to display his

¹ Parker R., *Greek Religion*, in: *Greece and the Hellenistic World*, eds. J. Boardman, J. Griffin, O. Murray, Oxford 1988, 288.

² Brown P., *The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity*, *JRS*, 1971, 100.

courage and chivalry and they were rewarded with everlasting glory that overcomes death. They are endowed with the desire and courage to die young on the battlefield, with weapons in their hands. That is the way to avoid decrepit old age, ordinary, commonplace death, and falling into oblivion.³ Thus they stay young and brave in the collective memory.

The most appropriate sample of this hero-worship could be found in the cult of Achilles. Achilles was set before an important decision whether he wants to live a short life and gain glory, or live a long life. He chose to follow the path of honor, and that brought him a posthumous life. He does not fear his death and he faces his obvious death, which resulted from his decisions. Perhaps not all the antique heroes die like Achilles, but seeking fame on the battle field that enables them to attain immortality and stay alive in the collective memory is a common feature of them.

Plato (427-347) understands immortality in the terms of reincarnation, the idea he develops in his works *Phaedon* and *Republic*. In this case there is lack of social integration of deceased people. But the great philosopher does not leave without attention the issue of everlasting glory. In *Symposium* he suggests two ways of reaching immortality: the first is physical, and the second is spiritual one. In the words of Diotima people desire to give birth to their children in order to continue their lives in their offspring and thus to reach immortality.⁴ But they are pregnant in the body only, "their offspring, as they hope, will preserve their memory and giving them the blessedness and immortality which they desire in the future. But souls which are pregnant ... conceive that which is proper for the soul to conceive or contain. And what are these conceptions? – wisdom and virtue in general."⁵ Fame is what makes people immortal: "They are ready to run all risks greater far than they would have run for their

³ Vernant J.-P., *L'individu, la mort, l'amour: soi-même et l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1989.

⁴ Plato, *Symposium*, Translated with an introduction by B. Jowett, University of Adelaide 2014, section 26.

⁵ *Ibid*, section 27; "οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐγκύμονες, ἔφη, κατὰ τὰ σώματα ὄντες πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας μᾶλλον τρέπονται καὶ ταύτη ἐρωτικοὶ εἰσιν, διὰ παιδογονίας ἀθανασίαν καὶ μνήμην καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν, ὡς οἶονται, αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον πάντα ποριζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν – εἰσι γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς κυοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ἃ ψυχῇ προσήκει καὶ κηῆσαι καὶ τεκεῖν· τί οὖν προσήκει; φρόνησιν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν" – *Symposium*, Platonis Opera, ed. I. Burne, II, Oxford University Press 1901, 172-223, section 27.

children, and to spend money and undergo any sort of toil, and even to die, for the sake of leaving behind them a name which shall be eternal. Do you imagine that Alcestis would have died to save Admetus, or Achilles to avenge Patroclus, or your own Codrus in order to preserve the kingdom for his sons, if they had not imagined that the memory of their virtues, which still survives among us, would be immortal? ... I am persuaded that all men do all things, and the better they are the more they do them, in hope of the glorious fame of immortal virtue; for they desire the immortal."⁶

It seems that in late Roman Empire the attitude towards the glory of hero became more nihilistic: everlasting remembrance is ephemeral, after-fame is utter vanity. Such spirit is dominated in *Meditations* of great roman emperor and philosopher Marcus Aurelius (121-180) whose reign is marked as 'the end of antique world'.

The Emperor Marcus Aurelius hated the war, but by irony of fate spent almost the whole of his life in the battlefield defending Rome from northern invaders. Glory and fame of the world appeared for him to be fleeting, futile and vain: "For all things quickly fade and turn to fable, and quickly, too, utter oblivion covers them like sand. And this I say of those who shone like stars to wonder at; the rest, as soon as the breath was out of their bodies were 'unnoticed and unwept'. And what after all is everlasting remembrance? Utter vanity."⁷ Glory appears to be utter, remembran-

⁶ Ibid, section 27; Cf. "ἐπεὶ γε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰ ἐθέλεις εἰς τὴν φιλοτιμίαν βλέψαι, θαυμάζους ἂν τῆς ἀλογίας πέρι, ἃ ἐγὼ εἰρηκα εἰ μὴ ἐννοεῖς, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὡς δεινῶς διάκεινται ἔρωτι τοῦ ὀνομαστοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ "ικλέος ἐς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον ἀθάνατον καταθέσθαι", καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου κινδύνους τε κινδυνεύειν ἔτοιμοὶ εἰσι πάντας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν, καὶ χρήματα ἀναλίσκειν καὶ πόνους πονεῖν οὐστίνασούν καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν. ἐπεὶ οἶε σὺ, ἔφη, Ἄλκηστιν ὑπὲρ Ἀδμήτου ἀποθανεῖν ἂν, ἢ Ἀχιλλεῖα Πατρόκλῳ ἐπαποθανεῖν, ἢ προαποθανεῖν τὸν ὑμέτερον Κόδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παιδῶν, μὴ οἰομένους ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς πέρι ἑαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἦν νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν; πολλοὺ γε δεῖ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' οἶμαι ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοιαύτης δόξης εὐκλεοῦς πάντες πάντα ποιῶσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν ἀμείνους ᾶσι, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον· τοῦ γὰρ ἀθανάτου ἐρῶσιν" – Platonis Opera, section 27.

⁷ Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, translated by A. S. L. Farquharson, London 1961, IV, 33. Cf. "Ἐξίτηλα γὰρ πάντα καὶ μυθώδη ταχὺ γίνεται, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ παντελεῖς λήθη κατέχωσεν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγω ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶς πως λαμψάντων· οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ ἅμα τῷ ἐκπνεῦσαι "ἄιστοι, ἀπυστο" [IV, 32].

ce – fleeting: “All is ephemeral, both what remembers and what is remembered.”⁸ There is totally nihilistic perception of the death in meditation: “In how short a time, ashes or a bare anatomy, and either a name or not even a name; and if a name, then a sound and echo. And all that is prized in life empty, rotten and petty;”⁹ Also: “Alexander the Great and his stable boy were leveled in death, for they were either taken up into the same life-giving principles of the Universe or were scattered without distinction into atoms.”¹⁰ It is very tempting to recall here Ecclesiastes: “For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever; seeing that which now is in the days to come shall all be forgotten. And how dieth the wise man? as the fool;”¹¹ or: “For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all is vanity.”¹² Markus Aurelius who, for reasons of state, possibly sanctioned the persecution of Christians achieved a genuinely Christian depth of humility.¹³

Christianity introduced a completely different path to overcome the death. It is not understood as the end of existence; on the contrary, it is a form of existence also, transition into a new reality. Death is relief, liberation of the soul from the fetters of the flesh. Saints inspired by the image of Christ, deny ephemeral material life and glory and seek martyrdom in order to attain eternal life, the Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁴ That common paradigm can be discerned in hagiographic writings.

⁸ Ibid. IV, 35. Cf. “Πάν ἐφήμερον, καὶ τὸ μνημονεῦον καὶ τὸ μνημονεύόμενον” [IV, 34].

⁹ Ibid. V, 33. Cf. “Ὅσον οὐδέπω σποδὸς ἢ σκελετὸς καὶ ἦτοι ὄνομα ἢ οὐδὲ ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ψόφος καὶ ἀπήχημα. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολυτίμητα κενὰ καὶ σαπτὰ καὶ μικρὰ” [V, 33].

¹⁰ Ibid. VI, 26. Cf. “Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ ὁ ὄρεωκόμος αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντες εἰς ταῦτο κατέστησαν· ἦτοι γὰρ ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου σπερματικούς λόγους ἢ διεσκεδάσθησαν ὁμοίως εἰς τὰς ἀτόμους” [VI, 24].

¹¹ Cf. “ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν μνήμη τοῦ σοφοῦ μετὰ τοῦ ἀφρονος εἰς αἰῶνα καθὼς ἤδη αἱ ἡμέραι αἰ ἐρχόμεναι τὰ πάντα ἐτελήσθη καὶ πῶς ἀποθάνειται ὁ σοφὸς μετὰ τοῦ ἀφρονος” [ecc1. 2, 16].

¹² Cf. “ὅτι συνάντημα υἱῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ συνάντημα τοῦ κτήνους συνάντημα ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὁ θάνατος τούτου οὕτως ὁ θάνατος τούτου καὶ πνεῦμα ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ τί ἐπερίσσευσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος παρὰ τὸ κτήνος οὐδὲν ὅτι τὰ πάντα ματαιώτης” [ecc1. 3, 19].

¹³ Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, 1997, Introduction, 9.

¹⁴ Каждан А. П., *Византийская культура*, Москва 1968, 56-58.

The first saints were martyrs martyred in Roman Empire before Christianity was announced as a state religion. Martyrdom in roman cultural area was understood as demonstrative punishment of victim, showing his powerlessness, his defeat against and in the eyes of society. Just victorious is able to become a hero, but defeated is predestined to fall into oblivion.¹⁵ Thus, there were all prerequisites for martyr to become an anti-hero. Despite that, saint become a hero of the new epoch, as Christianity challenged all the above mentioned purposes of torture by completely new perception of victory, that implies sacrifice of the life for the most noble intention, strong faith in eternal life, domination of spiritual strength over physical weakness. Everything these together create the dignity of martyrdom.¹⁶

One of the most popular groups of saints is cohort of warrior saints. Hagiography of these saints being created long after their persecution by Roman emperors, notably Diocletian, and reaching its highest development in the 11-12th centuries lack historical accuracy and represent hagiographic legends in the realm of ideology. The martyrs qualified as warrior saints in hagiographic legends demonstrate their decision to become soldiers of Christ by renouncing terrestrial military service. Therefore this group of saints manifest transition from physical to spiritual fight very visibly. In this process weapon also gained a symbolic meaning and canonically military equipment is warrior saints' attribute in their iconographical images.

The metaphorical meaning of weapon and struggle in Christianity is best displayed by St. Paul (*Ephesians*, 6: 10-17): "Finally, be strong in the Lord, and in the strength of his might; Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places; Wherefore take up the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and, having done all, to stand; Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness; and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace; withal taking

¹⁵ Delehayé H., *Les origine du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles 1912, 1.

¹⁶ *Idem.*

up the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one; And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."¹⁷

Thus we need to follow St. Paul's metaphorical language to understand and interpret the original character of weapons depicted on warrior saints' icons and mentioned in texts. Warrior saints' hagiography doesn't give any evidence concerning their military service. The only battle they are engaged in (especially St. Theodores and St. George) is against the dragon, personifying Satan. Thus they repeat the prodigy of Michael the Archangel (*Apocalypse*, 12:7). The dragon-fighting hero is a widespread image in Christianity, where a dragon is a symbol of the evil forces. It is mentioned in the Bible several times: Daniel xiv, 22, 27; Micah i, 8; Jeremiah xiv, 6; Revelation xii, 3, 7; Isaiah xxxiv, 13, and xliii, 20, and is widely represented in hagiography.¹⁸

Like iconographic depiction hagiographic evidence gives the background for the discussion of the main struggle of warrior saints – their spiritual struggle performed by martyrdom. Struggle against the forces of evil and spiritual victory is a regular theme for hagiography in general and not only for hagiography of warrior saints.¹⁹ Holy Fathers of *Lives* also perform their spiritual struggle, but their struggle is even harder, because they fight against evil and sacrifice their bodies for their souls every single day, not just ones like martyrs. Thus Christian teaching of victory soul

¹⁷ Cf. “τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐνδυναμοῦσθε ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ; ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στήναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου; ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλῃ πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις; διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα δυνηθῆτε ἀντιστήναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πονηρᾶ καὶ ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι στήναι; στήτε οὖν περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης; καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης; ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνησεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπτρωμένα σβέσαι; καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἔστιν ὄημα θεοῦ” [Ephes. 6: 10-17].

¹⁸ On dragons in hagiography see: White M., *The Rise of the Dragon in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, BMGS 32, 2008, 149-167.

¹⁹ Bourguignon P., Wenner P., *Combat Spiritual*, in: *Spirituality of the Christian East*, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986, 233-266.

over the body placed heroic ideal in the realm of spirituality representing the idea of sanctity.

Generally, the conception of life as a period of military service from which God releases us at the time of death goes back to Plato and later was adopted by Christianity: e. g. *Ephesians*, 6:12 Peter 2:11. In *Apology* Socrates said: "For thus it is, men of Athens, in truth; wherever a man stations himself, thinking it is best to be there, or is stationed by his commander, there he must, as it seems to me, remain and run his risks, considering neither death nor any other thing more than disgrace. So I should have done a terrible thing, if, when the commanders whom you chose to command me stationed me, both at Potidaea and at Amphipolis and at Delium, I remained where they stationed me, like anybody else, and ran the risk of death, but when the god gave me a station, as I believed and understood, with orders to spend my life in philosophy and in examining myself and others, then I were to desert my post through fear of death or anything else whatsoever."²⁰

Iconographical depictions of Warrior Saints by Byzantines were understood completely in the spirit of St. Paul's metaphorical language mentioned above unlike their Latin brothers who inclined to understand the struggle in its physical meaning. Images of these saints supported Crusaders' notion of the Holy War. The official motivation for the Crusades was the desire of the westerners to help their eastern brothers against Muslims' attacks. Participants in the Holy war were promised a spiritual reward, such as remission of their sins and assurance of a place in

²⁰ Plato, *Apology*, 28d-29a – Plato in Twelve Volumes, vol. 1, translated by H. N. Fowler, Introduction by W. R. M. Lamb. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1966; Cf. "οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὐδ' ἂν τις ἑαυτὸν τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἢ ὑπ' ἄρχοντος ταχθῆ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐγὼ οὖν δεῖν ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταττον, οὐς ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἄρχειν μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, τότε μὲν οὐ ἐκείνοι ἔταττον ἔμμενον ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις καὶ ἐκινδύνευον ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάττοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤηθην τε καὶ ὑπέλαβον, φιλοσοφούντᾳ με δεῖν ζῆν καὶ ἐξετάζοντα ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν πρᾶγμα λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν" – *Apologia Socratis*, *Platonis Opera*, ed. I. Burne, v. I, Oxford University Press 1989, 17-42, 28d-29a.

paradise.²¹ By contrast Byzantines were never inspired by the idea of war in the name of the God.²²

Some new characteristics were attributed to warrior saints in Crusaders' imagery. Crusaders looking at equestrian saints images recognized their own identities.²³ The number of representations of St. George greatly increased at the time of the Crusades and his veneration expanded widely through the Western Europe.²⁴ The Crusaders considered St. George to be their patron and protector. The saint's fame derived from the widespread belief that he was one of three warrior saints who had rescued the Crusaders at the battle of Antioch in 1098.²⁵ According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, St. George helped the Franks at the battle of Prinitza in 1263: soldiers saw the Saint mounted on a white horse and carrying unsheathed sword. He led the Franks and encouraged them to fight.²⁶ Through the Crusaders' veneration St George became the patron saint of Venice, England and soldiers. Many scholars have commented on the popularity of equestrian saints in lands held by the Crusaders and have observed and studied images of these saints.²⁷ Jaroslav Folda cites and discusses

²¹ On the concept of Holy War see: Armstrong K., *Holy War*, London, 1988, xiii–xiv; Canard M., *La guerre sainte dans le monde islamique et dans le monde chrétien*, RAfr 79, 1936, 605–623, repr. in *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient*, London 1973, no. VIII; Laurent V., *L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine*, RHSEE 23, 1946, 71–98; Oikonomides N., *The Concept of 'Holy War' and Two Tenth Century Byzantine Ivories*, in: *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis*, S. J., ed. T. Miller and J. Nesbitt, Washington, D. C., 1995, 62–86; Murphy T. P. ed., *The Holy War*, Columbus, Ohio 1976.

²² Canard, "Guerre sainte"; George T. Dennis, *Defenders of the Christian People: Holy War in Byzantium*, in: *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, Washington, 2001, pp.31-39; Kolia-Dermizakes claims byzantine concept of Holy War: Kolia-Dermizakes A., *Ho Byzantinos "hieros polemos"*, Athens 1991.

²³ Immerzeel M., *Divine Cavalry, Mounted Saints in Middle Eastern Christian Art. East and West in the Crusader State: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, vol. 3, Leuven-Dudley, M, 2003, 277.

²⁴ Cormack R., Mihalarias S., *A Crusader Painting of St. George: 'mariera greca' or 'lingua franca'?* Burlington Magazine, v. 126, No. 972, 1984, 132-141.

²⁵ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, trans. and ed. R. Hill, London 1962, 69.

²⁶ Longnon J., *Livre de la conquête de la princere de l'Amorere*, Paris 1911, 338e.

²⁷ Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, *Mediaevalia* 7, 1984, 51; For St George's shrine at Lydda see: *Gesta Francorum*, 87; Benvenisti M., *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1970, 169–170; For St. George relic – head in Livadia see: Setton K. M., *Saint*

crusader icons of mounted soldier saints including depictions of St. George, Sts. Theodoros, St. Demetrios, Sts. Sergios and Bacchos.²⁸ Sharon E. J. Gerstel examines images of equestrian saints in Byzantine churches of the Frankish Morea²⁹ showing Latin, Crusading influence.

Taking into account affabulation of Crusades, crusading legends prevailed heroic ideals – self-sacrifice in war, death on the battle-field and glory – and thus the actual war is spiritualized and military saints images are used to be fundaments for holy war. There is no space for weapon as metaphor, for spiritual fighting against the evil. Crusading was understood as military service for Christ. Fighting and physical death in battle symbolized the passion of Christ on his cross.³⁰

Crusaders' imagination of warrior saints' intervention and support in battle plausibly echoes accounts of Byzantine historians and hagiographic data. St Andrew also intervened in favour of the city of Patras, of which he

George's Head, *Speculum* 48, 1973, 4; Weitzman K., *Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom*, *DOP* 20, 1966, 71-73; Cormac and Mihalariis, *A Crusader Painting*, 132-141; Gerstel S., *Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea*, in: *Crusaders from the Perspective...*, 263-285; Immerzeel M., *Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria*, *Eastern Christians Art* 1, 2004, 29-60; Hunt L. A., *A Women's Prayer to St. Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai*, *BMGS* 15, 1991, 96-145; *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*, ed. E. S. Bolman, New Haven, CT, and London 2002.

²⁷ Folda J., *Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ*, in: *Knighthoods of Christ, Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar*, Presented to Malcolm Barber, edited by Horman Housley, Ashgate 2007, 88.

²⁸ *Idem*.

²⁹ Gerstel Sh. E. J., *Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea*, in: *Crusaders ...* 263-285; Sh. E. J. Gerstel, 271-273: These churches include St. George, Karinia, Mesa Mani (1285), St. George, Oitylon (1331/32), St. George, Longanikos (1374/75), St. Demetrios, Krokees (1286), Sts. Theodoroi, Kaphiona, Mesa Mani (1263-1271), Sts. Theodoroi, Mistra (before 1296), St. Michael, Polemitas, Mesa Mani (1278), St. Michael, Charouda, Mani (1371/72), Taxiarches, Goritsa Laina (mid-13th century). For the inscriptions, see Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 66-67, 71-75, 80-81, 106, 107; Philippidis-Braat A., *Inscriptions du Pe'loponne'se*, *TM* 9 (1985): 314-317, 318-319, 328-330, 338-340.

³⁰ Cole P. J., *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge 1991, 105.

was patron.³¹ St George intervened in favour of Nicephorus II in 961 before he became emperor, together with St. Demetrius, Sts. Theodores and the archangel Michael,³² and again in favour of Andronicus II.³³ In the Battle of Didgori in 1121 as describes by the historian St George was leading the Georgian army against Muslims.³⁴ Soldiers smeared themselves with the myrrh of St. Demetrius. According to Skylitzes, when the Bulgarians were besieging Thessaloniki, the garrison prayed all night by the Saint's tomb. Then they anointed themselves with his myrrh, went into battle and defeated the enemy. A young horseman leading the Greek army was seen by imprisoned Bulgarians.³⁵ St. Demetrius interventions in battle are narrated also in his miracles.³⁶ In one case St. Demetrius intervened in battle with an army of angels to protect the city of Thessaloniki.³⁷ But all these warrior saints' interventions in battles don't make these wars holy and. In the Byzantine world, war was not, as sometimes in the West, a lethal playing field on which noblemen displayed their prowess and sought glory.

Erich Fromm, representative of contemporary social psychology, discusses the issue of interrelation between antique hero and Christian saint in the context of controversy between "to have" and "to be": "The Christian hero was the martyr. The martyr is the exact opposite of the pagan hero personified in the Greek and Germanic heroes. The heroes' aim was to conquer, to be victorious, to destroy, to rob; their fulfillment of life was pride, power, fame, and superior skill in killing. For the pagan hero a man's worth lay in his prowess in attaining and holding onto power, and he gladly died on the battlefield in the moment of victory. Homer's *Iliad* is the poetically magnificent description of glorified conquerors and robbers. The martyr's characteristics are being, giving, sharing; the hero's, having, exploiting, forcing."³⁸

³¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Bonn, 219-220, ed. Gy. Moravcsik et al., Washington 1967, 226-233.

³² Schlumberger G., *Un emperor Byzantin au dixième siècle*, Nicphore Phocas, new edition, Paris 1923, 74.

³³ Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, Bonn 1829, VI, 5, 303-305.

³⁴ *The Life of Kartli*, ed. By S. Khaukhchishvili, v. 1, Tbilisi 1955, 341 (in Georgian).

³⁵ Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiaum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berlin 1973, 412-414.

³⁶ BHG, 513, miracle no. 13.

³⁷ *Miracles* (BHL 2123) of St. Demetrius by Anastasius the Librarian, Miracle 8.

³⁸ Fromm E., *To Have To Be?* Continuum, London-New York 2008, 115-116.

To conclude, antique world presents the heroic ideal reached by everlasting glory. This path overcomes the death through defeating it. Christianity introduces the notion of spiritual struggle that could be influenced by Plato. In this case there is strong desire to attain eternal life, which denies the death. These peculiarities of Antique and Christian attitudes enable us to clarify significance of symbolic meaning of military service and weapon adopted by Christianity. Maybe Warrior Saints are the best illustrations of passing from the notion of everlasting glory attained by physical war to the notion of everlasting life attained by spiritual struggle. Different perception of concepts of earthly and heavenly glory plausibly caused development of certain aspects in warrior saints imagery during crusading that goes back to antiquity. In this process could be traced transformation and integration of antique values throughout of medieval times.

Abstract

Late antiquity is marked by substitution of heroic ideal by ideal of sainthood. Preliminary studies has shown that victory of Christianity was not the victory of the one God over the many, it was victory of man over the institutions of their past. The article discusses changing perception of the Death from antique heroes to Christian saints.

Antique ideology introduced heroes who achieve everlasting glory and fame by performing physical power, courage and heroism. They die in the battlefield a “καλὸς θάνατος” and defeat the death by their everlasting glory. This conception is destroyed in *'Meditations'* of Marcus Aurelius: everlasting remembrance is ephemeral, after-fame is vanity.

Christianity introduced a completely different path. Saints deny ephemeral material life and glory and seek martyrdom in order to attain eternal life. That common paradigm can be discerned in hagiography about warrior saints – soldiers of the Roman Empire renouncing their military service to become soldiers of Christ. Lately, in the High Middle Ages warrior saints images contributed to the notion of the Holy War. Participants in the Holy War were promised a spiritual reward, such as remission of their sins and assurance of a place in paradise.

Thus two main ways could be identified to overcome the death: everlasting glory, which defeats the death and eternal life, which denies the death. These peculiarities of Antique and Christian attitudes enable us to clarify significance of symbolic meaning of military service and weapon that goes back to Plato and was adopted by Christianity.

Nugesha Gagnidze (Kutaisi)

Prometheus bei Grigol Robakidse

Seit dieser georgische Autor in den 1990er Jahren wieder ins Blickfeld gekommen ist, diskutiert man viel über sein Werk, das in den 1930-60er Jahren in Deutschland und in der Schweiz entstanden war, wo er als Exilant lebte und wirkte. Es gibt viele unterschiedliche Vermutungen, sowohl in Georgien als auch im Ausland, was mit seinem literarischen Nachlass geschehen sein könnte. Die Leserschaft wartet immer noch auf Neu- und Wiederentdeckungen von Schriften, die wegen der schweren politischen Situationen in Europa und in Georgien während und nach den Weltkriegen und wegen des Schicksals des Schriftstellers in verschiedene Ecken der Welt zerstreut wurden. Einige bislang unbekannte Werke Robakidses wurden vor kurzem veröffentlicht.

Antike Themen, Motive und Gestalten spielen eine wichtige Rolle bei Grigol Robakidse. Er fühlte sich geradezu als Erbe der antiken Kultur. Ihm ist es gelungen, die heimische georgische Literaturtradition mit antiken Mythen und den vorherrschenden philosophischen Strömungen in Westeuropa im gemeinsamen Kontext zu verbinden. Das macht sein Schaffen besonders beachtenswert.

Unter seinen Schriften sind in Georgien seine Essays *ფრიდრიხ ნიცშეს გამო* (Wegen Friedrich Nietzsche), *დიონისოს კულტი და საქართველო* (Dionysos Kultus und Georgien), *ერის სული და შემოქმედება* (Geist und Schaffen der Nation) und *მზის ხანა ქართველთა* (Die Sonnenepoche der Georgier) besonders geschätzt. Aber Robakidses *Das Geschlecht des Prometheus* ist fast unbekannt. Dieser Essay wurde nur einmal in der *Brüsseler Zeitung* am 26. August 1942 Nr. 236 veröffentlicht. Die Umstände,

wie diese Schrift entstanden ist und wie sie aufgefunden wurde, haben Margret Schuchard und ich in unserem Buch aufgezeigt.¹ Ein Hinweis fand sich in Robakidse's ausführlichem Rundbrief an seine georgischen Landsleute, *გულნადები (Im Herzen liegend)*, datiert vom Oktober 1947. Er richtete sie an die wichtigsten Schriftsteller und Wissenschaftler Georgiens, die namentlich genannt werden.² (Gleichzeitig hatte sich Grigol Robakidse im Herbst 1947 in *Meine Erklärung*³ an die deutschen Schriftsteller gewandt, wo er auch über seine Tätigkeit während der Nazizeit schreibt.) Hier in der Schrift *გულნადები (Im Herzen liegend)* erwähnt Robakidse fünf Kaukasus Silhouetten. Er schreibt:

Als die deutsche Armee schon am Kaukasus war, bat mich eine Zeitung in Brüssel, die in deutscher Sprache erschien, etwas über den Kaukasus zu schreiben. Ich habe Silhouetten geliefert: *Georgien und die Kreuzzüge, Iwane Orbeliani, Das Geschlecht des Prometheus, Heilige Berge, Imam Schamil*. Ihr seht, dass hier keine politischen "Akzente" existieren, was man damals von mir erwartete.⁴

Im Brief "Im Herzen liegend" konnte Robakidse weder den Namen der Zeitung, noch die Nummern und Titel der Artikel genau benennen, aber die Bemerkung, dass er diese Schriften damals geschrieben hat, als die deutschen Truppen "schon" am Kaukasus waren, verweist auf den Sommer 1942. Margret Schuchard wurde schließlich in der *Brüsseler*

¹ Gagnidse N., Schuchard M., Grigol Robakidse (1880-1962), Ein georgischer Dichter zwischen zwei Sprachen und Kulturen, Shaker Verlag, Aachen 2011, 21.

² Sie gehörten zur Elite des Landes, und da Robakidse sie alle schätzte und viele von ihnen persönlich kannte, seien sie hier alle genannt, wie sie am Anfang des Rundbriefs aufgeführt sind: Schriftsteller: A. Abascheli, Sch. Abchaidse, K. Gamsachurdia, R. Gwetadse, W. Gorgadse, I. Grischaschwili, Sch. Dadiani, S. Euli, I. Wakeli, G. Leonidse, K. Lortkipanidse, N. Lortkipanidse, S. Kldiaschwili, I. Mosaschwili, D. Suliaschwili, G. Tabidse, T. Tabidse (wenn er lebt), L. Kiatscheli, Sch. Schanschiaschwili, D. Schengelia, S. Tschikowani, K. Tschitschinadse, A. Tschumbadse und Wissenschaftler: W. Beridse, P. Ingorokwa, S. Nuzubidse, D. Usnadse.

³ „Meine Erklärung“ wurde zum ersten Mal im Buch von Gagnidse N., Schuchard M., Grigol Robakidse (1880-1962), Ein georgischer Dichter zwischen zwei Sprachen und Kulturen, Shaker Verlag, Aachen 2011, 247-276, veröffentlicht. Die georgische Übersetzung dieser Schrift erschien 2012 im Buch *Pro domo sua*, 3-52, ins Georgische übertragen von M. Kwataia.

⁴ გრიგოლ რობაქიძე, *გულნადები*, ლიტერატურული საქართველო (Grigol Robakidse, *Im Herzen liegend*, Literarisches Georgien), Nr. 1 (2780), 4.1.1991, 3-4. [Robakidse's Texte aus dem Georgischen ins Deutsche sind von mir übertragen - N. G.]

Zeitung fündig, die sich nicht ausschließlich an die deutschen Soldaten richtete, aber doch als Sprachrohr der Besatzer diente. Diese Essays erschienen hier in folgender Reihenfolge: *საქართველო და ჯვაროსნები* (Kaukasus-Silhouetten: I. Georgien und die Kreuzzüge, *Brüsseler Zeitung*, Nr. 215, 5. August 1942) *ივანე ორბელიანი* (Iwane, der georgische Hagen: Silhouetten des Kaukasus (II), *Brüsseler Zeitung*, Nr. 221, 11. August 1942), *პრომეთეს ნაშობები* (Das Geschlecht des Prometheus: Kaukasus Silhouetten (III), *Brüsseler Zeitung*, Nr. 236, 26. August 1942) *იბამ შამილ* (Freiheitskämpfer Imam Schamil: Kaukasus Silhouetten (IV), Nr. 259, 18. September 1942), *წმინდა მთები* ("Berge sind die Heime der Götter": Kaukasus Silhouetten (V), *Brüsseler Zeitung*, Nr. 274, 3. Oktober 1942). Zwei von ihnen ("Iwane, der georgische Hagen": Silhouetten des Kaukasus (II) und "Freiheitskämpfer Imam Schamil": *Kaukasus Silhouetten* (IV) haben wir durch Nachdruck nun wieder zugänglich gemacht.⁵

Robakidse hatte Recht, dass die von ihm in der Publikation "Im Herzen liegend" genannten Schriften keine politischen Artikel sind. Darin findet man keine Kriegspropaganda und keine Impulse des Nationalsozialismus. Er wählt georgische historische und mythische Themen und sucht dem Leser seine Heimat Georgien näher zu bringen. Aber natürlich wären diese Skizzen nicht gedruckt worden, wenn sie nicht zur Ideologie des Nationalsozialismus gut gepasst hätten. Trotzdem hatte Robakidse in dieser Situation die bestmögliche Entscheidung getroffen, als er sich mythischen Gestalten aus der Antike sowie historischen Leitfiguren aus der Geschichte der kaukasischen Völker zuwandte.

Das Hauptthema der Schrift *Das Geschlecht des Prometheus* ist der freie Mensch und seine Tätigkeit. Prometheus ist eine Lieblingsgestalt der Georgier und Robakidse ist nicht der Einzige, der sich ihm zuwendet. Schon seit dem Altertum und dann im Mittelalter war Amirani eine der beliebtesten Figuren in der mündlichen Dichtung Georgiens. Auch bei Schota Rustaweli sind Amirani-Motive zu finden. Im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert entdeckt man Amirani und Prometheus als Freiheitskämpfer bei Alexandre Tschawtschawadze, Grigol Orbeliani, Ilia Tschawtschawadze, Washa Pschawela, Akaki Zereteli, Galaktioni und Schota Nischnianidze.

Für seinen Essay wählt Robakidse als Thema das Geschlecht des Prometheus. Er interpretiert das Prometheus-Thema neu. Robakidse folgt

⁵ Gagnidse N., Schuchard M., 241-249.

dennoch der georgischen Tradition; in der Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur Georgiens symbolisieren Prometheus und Amirani, der in Georgien dem Prometheus gleichgesetzt wird, den Freiheitskämpfer, der sich eines Tages befreien und seiner Heimat und seinem Volk Frieden und Freiheit bringen wird.

In diesem Essay schreibt Robakidse nicht zum ersten Mal über Prometheus. Schon im 1937 veröffentlichten Roman *Die Hüter des Grals* ist diese Gestalt bedeutungsvoll. Das 1. Kapitel heißt *Prometheischer Rausch*. Damit erweckt der georgische Autor das Interesse des europäischen Lesers, dem Prometheus aus der griechischen Mythologie in vielfacher literarischer Gestaltung bekannt ist – die georgische mythische Gestalt Amirani entspricht Prometheus zwar in vielem, aber erst seit dem 18. Jahrhundert gibt es schriftliche Texte über Amirani,⁶ und es fällt auf, dass Robakidse nur von Prometheus spricht, nicht von Amirani. Beide sind an den Kaukasus gefesselt, weil sie den Menschen verbotenerweise das Feuer gebracht haben. Während Prometheus täglich ertragen musste, dass ihm der Adler des strafenden Zeus die Leber zerfraß, bis er von Herakles endlich befreit wurde, wird Amirani von Raben auf Dauer gequält – würde er eines Tages befreit, käme das Goldene Zeitalter. Das Leiden des Besiegten hätte ein Ende im Glück der Freiheit. Schon im ersten Kapitel des Romans *Die Hüter des Grals* heißt es von Levan Orbelli, der Zentralfigur, dass sein prometheisch rauschhaftes und eigenmächtiges Handeln „im Überschwange der Kräfte“ zwar der Gefahr trotzt, aber unaufhaltsam zur Bestrafung der Eigenmächtigkeit führt. „Nicht umsonst wurde Prometheus an den Felsen des Kaukasus geschmiedet; der Adler frißt noch bis heute an seiner Leber.“⁷

In *Die Hüter des Grals* gibt das Mittelalter, Georgiens goldenes Zeitalter, der Gegenwart Orientierung. Das durch die sowjetische Herrschaft leidgeprüfte Georgien schöpft Kraft aus der Vergangenheit, aus einer politisierten Geschichte von Heroentum im Widerstand gegen die Fremdherrschaft und aus der Opferbereitschaft der Patrioten. In Georgien gibt es einen neuen Gral durch ein Wunder der Heiligen Nino – so

⁶ Zu Amirani vgl. Herbert Arlt, „Mythologie und Gegenwart – der Kaukasus im Europäischen Bewusstsein“ (<http://www.inst.at/berge/kaukasus/arlt.htm>) und *Das Buch vom Helden Amirani. Ein altgeorgischer Sagenkreis*. Gustav Kiepenheuer: Leipzig und Weimar 1978, aus dem Georgischen übersetzt von Heinz Fähnrich.

⁷ Grigol Robakidse: *Die Hüter des Grals*. Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Jena 1937, 10.

Robakidse – und die Hüter dieses Grals hüten mit ihm seit Jahrhunderten das Herz Georgiens. Sie sind das Geschlecht des Prometheus, der Schlossherr Thavad Georg und der von ihm als sein Nachfolger berufene Levan Orbelli. Unter den georgischen Rittern des Grals mit fiktiven Namen erkennt der Leser Dichter, Künstler, Theater- und Filmleute, die leicht mit ihrem wirklichen Namen zu identifizieren sind: bei Levan Orbeliani erkennt man Grigol Robakidse, andere sind Paolo Iaschwili, Schalwa Dadiani, Tizian Tabidse, Kote Mardshanischwili, Uschangi Tschcheidse und weitere.⁸ Ihr Ziel ist die Rettung der Nation und Heimat, die unter von der totalitären Macht der Sowjetunion gequält wird. In ihrem *Prometheischen Rausch* wird ihr Protest und Widerstand gegen das sozialistische Regime offenbar.

Dieses Thema bearbeitet Robakidse im Essay "Das Geschlecht des Prometheus" anders als im Roman. In der ihm eigenen Schreibweise macht er weitschweifige Ausführungen und kommt erst in der Mitte seines Textes auf Prometheus zu sprechen, um sich gleich wieder historischen Gestalten aus der kaukasischen Geschichte mit mythischer Ausstrahlung zuzuwenden. Der Vorteil dieser langen Erzählungen ist die Anschaulichkeit, mit der der Autor den europäischen Lesern das Land Georgien und die Georgier sowie andere kaukasische Völker bekannt macht. Kritische Leser warten hingegen ungeduldig, wann Robakidse endlich zum Hauptthema kommt, und fragen sich, wozu er diese langen Geschichten braucht und in welchem Zusammenhang sie mit der Hauptgeschichte stehen. Eine Betrachtung entlang dem Textverlauf macht dieses Verfahren deutlich.

Robakidse beginnt den Essay damit, dass im Sanskrit mit dem schwer auszusprechenden Wort "Swechchhachari" der autonome Mensch benannt wird. "Das bedeutet: "Derjenige, der seinem eigenen Willen folgt". Den Esoterikern des Moslems erscheint als derjenige, der sich selber sein eigenes Gesetz ist". Die Georgier wiederum bezeichnen ihn, als "Thavisthavadi".⁹ Robakidse versucht die Etymologie dieser Wörter zu erklären, mit denen freie Menschen bezeichnet werden. Als ein gutes

⁸ Einige dieser Namen sind noch unter den Adressaten des Briefes von 1947 "im Herzen liegend" zu finden, siehe oben.

⁹ Grigol Robakidse, Das Geschlecht des Prometheus: Silhouetten des Kaukasus (III), Brüsseler Zeitung, Nr. 236, 26.8.1942. Alle weiteren Zitate aus diesem Essay sind im Text abgekürzt belegt mit BZ 26.8.1942.

Beispiel dient ihm das georgische Wort "Thavisthavadi". So ist ein Kaukasier treffend zu benennen, weil er sich "seiner inneren Souveränität ungewöhnlich bewusst" ist. "Selbstbewußt behauptet sich der Kaukasier in der Hingabe" (BZ 26.8.1942).

Nach der Erklärung des Wortes "Thavistavadi" wird nun keineswegs auf die Gestalt des Prometheus Bezug genommen, sondern Robakidse fährt fort mit einer Erinnerung aus seiner Kindheit in Georgien, wo er in Kutaissi einen Thavaden¹⁰ sah, in dessen Kleidung und Manier er seinen starken und selbstbewussten Charakter wahrnahm:

Als Kind habe ich einmal in Kutaissi, der Hauptstadt Westgeorgiens, einen Thavaden gesehen. Er war außerordentlich gut gekleidet, aber sein Oberkleid, "Tschocha", war schäbig und abgetragen, die Ärmel und Faltenenden gar zerrissen. Man behauptete, er betone dadurch seinen "Chic". Jahrzehnte später verstand ich, daß hier Rückstrahlung einer längst abgelebten Lebensart zu verspüren war. Die Stammeshäuptlinge der Adigen, Tscherkessen im Norden des Kaukasus, waren nämlich ärmlich gekleidet. Sie waren Herrscher, aber nur als Diener ihres Stammes. Sie schenkten Alles Allen und waren arm. Das Einzige, was sie nicht entbehren konnten, war das Pferd und die Waffe. Jeden von ihnen begleiteten untrennbar drei Gefolgsmannen, die ihm bis zum Tode ergeben waren (BZ 26.8.1942).

In diesem außerordentlichen Selbstbewusstsein des georgischen Adligen erweist sich die Führerschaft des Thavaden, der im Dienen herrscht und der das Ideal der ritterlichen Freigebigkeit verkörpert, wenn er seine Güter verschenkt bis an den Rand der eigenen Armut. Hier scheinen die geschichtlichen Fakten übertrieben, die nur von der subjektiven Perspektive beleuchtet werden, um ein Ideal zu verkörpern. Historischer Aufklärung dienen sie nicht. Tatsächlich waren kaukasische Adlige arm, doch die Gründe waren vielschichtig. Zahllose Kriege verwüsteten kleine kaukasische Länder auf lange Zeit, daher war die Bevölkerung arm. Es gab in diesen Ländern auch viele andere Probleme, die durch die Schlachten für Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit, durch die Kriege zwischen den Fürsten und Adligen entstanden waren. Daher waren die Herrscher nicht immer so großzügig, nur an ihr Volk zu denken

¹⁰ Der Adlige in Georgien.

und ihm zu dienen. Eigene Ansprüche und der Wille zur Macht verdarben öfter die humanen, die mitmenschlichen Neigungen.

Die Idealfigur eines Thavadi und die Festtafel in Georgien sind untrennbar mit einander verbunden. Von solchen Fürsten heißt es abermals, dass "ihre Herrschaft im Grunde Dienst am Volke bedeutete". Darüber schreibt Robakidse auch in seinen Romanen. In "Das Geschlecht des Prometheus" erinnert er sich an die Feste der regierenden Fürsten der Region Gurien am zweiten Tag des Neujahrs. "An diesem Tage waren sie Leibeigene, und die Leibeigenen waren die Fürsten" (BZ 26.8.1942). Im Rollentausch sollte der Dienst der Fürsten am Volk augenfällig werden. Dann geht Robakidse weiter und behauptet: Wenn man die Lebensart der tscherkessischen Häuptlinge beobachtet, so versteht man die "Rassenpsyche" des kaukasischen Menschen. Dieser fragwürdige Begriff weckt im Deutschen Schreckensszenarien, Robakidse dachte ihn aber vom Georgischen her und meinte damit die allgemeine Eigenschaften der kaukasischen Völker, ihre Freiheitswille, Toleranz und Humanismus. Aber Robakidse hätte mit solchen Begriffen vorsichtiger sein müssen.

In diesen Fürsten verwirklichen sich Gastfreundschaft und Freundschaft, wie sie im Kaukasus gelebt werden, in idealer Weise. Robakidse betont nachdrücklich, die Gastfreundschaft sei für Kaukasier alles und die Freundschaft mehr, als Liebe zwischen Mann und Frau. Diese Tradition der Gastfreundschaft ist in Georgien seit uralten Zeiten bis heute in ihrer humanen Spontaneität so lebendig, dass ihr die Jahrzehnte nach Robakidses Rühmen nichts anhaben konnten.

Die Hingabe des Kaukasiers kenne die Angst vor dem Nichtgefallenen nicht, da er ganz uneitel ist. Er würde sich erst "in der prometheischen Gefahrzone" befinden, wenn er vom "Du" abfällt und nur noch "Ich-Person" würde, sich also vom Schenkenden zum Herausforderer gewandelt hätte. Damit ist Robakidse nun endlich beim Prometheus-Thema.

Kein Zufall, daß Prometheus, nach der Mythe, an den Felsen Kaukasus gefesselt ist:¹¹ er versinnbildlicht mythisch das gefährdete Wesensbild des Kaukasiers. Auch er ist nicht selbstsüchtig von Anfang an: will er doch das Feuer für die Menschen. Er scheint im Augenblick des Sichttreffens mit

¹¹ Ähnliches finden wir bei Robakidse schon früher. Im Roman *Die Hüter des Grals* (Jena, 1937) heißt es auf Seite 10: "Nicht umsonst wurde Prometheus an den Felsen des Kaukasus geschmiedet; der Adler frißt noch bis heute an seiner Leber."

dem göttlichen Du gleichsam "abgeprallt". Erst nach diesem Abprall wird er eigenmächtig, statt auf dem Wege des inneren Opfers sich das Feuer zu erringen – wie es der "Herrscher des Feuers" im Rig-Veda tut – raubt er es einfach (BZ 26.8.1942).

In der Prometheus-Gestalt findet Robakidse den Kaukasier "versinnbildlicht". Göttliches und Menschliches sind in ihm verbunden. Der tapfere Halbgott ohne Angst vor dem Nichtgefallen folgt aber seinem eigenmächtigen Willen, wird ich-bezogen und selbstherrlich. Also ist der prometheische Kaukasier sowohl der kompromisslose Freiheitskämpfer als auch ein Frevler, der ein Tabu verletzt, dem Strafe gebührt – eine ambivalente Gestalt.

Nach der Mythe zerhackt der Adler des Zeus Prometheus die Leber. Robakidse merkt an, dass sprachlich im Georgischen die Leber in innerem Zusammenhang mit der Wachheit steht. Was er meint, wird im Roman *Die Hüter des Grals* erläutert:

Georgisch sind Leber und Wachsein wörtlich eins, wie auch Galle und Schwermut. Nach dem Urwissen berühren sie einander, indem Wachsein auf Schwermut hindeutet und Schwermut auf Wachsein. Der Sitz der Sehnsucht soll zwischen ihnen liegen, und zwar neben der Leber (S. 176).

Daraus folgt für nun Prometheus: "Ist die Leber gefährdet, so wird man überwacht. Die Götter strafen den Titanen gerade durch die Steigerung seiner herausfordernden Ich-Person. D. h. durch die Überwachtheit: er kann nie mehr einschlafen" (BZ 26.8.1942). Dabei verweist Robakidse auf Ahura-Mazda und dann Mithra, die in den mythischen Überlieferungen auch als "schlaflos" bezeichnet werden, "sie haben aber ihre Ich-Person in vollkommenen [!] Licht überwunden." Persönliche Freiheit ist der wichtigste Impuls für die allgemeine Freiheit. Die Liebe zur Freiheit ist im Kaukasus lebendig, weil die kleinen kaukasischen Länder seit der Antike feindlichen Eroberungszügen ausgesetzt waren und für ihre Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit kämpfen mussten. Leider ist diese Frage immer noch aktuell.

Im letzten Teil von "Das Geschlecht des Prometheus" schreibt Robakidse über die "Gefahr" des kaukasischen Menschen. Anscheinend meint er "Gefährdung" durch "prometheische Eigenmächtigkeit", doch die Ausführungen sind recht kryptisch. Nietzsches Gedanken über "die allgemeinste Gefahr ungewöhnlicher Menschen, die in einer an das

Gewöhnliche gebundenen Gesellschaft leben“¹² helfen hier vielleicht weiter. Solche ungewöhnlichen Menschen, die an ihrer Ungewöhnlichkeit verdarben und das Klima der sogenannten deutschen Bildung nicht aushielten, waren Hölderlin und Kleist, so Nietzsche in seiner Schrift „Schopenhauer als Erzieher“. Er erwähnt auch:

Wo es mächtige Gesellschaften, Regierungen, Religionen, öffentliche Meinungen gegeben hat, kurz, wo je eine Tyrannei war, da hat sie den einsamen Philosophen gehaßt; denn die Philosophie eröffnet dem Menschen ein Asyl, wohin keine Tyrannei dringen kann, die Höhle des Innerlichen, das Labyrinth der Brust: und das ärgert die Tyrannen. Dort verbergen sich die Einsamen: aber dort auch lauert die größte Gefahr der Einsamen. Diese Menschen, die ihre Freiheit in das Innerliche geflüchtet haben, müssen auch äußerlich leben, sichtbar werden, sich sehen lassen; sie stehen in zahllosen menschlichen Verbindungen durch Geburt, Aufenthalt, Erziehung, Vaterland, Zufall, Zudringlichkeit anderer; ebenfalls zahllose Meinungen werden bei ihnen vorausgesetzt, einfach weil sie die herrschenden sind; jede Miene, die nicht verneint, gilt als Zustimmung; jede Handbewegung, die nicht zertrümmert, wird als Billigung gedeutet.¹³

Nietzsche nennt Halbgötter, die in jeder Gesellschaft durch ihr Reden wirken können. Von solchen Menschen, wie Schopenhauer, Goethe, Rousseaus, Wagner, Kleist, Beethoven geht Gefahr aus, weil ihr Freiheitswille durch ihr außerordentliches Talent bestimmt wird; sie können Werte umwerten und Prioritäten ändern. Dass Robakidses Ausführungen über den Willen des Halbgottes an Nietzsche erinnern, mag Zufall sein, doch seine besondere Verehrung Nietzsches hat der Georgier wieder und wieder bezeugt. Es ist jedenfalls denkbar, dass Robakidse hier Nietzsche nach seiner Art interpretiert, aber seinen Namen nennt er in der Schrift *Das Geschlecht des Prometheus* nicht.

Die „Gefahr“ des kaukasischen Menschen, die ihn zur Untreue treibt, kann Robakidse am besten am Beispiel des zweimaligen Frontenwechsels von Chadschi-Murad aufzeigen. Er war:

¹² Friedrich Nietzsche, Schopenhauer als Erzieher. Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden (KSA), Hg. Giorgio Colli und Mazzino Montinari. Bd. 1. München 1980, 352.

¹³ Nietzsche, Schopenhauer als Erzieher, 353-354.

der berühmte Naib, Anführer des großen Freiheitskämpfers Schamyl. Sieben Jahre herrschte er in Avarien. Dank seinem Bestand vermochten die Russen sich in Temi-Chan-Schura und Chusuch zu halten. Er war aber zu mächtig, um den Russen bequem zu sein (BZ 26.8.1942).

Robakidse beschreibt den Kampf von Chadschi-Murad zunächst für die Russen, dann zog er die Konsequenzen aus deren Misstrauen und schlug sich auf die Seite von Imam Schamyl, um gegen sie zu kämpfen, doch auch Imam Schamyl mochte ihm nicht gänzlich trauen, so dass Chadschi-Murad wieder zurück zu den Russen wollte und schließlich zwischen allen Fronten tragisch ums Leben kam. Er wurde das Opfer seiner prometheischen Eigenmächtigkeit. Dessen ungeachtet leben Chadschi-Murad und Imam Schamyl als Helden im Gedächtnis der Kaukasier. Für sie ist ein Held ein Mensch mit freiem Willen, dessen Hauptziel es ist, sich selbst zu befreien und für die Heimat zu kämpfen, um ihr Unabhängigkeit zu bringen. Nach Robakidse versteht das Volk seine Helden mit dem Herzen, ohne ihnen die "Untreue", ihre prometheische Eigenmächtigkeit, nachzutragen, und besingt sie in seinen Liedern. Robakidse sieht sich in seiner Ansicht bestätigt durch die Worte eines Chronisten aus der Zeit Dawits des Erbauers:

Ein georgischer Chronist aus der Zeit des Erbauers schreibt: "Der Stamm der Georgier ist von Anfang an untreu gesinnt seinem Herrn gegenüber". Die Untreue muß hier nicht als "Eigenschaft" der Georgier, sondern als "Gefahr" aufgefaßt werden. Ein Genie z. B. kann Asche werden, wenn es sein schöpferisches Feuer nicht reichlich genug und nicht recht "füttert". Deswegen "ist" es nicht "von Anfang an" die Asche (BZ 26.8.1942).¹⁴

Nicht Eigenschaft, sondern Prometheische Gefahr verbindet Robakidse mit der geschichtlichen Entwicklung Georgiens. Nach seiner Meinung war das "der innere Grund" des Zerfalls des georgischen Reiches. Robakidse nennt keine Epoche, aber dass er an das goldene Zeitalter der georgischen

¹⁴ Fast den ganzen Text und alle wichtigen Passagen aus dem Artikel *Das Geschlecht des Prometheus* wiederholt Robakidse im georgischsprachigen Essay: *რა უნდა ავონდებოდეს ქართველს* [Daran soll sich der Georgier erinnern], den er 1952 in Genf geschrieben hat. გრიგოლ რობაქიძე: *რა უნდა ავონდებოდეს ქართველს. ჩემთვის სიმართლე ყველაფერია* [Grigol Robakidse: *Die Wahrheit ist für mich alles*], g. RostomLominaschwili, Tbilissi 1996, 42-47.

Geschichte denkt, die Zeit von Dawit dem Erbauer, zeigt sich schon im Zitieren dieses Chronisten. Er findet höchst interessant, dass die Georgier "in der verborgenen Schicht des völkischen Seins sich ihrer Gefahr bewußt sind" (BZ 26.8.1942). "Völkisches Sein", Heldenmoral und Heldentaten gehören zum mit Pathos aufgeladenen Wortschatz des Nationalsozialismus. Darum kümmert sich Robakidse nicht, wenn er die nationale Identitätsfrage der Kaukasier ergründen will.

Erst am Ende des Aufsatzes spricht Robakidse von Amirani, dem georgischen Ebenbild von Prometheus. Er erzählt aus der Amirani-Sage, wie zwei Hunde, ein weißer, ein schwarzer, dauernd an der Kette lecken, mit der der Titan gefesselt ist.

Im Augenblick, als sie so dünn wird, dass Amirani sie zerreißen kann – hier nun das Wundersame: die Sage geht in kultischen Brauch über – in diesem Augenblick also erschallt in ganz Georgien alljährlich früh Morgens am Donnerstag der Karwoche der Hammerschlag der Schmiede symbolischer Art! (BZ 26.8.1942).

Für den Fall, dass sich Amirani befreien könnte, stehen die Schmiede bereit, sogleich eine neue Kette zu schmieden. Es ist also recht und unabdingbar, dass Amirani gefesselt bleibt. "Mahnend und zugleich wegweisend leuchtend dieser tief sinnige Brauch in der prometheischen Gefahrenzone des georgischen Seins". Mit diesen Worten endet Robakidse seinen Essay *Das Geschlecht des Prometheus*.

Wie kommt Robakidse dazu, mitten im Zweiten Weltkrieg, gerichtet an die Leser der deutschen Besatzungsmacht in Belgien, einen solchen Aufsatz zu schreiben, in dem es um den Freiheitskampf der Georgier geht? Es ist ganz klar, dass er keinen politischen Artikel schreiben wollte, der dem Propagandaapparat der Nationalsozialisten unmittelbar zu Diensten wäre. Deswegen wählte er das allen wohl bekannte Thema Prometheus, eine scheinbar unverfängliche Abhandlung eines mythischen Stoffes. Zugleich hat dieses Prometheus-Thema den Vorteil, dass es sich mit der Geschichte Georgiens verbinden lässt. Gerade weil deutsche Leser so gut wie nichts über dieses Land wissen, kann er hier aufklärend wirken und Sympathie für sein Land einwerben. Zwischen den Zeilen gelesen ist diese Version eines Freiheitskampfes aber ein subversiver Kommentar zur gegenwärtigen Situation im besetzten Belgien. Auf der anderen Seite der Medaille ist Robakidse mit dem Kampf der deutschen Truppen gegen die Sowjets jedoch enthusiastisch einverstanden. Dieser Text entstand ja

genau zu der Zeit, als deutsche Truppen in den Kaukasus vorstießen. Die Ambivalenz, die Robakidze in der Prometheus-Gestalt beschreibt – Freiheitskämpfer und Frevler zugleich – veranschaulicht seine eigene Lage zwischen den Fronten. Darin spiegelt sich sein Schicksal als Emigrant, auch er gehörte zum Geschlecht des Prometheus, dem nicht zu helfen war. Seine hehren Ziele haben ihm bis heute in Georgien glühende Anhänger beschert, seine Kritiker schmieden ihm eine neue Kette.

Abstract

Grigol Robakidze's predilection for myth is well-known. For him, myth was not just a matter of the past but a living presence and relevant in the politics of his time. He was fascinated by Prometheus, known in Georgia as Amirani and almost identical with his Greek counterpart – Amirani has, however, no deliverer like Heracles, his torture on a rock of the Caucasus does not end (if it did, the Golden Age would begin). In his novel *Die Hüter des Grals* (1937) the first chapter, entitled *Promethean Ecstasy*, implies that Prometheus's punishment is justified because he was too self-empowered if not self-righteous, and in their ecstatic struggle for absolute freedom this is a weakness that endangers Caucasian men. Thus the guardians of a second grail, a miraculous gift from Saint Nino, are also doomed to failure in their struggle against the Soviets' attempts to profane what they adore. The Soviet power cannot, however, ultimately destroy the grail and the Georgian heart that it represents. This same idea is developed in a loosely structured essay *Das Geschlecht des Prometheus*, which my colleague and I recently discovered. Robakidze wrote it for the *Brüsseler Zeitung* (no. 236, 26 August 1942), and in it he describes distinguished Georgian freedom fighters whose uncompromising attitude of self-gratification places them in the Promethean "danger zone". The traditional role of a thavad is the paradigm of a Promethean hero in Robakidze's view. He discusses outstanding leaders in Georgian history and notes the ambivalence between their utter devotion to the worthy cause of obtaining freedom and their egotistic transgression of a taboo. Even though such heroes may fail, Georgians admire them intensely for their courage and dedication. Of consequence in this case is that the essay, supposedly only on a Georgian myth, and far removed from the immediate concerns of its readers, was published in occupied Brussels, in a Nazi controlled German newspaper.

Iamze Gagua (Tbilisi)

Pater Aeneas, errans et oboediens

“Arma virumque cano” are the words with which Virgil opens his epic poem suggesting at the same time that *The Aeneid* in some way relates to Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Virgil sings to Aeneas, a valiant man (virum), and his battles (arma). Aeneas incorporates the images of Achilles and Odysseus. His destiny and character, however, distinguish him from both heroes. Achilles is a brave warrior of incomparable power fighting for honor; the purpose of his perilous voyage is to return home. Aeneas is a hero who is entrusted with a special mission and who leaves Burning Troy by the gods’ will in order to “return” to his new homeland.

So, how does the shaping of Aeneas’s character take place after leaving Troy and how does this courageous warrior from a defender of his land turn into a hero implementing the gods’ will?

Let us have a look at Aeneas at the fall of Troy. He is a fearless warrior ready to greet death with a sword in his hand and perish together with the burning city (II 317, 354). The mischief that came crushing down on him put him into confusion and deprived him of reason; his fight is impulsive. He is desperate and knows not how to revenge the enemy. Subsequently, he decides to take out his anger on Helen, albeit knowing that raising a hand over a woman is an unmanly conduct (II 575-586). He comes to senses only after hearing his mother Venus’s counsel thereof. The goddess assures her son that people are not to blame for the fall of Troy, that everything was the gods’ making (II 603). This is a hint on the fact that human destiny is governed by the gods and that one should only try to win their disposition. Venus advises Aeneas

to flee the burning Troy and promises him to bring him to his home place (*patrio limine* II 620). Aeneas gets convinced that Gods have forsaken Trojans and turned their back on it (II 623). Prior to speaking to Venus, he had an apparition of Hector who also advised him to flee Troy and found a new city together with the Penates and his fellow fighters (II 293-295). When his father, Anchises, refuses to leave Troy, Aeneas does not abandon him and decides to reenter the battle and fight the enemy (II 668-670). Only the divine sign – a tongue of flame on Ascanius's forehead and a way indicated by a bright falling star – starts Anchises thinking (II 694-697). Both Aeneas and Anchises are persuaded that it is the divine will to have them flee Troy. Therefore, the decision did not come from Aeneas, nor was it taken instantaneously. The warning of the fallen Hector and Goddess Venus's advice went but a little way to this decision of his. Only the miraculous sign from the heaven made him flee the city. Aeneas takes Anchises on his back, puts Ascanius in the lead, and orders Creusa, his wife, to follow him. All this has a symbolic meaning: Anchises represents Troy's past that Aeneas is destined to bear on his shoulders, his child is the future of Troy which Aeneas should always have before his eyes, and his wife, i. e. personal or human happiness, should always accompany him. After a sudden disappearance of Creusa, Aeneas returns to the besieged city to look for his wife. He continues the search until Creusa's ghost appears to him and instructs him to take the road to Hesperia. Aeneas leaves Troy only after he no longer hopes to find his wife among the living. However, Aeneas is inattentive to his wife's advice. Later on, he does not even remember Creusa naming Hesperia as the final destination point for his journey. Aeneas asks his father to carry the images of the Penates as he cannot touch the saints with his bloody hands (II 718-720). This detail is quite significant: Aeneas does not dare touch the Penates since his hands are covered with the blood of the enemy who has devastated his home.

Before fleeing Troy, the following traits single out in Aeneas's character: courage, self-sacrifice for his homeland and family, and awe towards deities coupled with confusion and neglect of the advice given by the spirits of the deceased. Aeneas flees the burning city together with the human happiness (Creusa) and hurries to the unknown but native land accompanied by the past (Anchises) and future (Ascanius). Here Aeneas's character is supplemented by a new feature – caution. Aeneas avoids fight-

ting when he turns back to Troy for the third time. He is looking for his wife fearing the confrontation with the enemy. His fear and cautiousness have to do with the care about his companions; rescuing them is equal to salvaging Troy. Aeneas gradually begins to display the properties of a *pater*, even though he is not yet aware of being entrusted with a special divine mission.

To accomplish this mission, Aeneas will have to acquire a lot of skills: patience, the ability to identify divine signs, remember them, and take them into account. He is unconscious of where he is heading for or where he is supposed to halt (he does not remember Creusa's words). He does not know what relationship he will establish with the people he will have to share his life with. Aeneas is unaware of the struggle he will have to go through for self-assertion in the new homeland. But Venus knows about Jupiter's decision (I 262-263).

Although Aeneas is a pious man, he cannot easily identify divine signs and often errs. Arriving in Thrace, the Trojan hero finds a new settlement, but the bloodstained soil indicates to him that it is not the Promised Land (III 14-68). Setting his foot on the island of Delos, Aeneas is informed by Apollo's priest that they are being expected at the ancestors' land to which they should go (91-99). Everyone is curious about which land Apollo's prophecy refers to. Anchises tries to solve this mystery by deciding it is the island of Crete, which had been home to Teucus, one of the great Trojan forefathers. Happy Trojans sail to Crete and start building a city. But once hunger strikes the place, it makes them think back suspecting they might have mistook the place. Meantime, Aeneas has a vision while sleeping: the Penates announce to him that they have to go to Hesperia, which at that time was known by the name of Italy. That is where Dardanus and Iasius, the ancestors of Trojans were born. Anchises admits he has made a mistake and remembers Cassandra's prophecy who named exactly that place as their new home (III 183-187). Anchises forgot Cassandra's words as easily as Aeneas neglected Creusa's message. So, both Aeneas and Anchises take little heed of the prophecies of the mortals. Three times was Hesperia named (by Creusa, Cassandra, and the Penates) as the new home for the Trojans. Many mistakes that Aeneas makes stem from his forgetfulness and poor knowledge of their own history (Trojans being scattered around different territories) as well as disregard of the

traditions of the foreign people and disrespect towards their deities, also mostly caused by the lack of knowledge.

Having arrived at the islands of the Harpies, Aeneas's companions slaughter bullocks provoking an attack from the Harpies. The Harpy Celaeno points out the mistake to them. She too confirms the prophecy according to which the Trojans should settle in Italy. Celaeno provides Aeneas with one more important information: the wandering of the Trojans will come to an end after they have gone through extreme sufferings culminating in hunger forcing them to gnaw out their own table (III 255-256).

In Buthrotum, the Trojans are greeted by their close people: Helenus, one of king Priam's sons, and Andromache. Here Aeneas gets another hint by Apollo's priest: the place where they find a white pig with thirty piglets will be their home. Besides, Aeneas has to listen to Sibylla's prophecy telling about the future struggles (III 458). This is the first indication that their settlement on the new land will not be painless.

Aeneas already knows that he has battles ahead. Arriving on the island of Ortigia, the Trojans make offerings to the local Gods (III 697). However, it is not Aeneas who comes to this understanding but the gods that order him to do so. On this island, the Trojans bid their final farewell to Anchises thereby cutting their link with the ancient Troy, i. e. their past.

Finding himself on the island of Dido, Aeneas yields to human weakness: he marries the Queen of Carthage and eagerly participates in the construction of the city. He has been obviously longing for peaceful life. It was some kind of dope that made Aeneas forget the mission imposed on him by the gods: the human foible woke in him at a time when he knew exactly where, in which country, he was to seek the new home. As a result, he was on the verge of losing the function of a hero executing the Gods' will.

Mercurius sent by Jupiter conveys the God's rebukes to the Trojan hero because he forgot his mission to build cities to revive the Trojan race from Teucers' blood. If such fame is no longer appealing to him, why is he barring his son from future happiness (IV 225-234)? The words pronounced by the gods' messenger shock Aeneas and sober him up from drowsiness. He has made a gross mistake that was not due to ignorance but forgetfulness. I think Aeneas' love for Dido was not so deep as to cause him forget his duty. Aeneas immediately starts to prepare, as Virgil says, "to leave the blissful land" (IV 281). The only thing that troubles him is how to tell Dido of his departure. Finally, he decides to leave in secret.

He is agitated and worried, but not hesitant. Aeneas renounces the human weakness at once, albeit it is not easy for him because of his virtue, the sense of duty to Dido. He offers excuses to Dido saying that his desire does not coincide with the gods' will. He would rather stay in the destroyed Troy and restore it but the gods chose another mission for him. There is a tone of reproach heard in Aeneas's self-justification. If you like Carthage, - he addresses Dido, - why are you preventing me from settling in Italy, as willed by Gods, where I will find love and homeland, besides I cannot deprive my son the future (IV 340, 355). Consequently, I think that the major motive for Aeneas to stop at Dido's was his longing for peaceful life. Aeneas tries to persuade Dido to succumb to her destiny. And although Aeneas is ready to depart, Mercurius appears before him again and hastens him, maybe in order to prevent him from seeing Dido committing suicide, which could detain the Trojan hero on the island for some time. Aeneas takes out his sword and cuts the ship rope, which must symbolically mean that Aeneas is finally cutting his dangerous link with Dido and that the Trojan hero will have to establish himself in a new country sword in hand.

Arriving in Sicily, Aeneas is cordially greeted by the Trojan Acestes. After performing a rite in Anchises' memory, a huge athletic competition is held. This must symbolically mean preparation for the future war and might also be considered as an exoneration of the defeated Trojans. The competition reveals the strength, severity, and mercilessness of the heroes - a common thing at war. Sport is an innocuous form of war.¹ Another ordeal is awaiting Aeneas on this island. Tired of prolonged wandering and persuaded by Goddess Iris, his companions set fire to Aeneas's fleet in order to stay on Acestes' island. Aeneas is at a total loss and for the first time faces a dilemma whether to continue his route to Italy or to stay on the Island (V 702-709). Aeneas has never before shown such hesitation as to whether he should transgress the will of the gods. The hero needs encouragement, and old Nautes advises him to take with him only those fit for heroic fight; the same is communicated to him by Anchises's spirit. Aeneas heeds to this advice. He gradually gets used to the idea that fight is inevitable. He founds another city on this island. This is the only

¹ Gleis R. F., *Der Vater der Dinge*, BAC, B.7, Trier 1991, 287.

instance when Aeneas builds a city not by mistake but as a shelter for the Trojans remaining on the Island.

Aeneas relinquishes his mistakes that he has committed consciously or unknowingly and understands that his desire to help people should not impede him to carry out the divine will. Subsequently, the Trojan hero takes the right course and arriving in Cumae he is equipped with the properties characteristic of the gods' elects: he is no longer allured by personal happiness. Aeneas asks the Sibyl, a priestess, to give Trojans shelter in Latium not wanting any kingdom for himself.

Anchises's ghost tells Aeneas about Rome's glorious future and heroic struggles. This is, in fact, Aeneas' psychological preparation for the upcoming battle. Virtuous Aeneas, a fugitive overcome by enemy, seeks a new home, assigned to him by the gods and finally reaches it. He is no longer an *errans*, or a wanderer, nor does he make any more mistakes; he is not hesitant and absentminded. Instead, he becomes the executor of the divine will, an *oboediens*. However, a new stage begins for him. He has to implement the second divine order – gain a foothold in the new homeland, which he tries to achieve peacefully. He makes offerings to the deity of the new land (VII 136-139) and sends one hundred select orators bearing olive branches and gifts to King Latinus (VII 245-250) to conclude peace (*pacem*). Aeneas is unpretentious. He asks for a modest place for the Penates and in exchange promises the King to never shame his kingdom and bring strength and glory to it and its people (VII 229-233). Latinus is ready to accept the foreign guest as an ally (VII 264) and marry his daughter off to him since such is the will of the gods. Aeneas seems not to remember the prophecy that he would have to fight on the foreign land. He tries not to resort to force and reach agreement with the locals. However, Turnus, emboldened by the goddesses Juno and Juturna, violates the agreement concluded between Aeneas and Latinus. He incites the Rutulians to revolt not only against the Trojans but also against the Latins and defend Italy from the invader (VII 469). Turnus perceives Aeneas as an aggressor who rivals with him for his bride and kingdom. Therefore, he counters Aeneas' proposal to live in peace with arms and war. Aeneas is not preparing for war. He is troubled and concerned about the fact that he will have to oppose Turnus (VII 29). The river God comforts him and advises not to renounce warfare (VIII 40), seek allies, and turn to King Evander for help. Thus, Aeneas has to reconcile with the

idea that he will have to fight. He has been forced to fight and, as a result, he is compelled to accept the challenge. This is extremely important for ascertaining if Aeneas's fight against Turnus is just. Aeneas is in no rush. He finds allies among peoples annoyed with Turnus. Evander, the King of Arcadia, sees the chance to save his people threatened by Turnus and tyrant King Mezentius in the union with Aeneas. Accordingly, Aeneas is fighting not only for his companions; he appears as a defender of certain other tribes. However, he does not enter fight until the divine sign is received. The appearance of claps of thunder and weapons glistening in the sky was the sign for Aeneas indicating that the time to enter the fight had arrived (VIII 527-530). Mother Venus had God Vulcan forge arms for him. The leader of the Trojans needed new weapons for the important fight, the armor and weaponry of the defeated warrior taken along from Troy or arms seized from enemy would not secure him victory. Aeneas is not hesitant any more. Psychologically, he is already prepared. This is clear from the menace he makes to Turnus (VIII 537-538).

So, what does Aeneas look like in the new war? What personal qualities does he depict? And what martial arts does he employ? The war in Italy was for Aeneas a totally new war. In Troy, he was defending his homeland from the invaders, whereas in Italy he fights the locals being an invader himself. His fight, however, is just as he is fighting against Turnus, who broke the peace agreement, and is defending King Evander oppressed by the tyrant King. He does not start war first; he is waiting for the enemy to launch an assault. This abstention of his was even taken for cowardice by the enemy (X 55).

Aeneas's image as a warrior is clearly outlined in his confrontation with Turnus. He is as strong as Turnus, as ruthless and at times as cruel; he too can mercilessly kill the enemy (X 565-602). Nevertheless, Virgil refers to him as *pious* (pious). Here a question arises: can this be sarcasm, or criticism of the hero? But alas, this is the ruthless law of war. Aeneas is fighting for the good cause, which he sometimes has to do ruthlessly and mercilessly. This is exactly how he brings about peace. At the same time, this is the crude logic of war², from which even the noble hero cannot deviate. But even cruelty requires practicing restraint. Turnus's fury towards the enemy, cutting heads off the defeated warriors, putting them

² Glei R.F., 1991, 219-220.

on stakes, and parading them feeling ecstatic with that, in Virgil's conviction, is unacceptable even under the rules of warfare. Virgil's position can be construed from his parenthesis: "an astounding sight" (*visu mirabile* IX 466). Such cruel cynicism towards the defeated enemy is a demonstration of brute force. Turnus derives pleasure from seeing dead Pallas; he is thrilled to imagine the young man's father seeing his son's dead body (X 443, 490). Blood adds to Turnus' conceit. Being obsessed by the spite to kill he makes a mistake: had he opened the tower gate for his people, he might have finally attained decisive victory (IX 758-760).³ Turnus lacks in wisdom and sharp-wittedness; he can only demonstrate power. He is the embodiment of power and arrogance.⁴ The chimera worn by Turnus upon his armor is an indication of this.⁵ Turnus hates peace (XI 460-461), while Aeneas is fighting for peace. Aeneas willingly agrees on a single combat with Turnus, demanding from him the truce with Latinus in advance, which means that his ultimate goal is a union between the Trojans and the Latins. Aeneas enters the fight with the intention to keep the peace treaty from breaking even in the event of his death. This is what makes him a noble hero.

Another interesting aspect of 'The Aeneid' is the attitude of its heroes towards the spoil, and especially towards the enemy armor. It is the law of war to seize the treasury, and especially arms, from the defeated enemy and share it out. Spoil signifies glory. However, there is a rule that should be followed: it is unethical to show greed and boast about plundering the killed enemy. Turnus cannot conceal his joy at seizing the spoil (X 500). Virgil's parenthesis pertaining to this episode is a good illustration of the author's position who believes everything to be transient and changeable and that the pride and haughtiness of the warrior who thirsts for spoil is ephemeral (X 501-505). According to 'The Aeneid', the arms seized from the enemy always bring mischief to the warriors. It seems they bear the destiny of their former owner (II 410-413; X 700-710). I.e. the winner should not appropriate the enemy's weaponry but rather should sacrifice it to the God of war. Aeneas adheres to this lore (X 542), Pallas also

³ Heinze R., *Vergils epische Technik*, Druck und Verlag B. G. Teubner, Leipzig-berlin 1915, 211.

⁴ Wilsthire S. F., *Public and Privat in Vergil's Aeneid*, The University of Massachusets press, Amherst 1989, 96.

⁵ Buchheit V., *Vergil über die Sendung Roms*, Heidelberg 1963, 92-93.

promises to offer the enemy's armor to the God of war (X 424). Aeneas sees a multitude of weaponry taken from the enemy in Latinus's palace (VII 183-186). He does not remove arms from the defeated enemy himself; this is done by his warriors who sacrifice the armor to Mars, the God of war (X 540-543). Lausus' episode is the only instance when the winner neither seizes the enemy's arms nor sacrifices it to the god of war. Aeneas is so appealed by the bravery of the youth who fell from his hand that decides to leave the arms on him as a token of respect and make sure that his people bury him with honors (X 825-830).

Aeneas is not a wily hero to offer truce to the people of Italy and simultaneously get armed for war, something the enraged Goddess Juno blames him for (X 80). He is a righteous warrior. Aeneas does not conquer, but is fighting for the welfare of his people. Turnus, on the other hand, enters war to secure his own wellbeing (XI 359, 371). Aeneas does not want war (XI 110-114), he is compelled to fight. Aeneas's victory results in peaceful union and coexistence between two nations (XII 185).

Aeneas has completed his mission: he has afforded the fugitive Trojans homeland. However, this does not seem to make him happy.⁶ In this context, the assumption to compare Aeneas's lot with that of the mythological Atlas sounds quite reasonable: both characters have been charged with an important mission for humankind – to carry a huge burden.⁷ Aeneas, who implements the divine will, yields to human desires prior to arriving in Latium although he understands that it is impossible to follow the will of the gods being preoccupied with human pleasures. He gradually disposes himself of the human weaknesses, forsaking his love in Carthage, relinquishing the desire to relish peaceful life (expressed in the construction of cities) on different islands, and parting with his intimate link with the past together with Anchises's death. Thus, deprived of human weaknesses, he arrives in Italy. "The just, pious, and militarily skilled Aeneas" (I 544-545; VIII 235) becomes vigilant, perceptive of and obedient

⁶ The unusual and sad ending of *The Aeneid* has been actively discussed yielding such questions as why Aeneas is not satisfied with his mission as well as suppositions that his triumph is not joy but fury and ruthlessness towards Turnus. Perhaps the epic's end lies in the "melancholic optimism?" cf. Jenkyns R., Pathos, Tragedy and Hope in the *Aeneid*, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 1985, LXXV, 50-60.

⁷ cf. Morwood J. H.W., Aeneas and Mount Atlas, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, LXXV, 1985, 60-77.

to the will of the gods. He is convinced that being the chosen man of the gods is an honorable but cumbersome task that requires forgoing personal pleasures. This realization must explain the absence of Aeneas's joy for his victory at the end of the poem when he gives his son instructions to take lessons of gallantry and valor from his father but learn how to be happy from others (XII 435 -436).

Abstract

Aeneas incorporates the images of Achilles and Odysseus. His destiny and character, however, distinguish him from both heroes. Achilles is a brave warrior of incomparable power fighting for honor; the purpose of his perilous voyage is to return home. Aeneas is a hero who is entrusted with a special mission and who leaves Burning Troy by the gods' will in order to "return" to his new homeland.

So, how does the shaping of Aeneas's character take place after leaving Troy and how does this courageous warrior from a defender of his land turn into a hero implementing the gods' will?

Aeneas, who implements the divine will, yields to human desires prior to arriving in Latium although he understands that it is impossible to follow the will of the gods being preoccupied with human pleasures. He gradually disposes himself of the human weaknesses, forsaking his love in Carthage, relinquishing the desire to relish peaceful life (expressed in the construction of cities) on different islands, and parting with his intimate link with the past together with Anchises's death. Thus, deprived of human weaknesses, he arrives in Italy. "The just, pious, and militarily skilled Aeneas" (I 544-545; VIII 235) becomes vigilant, perceptive of and obedient to the will of the gods. He is convinced that being the chosen man of the gods is an honorable but cumbersome task that requires forgoing personal pleasures. This realization must explain the absence of Aeneas's joy for his victory at the end of the poem when he gives his son instructions to take lessons of gallantry and valor from his father but learn how to be happy from others.

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Adaptations of Aesopian “Fancy” and Didactics of the “Wisdom” of His Moral in the Works of Prominent Fabulists

In the ancient society judging by the principles of aestheticism (in which the human appearance was almost crucial), *homo de plebe*, strikingly ugly Aesop must have been an object of constant ridicule and oppression until his mental potential was fully comprehended. The evidence of the fact can be found in Herodotus' *Histories*.¹ According to them, Aesop had been a slave of a wealthy Samian man Iadmon before he was eventually freed. However, the Delphians insulted by his fables charged him of gold bowl theft from the temple and sentenced him to death. In *The Wasps*, Aristophanes says that Aesop is an outstanding person whose fables should be necessarily read. The comic dramatist also informs us about the slander of the treacherous Delphian priests who accused Aesop of stealing the Divine Vessel.² Moreover, some other sources confirm that in the sixth century BC, he happened to be in the kingdom of Croesus who sent him to Delphi where he was perfidiously executed.³ We also know that at first Aesop lacked the freedom of speech because of his humble social status. That was why he applied to allegory and created fables where the animals spoke and behaved like human characters. Speculating about the creative

¹ Herodotus, *Works*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: W. Heinemann, Loeb Classical Library, 1, 1946.

² <http://royallib.com/>.

³ Aesop, *Fables*, Introduction by V. Baakashvili, Tbilisi 1979 (in Georgian).

work of Aesop, S. Radtsig admitted: 'the artistic effect of the allegorical satire is based on decoding its implication.'⁴ As for the significance of appearance in olden times (which might have caused serious problems for the ugly fabulist), we come to know about it even due to Homer's epos *Iliad* where he speaks about Thersites. It is Thersites, who attacks Agamemnon with insulting words and puts serious blame on him; the very Thersites, who is a man with numerous physical defects – lame, squint-eyed, with a head that comes to a point.⁵ It is also admitted (with a great repugnance and sarcasm) that Thersites is a loathsome hunchback. Aesop too had an ugly hump 'which rose like a mount on his short torso.'⁶ Thersites justly points out that the riches and fame, which came to Agamemnon in the Trojan War, had been gained by the hard labour of the others. For Aesop the human appearance was not the matter of great interest; he was interested in the spiritual riches of the humans rather than in their looks and physical beauty, and appreciated wit and wisdom most of all. To justify this assumption, it would be enough to recall Socrates – 'the personification of Philosophy'⁷ of all times, the reviser of the human destination, the ugliest of men⁸ – who was said to be entertaining himself by rhyming Aesop's fables while imprisoned.⁹ Quasimodo is one of the most impressive and outstanding characters in the world literature. As a prominent literary character, he personifies tremendous strength, inner greatness, high moral and boundless humanness. Despite his ugliness, he is likable and stirs up great sympathy in the reader. Among the writers, it is Aesop, who evokes the same sentiments. He is acclaimed a great writer not only in his native land, but also worldwide. Aesop is imitated, his plots are adopted by the foreign fabulists linking them with their own mode of life and creating wonderful pieces of literature. As for the good looks, in different epochs they were interpreted differently. It would be enough to recall Albert Camus' opinion about the abundant beauty and

⁴ Radtsig S., *The History of Ancient Greek Literature*, Moscow 1958 (in Russian).

⁵ Homer, *The Iliad*, Cambridge: University Press. London: W. Heinemann. Loeb Classical Library, v. 1, 1965.

⁶ Aesop, 1979.

⁷ Fisher S., Dorbaush R., *Economics, USA*, 1992.

⁸ Losev A., *Socrates*. See: *Plato, Works*, v. 1, 5 (in Russian).

⁹ Aesop, 1979, 4.

overwhelming impatience that are the permanent companions of the transient riches.¹⁰

Aesop shifts the emphasis from the external appearance of the humans to their internal ugliness, which brings shame and ill fate to the mortals. This is the leading motif of two of his fables – *Aesop on the Deck* and *The Fox and the Leopard*. In the latter one, the fox and the leopard argue which of them is more beautiful. The leopard is proud of his spotted body, while the fox claims his priority for having a refined spirit.¹¹ The moral of the fable is that the well-trained mind is better than the hollow physical beauty. Creating the allegorical images, Aesop showed his practical wisdom, which provided a model for subsequent European writers. The French version of the spiritual poverty is ridiculed in La Fontaine's fable *The Fox and the Mask*. La Fontaine, like Aesop, emphasizes the uselessness of solely physical beauty. The story of the fox, which comes across a mask anciently used by actors, is interesting for the final remark of the viewer: 'So full of beauty, so empty of brains!' The moral of the fable is that a person may have an outstanding appearance admired by all but lack brains thoroughly.¹² We come across the same motif in Aesop's fable *Aesop on the Deck*, which describes how patiently Aesop bore the mockery of the sailors. To prove their improvidence, Aesop told them: 'chaos came first and water next into being. Then Zeus sent another element – the earth – whom he commanded to swallow everything in three gulps. First, the earth swallowed the highlands, next were the lowlands and when the third gulp is taken, no one will need your professionalism any longer.'¹³ The moral of the fable features how the unworthy people hold up to mockery the worthy ones thus giving rise to terrible misfortunes brought around by narrow-mindedness. In other words, the fable describes the situation when in a sound body there is not a sound spirit. Imprudence again is the didactic theme referred to by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani in one of his fables – *The Imprudent Swimmer* – from his collection of tales *Wisdom of Fancy*. The drowning man is beseeching God to save him, and his friend advises him to use his own hands for that purpose. Here the author

¹⁰ Albert Camus, *Noces*, ed. Gallimard. 1958 (in French), translated into Georgian by G. Ekizashvili, 2003, 44.

¹¹ Babrius and Phaedrus, *Fables*, Loeb Classical Library, 1990.

¹² La Fontaine, *Fables* (in French), 1668, N1-6; 1675-1679, N7-9; 1694, N12.

¹³ Babrius and Phaedrus, 1990.

teaches us that mortals should find the way out themselves in any dangerous situation.¹⁴ Aesop too describes the story of a swimming boy in one of his fables. When the boy caught in a current is going to drown, the passer-by does not help him. Instead, he starts scolding him for his carelessness. The moral of the fable is – 'Do not scold the others, just be helpful to them!'¹⁵

The matter of the social background is also very important in Aesop's fables. The fable *The Fox and the Monkey* is concerned with this very problem. Desire of gaining priority 'due to the origin' is quite evident in it. There is a bitter argument between the fox and the monkey since both assert to be of a nobler origin than the other is. In the end, the cunning fox starts groaning aloud and shedding tears looking at the numerous gravestones. When the monkey asks him what is the reason of his grief, the latter answers proudly that those are the graves of the slaves of his ancestors. The monkey knows that the fox is telling a lie but he also knows that it cannot be proved as the dead will not rise from their graves and the truth can never be established.¹⁶ Aesop, like many of his subsequent fabulists, often chooses a fox for a main character when speaking about insidiousness. Here we will not analyze such popular fables as *The Crow and the Fox*, *The Fox and the Grapes* and many others that were translated by such outstanding writers as La Fontaine and Krilov word for word; we will only try to find out the common motifs among the characters depicted in the texts. The plot of the following fable is based on the same theme of the noble origin, but this time the partner of a fox is a crocodile. Aesop describes an eloquent fox, who argues with a crocodile. Aesop's crocodile speaks enthusiastically about his ancestors who held high positions and were very well educated 'gymnasiarchs'. The witty reaction of the fox is funny indeed: he says that the skin of the crocodile reflects very well how hard-working students they have been.¹⁷

Relationship of the strong and the weak is one of the leading themes of Aesop's fables causing a great resonance in the literature worldwide. Aesop thinks that the strong should never neglect the problems of the

¹⁴ Sulkhhan-Saba Orbeliani, Jubilee collection, *Fables*, 1959; also *Works in Four volumes*, Tbilisi 1989.

¹⁵ Babrius and Phaedrus, 1990.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *ibid.*

weak, that they should always help them not only because it is right but also because life is full of surprises and nobody knows what the future has in store for them. This idea is carried out in Aesop's fable *The Lion and the Mouse*. In one of its versions, the trapped lion starts thinking of the mouse whom he did not help when the latter was in trouble, and who might free him from the trap now by gnawing through the rope.¹⁸ In another version of the same fable with the happy end, the noble lion lets the little mouse in his claws go and, in return, the mouse gnaws through the knot in the net and sets free the king of the beasts.¹⁹ The same story of big and small animals (i. e. the adaptation of the plot of this fable) is unfolded in a different composition in the *Panchatatra*. The eighth story of book one tells how the little rabbit manages to save not only his own life from the huge greedy lion but also the lives of other animals. The didactics of the moral is that 'the clever creature, however small it is, can triumph over the big one', as it happened in the case of the clever rabbit who managed to draw the lion in the well. The theme of kindness bringing reward in the future is particularly prominent in Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's parables. From this viewpoint, *The Dexterous Arab* is very special. It tells the story of the Caliph of Baghdad who buys a wonderful horse for a thousand silver coins. The newly bought horse is immediately kidnapped by the Arab who sold it, but he brings the horse back to the owner on the third day. The Arab, in excuse, says the following: 'The silver is heavy and I had no horse to carry it. But I had to return the horse because Allah would never forgive me if I paid back for the kindness with an evil deed'.²⁰ Now we will analyze the plot of the fable which, after Aesop, his subsequent writers adopted, and which gave start to the stories with one and the same scheme and characters. The strong cannot always save the weak. This is when the strength of the 'Aesopian language', his mercilessness, his struggle against injustice come fully into play. Aesopian language is often described as 'the system of interrelation between the author and the reader in which the idea is hidden from the censor.'²¹ It is a fictional language – the code ciphered with the help of allegory, irony and other

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Gigauri Ts., *Latin and Terminology Bases*, Tbilisi 1996, 65 (in Georgian).

²⁰ Babrius and Phaedrus, 1990.

²¹ Grushko E., *Language of Aesop*, Dictionary of Russian Literature, 1997, 516-555 (in Russian).

means – where the characters have contextual pseudonyms.²² In other words, it is a kind of disguised speech. The fable of *The Wolf and the Lamb* is a good example. There the only guilt of the lamb is that it is good food for the hungry wolf. This theme encouraged many writers to defend the people low in the social scale. It gained especially prominent place in the Russian literature. We come across it in the works by Trediakovski, Sumarokov, Derzhavin and the celebrated fabulist Krilov. As the expert of Krilov's creative work, V. Kanevich admits: 'fabulists, like any translators of other genres, often interpret the texts adapting them to their own language and style, altering the idea, representing the scenes differently and giving the story quite a new shade'.²³ However, this is not the case with *The wolf and the Lamb* where neither modifications of the idea nor new details added to the text can be traced. La Fontaine and Krilov have so intimately adopted the content of the fable and made such brilliant translations that they look like the original texts. The theme of the fable is so important and its language is so rich in poetic forms, that its plot (like those of some other popular fables such as *The Peasant and the Wiper*, *The Grasshopper and the Ant*, the fables with foxes etc.) has fitted perfectly into the world literature without any necessary changes. Another fable by Aesop – *The Cat and the Cock* – is of the similar trend. It describes how the cat tries to assure the cock that his existence is senseless, that he is harmful to the others. Cat's dialogue blaming the cock is of great interest. In it, he claims that the cock keeps awake everyone around by his loud cock-a-doodle-doo. The latter protests saying that he is very useful to everybody, since he wakes them up in time not to be late for their work. When the cat accuses him of incestuous relations with his mother and sisters, the cock answers that he does it for the sake of giving them a chance to lay more eggs. In the end, the cat's 'verdict' sound like that of the wolf's, who blames the lamb because of his own hunger – not being able to prove anything, he simply tells the cock that he is going to eat him.²⁴ The moral of the fable is that if the strong desire they can always defeat the weak, but they should not desire injustice for the fear of the natural laws. Aesop preaches humanness and modesty in his fables. He is sure that in the end,

²² Losev L., Language of Aesop, Theatre: Magazine 1992, B-5-6; 164 (in Russian).

²³ Bibliographical and Historical Notes on Krilov's *Fables*, 1878, 10 (in Russian).

²⁴ Babrius and Phaedrus, 1990.

kindness will always win and cruelty will bring to a tragic aftermath. In the fable *The Eagle and the Bug*²⁵ mentioned in Aristophanes' *The Wasps*, Aesop speaks himself. The greedy eagle is punished, he is leveled to ground, despite the fact that Zeus sympathizes with him and tries to defend his future offsprings. The author underlines the fact that a physically feeble, small but clever creature can triumph even over the king of the world. When the desperate rabbit beseeches the bug to help him, he is like a drowning man clutching at straws. It would be no wonder if the bug refused to help him as a physically feeble creature cannot cope with the eagle following its prey. However, the bug does his best and beseeches the eagle not to eat the poor bunny. With this, the author speaks about mercy, pity and sympathy. The eagle pays dear for 'a bite of food' – the bug crashes all the eggs in his nest and even makes Zeus drop them together with the dung balls placed next to them. In his fable *The Man and the Wiper*,²⁶ Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani tells a story of ungratefulness: a man saves a wiper stuck in a burning tree in the field. In return, the ungrateful wiper tries to kill him. The tree and the ox in the field take the side of the wiper and do not try to help the man. They say that kindness never pays back. It is the cunning fox that helps the man by killing the wiper with a tree-branch. The saved man then likes the fur of the fox and decides to kill him.²⁷ In another of his fables – *The kind Wiper* – Sulkhan-Saba teaches us that kindness should never be paid back by evil. In this parable, he features several themes. We know that the word 'wiper' is often replaced by relevant epithets and metaphors as the word itself is linked with fear and disgust. This creature is mostly associated with ruthlessness, treason and death for it can give you a poisonous bite or choke you. But this story shows that it can give you a world of good as well. If in the previous fable the fox 'executs' the wiper justly, here the kind wiper thanks his saviour generously by giving him treasure. The author's idea about the colours is of interest as well. As we know, black is often associated with something unpleasant and sinister, while red is associated with something good and pleasant. If not the beggar, the evil would triumph over good – the black

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, 1959.

²⁷ Ibid.

wiper would defeat the red one.²⁸ Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani also tells us that not all the species are able to pay kindness back with the same. In the fable *The Tortoise and the Scorpion*, the latter says that one should bite both the friends and the enemies alike.²⁹ The tortoise dives into the water and drowns the scorpion saying that he has to wash out the poison. The moral of the fable is that you should neither do the evil things nor be afraid of them. The merciless attitude of the author towards the treacherous people is shown well in the fable *The Wild Goats and the Shepherd*. The greedy shepherd sacrifices his own goats giving priority to the wild ones, for he thinks they would bring him more profit. He feeds them in bad weather, looks after them carefully to tame them. But when the weather conditions change for the better, the wild animals escape to the mountains. The moral of the fable is that those who do not take care of the most precious thing in life – the devoted friends – are destined to solitude.³⁰ In Aesop's fable *The Fox and the woodchopper*, the double-dealing is denounced. The double-faced woodchopper gives shelter to the fox chased by the hunters. When the hunters come to his place looking for their prey, the woodchopper denies seeing the fox but gestures towards its hiding place. The hunters do not understand his gesture and go away. When the woodchopper reproaches the fox for not thanking him, the fox answers: 'I would thank you cordially if your words and your gestures were not so incoherent.'³¹

Thus, the work analyses the ways in which the wise and kind-hearted fabulist instructs his reader how to live a proper life. He does it featuring some important motifs of appearance, background, kindness, friendship, devotion, narrow-mindedness and relationship between the weak and the strong in his fables, which are as popular today as ever before.

Abstract

The article reviews how Aesopian literature's legacy – "Fancy" and didactics of "Wisdom" were assimilated by world famous fabulists. Main motive for Aesop is dominance of a "sophisticated mind" over physical beauty. Aesop, who was of lowly origin *homo de plebe* and was strikingly ugly, had an outstanding mental potential. Herodotus' "Histories" contain biographical facts about the fabulist; Aristophanes considers unknowing of his fables unacceptable; Wise Socrates was

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Babrius and Phaedrus, 1990.

³¹ Ibid..

said to rhyme Aesop's fables to entertain himself while imprisoned. Aesop's social status led to him using allegory and creating fables where the animal world spoke like humans. The article reviews Aesop's aspirations, that a human must have spiritual values, wit (fables *Aesop on the Deck*, *The Fox and the Leopard*). The theme of spiritual poverty had an influence on La Fontaine (*The Fox and the Mask*). Human foolishness is displayed in the fable *A Swimming Boy*, wherein a passer-by sees a boy caught in the current and about to drown, instead of helping he scolds the youngster for his carelessness. We find a similar motive in Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's fable *Imprudent Swimmer*, who beseeches God for help, his friend advises him to use his own hands to survive. Aesop rejects origin, nobility in fables: *The Fox and the Monkey*, *The Fox and the Crocodile*. The main role is given to the interrelation problem between the strong and the weak, which had a great resonance in the writings of many countries. A significant place is given to the following fables: *The Lion and the Mouse*, *The Wolf and the Lamb*, *The Cat and the Cock*, *The Eagle and the Bug*. In the first fable the king of the predators is freed by the mouse. The following two fables present a similar "verdict" by the wolf and the cat, both of them find the blame for the innocent because they are hungry. The fable *The Wolf and the Lamb* was assimilated so well first by La Fontaine and then by Krilov that they leave the impression of an original text. As for *The Eagle and the Bug*, Aristophanes mentions it in *The Wasps*. The eagle ignored the bug's pleas and ate the rabbit, which cost it the future children's lives. The defeat of the mighty lion by the weak, small rabbit and the rescue of other animals is also present in *Panchatantra*, Book I, tale VIII.

Aesop relentlessly battles against lies and duplicity (*The Fox and the Woodchopper*) with hidden meanings, allegory, irony and use of other means to teach the generations how to live a proper life.

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Ancient Metal Production Sites from Southwest Georgia in Light of New Archeological Evidence

Introduction

There has long been a tradition of very early ironworking in south-eastern Black Sea coastal region, south of the Caucasus range of mountains, and north of the mountainous region of north-eastern Anatolia. This can be gauged from Greek and Roman written sources (such as Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabon) which suggest that this south-eastern Black Sea coastal zone had, by the 5th century BC, gained the reputation as being the region where ironworking originated. According to one biblical tradition an ancient Georgian tribe, the Tubal (or Tabal) are said to be founders of metallurgy and the art of blacksmithing (Kuparadze 2008).

However it is also clear that this region was also a known source of some of the other main metals of antiquity, particularly copper and gold. The antiquity of the tradition for early gold working here can be gauged by the description in the *Odyssey* in which Jason and his fellow Argonauts sailed up the River Phasis – now the River Rioni with Poti (the early Greek colony of Phasis) at its mouth – before they found, stole and fled with the 'golden fleece'.



Fig. 1: Location map showing the extent of modern Georgia as it was in 1920, the western half of which approximates to ancient Colchis, the eastern half of which was known as Iberia

Discovery and Exploration of Prehistoric Smelting Sites in Western Georgia

Sometime after the Second World War prehistoric smelting sites – initially all identified as belonging to ironworking – began to be noticed made in the hilly coastal region of western Georgia, the region known to the ancient Greeks as Colchis. A large scale field survey project was subsequently initiated in 1960 by IA Gzelishvili (Gzelishvili 1964), but mainly carried out between 1970 and 1984 by Professor David Khakhutaishvili. During this survey approximately 400 prehistoric smelting sites scattered across the coastal region of western Georgia were noted, and a few sites from each area investigated, were excavated to examine the layout and form of the furnaces and associated features, and also with the aim of recovering material suitable for dating.

These were thought at the time to represent some of the earliest and most widespread prehistoric iron smelting remains yet discovered. An interim report on the broad scale and scope of this survey project as well as the excavation of 26 of these sites was published as 'The Manufacture of Iron in Ancient Colchis' (in Russian) in 1987 (Khakhutaishvili 1987), translated into English in 2009 (Khakhutaishvili 2009). Radiocarbon and archaeo-magnetic dates indicated that most of these sites were operating between 1000 and 600 BC, at least as old as the oldest known iron smelting sites in the Mediterranean. Importantly, however, one region – the Supsa-Gubazeuli river system – yielded a series of dates from 1800 BC to 600 BC for the smelting operations being carried out there.

This early field survey was the first project of its kind in this region to set out to record and investigate the traces of a type of prehistoric smelting site which had begun to be noticed as archaeologically significant features in the landscape – in this case the hilly areas between the various river valleys which emptied into the Black Sea – since the end of the Second World War. The great majority of the 400 or so prehistoric smelting sites are likely to have been found as a result of the expansion or reorganisation of the Soviet collective farm system, with this type of terrain being used extensively for tea plantations in western Georgia.

The early survey focussed on four areas – each approximately 5-10 km square – where prehistoric smelting sites were found to be common, the areas being centred on four particular river systems in this coastal part of western Georgia. Listed from south to north these are the Chorokhi, the Choloki-Ochkhamuri, the Supsa-Gubazeuli, and the Khobi-Ochkhomuri river systems (Fig. 2). In Khakhutaishvili's report (2009 [1987]) it was also noted that a further fifth area of sites was thought to exist in the Black Sea coastal region to the west of Trebizond (the port of Trabzon, in what is now north-east Turkey) in the vicinity of which the ancient group of people the Chalybes/Khalybs, whose name he suggests may have meant 'the makers of good iron' (ie steel) may have originated.

In addition to the smelting sites noted earlier, a new group of sites was much more recently identified during fieldwork (by one of the present researchers) in the Chakvistskali river valley, north-east of Batumi (Khakhutaishvili and Tavamaishvili 2002). More recent (but as yet unpublished) work on these would, broadly speaking, suggest two phases of activity, one involving copper smelting in the second half of the second millennium BC, and another involving iron smelting early in the 1st millennium BC (personal communication from A Hauptmann and N Khakhutaishvili).

Having discovered the existence of this early smelting industry the principal first aim of this early field project were to undertake a large scale preliminary exploratory survey investigate the scale, extent, identity, survival and date of the industry. The damage to these early industrial remains caused by erosion – by the cultivation of the land largely for tea plantations – was also recognised in the interim report. Despite the substantial amount of work carried out over the last 50 years by Georgian

archaeologists, a number of key questions remain, especially those relating to the technology, chronology, and spatial distribution of the industry.

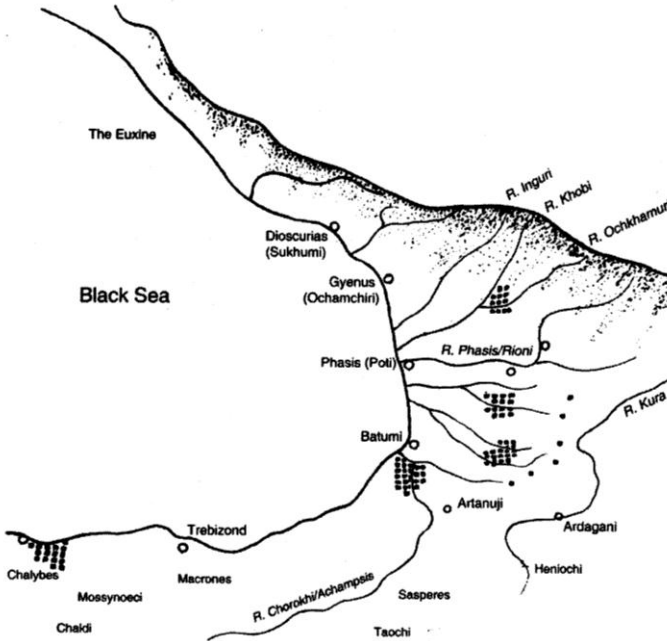


Fig. 2: Location map of known/suspected prehistoric smelting sites in western Georgia and north eastern Turkey (Khakhutaishvili 2009 [1987], 20).

But accurately mapping the widespread scattering of sites that were discovered was still a big problem as although accurate maps (closely equivalent to British Ordnance Survey maps) at different scales did exist at the time of this work their use was restricted to the Soviet Military authorities. Also global positioning (satellite) system (GPS) technology was not then available as an alternative, so the positions of the sites were simply noted by reference to existing local topographical detail, not all of which still survives. The only other possible source of information as to the location of many of the sites noted was the (fading) memory of those people involved with the investigations of particular localities at the time.

Background to the New Landscape Field Project and the First Two Fieldwork Seasons of October 2010 and July 2012.

Unfortunately while the Soviet state still existed this early Georgian archaeological field research remained almost completely unknown to the wider world of archaeological scholarly research, partly because of restrictions placed on the flow of information from this region, and partly because the interim report on this work was published in Russian (Khakhutaishvili 1987). This report published the excavations of 26 sites subjected to more intensive examination. Information on the whereabouts of the rest of the 400 or so sites observed survived only as topographical descriptions and sketches in the original field note books kept at the time of the survey.

After the collapse of the Soviet system in Georgia in 1991 the recognition of this early preliminary survey work, and the possibility of developing it before the knowledge of the whereabouts of the sites, or the sites themselves, became lost, only became possible with the subsequent development of archaeological research work in western Georgia. This has been led by the re-establishment of the Pichvnari archaeological project by Professors Michael Vickers (Oxford University, UK) and Amiran Kakhidze (Batumi Archaeological Museum, and Rutveli State University, Batumi, Georgia), Pichvnari having been the site of intermittent, settlement from the mid to late 2nd millennium BC to the Hellenistic period of the later first millennium BC (Mikeladze and Khakhutaishvili 1985).

The 2009 republication in English of David Khakhutaishvili's interim report of his 25 year exploratory campaign of field work also included an appraisal both of what had been achieved and to gauge the full potential the work, as well as assessing what remained to be done if that was to be achieved. This assessment revealed that, although very extensive exploratory work had been undertaken, urgent work was now needed not only to progress the research in a systematic way, but also that many of the sites would need relocating and mapping, then examining (in a few cases re-examining) using the most up-to-date archaeological research techniques, before all knowledge of even their whereabouts was lost.

Although a programme of dating was carried out earlier on some of the furnace and related remains many questions relating to dating still remain, as does the stratigraphical and hence chronological development of individual sites, some of which may be multi-period. Modern dating

techniques such as accelerator radiocarbon determination and optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) should allow a much clearer dating picture to emerge. It was also clear that modern archaeological survey techniques – for land survey as well as geophysical prospection – would greatly aid the pin-pointing of individual sites and the planning of systematic archaeological investigation. Some chemical and microstructural analyses of slags were conducted by Georgian specialists as part of this earlier program of investigation, and these reports concluded that the smelting remains are that of iron production (Inanishvili 2007; Tavadze *et al.* 1984)

Unfortunately, most of the chemical analysis do not report copper and zinc contents, and the few published photomicrographs are difficult to interpret. It is possible that some of the earliest smelting remains found were indeed those relating to the manufacture of iron and that this led to the assumption that all the sites found related to the manufacture of iron although (as our present survey has shown) this clearly was not the case and many of the smelting sites across the region related to early copper making although the slags (and presumably the ores) were also rich in iron (Erb-Satullo *et al.*, 2014). This may have caused the confusion. A follow-up analytical programme on the smelting related debris on the sites seems to have been planned but unfortunately (mainly) not carried out as this should have shown the full scope of the prehistoric smelting industries across this eastern Black Sea region in the Colchian period.

Research work from elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean region has suggested that, although smelted iron sometimes occurs in archaeological contexts before or during the mid 2nd millennium BC, it doesn't seem to occur on anything like a larger scale before the late 2nd millennium BC or later (Waldbaum 1999). Thus while there was no particular reason to doubt the overall dating results from the early survey work in western Georgia, the very early dates (see above) for a series of sites in Guria (in the area north-east of Ozurgeti, and south of the Supsa River) were surprising, at least for a series of iron smelting furnaces. However in the (1987) publication the likelihood that iron smelting in this region actually developed from copper smelting was suggested, but no definitive analytical research was carried to see if there was a link between this possibility and the actual smelting debris from the sites excavated here.

In this way the results of the early survey work not only demonstrated that the industry was very widespread along the hilly inland part of the

Black Sea coastal region of western Georgia, but also that it appeared to have been active, in the Supsa-Gubazeuli region at least, between about the mid second millennium and the mid first millennium BC. This is just the period when a transitional copper to iron smelting industry might be expected to be operating and developing. For this reason the main cluster of smelting sites reported in the area of the Supsa-Gubazeuli river zone was selected for the initial pilot season of exploratory fieldwork in the autumn of 2010, to be carried out by a joint UK (University of Oxford, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art) and Georgian (Batumi University and Archaeological Museum) team, and was made possible by a British Academy 'small' grant.

The new joint Georgian-British field project to examine this still little known but unusually extensive industry – at least in its survival from ancient times – was begun in September 2010.

Its main aim is to build on the earlier pioneering archaeological survey work carried out across western Georgia, and to test and develop methods of locating, exploring and investigating the potentially large database of sites using a systematic combination of field survey techniques, limited 'pin-point' excavation, scientific identification and dating. Leading on from this the overall objective is to examine the evidence for the revolutionary transitional phase in the late Bronze Age when the manufacture and exploitation of iron developed into a large industry but a transition for which the field evidence is largely lacking.

The first field season was based in Guria with the overall aim of locating, mapping, examining recovering identifiable field evidence from the industry in the Supsa-Gubazeuli region where the earliest dates were previously obtained (Fig. 3). As elsewhere in Western Georgia only a small proportion of the sites were previously examined in any kind of detail and an analytical appraisal of the more detailed nature and development of the industry had also been left for future work. The intention was also to look at how we might identify and explore the exploitation of the landscape and its development for this prehistoric industry. During this initial exploratory field season some 27 sites were found and mapped, and although most of these were sites observed in the original survey, some new sites were also noted.

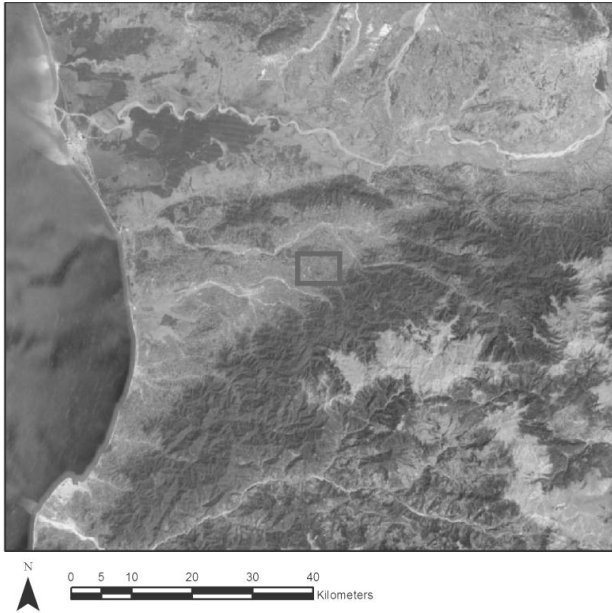


Fig. 3: Google earth view of the Guria region of western Georgia with the 2010 and 2012 field survey area outlined in red here and lying just south of the Supsa River. Note the position of the survey area in an intermediate zone between the Colchian lowlands and the Rioni river basin to the north, and the more mountainous regions of the Lesser Caucasus to the south.

In the summer of 2012 a second season of exploratory field survey work was carried out in this same Guria area with the aim of finishing the work started in 2010, and thus to enable a much more complete synthesis and evaluation of the surviving prehistoric smelting industry of this area to be made. A further 20 sites were located, thus giving about 50 sites in all for the Supsa River region – more or less the same overall number as in the original survey (Fig. 4). Most of the sites lay inside a 5 km square area within the districts of the modern villages of Mziani, Askana, with some situated in the adjacent village districts of Mishvidaubari and Nagomari. However not all the original sites were located and this was balanced by the discovery of about 10 new ones. This second season of investigative work in Guria was made possible by an exploratory grant from National Geographic.

2010 and 2012 Guria Field Survey Results

Those areas where the smelting sites had been located lay inland – from the generally (still marshy) low lying area in the central part of the Georgian Black Sea coast – in the hilly zone between the various rivers which flowed westwards into the sea. It has previously been pointed out that the sub-soil of these hills consisted of lateritic deposits overlain by yellow clay (of diluvial or flood origin), relatively rich in magnetite grains which gradually get washed into the rivers and ultimately find their way to the shore of the Black Sea, this coast of which has long been known for its magnetite-rich sandy deposits. The main concentration of sites had been noted in the middle region of the Supsa River, mainly in or near the valley of its main tributary, the Gubazeuli River (Khakhutaishvili 2009 [1987], 53).

Little or no trace was still visible of most of the Guria smelting sites although it proved possible to locate many of them using a combination of the original notes as to their whereabouts together with local knowledge where this still existed. Thus our first task was to use the original notes as to the location of the sites and plot the approximate positions of the sites on the relevant part of a copy of one of the old (1:50,000) military maps before we set out to look for them.

To allow the best use of survey time the base for the project was established at Mziani, near the centre of the five km square area (see Fig. 4) where, from the sketch maps accompanying the description of this area in the 1987 publication summarising the work here, nearly all the reputed sites were thought to cluster. The first survey priority then was to list, identify and plot the approximate position of as many as possible of all smelting sites previously noted in the study area but not so far recorded on any map. As far as possible this was done by close examination of the original field notes (compiled when sites in the Supsa-Gubazeuli region of western Georgia were first investigated during the 1970's and early 1980's) together with what local knowledge was still available. The approximate positions of the 50 smelting sites which had been observed previously were thus plotted, the next task being to start to hunt for them on the ground so that they could be plotted more accurately (by GPS and marked on a 1:25,000 specially prepared base map adapted from the relevant 1:50,000 soviet military map of this area).

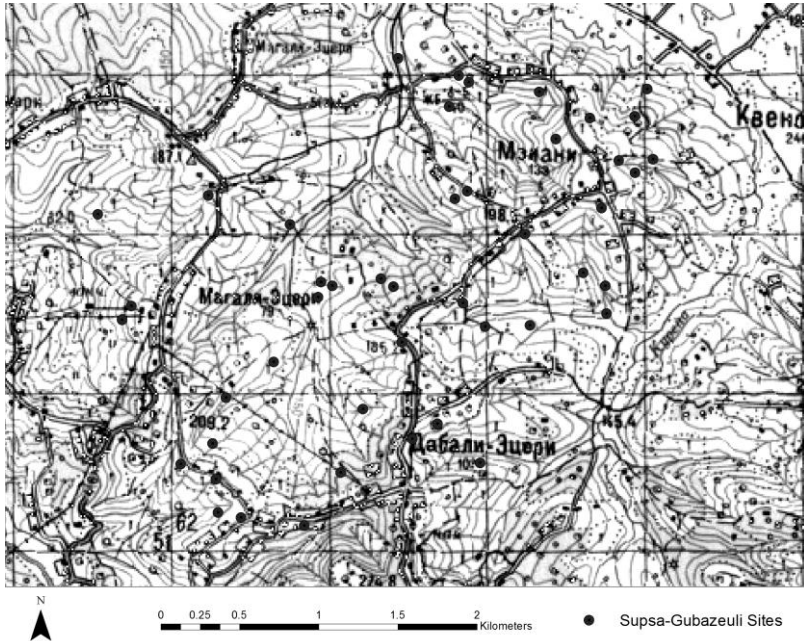


Fig. 4: Larger scale view of the 2010/2012 Survey area overlaid onto the 1:50,000 Soviet military map of this area (enlarged to 1:25,000 for ease of use during the survey)

It soon became clear that the vast majority if not all the sites previously noted lay in the (quite large) areas exploited for tea plantations – or smaller scale agricultural operations (such as hazelnut growing) – during the era of the Soviet collective farm system which had been imposed on quite a large proportion of the landscape in this region by the late 1950's. Additional exploration was also carried out in areas (mainly woodland) to begin to assess the potential for the discovery of previously unknown metal smelting or related sites. Some sites which were suspected (from previous work) from previous observations were now difficult to locate but in some of these cases they were found by using a magnetic susceptibility probe in a 'free-form' exploratory mode. Prehistoric sites like these are now often invisible, hidden beneath modern landscape features, agriculture, woodland and so on. The potential for locating industrial and habitation sites by measuring the magnetic component of

the topsoil tends to be overlooked by archaeologists, but is particularly effective in the case of smelting sites.

In these areas south of the Supsa River the very overgrown nature of the old tea plantations occupying much of this landscape meant that this approach had to be applied in a more targeted way to areas where geophysics was more feasible (that is where the ground was less overgrown) and where traces of slag scatters indicated the presence of sites in particular vicinities. One area of former tea plantation – where the presence of one or more now disappeared sites could only roughly be estimated from previous notes – was selected for more detailed field survey using topsoil magnetic susceptibility to locate the sites, followed by gradiometry (magnetometry) to look at their layout and select specific targets suitable for examination by excavation.

This sequential (in this case bigger to smaller scale) method of archaeological geophysical survey was aimed specifically at this area as it was known to be an ancient smelting landscape which should respond very well to this approach where we were aiming to take a systematic approach to finding, mapping and investigating these sites in more detail. This approach yielded good results and enabled the extents of (largely invisible) slag scatters to be mapped and the central positions of furnaces to be pin-pointed to within about 25 cm. Limited 'key-hole' excavation was then carried out to test the results of the geophysical survey and to confirm the identifications of furnaces, slag heaps and the like, and to look in more detail at the survival and recover evidence as to their nature, use, layout and development. Stratified remains were recorded and samples taken for scientific analytical identification and dating.

For the first stage in the geophysical survey the target area for magnetic susceptibility survey was laid out as 100 m grids with susceptibility measurements being taken at 10 m intervals. magnetic susceptibility used in this way is a measure of the content of magnetic (or magnetically active) particles – mostly the magnetic form of iron oxide, in the topsoil.



Fig. 5: View looking north-west across the abandoned tea plantations south-west of Mziani village. Site 5/Askana V was found to occupy the centre of the low hill in the middle distance, towards the left. The still visible site of Site 1/Askana I lay very close to the lower left side of the foreground as seen here.

The results from this magnetic susceptibility survey (in this case using a Bartington MS2 susceptibility meter) were then plotted so as to produce a magnetic susceptibility concentration or 'contour map' of each 100 m grid. Added together in this case these show the position, main focus and approximate extent of two smelting sites, one (Site 5/Askana V), possibly seen before but subsequently lost (Fig. 5), and the other (Site 1/Askana I), which was previously investigated and was partially still visible. In addition to these more obvious foci of activity a less strong area was noted about 150 m towards the south of the area mapped for magnetic susceptibility (Fig. 6).

Next in the geophysical part of the survey process was to carry out a gradiometry (magnetometry) survey over the (hot-spot) areas of highest topsoil magnetic susceptibility to plot the layout of these areas, mainly to reveal the extent of undisturbed slag dumps, positions of any surviving furnace(s) which lay beneath the (disturbed) topsoil. A single 30 m square

magnetometry grid was laid out over the main areas of slag concentration of Site5/AskanaV, the previously noted site which was no longer visible which lay in the central, northern part of the magnetic susceptibility survey area (Fig. 6).

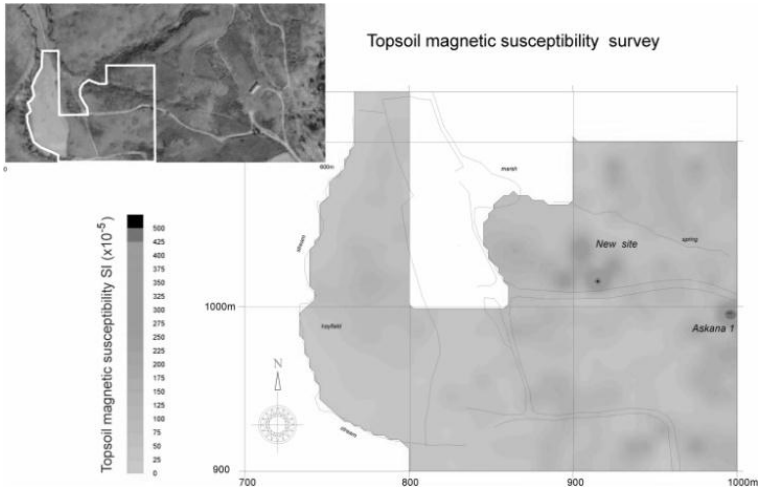


Fig. 6: Magnetic susceptibility contour map of the area to the north-west of the nearby village Mziani (but still mainly within the district of Askana) showing the areas of two smelting sites as concentrations of magnetically active particles in the topsoil (image courtesy AE Johnson)

A third grid was also laid out over the part of the area to the south showing a lower, more diffuse magnetic susceptibility concentration, this area being slightly (?50 m or so) to the west of the area where a previously noted site (Site 6/Askana?) was thought to be. The overgrown nature of the undergrowth over all this area in any case meant that only limited magnetometry was possible and that precision in targeting this method of survey was important. However, the results of the magnetometry survey over the two target areas were both very informative and interesting, and at first slightly puzzling in the case of the most southern grid surveyed (Fig. 7a).

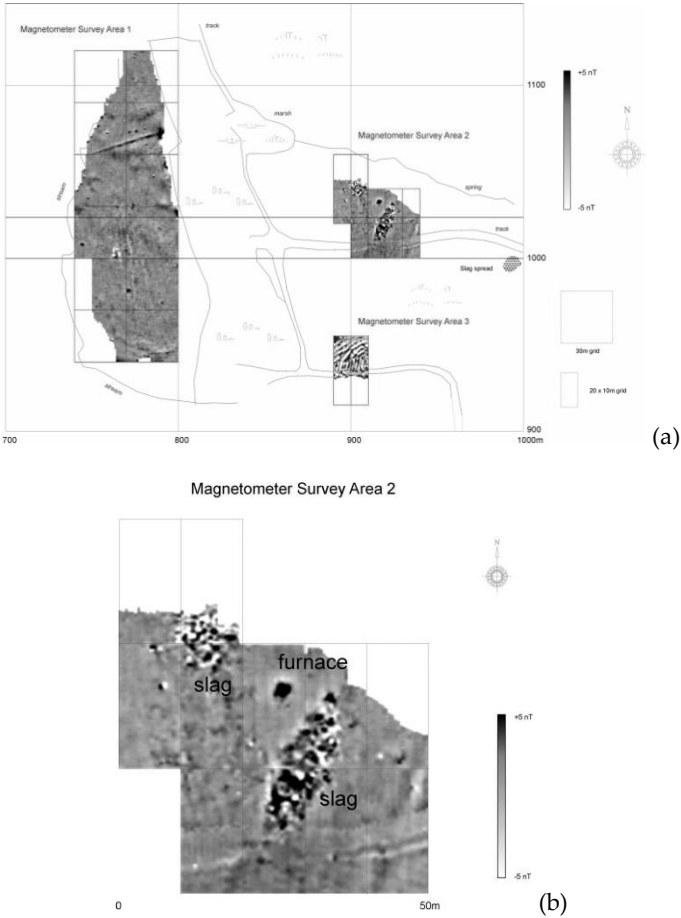


Fig. 7: Overall results of the magnetometry survey over the first three areas covered, showing (a) a relatively featureless (except for a modern land-drain) meadow to the west and two former iron smelting areas to the north-east (a and b) and south-east (b), the latter having been previously disturbed (images courtesy AE Johnson).

The magnetometry results were all instructive (Fig. 7). It would appear that the flat and relatively low lying field on one side of this first study area (the paler area in the aerial view in Fig. 5) has long been used for agriculture, it being relatively featureless except for a relatively modern land-

drain running across it near the northern end (Fig. 7, Area 1). This was suspected to be the case from the relatively even, low magnetic susceptibility results for this area. The north-eastern magnetometry grids were centred on the area of high susceptibility here (see Fig. 6) which was found to consist of two distinct slag scatters on either side of a furnace (Fig. 7, Area 2).

The third set of magnetometry grids was centred over a more diffuse and less intense area to the south east of the area measured for magnetic susceptibility. Interestingly the magnetometry results here gave a distinctively stripy pattern (Fig. 6a). This area was also found to be just down hill (to the west of) a deep erosion gully and careful inspection of the surface showed a wide scatter of slag but no central focus. What would seem to have happened here is that an original site situated 50m or so to the east has been eroded/washed away – probably by the heavy rains typical of the region – the slag having been re-deposited over the lower lying land downhill to the west. Subsequently this land has been ploughed, perhaps before planting of the tea bushes here, this operation having been responsible for the stripy effect on the magnetically rich topsoil here.

A similar geophysical survey was carried out in an area of land, now used as a hazelnut plantation, approx 1km north-east of the first study area. The hazelnut plantation has only been established within the past 5-10 years in an area which was formerly part of one the Soviet collective farm tea plantations. Before planting the hazelnut bushes the land was heavily ploughed, an operation which has scattered disturbed and scattered the slag dumps associated with two new prehistoric smelting sites – Site 45/Askana XXVI and Site 46/Askana XXVII – neither of which was previously noted by David Khakhutaishvili during his investigations in this area in the 1970's and 1980's.

Both sites had been heavily disturbed by recent ploughing but were investigated in 2012 using the same combination of geophysical techniques – topsoil magnetic susceptibility and magnetometry (gradiometry) plus some key-hole excavation to assess the survival of furnace remains and gather dating evidence for these, as well as to collect samples of waste remains (slag, etc.) from both sites. It was clear that the most eastern of these two sites (Site 45) had been quite heavily eroded probably well before the recent ploughing and that this ploughing had caused further damage.

Identification, Analysis and Dating of Field Remains and Waste Residues

Most of the waste debris collected during the two seasons of work fell into two main categories; firstly slag, the wholly or partially fused stone-like by-product of the metal production at these smelting sites, and secondly sherd-like pieces of very coarse ceramic-like material which have been tentatively interpreted either as a very rough or coarse form of crucible – relating to a two-stage smelting process – although some of it may also represent furnace lining.

Overall it is clear from initial (XRF and SEM) analytical work that most if not all the sites encountered were used for copper smelting, although, as is typical of copper smelting slags, iron formed a high proportion of much of the surviving slaggy waste encountered (Erb-Satullo et al., 2014). This may to some extent have misled the earlier researchers looking at this material. More unexpected was the large proportion of zinc in the slaggy residues recovered from some of the sites investigated although this and the high incidence of iron simply reflects the polymetallic (copper, iron and zinc rich) nature of the ores known to exist in this region. Zinc being present in the slag from some sites but not others, suggested that different ore bodies – with a greater or lesser presence of zinc (Erb-Satullo et al., 2014, 153-156). Results from the earlier survey and excavation work, together with the more detailed recent work has shown the multiple use of furnaces which essentially consist of shafts sunk up to about 1.2 m into the clayey subsoil of the lower hilly part of this region, these sunken shaft furnaces being supplied from above by an air blast via multi-part tuyère tubes.

It was clear that the slag was of two distinct types, the first of which was highly inhomogeneous, relatively dense, but still quite porous with many small gas bubble holes. This contrasted with the second form of slag which was homogeneous, very dense and heavy and either contained or bore the impressions of large gas bubbles. On most of the sites seen during 2010 and 2012 both these forms of slag tended to occur together on the waste tips encountered with some sites having more of one type than the other but overall the two forms of slag had become quite mixed although originally they may have been dumped separately, sometimes they may have begun as separate slag dumps which later became merged.

This is the strong indication from our more detailed study of Site 5/Askana V where two slag dumps showed up on the magnetometry, one

on either side of the central furnace (Fig. 7b). Here the more complete dump to the south-west of the furnace was found to consist almost entirely of the very inhomogeneous, more porous slag which had evidently come out of the furnace during its use and some of which, together with other mixed burnt debris, had been dumped back into the furnace when it went out of use. By contrast, the slag scatter to the north-east of the central furnace consisted almost entirely of the homogeneous, very dense form of slag. Unfortunately this slag tip was much less well preserved and much of it seems to have been lost to erosion down the steep gully to the north.

When both forms of slag are freshly broken open the occasional greenish patch can be seen, showing these slags to be the waste remnants of an early copper smelting process. Much of the slag from various sites has been subjected to routine X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis (using a portable Bruker device) which shows, as expected for copper smelting, the presence of a relatively small proportion of copper and a much larger proportion of iron which is also evident from the rusty appearance of some of the slag.

Initial chemical and micro-structural analysis strongly suggests that the main ore source used was a chalcopyrite ore, possibly with some weathering (Erb-Satullo et al., 2014, 155-156) The copper present in the ore will reduce preferentially to metal at the final stage of smelting leaving the iron to combine with the rocky component of the ore to form slag. This process may have been done in two if not three stages in all. Firstly the ore will need to be partially oxidised so as to make it more friable or powdery – to allow the reducing gases of the smelting reactions to penetrate the ore – and to remove some of the sulphur present. Smelting may then have been a two-stage reduction process starting with the production of a solid mass of copper sulphide ‘matte’ which was then further reduced to form ingots of copper metal, with slag forming as the waste by-product. The possible way in which the reduction processes may have worked in this copper smelting industry is discussed in much more detail in a separate paper (Erb-Satullo et al., 2014).

Charcoal from stratified contexts – mostly from the dumps of burnt slaggy waste – was recovered for accelerator radiocarbon dating from as many sites as possible although it has so far only been possible to submit a relatively small proportion for dating this way.

Discussion and Conclusions: Results so Far and Future Directions

At present we are awaiting the results from 10 radiocarbon dating samples and we have only received the preliminary results from the few OSL dating samples submitted although these do suggest that the smelting at Site 5/AskanaV, the first smelting site subjected to more detailed study during this survey, was operating in the earlier half of the first millennium BC. This is in very broad agreement with the archaeo-magnetic date of 1092 \pm 100 BC obtained by David Khakhutaishvili for the nearby Site 1/Askana 1 which lay on the same hill some 100 m to the south-west, although the radiocarbon determinations for Site 5 should make this clearer.

As yet there seems no reason to doubt the overall reliability and general accuracy of David Khakhutaishvili's (radiocarbon and archaeo-magnetic) dating of the sites he investigated in the Guria region although we now know that these relate to a prehistoric copper smelting industry which in this area appears to have been operating from about the mid 2nd to the mid 1st millennium BC although it may have begun earlier and ended later.

It is still a puzzle as to why the earlier unfinished work on this region concluded that all the sites related to ironworking when, during our study of these sites, it soon became clear that they were associated with prehistoric metal copper smelting. It is possible the sites studied earlier on in the Choga village area of Samegrelo (Khakhutaishvili 1987/2009) did relate to iron smelting – although this has yet to be determined. If so the very high iron content of some of the Guria copper smelting slags, together with the close similarity of some (but not very much) of the Guria slags to the type of tap-slag associated with iron smelting sites, may have misled the earlier researchers. Our study of the Guria slags suggests that the very high iron content of these slags is partly the result of the smelting of chalcopyrite (mixed copper and iron sulphide) ores with a relatively high iron content, plus the addition of iron rich sand – perhaps more likely derived from local sandstone rather than iron sands from the Black Sea coast – as a flux to improve the copper yield, given that copper reduces preferentially to iron.

It seems most likely that by the first millennium BC copper smelting and iron smelting had already become separate specialised disciplines and would have been carried out in separate areas, where the combination of

available ores, fuel in the form of charcoal – for both heat and reducing the ores – were readily available. We have a long way still to go before we understand how these prehistoric industries formed part of a system of landscape management and exploitation in the area (in this case the Supsa river region of Guria) under consideration here although this is one of the main overall questions for the present project.

The detailed mapping, recording, topographical contexts and descriptions of the sites are now mostly complete for our study area in the Supsa-Gubazeuli River region of Guria, although what is still needed is further detailed work in the form of the detailed geophysical study and archaeological excavation of one or more specific sites (or groups of sites) before we can assemble enough evidence or information to reconstruct exactly how this particular prehistoric smelting industry worked, from the exploitation and preparation of the ores through to the production of the metal itself.

We are awaiting the results of the first set of dating results but we anticipate that many more will be required before we can get a more reliable idea of the chronology and longevity of this industry, as well as understanding how long each site may have remained in operation. Linked to this, we have yet to try and work out to what extent the smelting operations moved about or stayed in one place. We presume that the landscape at the time was much more wooded than it is now, and it seems likely that the woodland landscape would have been managed, or at least exploited, quite carefully to allow for the regeneration of the fuel source, much as has recently been realised for early smelting industries elsewhere (as in the UK for the Roman and later iron industry of the Weald; see Rackham 1986). If resources and time allow, we would like study the landscape here further – perhaps with the aid of techniques such as pollen analysis – to understand better how it was managed in various ways.

We do not know for instance whether or not the prehistoric Guria copper smelting industry was carried out as a seasonal activity by local inhabitants who were also farmers, or local crafts people of various kinds. The seemingly relatively small scale of the smelting operations here and their apparent longevity and lack of change (although this has yet to be fully determined by more detailed analytical study) might argue for this industry being a long term (ie one lasting a thousand years or more) seasonal activity. However, this said, the industry may also have been the main source of income for the people who operated it since the copper

seems most likely to have been made for use elsewhere, at the very least by the local or regional elite centres. Aspects such as this, as well as the linking of the industry studied here, to the copper based objects found elsewhere in western Georgia.

A key question which we are working towards is how, when and where the smelting of copper in western Georgia may have led, or given way to the smelting of iron. The late 2nd and early 1st millennium BC – that is our period of interest – is the period where we might expect to see evidence for the transition from copper to iron as the main (elite?) metal in this wider region, and this is exactly what we do see in the form of skeuomorphic objects (in this case those made of iron which mimic the forms which are suited to the making of copper based objects, but are made of iron) often found together accompanying burials or in votive hoards.

We need to link the industries we are studying to (eventual) products of these industries. In the case of bronze objects we also need to at least be able to suggest where the copper might have been alloyed with tin, as well as where the tin might have come from, and where the objects might have been made, and if processes such as recycling may have been an issue. In the case of iron artefacts, again we need to work out where the metal was being smelted, and what degree of specialisation there was on these smelting sites, as opposed to the smithing or artefact production operations carried out elsewhere. In the case of iron these considerations do not appear to relate to any of the Guria sites, although we have to be aware that this may be a possibility not far away. There may be areas of prehistoric iron smelting in Guria that have not yet been identified but are waiting to be found. In much the same way we have begun to study a small region in the mountainous region of southern Adjara, east of the town of Keda, near the border with Turkey, and we have found that this was exploited for iron smelting (although we are again waiting for the results of radiocarbon dating), although copper deposits have been elsewhere in this mountainous region (Ghambashidze 1919).

There are many issues relating both to the prehistoric Guria copper smelting industry that still need addressing, and these form part of our ongoing research in this area, but we are also beginning to study both the other areas looked at by David Khakhutaishvili during his long campaign of work between the 1960's and 1980's, as well as looking at new areas

with the aim of putting together a more cohesive picture of this giant jigsaw puzzle.

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Abstract

The work describes archeological finds unearthed and studied during a 4 year joint Georgian and British expedition (2010-2012) on the territory of south-western Georgia.

The study of early ironware is admitted to be among the most challenging areas of historical sciences. Broad scholarly interest in it is associated with the significant role of iron in early communities.

The early use of iron has been confirmed in many advanced states of the Ancient East, but iron mining and processing (early groups of iron smelting

workshops) has not so far been attested in these areas – at least to the extent to meet the local demand.

The situation is different on the territory of western Georgia (historical Colchis), where Georgian specialists have discovered and studied a significant number of large-scale mining and metallurgical centers in the last 60 years. Recent findings add more evidence to the opinion that the eastern and south-eastern Black Sea area (historical Colchis) was the important region that produced ancient ironware.

However, part of researchers question the early date of iron smelting workshops found in western Georgia (radiocarbon and archaeomagnetic dating). More specifically, they question the geophysical examination results of the 1970s-90s.

The joint Georgian-British expedition aimed to specify the date of early iron production in Colchis, which required the application of up-to-date technological methods. In this, we were closely aided by our foreign partners. Besides, earlier findings were described with the help of modern equipment and were mapped. The works also allowed us to observe the transition from iron production to bronze production to make relevant conclusions in the future.

Marine Giorgadze (Batumi)

On the Structure of Apologetic Works

The encounter of Greek culture and Christian faith – these two world vision and two different systems of values – was the most significant phenomenon at the beginning of the Christian era. Despite the expressed antagonism and confrontation, the heredity factor is eminent in antique as well as Judaic traditions (*Acts of Apostles*, 17, 28).

The main aspects of apologetics – defense, polemics, propaganda – were not strange for either Hellenic or Judaic traditions (Josephus Flavius – *Contre Apion*, Philo of Alexandria – *Hypothetica* – *Apologie pour la defense des juifs*) (1: 2). Scholars talk on Judaic prototypes of Greek apologies.

Indeed, some common themes can be singled out, of which three are the most important: anti-polytheistic and anti-idolatrous polemics – in respond to the accusation of atheism; rendition and praise of Christian moral and critique of pagan customs and traditions – in respond to incest and hatred towards mankind; in respond to the accusation of novelty – call for examples from antiquity.

Atheism/monotheism and anti-polytheistic criticism: elaboration of these themes is particularly found with Justin and Athenagoras as well as with Ad Diognetum, Theophilus and Tatiane. Apologists deny accusation of atheism and claim that they believe in God the Creator, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Criticism of paganism – sacrificing, idolatry, animal cult, worship of elements. Athinagoras offers a kind of anthology where he brings evidences from Euripides, Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle and Pythagoreans that God is one (*Suppl.*, 5-7). It can be compared to the Judaic tra-

dition, Josephus Flavius's pagan philosophers – Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoics – who also had the concept of one and the only God or, as Aristide expressed, "The truth about God".

Aristides divides the mankind into three races, the worshippers of many gods (barbarians, the Greeks), the Jews and the Christians. Barbarians comprise Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Greeks. Such hierarchy finds parallels in Judaic (Philo of Alexandria) as well as *New Testament* (*Predication de Pierre: Pagans, Jews, Christians*) traditions. Such hierarchy is met with other apologists of 2nd century too: Justine (9,1-5; 21; 24,1), Tatiane (*Or.*, 4;8-11;21), Athenagoras (*Suppl.*, 1; 14,1;14,2; 15; 16; 17; 22), A Letter to Diognetus (2,17; 8); Theophilus (*Ad Autol.*, 1,9; 1,10; 3-20; 1-2;21-22; 27-28).

Judaic-Hellenistic literature made a significant impact on apologetic literature: the polemic arsenal, language, vocabulary, argumentation, themes. It also played "the role of a mediator" (1: 40). The influence of St Paul's epistles is also noteworthy (3: 2).

Justine – "Our Teachings" (II Apol., 47; Dial. 8, 1); Tatiane "Our Barbaric Philosophy" (*Or.*, 55, 31-32-33); Melito of Sardis – "Philosophy that is Ours" (Apud Eusebe, HE IV, 36,7).

According to the Church Tradition, the apologists develop the Christian theology at the dawn of Christianity and defend the Christian doctrine in the epoch when it was in utmost need of defense in the hostile surroundings. Among the circle of these Christian intellectuals of 2nd century there are the names of Aristides of Athens, Justine, Tatiane, Athenagoras, Theophilus, anonymous author of "A Letter to Diognetus", also Melito of Sardis and certain fragments of Quadratus.

Their addressees are different – sovereigns, pagan society, the Jews. Namely, Aristides addresses Hadrian (125), Justine and Tatiane – Antonius Pius (155) and Marcus Aurelius (175-180), Athenagoras and Theophilus – pagans and Jews. In all these cases they defend "their philosophy" and confront *ad externos*, hence, great number of pagan and Judaic themes in the works of the apologists.

The Church tradition of unification of the apologist writers in one group is connected to the name of Aretha, Archbishop of Caesarea. He was the first to collect apologetic works in his Code (914) as a work of one particular "genre" (*le Codex Apologetarum, Parisinus gr. 451*) (Pouderon

2005: 15) together with their authors: pseudo-Justine, Tatiane, Athenagoras, some works of Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea.

When Eusebius of Caesarea talks about apologists and apologies (Apologia, apologeisthai), he means Quadratus, Aristide (HE 4,3), Justine (HE 4,8,3; 4,11,11-12; 4,18,2), Melito of Sardis and Apoliner (HE 4,26,1) and did not ascribe either Tatiane's or Theophilus' works to this genre which he was well aware of.

The attempt of Frederic Morelli is very interesting. In 1615 he collected into one edition the famous apologetic works known to that time *Sancti Iustini Opera Omnia* – namely, the works of Justine, Tatiane, Athenagoras, Theophilus and Hermias. The main criterion was the unity of genre and chronology. However, he does not use the term apologetics. It was J. C. Th. von Otto who first used *Corpus apologetarum* to describe the unity of these works. The majority of scholars agree to this list which was later updated with the apology of Aristide as well as other authors and works (pseudo-Sextus) (3: 16).

The main goal of the intellectual dialogue of the apologists was self-manifestation and self-identification (5: 11) for the birth of a new religion in I-II centuries passes against the background of the so called *saeculi silentium*. However, against the background of some tortures in the epochs of Nero and Domitian, Eusebius of Caesarea talks about the persecution of Christian from Traianus to Commodus (HE 3; 4; 5); in general, the Roman Empire “did not” or “could not” notice the Christian movement. Tacitus, Suetonius, Lucian, Aelius Aristides, Apuleius, Epictetus, Gallienus, Marcus Aurelius scantily talk about them and their “new and suspicious” faith (Sueton., *Vit. Ner.*, 16).

The situation partially changed by polemic debates of Fronton and Celsus against the Christians which came down to us only in fragments (*Fronton apud Municius Felix, Octavius; Celse apud Origene, Contra Celsus*). In these debates political, ideological and identity confrontations were revealed. Apologetic literature is the respond to these confrontations (3: 18).

These accusations sounded like these more precisely: ritual anthropophagy, incest, disbelief – “atheism”.

The responses of the apologists or the first Christian intellectuals to these accusations determine the structure, genre peculiarities, language, vocabulary, style and intonation of apologetic texts. The dialogue de-

velops Christian theology and at the same time forms a new literary genre (6: 220-222).

Problem, model and structure of the literary genre: it is different from the form viewpoint: speech-address, dialogue, letter-epistle. The contents preconditioned by the purpose of the texts are more important than the form: address towards sovereigns or pagan community, defense of Christian community by declaration of their faith as a doctrine or a practice; mockery of vanity and amorality of opposed faith; strengthening of Christians in faith and their values by interpretation of doctrines.

Addressee: high sovereign, emperor, senate; an influential personality, crowded community. It is often a fiction; the main target is a pagan community.

Genre model: here we can talk about longtime Antique tradition (address, dialogue, letter) that has Hellenic as well as Judaic sources (3: 56). From the Hellenic sources, first of all, Socrates' two apologies come to mind (of Xenophanes and Plato); also, the so called *pro gente* mentioned by Josef Flavius (Beroz's In Defense of the Chaldeans, against the Greeks and Manetos's – in Defence of the Egyptians, against the Jews, C. Ap. 1,29,142; 1,14,73); here we should mention the so called Ambassador speeches (*presbeutikos logos*), eulogistic words (*protreptikos logos*), petition-requests (*prospheuesis, enteuxisi, axiosis, biblidioni*) (Justin, I Apol., 1,1; 2 Apol., 2,8; I Apol., 68,7).

Among the Judaic sources we can mention Philo of Alexandria's Apology of the Jews as well as *Adversus Flaccum, Legatio ad Caium* (Athenagoras); also, Josef Flavius' *Contre Apion* in which we already have the mixture of apology and polemics.

These were the sources from which the apologists borrowed the form of apologies as well as the argumentation (against polytheism, as well as other moral, political and cultural arguments (3: 58).

Common themes: Rejection of atheism (*atheotes*) and rendering of the own God (*usia*) that is similar to the god of philosophers but opposite to the demons (*daimones*) of the pagans.

Moral priority: contrary to the ritual anthropophagy, incest, atheism and hatred of mankind, a Christian is depicted as a "merciful man".

Christianity as philosophy: the first apologists were called philosophers (Aristide, Justine, Athenagoras). They placed their doctrine on God

in the sphere of mind and logic and thus they contradict to the pagans' irrational gods.

Propaganda: innocence, miracles, prophecies.

Polemics: against paganism, in consideration of poetic tradition.

Theology of the apologists: apologetic texts are neither theological nor dogmatic works but nonetheless, they depict and explain Christian doctrine, 2nd century dogmas, that are very important. They are characterized by depicting God in philosophical terms (uncreated, unperceived, inaccessible, etc.).

Despite the similarity of topics, there are notable differences in the works as well, especially in terms of narrative style (preaching, suggesting, philosophizing, polemics).

Considering all the above said, it is logical to consider as classical apologetic texts (classics of the genre) those works (and authors) where the following structural model is preserved:

Addressees (to sovereigns, pagan society, the Jews); Criticism of paganism (anti-polytheistic and anti-idolatrous polemics;) Jewish faith; Transference of the Christian faith:

Autors Motives	Addressees	Criticism of Paganism	Jewish Fath	Transference of the Christian Faith
Aristides: <i>Apologia</i>	Chap. 1-2	Chap. 3-13	Chap. 14	Chap.15-16
Athenagoras: <i>Legatio</i>	Chap. 1-3	Chap. 13-30		Chap. 4-12;
Justin:Apologia I and <i>Apologia</i> II	I,Chap. 1-3; II,Chap. 1	I,Chap. 4-12; II,Chap. 3-9;		I,Chap. 13-67; II,Chap. 10-16
Tatiane: <i>Oratio</i>	Chap. 1	Chap. 1-3; 8-22	Chap. 31; 36-41	Chap. 4-7; 22-30; 32-35
Theophilus: <i>Ad Autilocum</i> (I,II,III)	I,1	II, 2-8; III, 2-8, 15, 17-18	III, 20-29	I, 3-13; II, 9-36;
Anonymous: <i>Ad Diognetum</i>		2	3-4	5-9

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Abstract

The encounter of Greek culture and Christian faith was the most significant phenomenon at the beginning of the Christian era. The main aspects of apologetics – defense, polemics, propaganda – were not strange for either Hellenic or Judaic traditions. Indeed, some common themes can be singled out, of which three are the most important: anti-polytheistic and anti-idolatrous polemics – in respond to the accusation of atheism; rendition and praise of Christian moral and critique of pagan customs and traditions – in respond to incest and hatred towards mankind; in respond to the accusation of novelty – call for examples from antiquity.

The responses of the apologists or the first Christian intellectuals to these accusations determine the structure, genre peculiarities, language, vocabulary, style and intonation of apologetic texts. The dialogue develops Christian theology and at the same time forms a new literary genre.

It is logical to consider as classical apologetic texts (classics of the genre) those works (and authors) where the following structural model is preserved:

Addressees (to sovereigns, pagan society, the Jews); Criticism of paganism (anti-polytheistic and anti-idolatrous polemics;) Jewish faith; Transference of the Christian faith.

Maka Kamushadze (Tbilisi)

Υπερρεαλισμός και αρχαιότητα

Από τα πολυάριθμα λογοτεχνικά κινήματα τα οποία γεννήθηκαν στην Ευρωπαϊκή λογοτεχνία στις αρχές του εικοστού αιώνα, στην Ελλάδα διαδόθηκε μόνο ο υπερρεαλισμός. Την εποχή που στην Ευρώπη με την τεχνική πρόοδο δημιουργούνταν κινήματα όπως ο ντανταϊσμός, φουτουρισμός, κυβισμός και άλλα, στην Ελλάδα πολλά προβλήματα (πολιτικά, οικονομικά κλπ.) έμεναν ακόμα άλυτα. Ποιος ήταν ο λόγος για τον οποίο ο υπερρεαλισμός έγινε τόσο δημοφιλής στην ελληνική λογοτεχνία; Και γιατί συνδέθηκαν με αυτό το κίνημα οι πιο διάσημοι Έλληνες ποιητές εκείνης της εποχής; Κατά τη γνώμη μου η απάντηση είναι η εξής: στην περίπτωση της Ελλάδας συνέπεσαν πολλές αιτίες οι οποίες δημιούργησαν κατάλληλο έδαφος για τη διάδοση του υπερρεαλισμού: 1. Στην ελληνική λογοτεχνία είχε ωριμάσει συνθήκη η οποία ζητούσε μια καινούργια τέχνη με διαφορετικές αρχές. 2. Την εισαγωγή του υπερρεαλισμού την προσδιόρισε το γεγονός ότι στη δεκαετία του '30 μεταξύ των πρωτοποριακών κινήματων ο υπερρεαλισμός θεωρούταν ένα από τα καινούρια και πιο δημοφιλή κινήματα στον κόσμο. Για αυτό το κίνημα ενδιαφέρθηκαν οι νέοι Έλληνες λογοτέχνες στο Παρίσι. 3. Μια ακόμα συνθήκη που προκάλεσε τη διάδοση του υπερρεαλισμού στην Ελλάδα, ήταν η σχέση των Ελλήνων υπερρεαλιστών με την αρχαιότητα.

Όταν μιλάμε για τη σχέση του υπερρεαλισμού με την αρχαία παράδοση εννοούμε ότι υπάρχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον προς το ασυνείδητο. Αν οι απόψεις και οι αρχές των υπερρεαλιστών τροφοδοτούνταν με τις θεωρίες του Φρόιντ και των οπαδών του, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι

ο ίδιος ο Φρόιντ αρκετά συχνά στρέφεται στην Αρχαιότητα. Είναι γνωστές οι εκδοχές των ελληνικών μύθων και η καλλιτεχνική ερμηνεία τους από τον Φρόιντ και τους οπαδούς του. Από τους αρχαίους πολιτισμούς ο ελληνικός ξεχωρίζει για τη πολύπλευρη στάση του προς το υποσυνείδητο. Πρώτον το υποσυνείδητο εκδηλώνεται στην καλλιτεχνική δημιουργία των αρχαίων ελλήνων, δεύτερον, πρώτη φορά στην αρχαιότητα παρατηρείται το ενδιαφέρον προς τη θεωρία και μελέτη του υποσυνείδητου. Αντίστοιχα αυτό που δέχτηκε ο ελληνικός πολιτισμός από τους άλλους αρχαίους πολιτισμούς το επεξεργάστηκε όχι μόνο στο καλλιτεχνικό επίπεδο αλλά το μελέτησε και το κατανόησε θεωρητικά.¹ Η αρχή της μυθοποιητικής σκέψης, η οποία κυριαρχούσε στον χώρο της διάδοσης του Μεσοποταμιακού και Αιγυπτιακού πολιτισμού, χαρακτηριζόταν με έντονη εκδήλωση του υποσυνείδητου. Όπως είναι γνωστό, η αρχή της μυθοποιητικής σκέψης, με την οποία απορρίπτεται η κριτικό-αναλυτική αντίληψη των πραγμάτων και γεγονότων, συμβάλλει στην κυριαρχία του υποσυνείδητου στη σκέψη της κοινωνίας. Αρκεί να δούμε τις θρησκευτικές παραστάσεις, τους μύθους, τις απεικονίσεις των θεών και ειδώλων της αρχαίας ανατολής και να έχουμε υπόψη μας, ότι στην πορεία δημιουργίας τους η λογική σκέψη έπαιζε ασημαντό ρόλο. Θα συμπεράνουμε τότε ότι η κυριαρχία της μυθοποιητικής αρχής προσδιόρισε στην σκέψη των ανθρώπων τα στοιχεία τα οποία δεν υπάκουαν στην λογική.

Πολλές απεικονίσεις των ειδώλων και θεών έχουν υπερρεαλιστικό χαρακτήρα. Όμως υπάρχει οριστική διαφορά μεταξύ τους. Στη μυθοποιητική σκέψη η βάση της κυριαρχίας του υποσυνείδητου και διαισθητικού είναι η ενεργητικότητα του ημισφαιρίου του εγκεφάλου μας με την οποία σχετίζεται η αρχή του παραλόγου και ψευδαίσθησης. Αντίστοιχα, στην καλλιτεχνική πορεία το υποσυνείδητο εκδηλώνεται οργανικά χωρίς θεωρητικές εξηγήσεις. Όσον αφορά τον υπερρεαλισμό το κίνημα δεν αποτελεί τον καρπό της μυθοποιητικής σκέψης. Οι οπαδοί αυτού του κινήματος βασίζονται σε ορισμένες θεωρητικές αρχές οι οποίες έχουν κοινά στοιχεία με τις επιστημονικές μελέτες του Φρόιντ και των θιασωτών του. Την δημιουργία τους τροφοδοτεί αυτό, που έχει οργανική σχέση με τη λογική δηλαδή τη θεωρία. Έτσι, όλη τη δημιουργία τους ορίζει ο έλεγχος της σκέψης, στον οποίο οι υπερρεα-

¹ Gordeziani R., Greek Civilization, Tbilisi 1988 (in Georgian).

Λιστές αντιστέκονται στην δημιουργία τους. Όμως η δημιουργία τους δίνει απεριόριστες δυνατότητες για την εκδήλωση του υποσυνειδήτου κάτι που είναι εμπνευσμένο από αυτό που είναι απολύτως συνειδητό. Για αυτό τον λόγο, όταν μιλάμε για τις σχέσεις με τους αρχαίους πολιτισμούς, πρώτα απ'όλα πρέπει να πάρουμε υπόψη μας τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό. Όπως είναι γνωστό στην ιστορία του αρχαίου κόσμου πρώτη φορά στον ελληνικό πολιτισμό μαζί με τη μυθολογική σκέψη εμφανίζεται η αρχή της κριτικό-αναλυτικής σκέψης. Από την ορισμένη περίοδο και οι δύο αρχές συνυπάρχουν, όμως η σημασία της αναλυτικής σκέψης μεγαλώνει. Γι' αυτό και δεν είναι παράξενο το γεγονός ότι στον ελληνικό πολιτισμό το υποσυνειδητό και συνειδητό αρκετά συχνά εκδηλώνονται όχι μόνο στην ίδια εποχή αλλά στο έργο ενός λογοτέχνη. Για να καταλάβουμε σε ποιες διαστάσεις υπήρχε αυτή η συμβίωση αρκεί να παρουσιάσουμε μερικούς τομείς της ελληνικής τέχνης από την αρχαϊκή εποχή και τις πορείες υποσυνειδήτου και συνειδητού που έγιναν παράλληλα. Στη θρησκεία – από τη μια πλευρά τακτοποιημένο Ολυμπιακό Πάνθεον και από την άλλη τα γνωστά ορφικά και διονυσιακά και μυστήρια της Ελευσίνας κ.λ. Στη λογοτεχνία, από τη μια πλευρά οι αρχές σαφήνειας και συστηματικότητας στη δημιουργία του Ομήρου και από την άλλη πλευρά τα ορφικά και οργιστικά ρεύματα. Στην τέχνη από την μια πλευρά ρεαλισμός του σχήματος και η επιδίωξη προς την αρμονία, προς την ωραία παρουσίαση των Θεών και των ανθρώπων και από την άλλη πλευρά ενδιαφέρον προς την παρουσίαση φανταστικών, ανύπαρκτων πραγμάτων και πλασμάτων. Από τη μια πλευρά η πίστη στις ανθρώπινες δυνατότητες και η δραστηριότητα στην πραγματική ζωή του από την άλλη πλευρά λατρεία σε αυτό που μας προσφέρει το στοιχείο του ονείρου. Όλα τα προαναφερόμενα έγιναν αντικείμενα ενδιαφέροντος στην κλασική εποχή.²

Δε θα μελετήσω εδώ όλη την ελληνική λογοτεχνία, θα περιοριστώ μόνο στο όνομα του Ευριπίδη, τον τραγικό ποιητή του 5^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ, για τον οποίο ήδη οι σύγχρονοί του είχαν τη γνώμη ότι είναι “Φιλόσοφος στη σκηνή” δηλαδή από άλλους τραγικούς διέφερε επειδή τον χαρακτήριζε λιγότερος ιρασιοναλισμός. Αρκεί να ριξουμε μια ματιά στις τραγωδίες του Ευριπίδη. Αμέσως θα παρατηρήσουμε το

² Dodds E. R., Οι Έλληνες και το Παράλογο, Αθήνα 1978.

ενδιαφέρον του συγγραφέα για το υποσυνείδητο. Ενδιαφέρεται για το πώς ξυπνάει μέσα στο αδύνατο πλάσμα το ηρωικό πνεύμα και η θέληση αυτοθυσίας. Τι προκαλεί την σταδιακή αγριότητα των ανθρώπων κι τι αποτέλεσμα μπορεί να έχει αυτό το γεγονός. Τι είναι η τρέλα και πώς μπορεί να καταστρέψει την ισορροπία μέσα στον ήρωα. Απ' αυτή την άποψη ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον έχει το έργο του "Βακχες". Εδώ σαφέστατα φαίνεται το πώς μπορούν να απομακρυνθούν οι δρόμοι του συνειδητού από το ασυνείδητο και τι καταστροφή μπορεί να προκαλέσει αυτός ο διχασμός. Τον αρχαίο ελληνικό πολιτισμό εμείς θεωρούμε ως σύμβολο της αρμονίας και σαφήνειας, αλλά δε πρέπει να ξεχνάμε ότι εδώ μαζί με τα έξοχα έργα μπορούμε να βρούμε έργα που έχουν πολλά κοινά στοιχεία με τον υπερρεαλισμό ή φουτουρισμό. Από την άποψη της επιστημονικής μελέτης του υποσυνειδητού ιδιαίτερα, μπορούμε να ξεχωρίσουμε τον Αίλιο Αριστειδή φιλόσοφο του 2ου μ.Χ αιώνα, ο οποίος έκανε πολύ ενδιαφέρουσες παρατηρήσεις για το φαινόμενο της ψυχικής διαταραχής και για το θέμα που εμείς σήμερα ονομάζουμε υποσυνείδητο.³

Όσον αφορά την επίδραση της αρχαιότητας στον ελληνικό υπερρεαλισμό, αυτό το θέμα αποτελεί αντικείμενο ολόκληρης μελέτης και ξεπερνάει τα όρια ενός άρθρου. Εδώ θα αναφέρω μόνο ότι οι έλληνες υπερρεαλιστές ιδιαίτερα ο Ελύτης και ο Εγγονόπουλος στη δημιουργία τους χρησιμοποιώντας τις υπερρεαλιστικές αρχές δίνουν μεγάλη σημασία στην αρχαιότητα. Ο Ελύτης, ένας από τους πιο σπουδαίους υπερρεαλιστές, ο οποίος σε κάποια σημεία βεβαία δε δεχόταν τις υπερρεαλιστικές μεθόδους, για παράδειγμα την αυτόματη γραφή, έλεγε ότι αισθάνεται εσωτερική συγγένεια με την ποίηση της Λέσβου. Και το έργο του είναι γεμάτο από τα αρχαία στοιχεία, ή ο Νίκος Εγγονόπουλος ο οποίος τόσο στη ζωγραφική του όσο και στη ποίηση έχει αφιερώσει πολλά έργα στη αρχαιότητα. Μπορούμε να ξεχωρίσουμε τρία επίπεδα το πώς εκδηλώνεται η αρχαιότητα στην ελληνική υπερρεαλιστική ποίηση: 1. Αναφορά του ονόματος, δηλαδή όταν ο ποιητής αναφέρει το όνομα ή το σύμβολο που σχετίζεται με την αρχαιότητα σε ορισμένα συμφρασμένα. 2. Υπαινιγμός της αρχαιότητας, εννοούμε τα αποσπάσματα τα οποία άμεσα υποδείχνουν την σχέση τους με την πληροφορία που σχετίζεται με την αρχαιότητα

³ Gordeziani R., 1988.

ή προκαλούν μέσα μας συνειρμούς της αρχαιότητας και το 3. Χρησιμοποίηση λέξεων ή ολόκληρων προτάσεων από τα αρχαία ελληνικά κείμενα.

Συνοψίζοντας, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι μαζί με τους άλλους παράγοντες, η σχέση των ελλήνων ποιητών με την αρχαιότητα έπαιξε σπουδαίο ρόλο στη διάδοση του υπερρεαλισμού στην Ελληνική λογοτεχνία και η συγγένια με την αρχαιότητα έγινε βάση της ελληνοποίησης του υπερρεαλισμού – κινήματος το οποίο με την ουσία του ήταν τόσο πολύ κοσμοπολιτικό

Abstract

Out of diverse literary trends emerging in Europe at the 20th century, surrealism was the only one to become widespread in Greece. Greek surrealist writers frequently employ antiquity-related themes. In this regard, three different types of literary adoption can be distinguished in their works: 1. Nominations: the use of an antiquity-related symbol or name in a particular context; 2. Allusion: passages either implying reference to ancient motifs or evoking such associations in the reader; 3. Quoting: use of vocabulary from ancient literature, including full sentence quotes without any signals.

In an attempt to explore how antiquity relates to surrealism, it can be argued that ancient civilizations stand out in terms of diverse approaches to the subconscious which were widely reflected in ancient Greek literature and art. Second, theoretical interest in the subconscious started as early as the ancient period. Thus, what the ancient and first of all, Greek civilizations adopted from other civilizations with respect to the subconscious was subject to both artistic interpretation and theoretical investigation.

Along with other circumstances, the popularity of surrealism in Greece is owed to Greek writers' close links with the ancient literary heritage. Thus, heredity accounts for the fact that surrealism, a distinctly cosmopolitan trend, became altogether nationalized in Greece.

Polikarpos Karamouzis (Rhodes)

Από τον “Πολυθεϊσμό” στον “Μονοθεϊσμό” και στην κυριαρχία του Κράτους

Τα πολιτικά χαρακτηριστικά της θρησκείας στην ελληνική ιστορία

Περίληψη

Η παρουσία της θρησκείας στην ελληνική ιστορία προσδιορίστηκε τόσο από την αρχαιοελληνική πολιτική σκέψη, όσο και από τις σύγχρονες πολιτικές επιλογές για τη δημιουργία του νεώτερου Ελληνικού Κράτους. Ο “πολυθεϊσμός” των αρχαίων Ελλήνων και η θρησκευτική τους ελευθερία δεν αποτελούσε απλά μια προσωπική επιλογή, αλλά εξελίχθηκε σε μια πολιτική δέσμευση σε καθιερωμένες τελετές για τη λατρεία της πόλης. Από την άλλη πλευρά στη νεώτερη Ελλάδα η παρουσία του “μονοθεϊσμού” ενίσχυσε τις δομές λειτουργίας του νεοσύστατου Ελληνικού Κράτους στο όνομα μιας επίσημης “μονοθεϊστικής” θρησκείας. Αυτό βέβαια δεν εμποδίζει τους νεοέλληνες να οικειοποιούνται τη θρησκεία αυτή με κριτήριο την προσαρμογή της στις ιδιαίτερες ενορμήσεις και ανάγκες τους, εξακολουθώντας ωστόσο να βλέπουν μέσα από αυτήν την πολιτική και εθνική τους ταυτότητα, ακόμα και στην αρχαιοελληνική της εκδοχή.

1. “Πολυθεϊσμοί” και “Μονοθεϊσμοί”

Η διαμόρφωση και εναλλαγή των όρων “πολυθεϊσμός” και “μονοθεϊσμός”, παρόλο που διευκολύνει την ταξινόμηση των θρησκευτικών λατρειών και των αντίστοιχων ερμηνευτικών σχημάτων που συνδέονται τόσο με τη συγκρότηση των θρησκευτικών κοινοτήτων, όσο και με την μελέτη των αντίστοιχων κοινωνικών, πολιτικών, οικονομικών και πολι-

τισμικών χαρακτηριστικών τους, εντούτοις οι όροι αυτοί δεν μπορεί να είναι μονοσήμαντοι, ανταποκρινόμενοι σε μια μονοδιάστατη κατανόηση όχι μόνο των θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων που το περιεχόμενό τους υποδηλώνει, αλλά αντίστοιχα και όλων εκείνων των κοινωνικών χαρακτηριστικών που η παρουσία των θρησκειών διαμορφώνει. Η διασύνδεση του “πολυθεϊσμού” με τη λατρεία πολλών θεών, ενώ αντίθετα του “μονοθεϊσμού” με τη λατρεία ενός θεού προβάλλει συνήθως ως ένα παγωμένο σύστημα προσδιορισμού της θρησκευτικής ταυτότητας κοινωνικών ομάδων, αλλά και ιστορικών περιόδων, οι οποίες γίνονται κατανοητές ως περικλειστα συστήματα σκέψης και δράσης που δεν επιδέχονται διαφορετική ερμηνευτική κατανόηση. Προς την κατεύθυνση αυτή συνέβαλλε και η ιουδαιοχριστιανική ερμηνευτική διαχείριση του περιοχόμενου των όρων αυτών, στα πλαίσια αντιθετικών σχημάτων που οδηγούσαν σε διαπιστώσεις θρησκευτικής ή πολιτισμικής “υπεροχής” του “μονοθεϊσμού” σε σχέση με τον “πολυθεϊσμό”, υπεροχής, η οποία στηρίζονταν, στην ιδεολογικοποίηση του μονοθεϊσμού ως “πνευματικής” θρησκείας σε σχέση με τον πολυθεϊσμό, ο οποίος ταυτιζόταν με την “ειδωλολατρεία”. Τα ίδια ακριβώς ιδεολογικά σχήματα εμφανίζονται και από την άλλη πλευρά κυρίως μέσω της αποκλειστικής ταύτισης του “πολυθεϊσμού” με τη θρησκευτική ελευθερία ή τη δημοκρατία, χωρίς πολλές φορές να λαμβάνεται υπόψη η διαμεσολάβηση της νεωτερικότητας και ιδιαίτερα της εκκοσμίκευσης ως βασικής συνιστώσας της ανάπτυξης της θρησκευτικής ελευθερίας ή της δημοκρατίας.¹ Σύμφωνα με τον Simon Price, αρκετοί σύγχρονοι κατανοούν την μονοθεϊστική εξέλιξη ως επικράτηση ενός θεού (μονοθεϊσμός) ανάμεσα σε πολλούς (πολυθεϊσμός), χωρίς ωστόσο να συνυπολογίζεται η σημαντικότητα του καθενός από αυτούς τους θεούς για τις κοινωνίες ή τις ομάδες που σχετίζονται μαζί τους. Από την άλλη πλευρά όσοι υποστηρίζουν έναν άκαμπτο μονοθεϊσμό δεν μπορούν να ερμηνεύσουν εύκολα τις διασπαστικές συνέπειες της θρησκευτικής αδιαλλαξίας και του δογματισμού, αλλά και την ευρύτητα και την ποικιλία των θρησκευτικών στοιχείων και λατρειών που συνθέτουν το περιεχόμενο όλων των

¹ Οφείλουμε εδώ να σημειώσουμε ότι ο όρος “μονοθεϊσμός” επινοήθηκε τον 17^ο αιώνα όχι ως αντίθετος του “πολυθεϊσμού”, αλλά του “αθεϊσμού” και δήλωνε απλά την πίστη στην ύπαρξη του Θεού και όχι την πίστη στην ύπαρξη μιας αποκλειστικής πνευματικής οντότητας που θα ονομάζονταν ΘΕΟΣ.

μονοθεϊσμών, όπως π.χ. την παρουσία των αγίων, το τριαδικό δόγμα, την πίστη στα πνεύματα κ.α. (Price, 1999) Επιπρόσθετα τα ερωτήματα που μπορεί να θέσει κάποιος είναι τελικά πόσο “πολυθεϊστής” νιώθει ένας αρχαίος Έλληνας οπαδός – ακόλουθος της λατρείας του Διονύσου, ενώ από την άλλη πλευρά πόσο “μονοθεϊστής” μπορεί να είναι ένας χριστιανός που πιστεύει στη δύναμη και στην καθοριστική σημασία των πνευμάτων;

Τα ερωτήματα αυτά τοποθετούν τη συζήτηση στην πραγματική της διάσταση, οδηγώντας τη σκέψη μας από τις διανοητικές κατασκευές και τις αντίστοιχες λεκτικές διατυπώσεις των όρων “πολυθεϊσμός” και “μονοθεϊσμός” στην ίδια την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα και στην ανθρώπινη δράση. Ακολουθώντας το Λυστάρο, θα συμφωνούσαμε ότι σήμερα τις “μεγάλες αφηγήσεις” της ιστορίας έχουν διαδεχθεί οι “μικρο-αφηγήσεις”, οι οποίες είναι χρήσιμες στο βαθμό που ερμηνεύουν μικρής κλίμακας γεγονότα, χωρίς να διεκδικούν μια οικουμενική ερμηνευτική διάσταση της πραγματικότητας. (Λυστάρο, 1979, 26). Σύμφωνα με τον Heiser είναι προτιμότερο π.χ. να περιγράψει κάποιος τι οι Ισραηλίτες πιστεύουν για το Θεό τους, αντί να επιχειρείται η ενσωμάτωση της πίστης αυτής σε μία λέξη, όπως η λέξη ΘΕΟΣ. (Heiser, 2008). Άλλωστε σύμφωνα με τους Berger, Luckmann, “η γλώσσα αναφέρεται πρώτα και κύρια στην καθημερινή ζωή και προέρχεται από αυτήν· αναφέρεται πάνω απ’ όλα στην πραγματικότητα που βιώνω εν πλήρη συνειδήσει, η οποία κυριαρχείται από το πραγματικό κίνητρο (δηλαδή από το σύμπλεγμα νοημάτων που αναφέρονται άμεσα σε παρούσες ή μελλοντικές ενέργειες) και την οποία μοιράζομαι με άλλους με τρόπο που εκλαμβάνεται ως δεδομένος” (Berger, Luckmann, 2003, 81). Κατ’ αναλογία η θρησκευτική γλώσσα έχει νόημα στο βαθμό που μορφοποιεί τις ιδιαίτερες ενορμήσεις και ανάγκες των ανθρώπων και τις μετατρέπει σε πράξεις που σχετίζονται με το σύνολο των κοινωνικών χαρακτηριστικών της κοινότητας. Η αποκρουστικότητα των σημασιολογικών αντιλήψεων μέσω των γλωσσικών συμβόλων ουσιαστικά αποκαλύπτει τις ιδιαίτερες σχέσεις που αναπτύσσονται μεταξύ των δρώντων υποκειμένων και της κοινωνικής κατασκευής στην οποία τα άτομα ανήκουν. Εάν η θρησκευτική γλώσσα δεν είναι ικανή να συλλάβει ή να κατασκευάσει τον πραγματικό κόσμο, όπως αυτός συγκροτείται και ανασυγκροτείται την κάθε δεδομένη χρονική στιγμή σε σχέση πάντοτε με τη συγκεκρι-

μένη ομάδα ή κοινότητα, τότε οποιαδήποτε σχηματοποιημένη αναφορά, ακόμα και στη γενικευμένη της εκδοχή δεν μπορεί παρά να είναι παραπλανητική. Σύμφωνα με τον Goody, ο οποίος μελετώντας τη σχέση μεταξύ των “γραφογνωστικών” κοινωνιών και των κοινωνιών της “προφορικότητας”, σημειώνει: “αν αντικαταστήσω το ‘ου φονεύσεις άλλους Εβραίους’ με το ‘ου φονεύσεις’, δεν επεκτείνω μόνο το εύρος εφαρμογής των ηθικών κανόνων μου, αλλά τους καθιστώ λιγότερο εφαρμόσιμους σε συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια. Με άλλα λόγια, γίνεται δύσκολο, ίσως αδύνατο, για οποιοδήποτε άτομο ή ομάδα να δράσει σε συμφωνία με αυτού του είδους την οικουμενιστική ηθική ή ηθικολογική εντολή” (Goody, 2001, 42). Κατά την άποψή μας αυτό συμβαίνει επειδή η θεσμική παγίωση των κανονιστικών σχημάτων σχετίζεται πάντοτε με το πραγματικό κίνητρο το οποίο ωθεί έναν άνθρωπο σε κοινωνική δράση σε σχέση με τον μικρόκοσμο στον οποίο εντάσσεται. Αντίστροφα οποιοδήποτε υποθετικό – οικουμενικό κίνητρο δεν μπορεί να γίνει αποδεκτό και κατά συνέπεια να επιβληθεί και να υιοθετηθεί ως τέτοιο εάν προηγουμένως δεν ανταποκρίνεται – συμβαδίζει με το σύνολο των επί μέρους πραγματικών κινήτρων που συνθέτουν την ίδια την ανθρώπινη δράση. Κατά συνέπεια το κίνητρο αυτό δεν μπορεί παρά να είναι πολιτικό εφόσον προκύπτει από την διαντίδραση των προσωπικών ενορμήσεων με τις επιθυμητές – αποδεκτές κοινωνικές συμπεριφορές, έτσι όπως τα θεσμικά χαρακτηριστικά της συγκεκριμένης κοινωνίας ή ομάδας διαμορφώνουν και σε ένα μεγάλο βαθμό επιβάλλουν. Έτσι για να ξαναγυρίσουμε στη λέξη “θεός”, οφείλουμε να σημειώσουμε ότι η ίδια η λέξη δεν μπορεί να αποτελέσει από μόνη της κίνητρο για δράση παρά μόνο στο βαθμό που καλλιεργεί σχέσεις νοηματικής ιδιοποίησης του κόσμου και του εαυτού. Σύμφωνα με τον Α. Παπαρίζο “οι νοηματικές σχέσεις ‘θεός’ είναι δυνατόν να συντίθενται, όπως συμβαίνει άλλωστε πάντοτε με το νόημα, μέσα και δια μέσου κάθε μορφής κοινωνικών σχέσεων, και συνεπώς μέσα και διαμέσου όλων των μορφών αναμέτρησης των δυνάμεων βούλησης και απόφασης, που είναι σχέσεις εξουσίας..., δηλαδή σχέσεις πολιτικές” (Παπαρίζος, 2001, 242). Με τον τρόπο αυτό ο άνθρωπος οικειοποιείται και αναπαράγει μέσω των “θεών” του τους κόσμους που τον περιβάλλουν, κατασκευάζει το θρησκευτικό τους πλαίσιο και κυρίως διαμορφώνει το θρησκευτικό του εαυτό, τον οποίο τείνει να διαφοροποιεί σε σχέση με άλλους κόσμους και διαφορετικά

θρησκευτικά περιβάλλοντα, σύμβολα και θεούς. Με την έννοια αυτή η θρησκευτική πίστη, είτε εκδηλώνεται ως λατρεία σ' έναν ή περισσότερους θεούς, είτε σε κανέναν θεό, αναγκαστικά εκβάλλει στην ίδια την πολιτική λειτουργία και διαχείριση των σχέσεων ιδιοποίησης, μετατρέποντας όλες τις σχέσεις και πράξεις του ανθρώπου σε σχέσεις και πράξεις πολιτικές.

2. Η αρχαιοελληνική θρησκεία και η συγκρότηση του πολιτικού

Η παρουσία της θρησκείας στην αρχαία Ελλάδα εγγράφεται από πολλούς ερευνητές ως συνώνυμο της ανάπτυξης και λειτουργίας της πόλης, της οποίας την κοινωνική διάρθρωση και δομή ακολουθεί. Με την έννοια αυτή η αρχαιοελληνική θρησκεία παρουσιάζει εξέλιξη, όπως άλλωστε εξέλιξη παρουσιάζει και η οργάνωση και ανάπτυξη της πόλης των κλασικών χρόνων. Ωστόσο η παρουσία της θρησκείας παρόλο που εξελίσσεται ως υπόθεση της πόλης, μέσα από την καθιέρωση δημοσίων λατρειών προς τιμήν των θεών της, τις οποίες και καταγράφει ως "δημοτελείς", δηλαδή πληρωμένες από το λαό, του οποίου τη συμμετοχή προϋποθέτουν (Parker, 2005, 36), η θρησκεία δεν παύει να συνδέει τις ιδιαίτερες ενορμήσεις και ανάγκες των ανθρώπων και των ομάδων που τη διαχειρίζονται ως ιδιωτική τους υπόθεση, με το δημόσιο χαρακτήρα των ενορμήσεων αυτών. Από την προομηρική εποχή της λατρείας των ηρώων και των προγόνων έως και τη λατρεία των θεών, με τις αντίστοιχες πολιτισμικές διαστρωματώσεις και τα επιβιώματά τους στην κλασική εποχή (Farnell, 1996, 40), οι έλληνες φροντίζουν να συνδέουν την ύπαρξή τους με τα πρόσωπα αυτά, μέσω λατρευτικών τελετών, διαμορφώνοντας παράλληλα το περιεχόμενο μιας παράδοσης, την οποία κληρονομούσαν από γενιά σε γενιά, την εμπλούτιζαν και την αναπαριστούσαν. Στην ουσία αυτή η προσωπική σχέση με τους θεούς, δηλωτική των σχέσεων ιδιοποίησης του κόσμου και φυσικά του ανθρώπου, παρόλο που μπορούσε να λειτουργεί σ' ένα επίπεδο ιδιωτικό, αποκτούσε ή όφειλε να αποκτά με την πάροδο του χρόνου έναν χαρακτήρα δημόσιας παρουσίας. Ποιητές, φιλόσοφοι, ο απλός λαός με τις ενασχολήσεις του, η πόλις ως θεσμός, αλλά και η διαπολιτισμική επικοινωνία με άλλους λαούς αναδιαμόρφωναν διαρκώς το περιεχόμενο της αρχαιοελληνικής θρησκείας με αποτέλεσμα ο πολυδιάστατος χαρακτήρας του περιεχομένου της να αποτελεί και το κυριότερο στοιχείο της ύπαρξης και εξέλιξής της. Αυτό που οφείλει κάποιος να επισημάνει είναι ότι οι λατρείες που καθιερώθηκαν

ως κοινωνικός καμβάς όλων των εκδοχών της αρχαιοελληνικής θρησκείας και των αντίστοιχων κοινωνικών και θρησκευτικών διαστρωματώσεων αποτέλεσαν ένα θεμελιώδη μηχανισμό σφυρηλάτησης της κοινωνικής ταυτότητας των συμμετεχόντων σε τελετές (Parker, 77). Σαφέστατα η εξέλιξη των λατρειών αυτών και η τυποποίησή τους από την πόλη των κλασικών χρόνων μπορεί να κάμει αποδεκτή την αντίληψη του Vernant, ότι “δεν υπάρχει θρησκευτικός δεσμός ενός ατόμου με τη θεότητα που να μην πραγματώνεται μέσω μιας κοινωνικής διαμεσολάβησης” (Vernant, 2003, 271).

Ωστόσο πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι η κοινωνική διαμεσολάβηση της θρησκείας προϋποθέτει ατομικούς δεσμούς με την κοινότητα και τη σχετιζόμενη με αυτήν θεότητα και λατρεία. Άλλωστε το γεγονός της υιοθέτησης ιδιωτικών ή προσωπικών λατρειών εκ μέρους των αρχαίων ελλήνων, παράλληλα με τις δημόσιες λατρείες, αποτελούν δηλωτικά στοιχεία αποτύπωσης των προσωπικών ενορμήσεων των δρώντων υποκειμένων σε σχέση με ανάγκες, όπως η παραγωγή αγαθών, η διακίνησή τους, η κατασκευή της προσωπικής και συλλογικής ταυτότητας, η διαχείριση των σχέσεων εξουσίας κ.α. Εάν η συγκρότηση του θρησκευτικού εαυτού έχει μόνο εξωτερικά τυπικά χαρακτηριστικά, όπως επισημαίνει ο Vernant, τα οποία επιβάλλει η πόλις, γεγονός που συμβαίνει σ’ έναν ορισμένο βαθμό με την τυποποίηση των δημόσιων λατρειών κατά τους κλασικούς χρόνους, πως τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτά διαμορφώνουν αντίστοιχες εσωτερικές αποτυπώσεις και ταυτόχρονα διαμορφώνονται από αυτές στο βαθμό που γίνονται οικειοποίηση από το κάθε μέλος της κοινότητας; Πως επίσης μπορεί να δικαιολογηθεί η θρησκευτική “παρέκκλιση” από το κοινώς αποδεκτό τυπικό της πόλης με τις ανάλογες συνέπειες – τιμωρίες, την ίδια στιγμή που ήταν αναφαίρετο δικαίωμα των πολιτών να καθοδηγούνται από το προσωπικό τους “δαιμόνιο”; Εάν το προσωπικό “δαιμόνιο” δεν είναι τίποτε περισσότερο από τις ιδιαίτερες ενορμήσεις και ανάγκες των δρώντων υποκειμένων, γιατί σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις δεν μπορεί να συνυπάρξει με τις τυπικές λατρευτικές πράξεις που καθιερώνονται από την πόλη; Το ερώτημα λοιπόν δεν είναι εάν ο θεός εμφανίζεται “απόλυτα” ή “σχετικά” υπερβατικός, όπως διερωτάται ο Vernant, αλλά εάν μπορεί να αναγνωριστεί – νομιμοποιηθεί και άρα να λειτουργήσει ως γενεσιουργός δύναμη που καλύπτει τις προσωπικές ανάγκες των

ανθρώπων (Nilsson, 1997, 130). Έτσι βλέπουμε ότι η λατρεία των γυναικείων θεοτήτων που σχετίζονται με την εφορία της γης να εξελίσσεται σε μια σημαντική πτυχή του τυπικού της αρχαιοελληνικής λατρείας επειδή οι συμμετέχοντες θεοί και άνθρωποι συναντώνται σε μια κοινή “εμπρόθετη δράση”: “Η μητέρα γη είναι μια δημιουργική δύναμη τόσο με προσωπικές, όσο και με απρόσωπες ιδιότητες... Αποτελεί όχι μόνο την απόλυτη δύναμη από την οποία προέρχονται τα πάντα, αλλά και την αρχέγονη πηγή της ζωής... η Γη θεωρείται ως μητέρα των θάνατων θεών και των θνητών ανθρώπων. Θα πρέπει όμως να τονίσουμε ότι αυτές οι αντιλήψεις διαμορφώνονται στο περιβάλλον των αγροτικών περιοχών, όπου κυριαρχεί το στοιχείο της παραγωγής και τις γέννησης” (Παχής, 2010, 24). Σε κάθε περίπτωση η διαμόρφωση των θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων σχετιζόταν με το παραγόμενο όφελος σε συγκεκριμένες συνθήκες από την πλευρά των ανθρώπων, οι οποίοι σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία της “ορθολογικής επιλογής” ενεργοποιούν τις θρησκευτικές τους προτιμήσεις και όχι μόνο, προκειμένου να μεγιστοποιήσουν τα κέρδη τους και να ελαχιστοποιήσουν τις απώλειές τους (Stark, Bainbridge, 1985). Έτσι μόνο μπορεί να δικαιολογηθεί το γεγονός ότι η εφορία των αγρών, η οποία επιφέρει πλούτο και μεγαλείο στις πόλεις που αναπτύσσονται γύρω από αυτούς, οδηγεί με τη σειρά του στην υιοθέτηση από τη μία πλευρά λατρειών προς τιμήν των ενεργετών θεών, όπως της Δήμητρας ή τη θεοποίηση άλλων, όπως του Πλούτου, που παρείχαν την ευμάρεια στους κατοίκους, ενώ από την άλλη διαμορφώνει λατρείες των χθόνιων θεοτήτων προκειμένου να αποτραπεί η απώλεια αυτής της εύνοιας (Παχής, 2010, 50-56). Σύμφωνα με τον Parker η αστική θρησκεία και οι εορτές που καθιερώθηκαν και τυποποιήθηκαν κατά τους κλασικούς χρόνους προέκυψαν κυρίως ως συνέπεια της αυξανόμενης ευημερίας, της αύξησης του πλούτου των ιερών, του πληθυσμού, της Αθήνας ως αστικού κέντρου, αλλά και των αυξανόμενων προσθέσεων της κεντρικής διοίκησης για οργάνωση και πρόνοια (Parker, 2005, 126). Υπό την έννοια αυτή “οι θρησκευτικές εντάσεις στη δημοκρατική Αθήνα δεν ήταν ένα υπόλειμμα μιας παλαιότερης εποχής. Απεναντίας ενδέχεται να οξύνθηκαν καθώς η Αθήνα εγκατέλειπε την αριστοκρατική της οργάνωση και μετέβαινε στους συμμετοχικούς και δημοκρατικούς θεσμούς. Στο βαθμό που η δημοκρατική πολιτεία διεκδικούσε να έχει λόγο γύρω από τις παραδοσιακές μορφές λατρείας, η

θηρσκεία ήρθε στο επίκεντρο της πολιτικής. Και οι δικαστές είχαν καθήκον να παίρνουν στα σοβαρά κάθε δημόσια καταγγελία για παρεκκλίσεις που μπορούσαν να επηρεάσουν ευρύτερα τους πολίτες, ιδιαίτερώς τους νέους. Αμέσως μετά τον Πελοποννησιακό Πόλεμο, το καθήκον αυτό έγινε επιτακτικότερο” (Κυρτάτας, 2014, 127-128).

Εάν λοιπόν η “ορθολογική επιλογή” αποτελούσε ένα σημαντικό κριτήριο για την υιοθέτηση προσωπικών λατρειών, η καθιέρωση επίσημων τελετών σε κοινωνικό επίπεδο δεν μπορούσε παρά να εκφράζει τους ίδιους σκοπούς από την πλευρά τώρα της συλλογικής δράσης και της πολιτικής συνείδησης, η διαμόρφωση της οποίας ιδιαίτερα κατά την κλασική περίοδο αποτέλεσε μια σημαντική φροντίδα της πόλης. Άλλωστε είναι κοινή αντίληψη των ερευνητών ότι η θρησκεία για τους αρχαίους Αθηναίους γίνεται κατανοητή ως υπόθεση “εγκόσμια” και “πολιτική”, συνθετικό στοιχείο της ενδοκοσμικής πραγματικότητας και της πολιτικής της διαχείρισης. Με την έννοια αυτή η θρησκευτική συνείδηση διαμορφώνεται ως εγκόσμια πολιτική μορφή σκέψης και πράξης, ανασυγκρότησης δηλαδή της ίδιας της πολιτικής κοινωνίας, η οποία διαχειρίζεται την “αυθεντία” ακόμη και τη θρησκευτική σε συλλογικό επίπεδο και όχι στα πλαίσια κάποιας θρησκευτικής ιεραρχίας (Παπαρίζος, 1995, 166). Το ερώτημα ωστόσο που τίθεται είναι σε ποιο βαθμό η πόλις καταφέρνει να ενσωματώνει και να αναπαράγει τη διαμορφωμένη έτσι και αλλιώς μέσω της ίδιας θρησκευτικής συνείδηση των μετεχόντων σε αυτήν πολιτών; Σε ποιο βαθμό τελικά η υιοθέτηση και ανάληψη εκ μέρους της πόλεως όλων αυτών των επίσημων τελετών ικανοποιεί τις επί μέρους θρησκευτικές – πολιτικές συνειδήσεις; Το ερώτημα αυτό γίνεται ακόμη πιο επιτακτικό εφόσον η ίδια η θρησκευτική συνείδηση, η οποία διαμορφώνεται δια μέσου της πόλεως συντίθεται ελεύθερα ως προβολή των ιδιαίτερων ενορμήσεων και αναγκών των δρώντων υποκειμένων, ενορμήσεων και αναγκών που η πόλις επιχειρεί να ικανοποιήσει και να ενσωματώσει. Έτσι η πόλις αναλαμβάνει να υιοθετήσει τις εκπεφρασμένες θρησκευτικές συνειδήσεις των μελών της μέσω της νομιμοποιητικής λειτουργίας λατρειών, οι οποίες αποκτούν ή οφείλουν να αποκτούν δημόσιο χαρακτήρα. Με την έννοια αυτή ο “πολυθεϊσμός” δεν είναι τίποτε περισσότερο από την ανάδειξη των επί μέρους προσωπικών θρησκευτικών ενορμήσεων σε πολιτικές πράξεις έκφρασής τους. Εάν οι θρησκευτικές ενορμήσεις είναι περισσότερες από μία,

που έτσι και αλλιώς είναι, η καταγραφή και η έκφρασή τους συνθέτουν το θρησκευτικο-πολιτικό περίγραμμα της συγκεκριμένης κοινωνίας. Άρα κατά την άποψή μας δεν είναι η πίστη σ' έναν ή πολλούς θεούς που διαμορφώνει το θρησκευτικό πλαίσιο των αρχαίων αθηναίων, αλλά η δυνατότητά τους να εκφράζουν τις διαφορετικές θρησκευτικές τους εννοήσεις στα πλαίσια μιας πόλης, η οποία είναι διατεθειμένη να τις υιοθετήσει.

Όσοσο από την άλλη πλευρά η πόλις γνωρίζει ότι δεν μπορεί να εκφράσει το σύνολο των θρησκευτικών συνειδήσεων των μελών της, ακόμη και όταν καθιερώνει κοινές λατρείες για λογαριασμό τους. Άλλωστε χαρακτηριστικοί είναι οι βωμοί “προς τον άγνωστο θεό”, οι οποίοι φαίνεται να αποτελούσαν μια διορατική επινόηση των Αθηναίων, επειδή η καταγραφή των εννοήσεων αυτών δεν μπορούσε να ήταν εξαντλητική. Δεν μπορούσε δηλαδή η πόλις να αποτυπώσει και να εκφράσει όλες τις θρησκευτικές επιθυμίες, τις στάσεις και τις συμπεριφορές των μελών της, χωρίς η ίδια να θέσει παράλληλα προϋποθέσεις αναγνώρισής τους. Αυτό δείχνει ότι ενώ η πόλις είναι διατεθειμένη να αναγνωρίσει τις επί μέρους θρησκευτικές συνειδήσεις των μελών της, αυτό δεν γίνεται απροϋπόθετα, αλλά συμβαίνει εφόσον οι συνειδήσεις αυτές: α) γίνουν κοινοποιήσιμες, δηλαδή γνωστές, άρα δημόσιες και β) δεν προσβάλλουν την “πατροπαράδοτη θρησκεία”, δηλαδή την καταγεγραμμένη κοινή θρησκευτική συνείδηση, τότε και μόνο τότε αποκτούν την έγκρισή της. Έτσι η έννοια της “ιδιωτικής” λατρείας, αναφαίρετο πολιτικό δικαίωμα μόνο ως δημόσια πολιτική λειτουργία είχε νόημα όταν εντάσσονταν στη συλλογική πλέον θρησκευτική συνείδηση της πόλης, σε αυτό που η πόλις ως σύνολο αποδέχονταν. Σε διαφορετική περίπτωση οποιαδήποτε μη ενσωμάτωση του δικαιώματος αυτού στην κοινή συλλογικότητα ελέγχονταν ως ύποπτη. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί ο Πλάτωνας, ο οποίος στους Νόμους του υποστηρίζει: α) την αναγκαιότητα της δημόσιας λατρείας, έναντι τις ιδιωτικής και β) την αναγκαιότητα της πίστης στους θεούς της πόλης. Η ατομική θρησκευτικότητα για τον Πλάτωνα καταλήγει πολλές φορές σε “ανοησία”, επειδή πολλοί άνθρωποι εξαιτίας κάποιου έκτακτου γεγονότος ευχάριστου ή δυσάρεστου ισχυρίζονται ότι βλέπουν οπτασίες, δημιουργούν βωμούς και κάνουν θυσίες. Για το λόγο αυτό υποστηρίζει ότι η θεμελίωση ναών και θεών δεν είναι εύκολη υπόθεση για τον οποιοδήποτε και

πρέπει να γίνεται με το σωστό τρόπο, τρόπο που μόνο η πόλη ως κοινή συλλογικότητα γνωρίζει (Πλάτωνος *Νόμοι*, *Επινομίς*, 909a-910d). Από την άλλη πλευρά ο Πλάτωνας επιχειρεί να διασώσει την πίστη στους θεούς της πόλης από κάθε προσπάθεια αμφισβήτησής τους. Για εκείνον οι “ενάρετες ψυχές” είναι θεοί, οι οποίοι είτε βρίσκονται μέσα σε ανθρώπινα σώματα, είτε έξω από αυτά και κοσμούν το σύμπαν. Υπ’ αυτή την έννοια οι άνθρωποι πρέπει να έχουν κατά νου ότι: α) οι θεοί υπάρχουν, β) φροντίζουν για τις ανθρώπινες υποθέσεις και γ) δεν διαφθείρονται από τους άδικους ανθρώπους (Πλάτωνος *Νόμοι*, *Επινομίς*, 907b). Για το λόγο αυτό θεωρεί το ίδιο επικίνδυνους για την πόλη, τόσο αυτούς που διαμορφώνουν νέες ιδιωτικές λατρείες με βωμούς και θυσίες, όσο και εκείνους που αμφισβητούν την ύπαρξη των θεών και τους αποδίδουν ανθρώπινες αδυναμίες. Για τον Πλάτωνα οι θεοί συνδέονται με τη διαφύλαξη των νόμων και υπαγορεύουν την “ορθοπραξία” στους ανθρώπους. Τα ίδια ακριβώς υποστηρίζει περίπου τέσσερις αιώνες αργότερα και ο Πλούταρχος, ο οποίος υπερασπιζόμενος μια κοινή ηθική, θεωρεί ότι η αμάθεια περί των θεών δημιουργεί δύο παρεκτροπές, την “αθεΐα” και τη “δεισιδαιμονία”, καταστάσεις επικίνδυνες για την πόλη (Πλούταρχου *Ηθικά*, *Περί δεισιδαιμονίας*). Σε κάθε περίπτωση συνοψίζοντας θα λέγαμε ότι οι θρησκευτικές “παρεκτροπές” μπορούσαν να οδηγήσουν σε πολιτικές εκτροπές και για το λόγο αυτό η θεμελίωση της δημόσιας λατρείας και η υπεράσπιση όχι απλά της πίστης στους θεούς, αλλά και του τρόπου που η πίστη αυτή θα εκδηλώνονταν, αποτελούσε για την αρχαία ελληνική πόλη μια υποχρέωση. Οι θρησκευτικές ενορμήσεις των πολιτών της θα έπρεπε λοιπόν να είναι απόλυτα εναρμονισμένες με την πολιτική δέσμευσή τους στην κοινή θρησκευτική παράδοση, στο σύνολο δηλαδή των εγκεκριμένων και νομιμοποιημένων θρησκευτικών συνειδήσεων. Μόνο μέσα από αυτή τη διαδικασία, η όποια προσωπική – ιδιωτική θρησκευτική συνείδηση αποκτά νόημα, δηλαδή πολιτικά χαρακτηριστικά και ταυτόχρονα γίνεται χρήσιμη, δηλαδή χρηστική για την πόλη.

3. Η νεωτερική πολιτική συγκρότηση της θρησκείας και η σύσταση του ελληνικού κράτους

Η διαμόρφωση του νεώτερου ελληνικού κράτους κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα, σαφέστατα και διαφέρει κοινωνικοπολιτικά από την αρχαιοελληνική εκδοχή της συγκρότησης των πόλεων με τις ιδιαιτερότητες που παρο-

υσιάζει η κοινωνική και πολιτική του οργάνωση. Πέρα από τη χρονική απόσταση των είκοσι και πλέον αιώνων, η διαμεσολάβηση της ρωμαϊκής, βυζαντινής και οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και η ανάδειξη των θρησκευτικών “μονοθεισμών”, ιδιαίτερα του χριστιανισμού και του ισλάμ με τις επί μέρους εκδοχές τους, προσδιόρισαν το περιεχόμενο της κοινωνικοπολιτικής ταυτότητας των λαών της ευρύτερης περιοχής των Βαλκανίων. Σύμφωνα με τον Perry Anderson, μια σημαντική αιτία της κατάρρευσης της αρχαίας ελληνικής πόλης ήταν η άμεση συμμετοχική δημοκρατία και η αδυναμία της να εξελιχθεί σε αντιπροσωπευτική δημοκρατία, δημιουργώντας ένα γραφειοκρατικό μηχανισμό που θα μπορούσε να διατηρήσει μια εκτεταμένη εδαφική αυτοκρατορία μέσω του διοικητικού καταναγκασμού (Anderson, 1980, 50). Η απουσία διάκρισης μεταξύ κράτους και κοινωνίας, με επακόλουθη συνέπεια την απουσία ενός εξειδικευμένου σώματος διοικητικής γραφειοκρατίας που θα αποτελούσε την ιεραρχική δομή συγκρότησης της εξουσίας, ακόμα και της θρησκευτικής, αναπαράγοντας ένα κοινωνικό και πολιτικό σύστημα συγκρότησης του κράτους και των δομών του, διαμόρφωνε εύθραυστες ισορροπίες οι οποίες σε συνδυασμό με την όλο και περισσότερο αυξανόμενη ανάγκη για χρηματοδότηση και στρατολόγηση, οδηγούσαν τις ελληνικές πόλεις σε παρακμή. Οι αυτοκρατορικές ηγεμονίες που τις διαδέχθηκαν και οι μορφές εξουσίας που καλλιεργήθηκαν σε μεσαιωνική Δύση και Ανατολή ήταν σαφέστατα σε διαφορετική προοπτική σε σχέση με την παραδοσιακή αθηναϊκή δημοκρατία και σχετιζόνταν σε μεγάλο βαθμό με τους ομογενοποιημένους πολιτικούς και κοινωνικούς σχηματισμούς, στους οποίους η κυριαρχικότητα του “ένός” αυτοκράτορα παρέπεμπε υποχρεωτικά στην κυριαρχικότητα του “ένός” θεού. Με την έννοια αυτή η καθιέρωση των θρησκευτικών αφηγήσεων της ιστορίας σε κυρίαρχα μοτίβα κατανόησης του κόσμου δεν ήταν απλά μια θρησκευτική ερμηνεία του τρόπου που οι κοινωνίες εξηγούσαν την ύπαρξή τους και αποδείκνυαν την καταγωγική τους ιδιαιτερότητα, αλλά κυρίως παρείχαν τους νομιμοποιητικούς κανόνες που συγκροτούσαν και αναπαρήγαγαν αντίστοιχα όλες τις μορφές κυριαρχίας. Ένα τέτοιο παράδειγμα αποτελεί ο χριστιανισμός, ο οποίος εμφανίζεται από πολύ νωρίς να διαχωρίζει το κοινωνικό από το πολιτικό στοιχείο υποστηρίζοντας το “απόδοτε ουν τα του Καίσαρος τω Καίσαρι και τα του Θεού τω Θεώ.” Ωστόσο ήδη από τον πρώτο

αίωνα η πολιτική εξουσία του κυρίαρχου γίνεται αντιληπτή στα λόγια του Παύλου ως θεϊκή: “Πάσα ψυχή εξουσίας υπερεχούσας υποτασσέσθω. Ου γαρ έστιν εξουσία ει μη υπό Θεού· αι δε ούσαι εξουσίαι υπό του Θεού τεταγμένοι εισίν. Ωστε ο αντιτασσόμενος τη εξουσία τη του Θεού διαταγή ανθέστηκεν· οι δε ανθεστηκότες εαυτοίς κρίμα λήψονται” (Προς Ρωμαίους, 13, 1-2). Με τον τρόπο αυτό “διακηρύσσεται το καθήκον της υποταγής στις κοσμικές εξουσίες, τις οποίες έχρισε ο Θεός εκτελεστές των επιθυμιών του επί της γης, άρα η ευταξία του κόσμου θεσμοθετείται από τη βούληση και τη δύναμη του Θεού. Έτσι εάν η εξουσία εμφανίζεται δίκαιη, αποτελεί το πραγματικό όργανο της θεϊκής βούλησης. Αν εμφανίζεται άδικη, παραμένει γνήσιο όργανο της θεϊκής βούλησης, λειτουργώντας είτε ως μέσο κολασμού του αμαρτωλού ανθρώπου είτε ως μέσο μαρτυρίου των υπηρετών του Θεού” (Coleman, 2004, 576). Παρόλο που η παρουσία των χριστιανών αρχικά θεωρήθηκε ότι αποτελούσε απειλή για την κοινωνική και πολιτική σταθερότητα της Ρώμης, στο βαθμό που αμφισβητούσε την “θεϊκότητα” του κυρίαρχου αυτοκράτορα, εντούτοις η πολιτική της θρησκευτικής υποταγής στις κοσμικές εξουσίες και η διαμόρφωση μιας ηθικής θεωρίας για τον κυρίαρχο ως απεσταλμένου του θεού δεν άργησε να αποτελέσει ένα νομιμοποιητικό πλαίσιο της νεωτερικής πολιτικής κατασκευής του κράτους και των δομών του. Οι αυτοκρατορικές δομές εξουσίας που καθιερώθηκαν και η διάκριση μεταξύ του κράτους ως διοικητής μονάδας εξουσίας που διαχειρίζεται τον κοινωνικό εξαναγκασμό και της κοινωνίας, η οποία υφίσταται τον εξαναγκασμό αυτό ανέδειξε μεταξύ των άλλων την τάξη του κλήρου σε δομική μονάδα συγκρότησης και αναπαραγωγής όχι μόνο της θρησκευτικής εκπροσώπησης, αλλά και της πολιτικής στο βαθμό που η θρησκεία νομιμοποιούσε τους πολιτικούς ρόλους του κράτους και των δομών του. Ιδιαίτερα το φεουδαρχικό σύστημα πολιτικής, οικονομικής και κοινωνικής οργάνωσης του δυτικού κόσμου στηρίχθηκε σε πολύ μεγάλο βαθμό στις θρησκευτικές αυτές αναπαραστάσεις. Αξίζει να σημειώσουμε εδώ ότι ο δυτικός φεουδαρχικός τρόπος συγκρότησης της κοινωνικής και πολιτικής οργάνωσης του κράτους κατακερμάτισε την κεντρικές συγκεντρωτικές μορφές εξουσίας σε πολλές τοπικές ισχυρές κοινότητες, οι οποίες λειτουργούσαν ως κεντρόφυγες δυνάμεις της κυρίαρχης πολιτικής εξουσίας. Αυτός ο κατατεμαχισμός της εξουσίας όπως ήταν φυσικό είχε σοβαρές

συνέπειες και στην ίδια τη θρησκευτική εκπροσώπηση: “Η εκκλησία, που στην όψιμη αρχαιότητα πάντοτε υπήρξε άμεσα ενσωματωμένη στη μηχανή του αυτοκρατορικού κράτους και υποταγμένη σ’ αυτό, τώρα έγινε αυτόνομος θεσμός στα πλαίσια της φεουδαρχικής πολιτικής συγκρότησης. Μοναδική πηγή θρησκευτικού κύρος, η εξουσία της πάνω στις πεποιθήσεις και τις αξίες των μαζών ήταν τεράστια: αλλά η εκκλησιαστική της οργάνωση ήταν ξέχωρη από κείνη οποιασδήποτε κοσμικής αριστοκρατίας ή μοναρχίας. Εξαιτίας του κατακερματισμού του εξαναγκασμού, που ήταν σύμφυτος στον αναδυόμενο δυτικό φεουδαρχισμό, η εκκλησία μπορούσε να υπερασπίζεται τα δικά της ιδιαίτερα συμφέροντα, αν ήταν αναγκαίο, από τα δικά της εδαφικά οχυρά ακόμη και με την ένοπλη βία. Έτσι οι θεσμικές συγκρούσεις ανάμεσα στη λαϊκή και θρησκευτική εξουσία ήταν ενδημικές στη μεσαιωνική εποχή” (Anderson, 1980, 175). Οι συγκρούσεις αυτές κορυφώνονται με τον τριακονταετή πόλεμο και τη συνθήκη της Βεσφαλίας, με την οποία οι ηγεμόνες ανεξαρτητοποιούνται από τη θρησκευτική επιρροή των παπών στα πλαίσια νέων θρησκευτικών σχηματισμών, όπως ο Προτεσταντισμός, καθιερώνοντας την αντίληψη: “*cuius region eius religio*”, δηλαδή όποιου η κυριαρχία, αυτού και η θρησκεία. Με τον τρόπο αυτό η θρησκεία, τουλάχιστον στις προτεσταντικές χώρες υπάγεται στην πολιτική εξουσία του κυρίαρχου ηγεμόνα, ο οποίος μπορεί να προσδιορίζει τις θρησκευτικές αντιλήψεις των υπηκόων του (Parker, 2006). Με την έννοια αυτή η εκκοσμίκευση, διαδικασία απαλλαγής του πολιτικού στοιχείου από θρησκευτικούς επικαθορισμούς, έγινε κυρίως κατανοητή ως επικυριαρχία του κράτους επί της θρησκείας και χειραγώγησή της με κριτήριο τις πολιτικές επιλογές των ηγεμόνων. Η αντίληψη αυτή πολύ απέχει από τη μετατόπιση της θρησκείας από το δημόσιο στον ιδιωτικό βίο. Αντίθετα αυτό που διαφαίνεται είναι η διαμόρφωση επίσημων θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων, ανάλογων των πολιτικών επιλογών.

Στη βυζαντινή ανατολή και στον ευρύτερο βαλκανικό χώρο οι ιδιαίτερες πολιτικο-οικονομικές συνθήκες δεν επέτρεψαν έναν αντίστοιχο εκτεταμένο κατακερματισμό της εξουσίας. Το βυζαντινό κράτος διατήρησε μια συγκεντρωτική γραφειοκρατική δομή εξουσίας για ένα μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα με τις ανάλογες συνέπειες στη θρησκευτική σφαίρα. Ο αυτοκράτορας ως αντιπρόσωπος του θεού επί της γης μεταβιβάζει τη “χαρισματική εξουσία” στους υπηκόους του

μέσω των κρατικών οργάνων ώστε το κράτος να γίνεται κατανοητό ως “θεοστήρικτη αρχή”, που απολαμβάνει της θείας προστασίας: “ο αυτοκράτορας, ως μόνος επί γης πληρεξούσιος και αντιπρόσωπος του Θεού, χαίρει θείας προστασίας, την οποία όμως μπορεί με τη σειρά του να μεταδώσει στους εκπροσώπους του που κυβερνούν την αυτοκρατορία εξ ονόματός του ως πληρεξούσιοι. Αποτέλεσμα της θείκης και αυτοκρατορικής μετάδοσης της αντιπροσώπευσης είναι το γεγονός ότι από πλησίον σε πλησίον ολόκληρη η ρωμαϊκή επικράτεια, ολόκληρο το Βυζάντιο στο εδαφικό του σύνολο, γίνεται θεοστήρικτη αρχή που αδιάκοπα απολαμβάνει της θείας προστασίας” (Αρβελέρ, 1997, 26-27). Η κυριαρχικότητα του κυρίαρχου και μόνο αυτή λειτουργεί ως νομιμοποιητική διαδικασία κοινωνικής και πολιτικής ενσωμάτωσης. Με την έννοια αυτή οι ιδιαίτερες πολιτικές και θρησκευτικές ενορμήσεις των συμμετεχόντων στην αυτοκρατορία μόνο ως ενσωμάτωση στις κοινές – κυρίαρχες ενορμήσεις έχουν νόημα και ταυτόχρονα αποκτούν νομιμότητα όταν εντάσσονται στη συγκεκριμένη κοσμική ερμηνεία της ιστορίας. Έτσι “οι αιρετικοί, οι αλλόδοξοι, οι πολιτικά ανυπότακτοι θεωρούνται αυτοδίκαια αποκλεισμένοι από τον σωτηριακό χώρο της αυτοκρατορίας, που απαιτεί υποταγή και κατάνυξη, θεωρούνται ‘έξω Ρώμης’, έστω και αν συμβιούν και ζουν στους κόλπους της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας” (Αρβελέρ, 1997, 29).

Η οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία διάδοχη κατάσταση της βυζαντινής, διαμορφώνει ένα σύστημα διοίκησης το οποίο, ενώ διατηρεί στο δημόσιο χώρο την παρουσία ενός ισχυρού κράτους, στον ιδιωτικό συντηρεί τη διοικητική αυτοτέλεια των θρησκευτικών ομάδων που συμπεριλαμβάνονται στους κόλπους της αυτοκρατορίας αυτής. Υπ’ αυτή την έννοια ενισχύεται ο ρόλος του Οικουμενικού Πατριάρχη, ο οποίος χαρακτηρίζεται ως αρχηγός του έθνους των ορθοδόξων με διευρυμένες διοικητικές, πολιτικές και οικονομικές δραστηριότητες, οι οποίες ουσιαστικά αποτελούσαν νομιμοποιητικούς μηχανισμούς πολιτικής εκπροσώπησης των υπόδουλων (Πέτρον, 1992, 82-83). Η παρουσία της ορθόδοξης εκκλησίας και η εθνικο-θρησκευτική εκπροσώπηση των μελών της αποτέλεσε μια πολιτική λειτουργία των χριστιανικών κοινοτήτων για πάνω από τέσσερις αιώνες. Με τη δημιουργία των νέων εθνικών κρατών που εμφανίζονται στο χώρο της βαλκανικής, όπως του νεώτερου ελληνικού κράτους, η πολιτική εκπροσώπηση των εθνικών κοινοτήτων στα πλαίσια αυτόνομων πλέον

κρατικών μορφωμάτων δεν μπορεί παρά να είναι εθνικο-κρατική και να συνδέεται με την κυρίαρχη πολιτική λειτουργία του κράτους και των θεσμών του (Καραμούζης, 2009). Οι εθνικο-θησκευτικές ωστόσο αντιλήψεις δεν έπαψαν να αποτελούν στοιχεία της πολιτικής λειτουργίας του κράτους ενσωματωμένες στην κυρίαρχη πολιτική ιδεολογία. Δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι ο Όθων πρώτος βασιλεύς των Ελλήνων δημιουργεί επίσημη ελληνική Εκκλησία, της οποίας τίθεται αρχηγός και προστάτης. Με την έννοια αυτή ο πολιτικός κυρίαρχος νομιμοποιεί την πολιτική του παρουσία στα πλαίσια θρησκευτικών αναπαραστάσεων, οι οποίες ήδη είχαν καλλιεργηθεί ως μηχανισμοί πολιτικής εκπροσώπησης για πολλούς αιώνες. Η επίσημη ελληνική εκκλησία, με ξεχωριστή ιεραρχική δομή και συγκρότηση, εξαρτώμενη όμως από τις δομές εξουσίας του ελληνικού κράτους, αναλαμβάνει να στηρίξει την κυρίαρχη πολιτική ιδεολογία, ως παράπλευρη μορφή εξουσίας του ελληνικού κράτους, δημιουργώντας προϋποθέσεις ομογενοποίησης τόσο των επί μέρους θρησκευτικών ενορμήσεων, όσο και των πολιτικών στα πλαίσια μιας ενιαίας εθνικής ταυτότητας, η οποία επιβάλλεται ως μοναδική μέσω των μηχανισμών κοινωνικού ελέγχου του κράτους. Ο ελληνοχριστιανισμός που καλλιεργήθηκε (Γαζή, 2011) ως κυρίαρχη μορφή ιδεολογικής εκπροσώπησης διαπερνώντας την ταξική διαστρωμάτωση της ελληνικής κοινωνίας, λειτουργούσε ως μηχανισμός πολιτικής νομιμοποίησης και ενσωμάτωσης στα πλαίσια μιας νέας ενιαίας “μονοθεϊστικής” κατασκευής, στην κορυφή της οποίας βρίσκονταν το εθνικό κράτος και η θεσμική του συγκρότηση. Έτσι ο “μονοθεϊσμός” καλλιεργείται ως υποταγή σε μια κυρίαρχη μορφή πολιτικής εκπροσώπησης, την οποία εκφράζει το κράτος και οι θεσμοί του, μεταξύ των οποίων και η επίσημη θρησκεία. Μόνο με την έννοια αυτή μπορεί να συμβιβαστεί στο σύνταγμα η αναφορά επίσημης θρησκείας με το δικαίωμα στην ανεξιθρησκία. Αξίζει να σημειώσουμε εδώ ότι η πολιτική νομιμοποίηση της τάξης του ορθόδοξου κλήρου, η δομή, λειτουργία και οργάνωσή του, συνδέονταν και εξαρτιόνταν πάντοτε από την πολιτική νομιμοποίηση του κράτους και των θεσμικών του οργάνων. Εάν η μοναδικότητα του κυρίαρχου κράτους και των θεσμών του δημιουργούν σχέσεις υπεροχής, εξάρτησης και αναπαραγωγής των πολιτικών μορφών σκέψης και δράσης, η διαχείριση της θρησκείας δεν μπορούσε παρά να είναι σύμφωνη με αυτήν την προοπτική. Άρα ο “μονοθεϊσμός” με τα συγκε-

κριμένα χαρακτηριστικά, προστατεύεται σκόπιμα από τις νομοθετικές ρυθμίσεις του κράτους, ενώ δεν σχετίζεται με τον πυρήνα μιας ενσυνείδητα θρησκευτικής και μόνο λατρείας – παράδοσης, αλλά με την πολιτική βούληση για μια ενιαία πολιτική έκφραση, η οποία σε συμβολικό επίπεδο όφειλε να νομιμοποιείται διαρκώς στα πλαίσια ιερών επικαθορισμών και να σχετίζεται με τη συγκεκριμένη πολιτική ταυτότητα του κυρίαρχου κράτους και των δομών εξουσίας του. Με την έννοια αυτή μπορούν οι νεώτεροι Έλληνες να κατασκευάζουν την ιστορία τους ως μια ενιαία πολιτική συνέχεια, η οποία από την αρχαιότητα, μέσω του βυζαντίου μπορεί να ολοκληρώνεται σε μια νέα εθνική συγκρότηση, στην οποία η αρχαιοελληνική εκδοχή της θρησκείας συμπληρώνεται από την ορθόδοξη ελληνο-χριστιανική εκδοχή της, δικαιολογώντας με τον τρόπο αυτό τη διαρκή παρουσία ενός “περιούσιου λαού” στην ιστορία, ακόμα και όταν οι πολιτικές ασυνέχειες και οι ρίξεις αποτελούν αυτονομία χαρακτηριστικά της (Κουμπουρή, 2007). Στην ουσία πρόκειται για την απόληξη των ιδιαίτερων προσωπικών θρησκευτικών και πολιτικών ενορμήσεων σε μια κυρίαρχη κρατικοθρησκευτική πολιτική ιδεολογία, η οποία όχι μόνο επέβαλε μέσω των μηχανισμών κοινωνικού ελέγχου τη συγκεκριμένη αντίληψη για την πολιτική εκπροσώπηση των συμμετεχόντων σε αυτό, αλλά προϋπέθετε την υιοθέτηση της κυρίαρχης αυτής πολιτικής ιδεολογίας ως προϋπόθεση της όποιας κοινωνικής ενσωμάτωσης. Με την έννοια αυτή η κοινωνική, πολιτική και θρησκευτική διαφορετικότητα ενσωματώνονταν στον κοινωνικό ιστό όχι ως διαφορετικότητα, αλλά ως παρέκκλιση από την κυρίαρχη πολιτική και θρησκευτική δομή, η οποία παρείχε το μέτρο της νομιμοποίησης ή απονομιμοποίησης του διαφορετικού.

Συμπεράσματα

Στην παρούσα εργασία προσπαθήσαμε να διερευνήσουμε τις ιδεολογικές και πολιτικές χρήσεις του “πολυθεϊσμού” και του “μονοθεϊσμού” στα πλαίσια της συγκρότησης των αρχαιοελληνικών πόλεων, αλλά και στη συνέχεια των μεγάλων αυτοκρατοριών και των νεώτερων εθνικών κρατών που αποτέλεσαν διάδοχη κατάσταση τους. Συμπερασματικά οφείλουμε να επισημάνουμε ότι τόσο οι “πολυθεϊστικές” όσο και οι “μονοθεϊστικές” χρήσεις των θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων ποτέ δεν αποτέλεσαν στοιχεία αμιγώς θρησκευτικά, αλλά συνδέθηκαν με τις ιδιαίτερες ενορμήσεις και ανάγκες των

συμμετεχόντων σε πολιτικές κοινότητες ανθρώπων, οι οποίοι μέσα από τις συλλογικότητές τους νομιμοποιούσαν τις ανάγκες αυτές. Με την έννοια αυτή ο βαθμός της ελευθερίας της θρησκευτικής έκφρασης δεν αποτέλεσε ποτέ μια απροϋπόθετη διαδικασία κοινωνικής έκφρασης των συγκεκριμένων ενορμήσεων. Η αρχαιοελληνική πόλη φρόντιζε να νομιμοποιεί τις ανάγκες αυτές στο βαθμό που τις ενέτασσε οργανικά στην ζωή της κοινότητας μέσα από τους μηχανισμούς λειτουργίας της πόλης και των θεσμών της. Η θρησκευτικός πλουραλισμός ως νόμιμο δικαίωμα πολιτικής έκφρασης του θρησκευτικού στοιχείου καθιερώνονταν και αναπαράγονταν στα πλαίσια των βασικών προϋποθέσεων της κυριαρχίας της πόλης ως συλλογικής συνείδησης. Ο χριστιανισμός που καθιερώθηκε στη συνέχεια ως αυτοκρατορική θρησκεία, παρόλο που η ανεξιθρησκία προστατεύθηκε ως νόμιμο πολιτικό δικαίωμα, κατάφερε να προσδιορίσει και να νομιμοποιήσει την υπεροχή του αυτοκράτορα ως κυρίαρχου, αποτελώντας ταυτόχρονα μια πολιτική θρησκεία που εγγυόταν την ενότητα της αυτοκρατορίας. Αυτό ακριβώς βλέπουμε να συμβαίνει και με τη δημιουργία του νεώτερου εθνικού ελληνικού κράτους, στο οποίο καθιερώνεται επίσημη θρησκεία ως νομιμοποιητική λειτουργία και αναγκαιότητα για εθνική συνοχή και ενιαία πολιτική εκπροσώπηση. Παρόλο που το κοινωνικο-πολιτικό πλαίσιο τόσο της αρχαίας ελληνικής πόλης, των νεότερων αυτοκρατοριών και των σύγχρονων εθνικών κρατών έχει ουσιαστικές διαφορές, με τις θρησκευτικές αποτυπώσεις των θρησκευτικών ενορμήσεων να ακολουθούν ανάλογες πορείες, εντούτοις παρατηρούμε ότι η συγκρότηση του θρησκευτικού στοιχείου αποτελεί μια δημόσια και όχι μια ιδιωτική υπόθεση των ανθρώπων και εντάσσεται στη θεσμική συγκρότηση του πολιτικού, ακόμα και όταν ο βαθμός εκκοσμίκευσης προϋποθέτει διαχωρισμό του πολιτικού από το θρησκευτικό στοιχείο. Η καταγραφή και η κοινοποίηση των ιδιαίτερων θρησκευτικών ενορμήσεων από την κοινότητα είτε μέσα από τη φιλελεύθερη εκδοχή της, δηλαδή την αποδοχή και ενσωμάτωσή τους, είτε μέσα από την καταγραφή τους ως κοινωνικής και θρησκευτικής παρέκκλισης, αποτελούσε πάντοτε υπόθεση της κοινωνικής θέσμησης, την οποία και ακολουθούσε μέσω των μηχανισμών κοινωνικού ελέγχου είτε της πόλης, είτε του κυρίαρχου, είτε του κράτους και των δομών του. Προς την κατεύθυνση αυτή μπορεί να γίνει κατανοητό γιατί η “αθεΐα”, είτε στην “πολυ-

θεϊστική”, είτε στην “μονοθεϊστική” εκδοχή της κοινωνικο-πολιτικής θέσμησης αποτελούσε πάντοτε μια “επικίνδυνη” για την κοινότητα εκτροπή, επειδή ουσιαστικά αμφισβητούσε την ίδια την πολιτική και κοινωνική διάρθρωση της νομιμοποίησης των στοιχείων που συνθέτουν την κοινωνική κατασκευή.² Γίνεται έτσι κατανοητό, ότι οι όροι: “θρησκεία”, “πολυθεϊσμός”, “μονοθεϊσμός”, “θεϊσμός”, “αθεΐα” κ.α. αποτελούν στοιχεία που ενδεχομένως μας είναι χρήσιμα ερευνητικά και ερμηνευτικά εργαλεία, όχι τόσο ως θρησκευτικοί, αλλά κυρίως ως πολιτικοί όροι, οι οποίοι παραπέμπουν στην ίδια την κοινωνική δομή και στη διάρθρωσή της. Άλλωστε οι όροι αυτοί αναπτύχθηκαν στα πλαίσια των ιδεολογικών και πολιτικών αντιπαραθέσεων, αποτελώντας παράλληλα στοιχεία κοινωνικής ταυτότητας για πολλούς από τους χρήστες τους.

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² Πρόσφατα είδε το φώς της δημοσιότητας ένα άρθρο με τίτλο: *Θεός ή απόταξη*. Ενώπιον αυτού του διλήμματος βρέθηκε νεαρός πιλότος που ζήτησε την ένταξή του στην Πολεμική Αεροπορία των ΗΠΑ. Η διοίκηση τού διαμήνυσε ότι δεν θα γίνει δεκτός και θα αποταχθεί εάν δεν λάβει θρησκευτικό όρκο χρησιμοποιώντας τη φράση “so help me God”. <http://news.in.gr/world/article/?aid=1231346316>.

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Abstract

The presence of religion in Greek history was determined by both the ancient Greek political thought, and the modern policy options for the creation of the modern Greek state. The “polytheism” of the ancient Greeks and the religious freedom wasn't only a personal choice, but it involved into a political commitment in established ceremonies for the cult of the city. On the other hand in modern Greece, the presence of the Christian “monotheism” strengthened its functional structures of the newly established Greek State in the name of an official “monotheistic” religion. This does not prevent the modern Greeks following this religion with the criterion of its adaptation to their specific impulses and needs. At the same time, they continued to see through this religion their politic and national identity, even its ancient Greek version.

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Concerning to the Relationships between Eastern Black Sea Area and Outside World in the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods

Relations between eastern Black Sea area and outside world in the 1st-6th centuries AD one of the problematic and discussed issue of historiography. The researchers believe that fortified "cities" of this region, unlike of Classical and Hellenistic era, became strategically important centres of the Roman and later, the Byzantine Empire (Inadze, 1968, 144; Lordkipanidze, 1989, 342). However, according to the new data, it appears that the southern Black Sea cities (Sinope, Amissos, Heraclea Pontica and Amastria) remain the importance as trade and craft centres. In this regard, special mention should be made of Sinope, the trade relations of which covered PontusEuxinos, Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean since the early Antique times. This role has not changed in the Black Sea area in Roman era as well. Economy, social structure and the state structure of Sinope are closely linked to the interests of the Roman state. This city was main centre of Roman army and navy standing in the East during the centuries. The troops based in Caucasus and northern Asia Minor were supplied from Sinope (Maksimova, 1956, 306-352; Hind, 1976, 6-12).

Trade products of Sinope which it distributed to and from the hinterland and other coast of Black Sea can be grouped in 4 main categories: 1. Live and salted fish; 2. Timber and its products; 3. The high price agricultural products such as olive oil and wine; 4. The high price mineral raw, such as metals and precious stones (Doonan, 1999, 41-45).

Sinope economy is greatly dependent on the mineral resources in the Archaic and Classical periods, while on agricultural production and the timber bit later. Fishery expanded in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Timber also is widely recognized in Sinope and the surrounding area. Sinopean great variety of trees (fir, maple, oak) was known as the best material for shipbuilding, which were better than the quality of the wood on the northern coast of the Black Sea. Strabo's *Geography* is clearly confirms the olive-growing area in Sinope: "across the country olives are growing, and the breed is slightly away from the beach." David M. Robinson said that Sinope, may have been one of the main supplier of olive oil to the Black Sea (1906, 265). Sinope has traditionally been linked to a range of minerals as well. Minium or *Sinopis* is considered to be one of the most famous in the ancient world. It is a natural red dye, which is used in painting, architecture and treatment. Sinopean steel was known in Antiquity as well, which was marked by a high degree. According to Strabo and Pliny silver, iron and jasper were extracted in Ünye (close to modern Ordu, ancient Cotyora, colony of Sinope), Amissos and river of Thermodont basin (Doonan, 1999, 44).

According to ancient sources, Sinope played a key role in the production and distribution of olive oil and wine in the entire Black Sea coast. This reality, naturally, determine the development of pottery production here. Recent archaeological excavations have shown that a powerful industrial centre was functioned in Sinope and its surroundings in the late Roman period. Particularly interesting in this regard is amphorae firing complex in Demirci, 15km away to the south of Sinop, which is operated by the 2nd to the 6th centuries AD (Kassab-Tezgör, 2010a, 167-172; 2010b, 167-172). Accidentally discovered workshops in Alaplı close to modern Ereğli (ancient Heraclea Pontica) also is noteworthy. Waste material shows that there were already prepared amphorae with narrow and tall necks being one of the most widespread species in the Black Sea region since the 1st century AD (Arsenyeva, Kassab-Tezgör, Naumenko, 1997, 187-198). Workshops found in Sinop and Ereğli, as well as the very Sinopean items in the various regions of Black Sea: amphorae, jugs, loutheriai or other types of vessel will allow to conclude that Sinope and its environs was one of the major pottery center in the entire Black Sea region in Antiquity and afterwards. With the continuation of the production of local traditions

observed new forms as well, in particular, a kind of imitation of the Mediterranean amphorae forms.

Due to the lack of written sources, it is difficult to research agriculture and economic of eastern Black Sea area, or historical Colchis. Handicrafts decisive with regard to the archaeological data. According to Strabo's *Geography*, it appears that the main object of Colchian economy and therefore of export was timber: "each material required for ship building are there, many forests and rivers for transporting, many of cultivating flax, hemp, and pitch resin" (XI, 2,17). Strabo highlighted the Colchian flax, he thought that it was preparing flax oil too, which has edible, medicinal and lighting purposes. According to this author from Colchis should be taken gold as well: "someone said that winter torrents brought the gold and the barbarians collect it through shot kneading and hairy skins" (XI, 2,17).

As we can see, the Colchian economy is mainly based on the timber, wax and resin connected with shipbuilding industry, and flax oil and its derived products in agriculture. Strabo says nothing on the grain crops and viticulture. It seems that there has been a poorly developed agriculture and gardening. The situation has not changed in the later period. Procopius of Caesarea says: "Lazi always engaged in maritime trade with the Romans in Pontus. Even they had no salt, no wheat, no more goodness. They are only used to provide skins and slaves, and the purchase of necessary things" (*Wars* 2, 15). Interesting a second extract as well: "no wheat, nor wine vegetated in Lazica, all brought by boats from the shores of the Romans" (*Wars* 2, 28).

Most likely, along with natural wealth and raw materials handicraft products also were the subject of Colchian export (Lordkianidze, 1966, 88, 140). A wide range of local ceramics in the cultural levels of the late Antique and early Medieval periods indicates of abundance of local products. This is also confirmed by petrographic analysis, and what most important, typological and genetic connection of local production of the the Hellenistic period with Colchian brown clay amphorae. During this time, according to the available data, four type of amphorae should to be produced in Colchis: the large concave body amphorae, which would have fed a sharp rib; the relatively small size thin-walled amphorae; the so-called Tsebelda-type amphorae and concave body amphorae spread in the 5th-6th centuries AD (Khalvashi, 2002, 10-21).

Concerning to local industry there is undoubtedly interesting kiln covered in the fort of the Apsarus. It functioned to the end of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century and mainly produced brown clay and amphorae with a ridge on the neck. Thin-walled, small amphorae also firing according to the material identified in the waste (Khalvashi, 2002, 16-19; 2010, 33). Fragments of amphorae with a ridge on the neck, slag and defective samples of amphorae were also discovered in the vicinity of Eschera (Voronov, 1972, 110). Local production particularly arose in the 4th-5th centuries AD due of political and economic success of western Georgian kingdom of Egrisi. Concave body amphorae widely distributed in the 5th-7th centuries AD and recognized as western Georgian production. Several production centers: Rokhi (Baghdadi Municipality), Bichvinta and Vardtsikhe are identified.

The amphorae of this type greatly exceeds the number of other types of pottery in the cultural levels of early Byzantine period, including Apsarus (Inaishvili and Khalvashi, 2011, 265-266, Fig. 1). Here as well as in the other sites of the eastern Black Sea region wide variety of locally produced vessels are found: pots, pans, bowls, jugs, cans, scoops, pitchers, *dergis*, tiles, etc. Like the Hellenistic period, influence of imported pottery has been stressed. According to the obtained data, imitations of the Mediterranean and southern Black Sea forms were observed – not only forms but also clay structures too. For example, the fragments of brown clay amphorae with ridged handles were found in Apsarus containing mica inclusions in large number. Apparently, along the imported ceramic products, raw materials also imported. It should be noted that such vessels are often roughly produced.

This fact indicates that pottery production in the eastern Black Sea area was one of the leading sector in the the Roman and early Byzantine periods, but was or not this pottery the subject of export, still not be resolved. However, 40 ampornae with concave body dated to the 5th-7th centuries AD exhibited in the museums of the southern Black Sea region speak a lot. Generally, recognized that this form has obvious connection with Colchian amphorae, but singled out the distinctive characters as well, so it's referred to as a "pseudo Colchian" amphorae (Kassab-Tezgör, 1999, 55; 2000, 127-141). It should be noted that not only in the southern, but also in the eastern Black Sea coast observed variations of the same type of amphorae, which is mainly reflected in the design of mouth.

Dominique Kassab-Tezgör indicates that foots of the amphorae, preserved in the museums of the southern Black Sea coast, do not have a relief pitch characterized of the Colchian amporae (1999, 55). We should note that this feature of Colchian craftsmen technology disappears by this time. Some forms of late Hellenistic and Roman period small thin-walled Cochian amphorae were made without rosettes. Bodies of similar amphorae found in the southern and eastern Black Sea coasts are often equally deformed. It is particularly important that on all samples of the southern Black Sea coast confirmed the use of special weapons. It leaves on the surface long vertical lines, irregular and sometimes overlap (Kassab-Tezgör, 1999, 55). Exactly the same strips had done on the bodies of amphorae discovered in Apsarus. We believe this should be a sign, denoting a workshop. According to shape, clay and abundance of discoveries, producing centers, most probably, have to be of Colchian origin.

Imported items found in Apsarus shows that Roman garrisons stationed here predominantly supplied from the eastern Mediterranean and western parts of the Roman Empire in the end of 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century. Distribution of items from these regions are reduced in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD and production of southern Black Sea coast pottery (amphorae, louteriai) dominates. Along with the eastern Mediterranean and local production, corrugated surface amphorae in large number made in Demirciare found in the cultural levels of the 6th century AD.

Generally, 9 types of Sinopean clay amphorae of Roman and Byzantine periods are determined. Southern Black Sea origin amphorae also were discovered in Sebastopolis, Pitsunda and Vardtsikhe in large number (Khalvashi, 2002, 37-41, 51-52; 2010, 33-34; Inaishvili and Khalvashi, 2011, 269-270, Fig. 7; 2012, 497-502).

Close relations between southern Pontus and Colchis also reflected by the fact of sharing of ampore forms, techniques and technological peculiarities. Morphology of Demirci amphorae dating to the 5th century AD reveals the apparent closeness with Colchian ones (Garlan and Kassab-Tezgör, 1996, 327-331). Along to Sinope, two samples of such amphorae exhibited in the Giresun Museum. Same concave bodies observed on the large red clay amphorae, which tend to the Colchian amphorae dated to the 1st century BC - 1st century AD and following period. Similarity observed on bottom forms as well. On the other hand, transmission of the southern Black Sea amphorae forms was traced in the

Colchian handicraft industry. One group of narrow neck amphorae found in Apsarus and Sebastopolis are imitations of the Heracleian tall neck amphorae. Same should be say concerning to corrugated shoulders amphorae discovered in Apsarus, Sebastopolis, Pitsunda and Inkita vicinity. This relationship reflects the numismatic material as well: coins minted in Sinope, Trapezus and Amisos were discovered in Apsarus and Pitsunda in large number (Dundua 1971, 146; 1975, 352; Varshalomidze 2009, 26; Inaishvili and Khalvashi, 2012, 494). Some researchers believe that Trapezus was major supplier to the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Golenko, 1964, 35-36).

The new findings confirm that Roman centres of the eastern Black Sea area had close political and economic relations with southern Black Sea coast in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. Unlike the previous era, relations between Colchis and Asia Minor framed in new shape: Apsarus, Tsikhisdziri, Sebastopolis, Pitsunda and other centres over the centuries were Roman and than Byzantine strategic points (Kakhidze, 2002, 129-134). Therefore, imported productions found there are mainly intended for supply of Roman and Byzantine garrisons. It seems close to truth Otar Lordkipanidze's view that relations between Colchis and the outside world mainly exhausted with the contacts of coastal centers, where Roman and Byzantine garrisons were stationed (1983, 133-142). For the detail understanding of nature of relations between local populations of Colchis and Asia Minor, it is necessary to study surroundings of these forts and other local settlements. Moreover, the signs of this relations are already apparent. We have in mind fragments of Sinopean ceramics discovered in the village of Kolotauri, Keda Municipality placed in the Adjaritskali Valley (Mamuladze and Khalvashi, 2002, 30) and burial or other type of artifacts recently found in lower stream of Chorokhi river basin, namely in Kapandibi, Makhoand Zanakidzeebi dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

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- › Mamuladze S., Khalvasi M., *Archäologische Untersuchungenim Dorf Kolotauri, Kreis Kedi, Gonio-Apsarus*, 3, 2002, 25-43.
- › Varshalomidze I., *Coins from Gonio-Apsarus*, Batumi 2009.

Abstract

Ceramic production was one of the leading sector of the Colchian economic in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Some types were exported. This improved by discovering of concave body amphorae in the southern Black Sea area. In parallel, there are traced Sinopean and Heracleian amphorae in the territory of Colchis in much number. Nine types of Roman and Byzantine period Sinopean clay amphorae were identified just in Apsarus. Those also were discovered in Bichvinta, Nokalakevi and Vardtsikhe.

Recent finds also improve on the close contacts between eastern Black Sea and southern Black Sea which framed in new shape. The researchers believe that fortified "cities" of Colchis, unlike of Classical and Hellenistic era, became strategically important centres of the Roman and later, the Byzantine Empires. Therefore, imported productions are mainly intended for supply of Roman and Byzantine garrisons.

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Typological Correlations of the Symbol of Wine in Byzantine Exegesis

Typological interpretation is one of the main and probably the most popular methods of Biblical hermeneutics in Byzantine and not only Byzantine exegetic literature. Typological parallelism enables us to comprehend the basic concept of the Bible – i.e. the integrity of both *Testaments*, and to view biblical imagery in eschatological terms. The *Old Testament* is related to the New as type to fulfillment, and in this its true meaning is revealed.¹ The two *Testaments* are unified by the figure of the Messiah. The basic thesis of biblical typology – that the biblical text is the incarnation of the Eternal Logos – is based on the unity of the two *Testaments*. Christ's body is the shadow and the symbol), which makes possible to cognize clues to the Eternal Logos through a form, icon and language accessible to our mind.

Schmemmann emphasizes this symbolic significance of Christ for the mankind: “(Christ) came to become the symbol of the sole truth that embraces all, the symbol that expresses all – starting with creation and ending with the fulfillment, when He will truly become “all in all”, when He will gather the whole world around Him. This means that everyone belonging to this world is potentially a vessel to be filled by Christ.”² “The Divine Word is seen as the common pillar uniting both *Testaments*.

¹ Murray R., *Symbols of The Church and Kingdom*, London, NY 1975, 69.

² Шмеман А., *Литургия, Символ и таинство*.

<http://www.rp-net.ru/book/articles/bogoslovie/sh-liturgia-simvol-tainstvo.php>.

Therefore any of the biblical deeds, images or parables can be interpreted as a prophecy, the prototype of the new Christian world, while the entire biblical space can be regarded as the manifestation of the Divine Providence. As Daniélou notes, “typology reveals analogies which are unifying thread of all, bestowing as it were the signature of God on His work, and guaranteeing the authenticity of Scripture... the similarities which are very basis of typology are intended to bring into relief the unity of the divine plan.”³

Examples of typological interpretation of the *Old Testament* are offered in the *New Testament* (the *Gospel* and the *Apostolic corpus*). Later, during the budding of Christian literature, rich and diverse examples of typological interpretation were scattered in various genres that are not exegetic proper, such as epistles, apologetic anti-Judaic treatises, sacramental catechisms, homilies, etc. However, typological exegesis did not acquire a systematic character even in the period of the development of exegetic literature; this type of interpretation remained sporadic and was combined with other hermeneutic methods, mostly, symbolic-allegorical. Therefore, it is difficult to draw a clear line between these two types of interpretations. The typological method developed into two main directions: 1. historical typology, which involves parallelism of historical events and figures and 2. sacramental typology, which basically focuses on symbolic implications including the eschatological aspect.⁴ The main concept of sacramental typology is the constant nature of sacraments (embedded and revealed in biblical stories and images), which signifies the eternity of the Divine Truth.⁵

The present article aims to determine parallels and correlations between wine as a sacramental symbolic image and the related images by employing the method of symbolic-sacramental typology. Allied methods will also be considered as hermeneutical boundaries of biblical exegetics are generally vague. Wine is a key element of Christian symbolism. It is

³ Daniélou J., *From Shadows to Reality*, London 1960, 30.

⁴ Нестерова О. Е., Типологическая экзегеза в *Tractatus Mysteriorum* Илария Пиктавийского. Раннехристианская и Византийская Экзегетика, Москва 2008, 103.

⁵ Concerning the mystical character Henry de Lubac writes: “There are symbols in the Bible, just as in other human books, but only the Bible in truth contains mysteries... So mysteries are what have both been historically done and literally narrated in both Testaments”; see de Lubac H., *Medieval Exegesis*, Edinburg 2000, 2, 89.

one of the mystical components of the Eucharist. The symbolic content of this image was held sacred in the non-Christian world as well. Wine was a symbol of divine cognition and grapevine a symbol of eternity since time immemorial. In the Middle East wine was regarded as the source of “bonfire of life”, while in Mediterranean culture it was related to post-mortem life. At Dionysian festivals wine drinking was considered as a way to approach the god, and in Orphism it was a symbol of blood sacrifice.⁶

The image of wine is profoundly described in Christian exegetics. According to this tradition, the key events of the *Old Testament*, such as the Epiphany, Eucharist and Crucifixion, were expressed through typological images. Wine, closely linked to the symbols of grapevine, blood and water, is among the most important biblical images in both *Testaments*.⁷

Wine as the Blood of Grapes

As noted above, wine, being part of the symbolic imagery of the Eucharist, is linked with the images of blood and grapevine that convey Christological implications. This complex network of symbols renders the main doctrines of Christian ideology.

The first mention of wine in the Bible is in Story of Noah. Associating Noah with Christ and seeing him as a prototype of Jesus was widely accepted in Biblical exegetics. It should be noted that the first typological interpretation of the Flood and of the construction of the Ark is attributed to Apostle Peter, who repeatedly refers to this episode provides two explanations: eschatological, as a prototype of the Last Judgment (2 Pet. 2.5 and 3, 3-10), and sacramental, as a prototype of the Epiphany) (1 Pet., 3, 18-21).⁸ Consequently, the story of planting grapevine on the postdiluvial earth can be related to the birth of the new Christian nation, as suggested by the Christological and Ecclesiological implications of the narrative.⁹

According to Ephrem the Syrian, grape is essentially inherent in humans: “From the beginning this grape was preserved in Adam, the Firstborn of all. And even though he sinned, the seed of the righteous was

⁶ Abzianidze Z., Elashvili K., *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Symbols*, Tbilisi 2012, II, 102.

⁷ Нечерова О. Е., 103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹ Kobakhidze R., *Image of Biblical “Vine”*, *Qartvelology*, 5, 2013.

preserved by him and the blessing was preserved in Seth and all his generations. And when all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth (Gen., 6, 12), the blessing was preserved in the *Man of Quietness*, Noah, who was found righteous and blameless in a corrupt generation.”¹⁰ Thus, the image of grapevine is associated with blessing and Noah is seen as a new Adam. It is certainly not incidental that wine was produced from the very first vintage yielded on the new earth. Ephrem the Syrian relates the pressing of grapes to the Passions and Crucifixion of Christ, while wine represents divine juice, the medicine of Life associated with the Eucharist. “The Grape was pressed and gave the medicine of Life to nations. Happy is who drunk this gentle wine.”¹¹

In *The Cave of Treasures*, the earliest apocrypha, wine drinking is associated with the crucifixion of Christ: (When Noah drank wine, the Cross of Christ was shaped as a prophetic sign “And the Lord awoke as one that sleepeth, like a mighty man grown cloyed with wine” (καὶ ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν Κύριος, ὡς δυνατὸς κεκραίπαληκῶς ἐξ οἴνου) (Ps., 77, 65).”¹² Commentators mainly consider Noah’s insobriety in moral terms, however, if we follow the symbolic line of wine drinking, interpreted as ‘divine stun’ in Biblical exegesis we should consider Noah’s inebriety during the holy meal as the divine impact of the Eucharistic blood. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita explains drunkenness as divine ecstasy (Κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς εὐωχίας ἀνάπτουξιν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πάντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος θεὸς μεθύειν λέγεται διὰ τὴν ὑπερπλήρη καὶ ὑπὲρ νόησιν τῆς εὐωχίας ἧ, κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν, εὐεξίας τοῦ θεοῦ παντελῆ καὶ ἄφατον ἀμετρίαν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ μέθη καὶ ἀσύμμετρος ἀποπλήρωσις ἐστι καὶ νοῦ καὶ φρενῶν ἔκστασις, οὕτω κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὴν μέθην οὐκ ἄλλο τι χρῆ διανοεῖσθαι παρὰ τὴν ὑπερπλήρη κατ’ αἰτίαν προοῦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμετρίαν).¹³

¹⁰ Murray R., 117.

¹¹ Translated by R. Murray in R. Murray, *Symbols of The Church and Kingdom*, 122.

¹² *Cave of Treasure* (ed. by Ts. Kurtsikidze and E. Kochlamazashvili), Tbilisi 2006, 93 (in Georgian).

¹³ G. Heil and A. M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin 1991]: ep. 9, sec. 5, l. 2 (TLG).

Gregory of Nyssa calls this state divine ecstasy in his homilies on the *Song of Songs*.¹⁴ This passage can be interpreted as the prototype of the Eucharist: In my opinion, Noah drinks the holy blood of the *New Testament* (takes the fruit of the Vine planted on the new earth), which is described as a “new drink” in the gospel (“I will never again drink of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom (λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἄπ’ ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ’ ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου (Matth., 26, 29))” and, thus, experiences divine ascension.

Wine has a sacred meaning throughout the *Old Testament*. Isaac blesses Jacob by wine and grain: “with grain and wine I have sustained him” (σίτω καὶ οἴνω ἐστήρισα αὐτόν) (Gen., 27,37), Melchizedek treated Abraham by bread and wine: “And King Melchizedek of Salem brought out bread and wine; He was priest of God Most High. He blessed him” (καὶ Μελχισεδέκ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ ἐξήνεγκεν ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον ἦν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου. καὶ εὐλόγησε τὸν Ἀβραμ) (Gen., 14, 18-19).

Any country blessed by God is distinguished by the abundance of wine and bread: until I come and remove you to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, and bread and vineyards, a land of olive oil, and honey, and ye shall live and not die (γῆ σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἄρτου καὶ ἀμπελώνων, γῆ ἐλαίας ἐλαίου καὶ μέλιτος, καὶ ζῆσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνητε) (IV K. 18, 31,32). Prophets relate the lack of wine to the lack of God’s grace: let the land mourn, for the corn languishes; the wine is dried up, the oil becomes scarce (πενθείτω ἡ γῆ, ὅτι τεταλαιπώρηκε σῖτος, ἐξηράνθη οἶνος, ὠλιγώθη ἔλαιον) (Joel, 1, 10).

The Prophet Osee warned Israel that as a sign of punishment, “the threshing-floor and wine-press knew them not, and the wine disappointed them” (ἀλων καὶ ληνὸς οὐκ ἔγνων αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐψεύσατο αὐτούς) (Os., 9,2), but if they repent, “the earth shall hearken to the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hearken to Jezrael” (καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπακούσεται τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπακούσεται τῷ Ἰεζραέλ) (Os., 2,21).¹⁵ It is clear that all these images were

¹⁴ Gregorii Nysseni, *In Cantium Canticorum*, ed. H. Langerbeck (GNO, VI), Leiden 1960, 310, 18-311; Saint Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, translated with and Introduction by C. McCambley, Brookline, MA 1987, 193.

¹⁵ Словарь Библейских Образов, Райкен Л. Уилхойт Д. Лиланд, СПб 2005, 140.

considered to be the prototype of the Eucharist, as wine is always mentioned together with bread and signifies God's blessing.

Ephrem the Syrian describes the unity of divine and human natures as the fusion of God's body and blood with man's and associates it with the Eucharist:

"In a new way his body
has fused with our bodies
and his pure blood
has been poured in our veins.
He became the Bread of Life...
Thou hast strengthened it
with thy blessed Bread,
Thou hast consoled it
With thy sober Wine."¹⁶

According to Ephrem, the symbols of the Eucharist convey the divine spirit and fire.. In the following passage the Holy Spirit is identified with fire.

"Spirit in thy bread, fire in thy wine
A wonder set apart (yet) received by our lips."¹⁷

There are episodes in the *Old Testament* where wine is presented as a direct analogy of blood: "and he drank wine, the blood of the grape (καὶ αἷμα σταφυλῆς ἔπιον οἶνον) (Deut., 32, 12); he shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape. (πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ) (Gen., 49, 11). According to John Chrysostom, these words signify the death (bleeding) and passion of Christ.¹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa interprets wine as the prototype of Christ's blood.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that in Christian literature this image was used not only as a symbol of Christ's blood but as a symbol of saints' blood as well.²⁰ Thus, in the life of St. Eugenia martyrdom is compared to the period from vintage to the pressing of wine which is to be served at the feast of the Lord. The wine is called the blood of grapes. In

¹⁶ Translated by R. Murray in R. Murray. *Symbols of The Church and Kingdom*, 133.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁸ Иоанн Златоуст, *Толкование на пророка Исаию*, Гл. 63. 2. http://www.ispovednik.ru/zlatoust/Z06_1/t06_1.htm.

¹⁹ Gregorii Nysseni, *In Cant. Cant.*, (GNO, VI), 95, 15-20.

²⁰ Житие и страдание святой преподобномученицы Евгении, В изложении святителя Димитрия Ростовского. <http://idrp.ru/zhitiya-svyatih-lib1558/>.

ecclesiological terms, since the image of grapevine is likewise used with saints as members of the Celestial Church, its symbolic implications are in line with the implications of wine: the wine from divine grapes of the Church represents the holy blood of martyrs.

Water Turned into Wine

It is interesting to trace how the mentioned principal implication of wine is related to water, another key image found in the Bible.

Basil the Great describes at length the interrelation between wine and water in his homilies on the Hexameron. According to Basil, water is transformed into the juice of plants. Likewise, it is turned into wine, the juice of grapevine, by the will of God: Πῶς πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς νοτίδος ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ οἶνος συνίσταται, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ τὸ ἔλαιον²¹. The same idea can be found in Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* (Καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου βότρυς καὶ οἶνος ἐγένετο)²² and Nemesios of Emesa's *De natura hominis* (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερόν ἐστιν οἶνος ἢ ὕδωρ ὑπ' ἀμπέλου πεποιωμένον)."²³

John Chrysostom relates this phenomenon to the miracle at Cana in Galilee.²⁴ Commentators interpret the parallel as the integrity of divine providence. The first miracle of the world (the creation of the universe and the transformation of water into various juices of plants, including wine) is related to the first miracle of the Gospel and represents common typology.

There are various allegorical interpretations of Jesus' turning of water into wine at Cana in Galilee. John Chrysostom interprets water as human idleness, slackness, negligence and other vices which are turned into divine strength by the power of miracle.²⁵ Following Maximus the Confessor, Euthymius Zigabenus interprets six vessels of human soul as the six works of mercy ("I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me"). The

²¹ Giet S., Basile de Césarée. Homélie sur l'hexaéméron, 2nd edn. [Sources chrétiennes 26 bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968] Homily 5 sec. 81. 36. (TLG).

²² Gregorii Nysseni *De hominis opificio*, MPG 44, Paris 1857-1866, 134.

²³ Morani M., Nemesii Emeseni *de natura hominis*, Leipzig 1987, Ch. 1 p. 81. 5 (TLG).

²⁴ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannes (homiliae 2)*, (MPG) 59, Paris: Migne 1857-1866, 137, 2-5.

²⁵ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannes (homiliae 1-88)*, (MPG), 137, 10-15.

vessels that were empty and useless were first filled by the Logos with water, i.e. with the emotive virtue, which was then turned into wine, the spiritual virtue. In other words, the vessels of soul were first filled with natural knowledge and then with divine knowledge²⁶. According to John Chrysostom, wine and water may also signify the teachings of the New and *Old Testaments* respectively.²⁷ Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theophylactus of Bulgaria observe the same allegorical implications – at first, the Scripture was water, but Jesus turned it into wine.²⁸ The integrity of wine and water (that is, the human and the divine) is revealed in the Mystery of the Eucharist – the Liturgy is fulfilled by wine mixed with water, like the mixture of blood and water flowing out of Jesus' side.²⁹ As Lubac notes, the symbolic imagery of the miracle at Cana is as rich as it is simple: Jesus changes the water of the Scripture into the wine of the Spirit. Being the successor to the old law, He transforms it into the gracious splendor of the Gospel. By the working of his omnipotence He changes the hearts of those whom He calls to the new life to acquire new perception and transfigures their mortal condition by infusing into them the seeds of glorious resurrection.³⁰

“Wine to gladden the heart of man means that the mystery of the Eucharist, or the Communion with God, gives joy and gladness to human heart, warms and fills it with love which is the substantive analogue of God. However, this is not a human joy, but a joy of approaching God, which is conveyed by the symbolic meaning of wine.

In his commentary on *The Song of Songs* Hippolyte of Rome too interprets the symbolic allegory of wine as joy. Wine streaming from the breasts of Christ is one of the key symbols in these passages, imbued all over with symbolic imagery.³¹ The same exegetic line is followed by Gregory of Nyssa as he interprets this biblical passages: “He follows and

²⁶ Зигабен Е., Толкования на евангелие от Иоана. Azbyka.ru/otechnik.

²⁷ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannem (homiliae 1-88)*, MPG 59, 137, 17-18.

²⁸ Lubac H., *The Church: Paradox and Mystery*, translated by J. R. Dunne, Shannon, Ire: Ecclesia Press 1999, 200.

²⁹ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannes (homiliae 1-88)*, MPG 59, 138, 2-6.

³⁰ De Henri L., 2000, V. I, 253.

³¹ Hippolytus, *In Cantium Cantorum*, M. Richard, “Une paraphrase grecque résumée du commentaire d'Hippolyte sur le cantique des cantiques,” *Muséon* 77, 1964, 142, 15-20 (TLG).

elaborates on David's understanding of joy brought by wine, gladdening the heart of those who take it"³² Thus, whether directly or indirectly, the symbol of wine is related to the Eucharist, the main church mystery ensuring man's communion with God and conveys the same symbolic implications as the relationship between water and wine in typological terms as well.

Eschatological Implications of Wine

Apart from contexts featuring the common space of both *Testaments*, the typological image of wine is explored in eschatological passages as well. Jeremiah describes the age to come in the following way: "Take from my hand this cup filled with the wine of my wrath and make all the nations to whom I send you drink it" (Jer., 25,15). Waterless wine seems to be presented by the Prophet as the drink of love cleaned from human intents, thanks to which the "spirits of honest men are fed." Wine drinking is described in *Eternal Life* by Isaiah: On this mount they shall drink gladness, they shall drink wine (πίονται εὐφροσύνην, πίονται οἶνον) (Isa., 25, 6). According to Joel's prophecy on the eighth day, "In that day the mountains will drip with sweet wine" (καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀποσταλάξει τὰ ὄρη γλυκασμόν) (Joel, 3,18); "The days are coming," declares the Lord, "when the reaper will be overtaken by the plowman and the planter by the one treading grapes. New wine will drip from the mountains and flow from all the hills" (καὶ ἀποσταλάξει τὰ ὄρη γλυκασμόν) (Am., 9, 13). In these eschatological passages wine is presented as the divine drink and can be considered as part of the following symbolic sequence: wine as divine blood turning from a human substance (water) into the divine substance and enabling the human nature (water) to participate in Divinity gladdens the hearts of men through the communion of human souls with God. In the age to come it will turn into the eternal divine gladness of the mankind.

Wine in a Negative Context

Despite the systemic sacral implications of wine as a symbol, we may nevertheless come across its negative connotations in the *Old* as well as *New Testaments*. If grapevine yields poor fruits, wine is sour and bitter like vinegar given to crucified Christ. In general, each positive symbol found

³² Gregorii Nysseni, *In Cant. Cant.*, 137, 17-19.

in the Bible (vine, bread, fig, water, fire) has its negative counterpart that unveils the ambivalence of biblical imagery. Such approaches are in line with the main function of biblical exegetics which consists in the exposition of the comprehensive and multilayer Christian theses.

The negative understanding of wine is associated with the vine of Sodom: For their vine [is] of the vine of Sodom, and their vine-branch of Gomorrha (ἐκ γὰρ ἀμπέλου Σοδόμων ἢ ἀμπελος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κληματις αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας. ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρως πικρίας αὐτοῖς) (II L. 32, 32). This image is an analogy of Isaiah's wild grapes: "And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes." (τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῷ; διότι ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας) (Isa., 5, 2-7). The prophet himself identifies the image with Israel: "I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it, for the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel" (ὁ γὰρ ἀμπελῶν Κυρίου σαβαώθ οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ἐστι) (Isa., 5, 5-7). In the *New Testament* this typological image appears as fruitless vine mentioned by the Evangelists (Matth., 21, 33; Mark., 12, 1-9; Luk. 20, 9-16). Wine as a negative image is found also in Revelation of John: "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great! She has made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication" – (ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἣ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) (Rev., 14, 8).

The image of Wine pressed from bitter grapes as an analogue of vinegar given by the Judeans (the fruitless vine) to the crucified Messiah can be found in the comments of the 12th century Gelati catena Bible: wine does not gladden but darkens the hearts of men.³³ In the *Cave of Treasures*, bitter wine from the *Old Testament* is considered as the prototype of the vinegar given to Christ – "ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρως πικρίας αὐτοῖς" (II Law, 32, 32).³⁴

The negative context of wine is obvious in a passage where wine is called the blood of grapes. "So the angel swung his sickle over the earth and gathered the vintage of the earth, and he threw it into the great wine

³³ *Gelati Catena Bible* (Ed. by E. Chelidze), Tbilisi 2011, 469.

³⁴ *Cave of Treasure*, 169.

press of the wrath of God. And the wine press was trodden outside the city, and blood flowed from the wine press, as high as a horse's bridle, for a distance of about two hundred miles" (καὶ ἐτρώγησεν τὴν ἄμπελον τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν. καὶ ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνὸς ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλίων ἑξακοσίων) (Rev., 14, 19-20). According to Andrew the Caesarean-Cappadocian, in this passage blood can be interpreted as the symbol of infidels' sufferings and tears.

In conclusion, it can be argued on the basis of Ecclesiastical interpretations that the semantic field of wine as a typological symbol shows systemic reference to the mystery of the Eucharist. The basic exegetical line focuses on the analogy of wine with the Blood of Christ. According to the allegoric interpretation, it represents divine gladness, which in turn relates to the joy of the Holy Communion and thereby continues the basic symbolic line. At the same time, wine is closely linked with the symbol of water, which likewise leads us to the mystery of the Eucharist. The same symbolic line is developed through the eschatological interpretation of wine. Thus, we can loosely say that the exegetical coverage of wine does not go beyond the Eucharistic context. On the other hand, as discussed above, wine, like other biblical symbols, may also have a negative connotation determined through its relationship with the image of vine. Finally, it should be mentioned that this key symbol of the Christian mystery has the same semantic range in both *Testaments*, which conforms to the following allegorical passage from the *Song of Songs*: "The two *Testaments* are the two lips of the bride, which reveal the same secret and bestow the same kiss."³⁵

Abstract

My analysis of exegetical interpretations of biblical wine is based on the typological method of Bible exegesis. Typological interpretation is one of the main and probably the most popular methods of Biblical hermeneutics in Byzantine exegetic literature. Typological parallelism enables us to comprehend the basic concept of the Bible – i. e. the integrity of both *Testaments*, and to view biblical imagery in eschatological terms. The semantic field of wine as a typological symbol shows systemic reference to the mystery of the Eucharist. The basic exegetical line focuses on the analogy of wine with the Blood of Christ. According to the allegoric interpretation, it represents divine gladness, which in turn relates to the joy of the

³⁵ de Lubac H., 2000, vol. I, 254.

Holy Communion and thereby continues the basic symbolic line. At the same time, wine is closely linked with the symbol of water, which likewise leads us to the mystery of the Eucharist. The same symbolic line is developed through the eschatological interpretation of wine. Thus, we can loosely say that the exegetical coverage of wine does not go beyond the Eucharistic context. On the other hand, as discussed above, wine, like other biblical symbols, may also have a negative connotation determined through its relationship with the image of vine. Finally, it should be mentioned that this key symbol of the Christian mystery has the same semantic range in both *Testaments*.

Temur Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)

Parodic Epiphany of Dionysus in T. S. Eliot's *Sweeney among the Nightingales*

Like most of T. S. earlier poems, *Sweeney among the Nightingales* attracts attention by references to mythological plots and the contrast of modern situation with the mythological past. However, as F. R. Leavis has pointed out, "The contrast is clearly something more than a sordid incident in a modern brothel and the murder of Agamemnon" (Leavis, 1932, 69) Eliot placed the epigraph from Aeschylus's play in its original Greek wording. In modern English, the quotation says, "Alas, I am struck deep with a mortal blow."

The situation of the poem represents a scene of specially accentuated schematic and mechanical actions, which, considering the relevant implications, might equally take place in a European restaurant or a Southern-American cantina, or in a brothel just anywhere in the world. As a matter of fact, nothing "happens" in the poem; there is neither a consistent action nor a coherent plot to be found in it; nevertheless, the artistic space is densely populated by the characters. From the point of view of the "contents", the whole scene resembles defective fragments of a film discarded during the montage process: it is open on both sides having neither a logical start nor an end asserting any possible outcome. The images as though torn out of the context, as well as particular associative details are intensifying the feeling of fragmentary perception. But for the general schematic structure, nothing is uniting the characters – their actions are brought down to a minimum and are limited to the physical gestures, bodily movements, and mimicry. Yet the poem is "emanating" internal tension, irony and grotesque: it shows that a very important

meaning is veiled beyond the external expression, whereas the outer picture remains dry and schematic, with the personages being involved in trivial, insignificant and hollow actions. The “apeneck” Sweeney, with his legs widely spread apart and the arms hanging down, is roaring in wild laughter; the waiter brings in oranges, figs, bananas and the hothouse grapes; “The vertebrate” – a man in brown – “contracts and concentrates”; a woman “in the Spanish cape tries to sit in Sweeney’s knees /Slips and pulls the table cloth /Overturns a coffee-cup”; “Rachel nee Rabinovitch, /Tears at the grapes with murderous paws”; “The host with someone indistinct /Converses at the door apart”; “the man with heavy eyes../Leaves the room and reappears/Outside the window, leaning in”. The constellations are watching all these from above... “Gloomy Orion and the Dog” and the Raven together with Death “drift above”. All this irrelevant and absurd picture has an epigraph, containing the words of dying Agamemnon, declaring of his being fatally wounded.

Despite the grotesque characters of Sweeney and others (or perhaps, at the very expense of this grotesque), the poem creates a rather gloomy atmosphere. It seems that the author, as well as all the characters perceives everything what is happening around, as a day-to-day routine. The poem starts and ends with the gloomy associations of Agamemnon’s murder by Clytemnestra: betrayal, lechery, murder and blood constitute the direct components of the poem’s design, which, in the form of three constellations, is being looked upon by heavens in cold blood.

Sweeney among the Nightingales is of paramount interest because it is for the first time that in this poem Eliot employs the archaic mythology of the mortal Gods of vegetation. The system of artistic expression in this poem is based on the mythical pattern of death and rebirth, which according to Eliot’s contemporary anthropologist, James G. Frazer, constitutes the ritualistic basis of the archaic mythology of fertility. The association to Agamemnon’s death refers to the ritual of murdering a king, deified by the primitive community, in the course of which he should be removed by a young heir, thus introducing renovation in the life of the tribe, in order to affect the fertility of the earth and revive the reproduction potential of the nature. Echoing Freud’s *Totem and Taboo*, 20th century comparative religion also maintained that murder of the kings, so frequently occurring in the imaginative thinking of different nations remotely derives from the ritual murder of the *Primal Father*, identified with a fertility god,

committed by a "horde of brothers" (Roheim, 2005, 328). In primitive consciousness, the ritual murder of the deified king is mystically associated with the natural cycle of revival or the rhythmic sequence of the seasons and consequently, is connected with the death of the deities of fertility, as well as with their consequent resurrection.

As the critic Herbert Foltinek points out, "the tragedy of Agamemnon, from which the epigraph of the poem is taken, deals with a subject which modern research has tried to explain as the reflection of an ancient sacred rite. The Greek tragic hero is said to derive from human representatives of Dionysus, god of vegetation and fecundity; the Agamemnon myth itself may have originated in the ritual of a local form of the god. As the divine king or man-god he had to die in his prime to rise again in his young successor" (Foltinek, 1958, 28). In fact, Eliot undertakes the synthesis of the Dionysus myth with the story of Agamemnon. He seems to be exploring the ritual roots of myth, as though 'checking' its viability, by way of which he accomplishes the task of ultimate generalization of the modern situations depicted in his work. The poem seems to be saturated with myth: apart from its traditional metaphorical meaning, every one of its characters contains an associative detail indicating a number of mythological plots, as well as a complex mythological structure. By way of constructing the joint scene with participation of Sweeney and the unknown men and women of unseemly behavior, mythical universality is achieved – all the characters of the poem are involved in the parodied ritual activities, these actions being the embodiment of the tragicomic theatricals of the primal mythical structure.

At a first blush, the mythological allusions of *Sweeney among the Nightingales* are deprived of any specific associative connotation. The fact that Rachel "Tears the grapes with murderous paws", within the framework of quite extravagant but traditional poetics, can be perceived as a quite rational poetic image. It is true, that it proves hardly possible to find another character similar to this in any other poetic text, but its perception in terms of an image creating certain emotional background, is quite feasible and justified. This is how an unprepared reader would comprehend the poem, for whom the direct metaphoric connotation is of decisive importance. On the other hand, portrayal of the behavior of the same Rachel would by no means be an impressionistic sketch, designed for creating only a concrete mood or disposition. Its main function is

profoundly symbolic being rationally prone to disclosure at the same time:

Rachel nee Rbinovitch
Tears the grapes with murderous paws.

The key-word in these lines is “tears”: in normative English its usage with the word “grapes” is unimaginable and even in Eliot’s text, this kind of word-combination sounds almost ridiculous, being absolutely improperly adopted. Actually, the grapes, as if casually used in the context of the poem, represent a symbolic image of the formidable god Dionysus, as of one of the major deities of fertility and wine drinking. Bringing together several associative plots by means of one single image is a rather characteristic method for Eliot and here as well, “tearing of the grapes” simultaneously implies a number of mythological motifs: first of all, Dionysus is a “dithyrambos”, or “he who entered the door twice”, i.e. a twice born god. Once dead and then brought to life, this mortal and resurrective god of fertility closely resembles Osiris: as Herodotus puts it in his *Histories*, “Osiris is he who is called Dionysus in the Greek tongue” (Johnson, 1978, 148). In his first life he was torn apart and devoured by the Titans, when in order to escape from them, he was trying to change into a lion, a goat and a bull. It is notable that it was in the image of a bull, that the Titans caught hold of him; therefore, the fact that it is Rachel who is tearing the grapes, is an association related with the Maenads, the ecstatic admirers of Dionysus, by way of which Sweeney’s “nightingales” are turned into the women-escorts of Dionysus. According to the myth, Dionysus was regularly seen in the company of those incredibly vigorous and hyperactive ladies as they, plunged in the ritual ecstasies, would tear the bulls alive and devour their flesh raw. As Frazer points out, “The rending and devouring of live bulls and calves appear to have been a regular feature at Dionysiac rites” (Frazer, 1994, 399). The fact that Rachel is tearing the grapes with “murderous paws” is a clear indication of the rise of animal instincts in the modern “Maenad” or “Bacchant”. After the tearing of zomorphic Dionysus, the Maenads devoured his flesh the same way as, Rachel, apparently is tearing and gobbling the grapes in Eliot’s poem.

It is not by chance, that the Maenad Rachel is mentioned as having “murderous paws”, for violence used to be an organic constituent of the Dionysia. Actually, adoration of the orgiastic cult of Dionysus did not at all imply innocent revels and merry pass-time. In the course of the entire history of ancient world, adoration of Dionysus’ cult was notorious for its

rather stern and bloodthirsty rituals. The surviving annals of the ancient scripts describe the overwhelmingly unleashed behavior, collective ecstatic libertinism, murders committed in a state of alcoholic intoxication and the ultimate aggressiveness of the participating mob. At the close of ancient times, the Dionysias terrified even the Roman Senate, although Rome itself had never been renowned for any particular virtue or genteel behavior either. Titus Livy indicates in *History of Rome*, that "from the time when the rites were held promiscuously, with men and women mixed together, and when the license offered by darkness had been added, no sort of crime, no kind of immorality, was left unattempted ... Anyone refusing to submit to outrage or reluctant to commit crimes was slaughtered as a sacrificial victim. To regard nothing as forbidden was among these people the summit of religious achievement" (Meyer, 1987, 86).

With reference to the Dionysus rituals, Rachel with the "murderous paws" as well as "the lady in the Spanish cape" trying to sit in Sweeney's knees, turn into the parodic Maenads. Consequently, the dull men mentioned in the poem, are portrayed as the Satires, accompanying Dionysus whereas the entire "ritual" gathering of these men and women represents a parodied Dionysian revel in the interior of a restaurant or a brothel. It is obvious that the interior, equally resembling a restaurant and a brothel is accentuating the symbolic motifs of eating and libertinism, more closely related to the theme of the Dionysian orgies. The Maenads – Rachel and the lady in the cape are pursuing the same goals (She and the lady in the cape/ Are suspect, seem to be in the league); besides lechery, these ladies are preparing themselves for the sacrifice – they are plotting to kill Sweeney or "the man with heavy eyes", who in his turn, tries to keep himself away from them and "declines the gambit" with the lady in the cape. Yet, symbolically the act of sacrifice is in operation, for Rachel already "tears at the grapes with murderous paws"; meanwhile, Sweeney, who, simultaneously, is a parodied Agamemnon, a deified king ready for the sacrifice and a deity of fertility, turns into a torn cluster of grapes or a parodied Dionysus.

As far as Sweeney is just a parody, his possible murder or his assumed death is by no way a pre-condition of his resurrection. Sweeney, a "sacrifice" to be, is also a grotesque caricature, just like a Sweeney identified with the fatally wounded Agamemnon. The ritual, even in case of fulfillment, will never bring about a positive outcome, because the act of

sacrifice has turned to a mere murder in this context. In general, Sweeney acts as a dominant figure through the entire situation of the poem being a parodied sovereign on one hand and an expected sacrifice of a parodied ritual on the other. Actually, Sweeney is portrayed in three imaginary faces: in the beginning he is associated with an ape, a zebra and a giraffe, while in the epigraph and the finale of the poem he is presented as the dying Agamemnon and in the middle of the poem he is identified with a cluster of grapes. Within the symbolic framework this means the three eternal forms of divine manifestation – zoological, biological and botanical, this one more time, adding mythical dimension to the poem. Likewise, in the archaic mythology, the deities of fertility appeared before the mortals in the disguise of botanical, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic creatures. In Sweeney's case, their similarity is accomplished by means of parodic adaptation of the mythical patterns of death and rebirth. The poem full of gloomy irony, together with the murders expected or already committed, is extending to the reader a message on resurrection, yet not destined for future fulfillment. The theme of fertility is often mentioned in the poem but the ritual of fertility itself, extremely "degraded" and devoid of any pathos is also turned into a sheer parody. There is no place left for resurrection there, because a ritual turned into grotesque will never bear any positive result.

The associative structure of the poem is arranged in such a way that the process of eating at the restaurant (the ritual "nibbling" at the flesh of the killed God) occurs as a parodied act of Communion, associated with the murder and lechery taking place at the brothel: the victim should be killed in order to be eaten afterwards. Of course, no act of murder is being committed on the realistic or 'narrative' level of the poem – Rachel simply reaches for the grapes, yet on the level of symbolic associations, the Maenads 'with murderous paws' tear apart and devour the zoomorphic Dionysus. The moment of parodic Communion is emphasized here because in fact, Rachel is consuming consecrated flesh and blood of the deity (according to Fraser, the participants of Dionysian revels believed that by eating the sacrificial flesh of the victim, they, like Dionysus, would also become gods). Following this pattern, the lady in the Spanish cape really sits on Sweeney's lap and later on – sitting in a pool of coffee split on the floor, she "draws a stocking up". Yet, considering the whole set of symbolic associations, this extremely laconic obscenity is nothing more

than a parodied "ritual adultery", committed while drinking wine (or drinking coffee in Eliot's poem):

The person in the Spanish cape
Tries to sit on Sweeney's knees
Slips and pulls the table cloth
Overturns a coffee-cup,
Reorganized upon the floor
She yawns and draws a stocking up.

The overturned coffee cup also attracts attention as a ritual wine chalice, expressing the orgiastic contents of the cult of Dionysus who, being a deity of drunken revels can often be observed in many portraits and sculptures with the cup in his hand. Instead of wine, it is coffee that plays the role of a ritual drink, causing exaltation. The association related to coffee also pops out in the portrayal of a "silent man" standing at the windowsill, dressed in the "mocha brown" (mocha is a sort of coffee) clothes. The reader gets another message about this man in the sixth line as well, where he is qualified as a "vertebrate", this word implying sharp irony and grotesque. A part of this associative background is River Plate or Rio de La Plata, which together with its estuaries flows in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, its basin even nowadays being one of the most important centers of coffee production. If, in the days of yore or in the mythological past, Communion with the divine initial was conducted through wine, among Eliot's contemporary society the similar procedure is accomplished by coffee and the connotation that apparently, nothing will be changed by this, fills the whole verse with infinite irony. The only discernable difference is that the past was full of burning passions and aggressiveness, whereas the present is rather inert and apathetic. The main mythopoeic device for Eliot is reshuffling time-realities and not the ironic confrontation with the mythological glory of the past. Eventually, irony is being shared evenly between the past and the present and Eliot's Sweeney contains the parody on Dionysus the same way as Eliot's Dionysus holds Sweeney in himself. It is not only today that wine has turned into coffee, but starting from the mythical past, notorious for its violence and lechery, it has always been a surrogate.

The parodic set of associations is complemented by the exotic fruit mentioned in the fifth line – bananas, figs, oranges and hothouse grapes, served by the waiter for the pleasure of the customers. Correct reading of

these images within the symbolic context of the poem commands serious observation: the grapes being necessarily from a greenhouse comprises one more parodied epithet to Dionysus, expressing the “taming” and civilized “conversion” of this ecstatic deity in the post-Victorian society. Mentioning another parodied hypostasis of the fertility god – bananas would cause almost a shocking impact on the comprehension of the readers of that period. Dionysus, whose traditional epithets are “the phallic one”, “the erect”, “the bi-testicled” etc., in this poem is parodied through the traditionally vulgar and obscene associations related to the phallic shape of bananas. The abundance of the fruit in Eliot’s poem facilitates the general mythological background of fertility: apart from grapes, Dionysus was considered the god of all kinds of fruit. Together with bananas, figs, served by the waiter also represent one of Dionysus’ avatars; according to Frazer, the Greeks considered him the creator of all fruits existing, yet he was mostly associated with figs. In some of Greek towns he even was mentioned as “Fig Dionysus” and they would carve his sculptures exclusively from fig trees.

Universalization of the specifically banal background in *Sweeney among the Nightingales* is provided by means of associative recollection of other mythological plots as well: Sweeney’s nightingales are not only the Maenads of Dionysus or the sweetly singing birds from Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s poem: Eros and Tanatos in Eliot’s poetry, as in poetic art in general, are inseparable, but in the grim and ironic artistic realm of his poems death turns into murder and love – into lechery. The main associative image of the nightingales, apart from Eliot’s contemporary slangy meaning of the word (‘harlot’ or ‘prostitute’), is also associated with the ancient Greek myth of the rape of Philomel, accentuating more strongly the dominant theme of the poem – the motif of violence, lechery and murder. In the sixth book of *Metamorphoses*, Ovid writes, that Philomel was raped by her brother-in-law, the barbaric king of Thrace, Tereus, and in order to conceal his crime, he cut out his victim’s tongue. Procne, infuriated by her husband’s deed and inspired for revenge, committed even graver a crime and having killed her infant son Itylus, let her husband eat his own son’s flesh. When Tereus learned that he was given his dead son’s flesh for dinner, he drew out the sword and started after the sisters for death. But the gods turned Procne into a swallow and Philomel into a nightingale. According to another version of the myth,

both sisters were converted into nightingales. Since then, following the ancient tradition, the nightingales only sing at the time when violence, murder, lechery or other crimes are being committed.

Infinitely gloomy and tragic sound of this myth, in which only the evil fights the evil and not even the slightest chance of salvation is hinted upon, surprisingly well echoes the spirit of the situation given in *Sweeney among the Nightingales*. The poetic interpretation of the myth told by Ovid is very close to Eliot's parodic Bacchanalia: according to the Roman poet, Procne murders her son during the Dionysian celebrations (Bacchanalia in Rome). Procne herself, when preparing to take revenge upon Tereus, put on a costume of a Maenad or Bacchant: "By night the queen left her palace, prepared herself for the rites of the god, and took up the weapons of that frenzied religion. Tendrils of vine wreathed her head; a deerskin was draped over her left side; a light javelin rested on her shoulder. Hurling through the woods with a crowd of her companions, terrifying, driven by maddening grief, ... she dresses Philomel too in the Bacchant fashion, and surrounded by the accompanying hoard of other Bacchants rushes forward into the woods, "...as if pushed forward by you, Bacchus" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI). It is noteworthy that the associative image of the nightingales relates Eliot's poem to Cassandra's loud mourning from the relevant tragedy by Aeschylus. The chorus of *Agamemnon* compares her prophecies, concerning her own future and Agamemnon's upcoming murder, with the symbolic lamentations of the nightingales, in which Procne is mourning her dead son Itylus and on the other hand, is calling him up.

A tragicomic scene taking place in a banal cafe reaches cosmic significance and universality, for it is mirrored in the circulation of the constellations and in the drift of stars. The private situation in *Sweeney among the Nightingales* turns no more a private one, but like all other individual dramas considered on the level of mythical generalization. Eternity, revealing itself in the rotation of the moon and the twinkling of the stars contains the same type of synthesis of Eros and Tanatos as a single vulgar scene described in a restaurant, which also represents a brothel. Gloomy Orion and the Dog are veiled by the clouds; the "stormy" moon "slides westward", "Death and the Raven drift above", etc. In English speech of the beginning of the 20th century "sliding westward" or "going westward" used to be euphemistic expressions of death or dying, something like

Georgian – “taking a letter (to the ancestors)”. James Joyce is using it in a symbolic meaning in the end of “The Dead” (*Dubliners*, 1919), where the snow of decline is falling upon the whole country of Ireland, to make Gabriel Conroy contemplate on “setting out on his journey westward.” In such a context, a huge, muddy Rio de la Plata, towards which the moon is sliding, is presented as the “western river” or the Styx.

In Eliot’s poems, just like in the tragedy of Aeschylus, murders are never directly portrayed, not counting the roaring cry of fatally wounded Agamemnon, being heard beyond the closed gates of the palace. It is only the chorus, which discusses the murder together with Cassandra uttering mourning cries, all followed by Clytemnestra’s commentary on the deeds she had committed. It is obvious, that the murder is really taking place in the tragedy, and so it does in Eliot’s poem, although in the latter it is committed in the parodic manner – by tearing the grapes with the “murderous paws”. In this poem, Agamemnon as well as Sweeney is personifying manifold masques of Dionysus and so is the waiter, emerging out of the blue with the fruit, coffee, grapes and partly the man dressed in “mocha brown”, being the symbols of the same scale. The nightingales are singing ominous songs over Agamemnon’s dead body in the “bloody wood”, for the victims of lechery will never rise from dead. The rite related to his death is a false ritual, Communion being an immoral parody of serving God: for all actions are accompanied by coffee drinking and lechery during the modern “Dionysia”, held in an indecent place. Therefore

The nightingales are singing near
The convent of the Sacred Heart.
And sang within the bloody wood
When Agamemnon cried aloud...

It is notable, that the nightingales are singing near the Convent of the Sacred Heart, this being an association of Christ as the resurrected God of fertility. On the other hand, the symbolic images related to Dionysus become apparent here as well, for Athena saves the heart of infant Dionysus, torn apart by the Titans. Immediately afterwards, Zeus puts Dionysus’ heart in his thigh and later on, gives him birth anew or delivers him back to being. The finale of the poem is deliberately open, and by no means simple – the possibility of rebirth is manifested through the associations of Christ and the heart of Dionysus, but the entire associative system is imbued by the somber irony: the resurrection was possible but it

could not be realized, because the sacrifice itself turned to be a parody. An imaginary tragedy of this kind will by all means turn into a farce at all times and in all circumstances: God is dead and only the nightingales are letting "their liquid siftings" to stain Agamemnon's shroud.

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Abstract

Universalization of the specifically banal background in *Sweeney among the Nightingales* is provided by means of associative recollection of a variety of mythological plots. The associative structure of the poem is arranged in such a way that the process of eating at the restaurant (the ritual "nibbling" at the flesh of the killed God) occurs as a parodied act of Communion, associated with the murder and lechery taking place at the brothel: the victim should be killed in order to be eaten afterwards. Of course, no act of murder is being committed on the realistic or 'narrative' level of the poem – Rachel simply reaches for the grapes, yet on the level of symbolic associations, the Maenads 'with murderous paws' tear apart and devour the zoomorphic Dionysus. The moment of parodic Communion is emphasized here because in fact, Rachel is consuming consecrated flesh and blood of the deity (according to Fraser, the participants of Dionysian revels believed that by eating the sacrificial flesh of the victim, they, like Dionysus, would also become gods). Following this pattern, the lady in the Spanish cape really sits on Sweeney's lap and later on – sitting in a pool of coffee split on the floor, she "draws a stocking up". Yet, considering the whole set of symbolic associations, this extremely laconic obscenity is nothing more than a parodied "ritual adultery", committed while drinking wine (or drinking coffee in Eliot's poem).

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The Vocabulary of *Prometheus Bound* in the Context of Aeschylean Poetics

οὐδ' ἔστιν ἄθλον τέρμα σοι προκείμενον;
οὐκ ἄλλο γ' οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅταν κείνω δοκῆ.

The words above, from the text of *Prometheus Bound*,¹ are indicative of the infinity of Prometheus's suffering. These words, meant to serve the dramatization of the content, could be also subject to different interpretation, while the salience of the text reflected in its ability to inspire many generations of researchers, demonstrated the long-lasting effects of this classical drama with a 'boundless' epilogue.

It is important to consider the extent of historical research that ensued in the analysis of the text of *Prometheus Bound*. Of note is generated scholarship throughout the centuries around a scientific-like desire to validate its authorship from academics in the field of philology. Resembling a detective-style investigation by philologists, one can assume that this level of philological "peril" or suffering as that found in *Prometheus Bound* by scholars seeking to identify the text's authorship, has rarely received approval in the history of world literature. While many researchers have attempted to find a resolution to this conundrum, none of them appear to have the Olympic strength that is necessary to arrive at the finish line of reconciliation.² In actuality, *Prometheus's* authorship

¹ PV, 257-258.

² Beginning from the doubts of R. Westphal (1856) about Aeschylean authorship, to the hypothesis of M. L. West (1990) suggesting Euphorion as an author of the play, the question of Prometheus' authenticity has passed through many stages of theories:

enigma is one of the most intriguing problems in the history of literature – as Winnington-Ingram defined it³ – and still remains unresolved.

Despite the fact that this paper will underline several times the authorship puzzle of *Prometheus Bound*, it does not seek to imply that its goal is to approve or disprove the Aeschylean authorship of the text. The modest goal of this paper is to demonstrate methodological possibilities of the Digital Humanities when tasked with the analysis of an author's use of vocabulary. I will try to demonstrate the above goal with an example that aims to compare the frequency of vocabulary analysis in relation to the text of *Prometheus Bound* with extracted Aeschylean, Sophoclean and Euripidean Corpora data.⁴

Researching vocabulary patterns is not a “novel” idea in philology. However, methodologies found in the Digital Humanities (particularly within Corpus Linguistics), allows us to sort and extract data from diverse texts with added accuracy in short timespans. This offers us an opportunity to study selected vocabulary from various perspectives and within them - from the perspective of the authorship attribution of a text.⁵

exceptional theological and mythological background of the play became first argumentum for negotiation of Aeschylean authorship by W. Schmid (1927) and a “solid pillar” for the following researchers, such as M. Griffith, O. Taplin, A. F. Garvie, B. Marzullo and others to refuse Aeschylean authorship on the basis of dramatic, lexical, metrical, philosophical and structural patterns of the play. For panoramic discussion of the bibliography see Pattoni M. P., *L' Autenticità del Prometeo Incatenato di Eschilo*, Pisa 1987, 2-32.

³ Winnington-Ingram R., *Towards an interpretation of Prometheus Bound*, in *Studies in Aeschylus*, Cambridge, Literary Collections 1983, 197.

⁴ Corpus based analysis is not a new method for the text philology in general and for the *Promethean Question* in particular. In actuality, it was Mark Griffith, who attempted for the first time to investigate methodically the vocabulary of the text in the context of the authorship problem on the basis of the principles of Corpus Linguistics (see Griffith M., *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound*, Oxford 1977, 147-207). Though due to the methodological inaccuracies, analysis made by Griffith lacks cogency (see observations of Peretti and Pattoni about the issue in: Peretti A., *Osservazioni sulla lingua del Prometeo eschileo*, SIFC, N. S. V, 1927, 165-231 and Pattoni M. P., *L' Autenticità del Prometeo Incatenato di Eschilo*, Pisa 1987, 221-250).

⁵ About the types of computer based analysis and about the authorship attribution methods see Stamatathos E., *A Survey of Modern Authorship Attribution Methods*, in *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, Volume 60, Issue 3, 2009, 538-556.

The scope of this paper will not allow for a full review of all the methods and approaches that the Digital Humanities has to offer. Rather, it will address several specific aspects of one method found in the digital humanities, the quantitative research of vocabulary. This method is demonstrably employed most frequently to attest for semantically significant words found in ancient Greek tragedy as well as forming semantic maps, as voiced by three tragedians.

As such, I will highlight the software. Entitled *Antconc*, this textual analyzer is regarded as one of the more fruitful programs for philologists. At present, it is not relevant to speak of the advantages or disadvantages of the program. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that *Antconc* provides researchers with the option to define precise frequencies of reoccurring word forms, including corpus compounding in one or more texts. It further allows one to evaluate collocations, co-occurrences, groupings of words, etc., within one or more corpora.⁶

The lexical analysis, presented below, is a product of *Antconc* functions. It will be employed as an experimental tool; showcasing generated results via tallying of vocabulary frequencies of various corpora. These frequencies will be compared, and semantic planes identifying high word frequency will be recorded. Results will be chronicled as an index, referencing the breadth of one author's poetic rationale. The goal of this paper is to approbate this method with an aim to closely situate *Prometheus Bound* to one of three tragedians' corpus.⁷

Before beginning our analysis, it seems necessary some technical details to be underlined: Selection of material for analysis includes 4 corpora of which *Prometheus Bound* functions as the *central corpus*. This text was consciously selected due to its problematic features concerning doubts of Aeschylean authorship. The additional 3 corpora include texts written by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and are used as reference corpora. Within the *Aeschylean corpus* there are 6 undisputed plays of

⁶ See Anthony L., *AntConc (Version 3.4.3)* [Computer Software], Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University 2014. Available from <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/>.

⁷ Our way of comparison is the same as Griffith's and others, who have made a comparative lexical analysis between more than one text, but in our opinion, it doesn't seem serious the results of any statistical data to be regarded as argumentum (as many scholars do), but it could be aiding materials that may become an argumentum if it will be strengthened by other (not only statistical) data.

Aeschylus, whose authorship is doubtless. Under the *Sophoclean corpus* there are 7 tragedies of Sophocles (the entire literary heritage of the dramatist). In the *Euripidean Corpus*, 18 plays of Euripides are included. In this case, *Resus* is excluded due to its contested authorship.⁸

It is important to acknowledge the fact that the authorship of *Prometheus Bound* remains unresolved and an ongoing challenge in classical scholarship. This further illustrated the need for its centrality and selection as main corpus in the following research. Such classification of this corpus gives us the chance to explore the proximity of the central corpus (in this case, *Prometheus Bound*) to other corpora. This also allows for a comparative analysis of vocabulary, style and/or metrics. To complete the above, a topic-based comparative analysis is required. This allows for scrutiny of vocabulary frequency accounting for comparison of semantics and repetition of word occurrence indicating likelihood of salience between various corpora.⁹

In the first phase of the research, vocabulary classification of each corpus was completed using the Antconc text analysis program. This function generated wordlists accounting for vocabulary frequency for the Aeschylean, Euripidean and Sophoclean corpora, as well as for the corpus of *Prometheus Bound*. Once the selection of vocabulary frequency takes place, semantically significant words are extracted using a “stop-list.”¹⁰ After the elimination of semantically non-significant words, lists of the most frequently employed words for each corpus may be retrieved creating grounds for wordlist comparisons. In the next phase, top five words have been extracted for each corpus. In addition to comparing the

⁸ See Ritchie W., *The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides*, CUP, Cambridge 1964, 7.

⁹ About the differences between topic-based text classification and style-based text classification, see: Stamatathos E., op. cit., 542-543.

¹⁰ This facilitates the removal of “function” words such as articles, prepositions, pronouns etc. It also helps to isolate words presumably dictated by context such as vocative case forms from *παῖς*, *τέκνον*, *πάτηρ* etc. in the passages describing the dialogue of father and son etc. Words which may have a high frequency of use in several subcorpora but is not reflective in at least one subcorpus are also eliminated. For example, while the word *βασιλεύς* appears in *Agamemnon* 12 times, it does not appear a single time in *Eumenides*. This results in its exclusion of significant words from the *Aeschylean Corpus*. Subsequently, one of the prevalent preconditions for the process of selecting semantically significant words is considering its frequency within all subcorpora of the corpus.

frequency of these first five words emanating from one corpus to another, the hierarchical ranking of words enabled to assess the importance of the words from one author to another. In the last phase of the research semantic maps have been designed for Aeschylean, Sophoclean, Euripidean and *Prometheus Bound's* Corpora. The results of such an approach are demonstrated below.

The analysis begins with *Prometheus Bound*, previously identified as the central corpus. In this text, the most re-occurring word appears to be θεός (god) with 33 notations. The second most frequently employed word is λόγος (word, reason, etc.), which appears 29 times in the corpus in several forms. The term "mortal" (βροτός, θνητός) ranks third with 25 uses. This is followed by the term τύχη with 21 occurrences, and the word φρήν, employed 13 times.

After eliminating the non-significant words in the Aeschylean Corpus, the first five words that emerge appear to resemble those of *Prometheus Bound* in terms of semantic category. For instance, as seen in *Prometheus* here also the word θεός ranks first with 242 occurrences. The second most occurring word is λέγω identified 177 times. In third, fourth and fifth place the words ἀνήρ (164 times), δίκη (117 times), and φρήν (63 times) follow suite. This ranking illustrates an identifiable sequence which semantically coincides with the vocabulary hierarchy of word frequency in *Prometheus Bound*. This does not signify however that we should make any premature conclusions until vocabulary frequencies of other corpora are considered. Studying the statistical frequencies of vocabulary ranking in Euripidean and Sophoclean Corpora must also be taken into account.

Mimicking the vocabulary hierarchies of Aeschylus and *Prometheus*, the *Sophoclean Corpus's* most frequently employed word is θεός, occurring 355 times in various forms. This is followed by the word ἀνήρ with 284 occurrences in the corpus, λέγω with 254 occurrences, the verb θήσκω with 191 occurrences, and finally the word πόλις, which appears 111 times in the *Sophoclean Corpus*.

Regarding the *Euripidean Corpus*, the adjective κακός is employed the most frequently used word (510 times in total). In second place is the word θήσκω with 463 occurrences, followed by the word δόμος (456 occurrences). In the third position is the word γυναικα, which occurs 378 times in the corpus and lastly the word φίλος with 362 occurrences.

Looking at the hard statistics regarding the correlation between words

and frequency in each corpus, the comparison of this data offers us interesting results. Using intercorporate comparison allows one to compare word and frequency statistics; determining specificity of each word occurrence and aggregate sum of use. It also enables one to define average rates of words' frequency. It is here where the experimental results will be important for our analysis. Shown below are average frequencies of word occurrences that took place. Note the distinction from one corpus to another.

Euripidean Corpus consists of 37 460 word types, which correspond to 182 093 word occurrences. This means that the average frequency for one word is approximately 4.8 (i.e. each word within the corpus is repeated close to 5 times and occur in several forms). In order to ensure the validity of this statistical data and to confirm that this mean is not "contaminated" by the volume length of *Euripidean Corpus*, six Euripidean plays were selected at random and tested, revealing the same mean range as that of the *Euripidean corpus*. The validity of this technique was further tested by an additional method. When assessed, the average frequency of each Euripidean subcorpus revealed an index of 4.4. This means that in Euripidean subcorpora each word could be repeated up to at least 4.4 times; indicating that the occurrence of frequency in Euripides is considerably higher than in Sophocles and Aeschylus, as shown below.

In *Sophoclean Corpus* we find 16 462 words with 62 458 occurrences. This reveals that the average rate of frequency for each word could be 3.7 (i.e. each word cited in the *Sophoclean corpus* could be appeared just under 4 times in the text). In this case, the average frequency of vocabulary use in the *Sophoclean Corpus* is significantly lower than that of the *Euripidean Corpus*.

Regarding the *Aeschylean Corpus*, 14 330 word forms are noted, revealing 35 492 occurrences. Subsequently, the average frequency of a single word is 2.4; considerably lower than the average word occurrences in the Sophoclean and Euripidean texts.

In the *Corpus of Prometheus Bound*, 3 187 word forms are found, with a total of 35 492 occurrences; (i.e. the average frequency of word occurrences in the corpus is potentially 1.9). This illustrates that the statistics of *Prometheus Bound* are much closer to the statistics of *Aeschylean Corpus*, rather than the Sophoclean and Euripidean texts. This is further supported by the fact that during the calculation of the average frequencies for each Aeschylean tragedy several subcorpora mimicked the average frequency

of *Prometheus Bound*. The average frequency index in Aeschylean subcorpora is fluctuated from 1.9 to 2.5, which once again situates *Prometheus Bound* closer to the statistics of the *Aeschylean Corpus*.

We will now return to the top five most frequently used words mentioned above. It is evident that a continuation of categorization for further ranking of vocabulary hierarchies is permissible by the software. As such, the list could be stretched to a ranking of 10 words for each corpus, 20 words, etc. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this paper attention will be devoted to the analysis of the first five words, representative of the highest frequency index. It is important to note that there is a significant quantitative difference between the frequency indexes of the words found in this top five index. The most frequently employed five words or “keywords” for each author or corpus, sheds light on the potentiality for developing semantic fields and provides insight on the dimensional thinking of the authors. These keywords lend us the ability to design semantic maps for Aeschylean, Euripidean and Sophoclean Corpora, and *Prometheus Corpus* as well as increasing opportunity for comparison. In the analysis below, an experiment is provided that can be used to situate the poetic mindset of an author within any semantic plane by assessing frequently used vocabulary.

Commencing with *Prometheus Bound*, this corpus revealed the following words as keywords: 1. God; 2. Logos (having the semantic connected with word, result, etc.); 3. Mortal; 4. Destiny; and 5. Fren (having metaphoric understanding of heart, as the place of human passions). The semantic map of these keywords would be situated in the plane of the opposition; portraying an interrelation of the divine and human worlds (see: Figure 1).

In the same plane as *Prometheus Bound* the semantic map of Aeschylean *Corpus* would be situated. The only difference between the words’ semantics is the difference between τύχη and δίκη – the words which hold fourth position in top-five words of *Prometheus* and Aeschylean Corpora. Notwithstanding the semantics of these words are not opposite, still the fact could be explained easily: While the acting area of *Prometheus Bound* is the God’s world, in opposition of 6 undisputed tragedies of Aeschylus, existence of τύχη instead of δίκη is logical because of the τύχη’s privilege in the world of Gods. Otherwise, the whole tragedy of *Prometheus* is nothing more than the lack of δίκη from the Gods’ world.



Figure 1



Figure 2

In order to provide a more relatable interpretation, let us consider the semantic maps reflecting the vocabulary frequency for the Sophoclean and Euripidean Corpora:

Identifiably, the semantic map of Sophocles finds itself in an intermediate place between the Aeschylean and Euripidean semantic planes. For Aeschylus, words belonging to the elevated, metaphysical dimension populate the semantic field. It characterizes “whole” creation – portraying a tendency of centering the human world within that of the divine one. Looking at the semantic map of Sophocles leads us to think that the author is more aligned with the human plane; particularly with word frequency such as θνήσκω (dying) and πόλις (polis). These words literary characterize the human world, and rank amongst the first top five most frequently re-occurring words in Sophocles (see: Figure 3). Once assessing the semantics of the other words identified in the Sophoclean top five most re-occurring vocabulary list, it does reveal that the poetic thinking of Sophocles is placed both within the planes of human and divine spheres. Nevertheless, when comparing Sophocles to Aeschylus and/or *Prometheus Bound* it is more physical or “human”.

As for Euripides, the semantic map of the author’s keywords reflects the connection between his poetic thinking and that of the human, physical dimension (see: Figure 4). To support this claim, it is possible to draw upon many other data sources extracted from the corpora using the above mentioned software. For instance, the word θεός fell outside of Euripides’s top ten keywords list. Additionally, words such as πόλις and θνήσκω also remained outside of Aeschylus’s top ten keywords. With regards to the word γυναικα, which is typical in the *Euripidean Corpus*, is not found within the top ten keywords of the other three corpora. Moreover, τύχη, popularly employed in the *Aeschylean Corpus* falls outside the top ten keywords of both *Euripidean* and *Sophoclean Corpora*.



Figure 3



Figure 4

Now, if we count the words with similar semantics in each corpus, we shall see that *Prometheus Bound* and the *Aeschylean Corpus* correspond to one another. *Sophoclean Corpus* identifies more closely to Aeschylus than Euripides, while the *Euripidean Corpus* bears patterns which differ completely from patterns identified in Aeschylus and *Prometheus Bound* (although it does share common traits with the *Sophoclean Corpus*). To express more clearly the interrelation of semantic planes of the keywords of our corpora, let us refer to the figure 5, which demonstrates the proximity of each corpus to either the human and divine dimensions. These two dimensions are regarded as the main “action spaces” for ancient Greek tragedy.

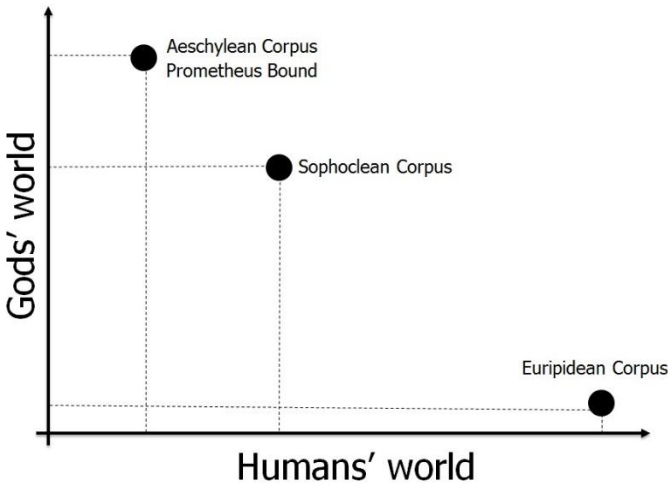


Figure 5

As mentioned in the beginning, the goal of this paper was not to approve the authenticity of *Prometheus Bound*. I do realize that to set such a goal in a single paper, using only some of the extracted statistical data, frankly speaking, is fantastical. Evidently, the results generated from our analysis are considered controversial in the eyes of many scholars such as Schmid, Griffith, Taplin, West, etc.; scholars who place *Prometheus Bound* closer to the epoch of Euripides and regard the play as a work from the epoch of Euripides.¹¹ Due to the paper format, we cannot discuss the claims of such viewpoints. It should however be underlined that the arguments against Aeschylean authorship give impression that they are conditioned by preconceived notions dependent on building argumentation against Aeschylean authorship. In our case, the limited dimension of the above analysis does not allow us to assert the authorship of Aeschylus or vice versa. Nevertheless, it allows us to conclude that according to the frequency of its vocabulary, average rates of word use and results of keyword semantic analysis, *Prometheus Bound* is comparable to *Aeschylean Corpus*, and it is dissimilar from the *Sophoclean Corpus* and does not coincide semantically with the *Euripidean Corpus*.

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¹¹ See West M., *The Prometheus Trilogy*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99, 1979, 130-148.

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Abstract

Resembling a detective-style investigation by philologists, one can assume that this level of philological 'peril' or suffering as that found in *Prometheus Bound* by scholars seeking to identify the text's authorship, has rarely received approval in the history of world literature. While many researchers have attempted to find a resolution to this conundrum, none of them appear to have the Olympic strength that is necessary to arrive at the finish line of reconciliation. In actuality, *Prometheus's* authorship enigma is "one of the most intriguing problems in the history of literature" and still remains unresolved.

Despite the fact that the paper underlines several times the authorship puzzle of *Prometheus Bound*, it does not seek to imply that its goal is to approve or disprove the Aeschylean authorship of the text. The modest goal of this paper is to demonstrate methodological possibilities of the Digital Humanities when tasked with the analysis of an author's use of vocabulary. The paper demonstrates the above goal with an example that aims to compare the frequency of vocabulary analysis in relation to the text of *Prometheus Bound* with extracted Aeschylean, Sophoclean and Euripidean Corpora data and to closely situate *Prometheus Bound* to one of three tragedians' corpus.

The comparative frequency analysis of most used words in four corpora, comparison of average rates between Aeschylean, Sophoclean, Euripidean and *Prometheus Bound's* Corpora and the semantic maps designed by top five words of each corpus showed that the *Prometheus Bound* is comparable to *Aeschylean Corpus*, it is dissimilar from the *Sophoclean Corpus* and does not coincide semantically with the *Euripidean Corpus* – the fact that could be aiding forth in creating an argumentum for supporting the Aeschylean authorship of the play.

Dali Nadibaidze (Tbilisi)

The Essence of Heredity and Ancient Heritage in Christian Culture

Inheritability means the transmission of spiritual and material values to future generations. This process stems from the Lord's creative act – the genesis of the world and man. Let us refer to the Book of Genesis: 'And God said: let us make man in our image, after our likeness' (Gen., 1 26).

John of Damascus provides the following interpretation of this line:

And it was also fit that there should be a mixture of both kinds of being, as a token of still greater wisdom and of the opulence of the Divine expenditure as regards natures, as Gregorius, the expounder of God's being and ways, puts it, and to be a sort of connecting link between the visible and invisible natures. And by the word fit I mean, simply that it was an evidence of the Creator's will, for that will is the law and ordinance most meet, and no one will say to his Maker, Why have You so fashioned me? For the potter is able at his will to make vessels of various patterns out of his clay (*Romans 9:21*), as a proof of his own wisdom.

Now this being the case, He creates with His own hands man of a visible nature and an invisible, after His own image and likeness: on the one hand man's body He formed of earth, and on the other his reasoning and thinking soul He bestowed upon him by His own inbreathing, and this is what we mean by after His image. For the phrase after His image clearly refers to the side of his nature which consists of mind and free will, whereas after His likeness means likeness in virtue so far as that is possible.¹

These words clearly show, and the same is attested by Gregory of Nyssa in his *On the Making of Man*, that God created human mind in His liking. What does this mean? This means that by granting man the

¹ Saint John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Christian Faith*, Book II, Chapter 12.

creational faculties, various gifts, freedom and the ability to be the master of himself which presupposes mind's supremacy over body and not vice versa, God prepared man for divine abidance. Man must perfect in himself the likeness of God by acquiring virtues. He thereby accomplishes the divine design envisaging him as a compound of visible and the invisible, a corporeal intelligent being with an immortal soul, created by God as the master of the earth.

Thus, by being granted reason in the divine likeness, man acquired faculties for artistic creation, that is, various talents endowed to him by the grace of the Holy Spirit along with immortality. Apostle Paul writes in this regard: "And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another diversity of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, diving to every man severally as he will" (1 Cor. 12, 6-11). This grace of the Holy Spirit and the artistic potential originating from the same source, the Holy Spirit, unites people, but each creation of God, and respectively, each person is individual and human creations are likewise diverse. An artist endows its creation with unparalleled traits, unless he/she purposefully imitates someone else's work. This originality is the manifestation of the divine grace.

However, masterpieces may contain mutually unrelated, unaccountable similarities, as humans create on the earth in the likeness of nature created by God, and may perceive and represent some natural shapes in a similar way. A vivid example of this is artistic images of cross. I would specifically dwell on the so-called Bolnisi Cross, which abounds in analogues across different cultures. These analogues often are unrelated to Christianity and merely serve as decorative elements. Neither this is surprising, as the Cross, being the instrument of the crucifixion of Jesus, became a shrine in Christianity, while earlier it had been a torture device practiced by the Romans, or merely an ornament – a crossing of two lines or beams. Therefore, various versions of cross exist in arts of various countries. However, as the Bolnisi Cross is still somewhat different, this

formal similarity and difference in content, which is definitely non-hereditary, is clearly reflected in this example and will be discussed below.

The flared arms of the cross are interpreted as the symbol of cross patronage. The early period from which the Bolnisi Sion basilica dates (the 6th c.), its pre-Christian ornaments and early Christian architectural details (absence of the western door – the door was cut in a later period – which, according to academician Vakhtang Beridze, is uncommon for basilica) make the church unique not only within the context of Georgian architecture, but more broadly within Christian culture. According to Beridze, the walls of the basilica bear several different versions of cross as a Christian shrine, the so-called Bolnisi Cross – a cross with flared arms set in a circle – being one of them.² This type of cross is quite commonly used in Georgian architecture. It can also be found in Byzantine culture, though to a lesser extent. Similarly shaped ornaments existed in pre-Christian Syria as well. Such formal similarity frequently causes confusion. Some time ago, a Georgian lawyer, Davit Ebralidze shared on the Internet his opinion regarding the origin of crosses on a Sudanese slit drum from the British Museum. He read about the exhibit in a book *A History of the World in 100 Objects* by the Museum Director, Neil McGregor, but doubted the identity and function of this item, as well as the Islamic origin of the cross-shaped ornaments because of their striking resemblance with the Bolnisi Cross. Ebralidze applied for consultations to archeologist Guram Kipiani. The latter confirmed McGregor's information regarding the provenance and function of the exhibit. Moreover, Professor Kipiani commented that a big number of cross-shaped ornaments dating from the pre-Christian period were discovered on the territory of Syria. They must have later been adopted by Islam. According to Kipiani, similarly shaped pre-Christian ornaments can also be found on the territory of Georgia, while the so-called Bolnisi Cross is a replica of Emperor Constantine's Chi Rho and represents a circle with four overlapping arcs drawn inside it that make up the body of the cross.³

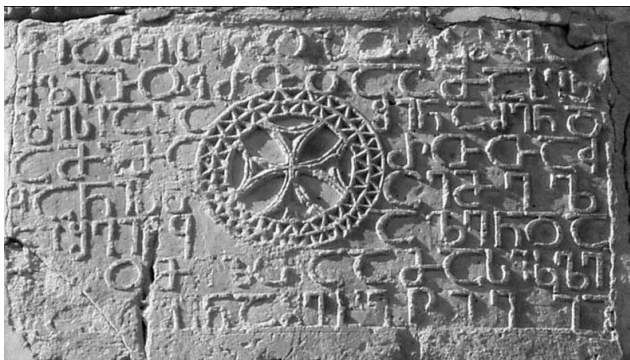
² Beridze V., *Bolnisi Sion* (according to *History of Georgian Art*, vol. 1, Tiflis 1936 and *Болнисский Сион*, *Enimskis Moambe*, 9, 1940), *Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 1977.

³ Jghenti N., *The Bolnisi Cross and Islamic Ornaments*, http://for.ge/view.php?for_id=13143&cat=3 (June 5, 2012) (in Georgian).

We may come across similar cases in the history of art, culture and science, but they cannot be treated as the manifestation of heredity. Cross-shaped ornaments are widespread across different cultures. Christian art too frequently employs its stylized versions. This particular type of cross can be found in pre-Christian Georgia, while in the Christian period it even acquired a specific typological name 'Bolnisi Cross' and is more frequently represented in the scenes of the Elevation of the Cross by Angels.



Elevation of the Cross by Angels
Jvari (Cross) Monastery in Mtskheta, the 6th century



The Earliest Inscription from the Bolnisi Sion Basilica (the 5th c.) and the Bolnisi Cross in the Centre



The Islamic Slit Drum (late 19th c.)

From the British Museum with Ornaments Resembling the Bolnisi Cross

As concerns heredity in modern academic terms, it means the reception by one culture of traditions and practices existing in a different culture, thereby contributing to the continuity of those traditions and practices. The history of humankind abounds in such very interesting examples. Below I will dwell on the reflection and function of ancient artistic traditions in Christian culture in general.

I specify 'in general' as the Christian art originated on the territory of the Roman Empire, which then encompassed both Greece and Rome, and was produced by people who were immediate successors to the rich ancient cultural tradition and historical monuments. Along with the Jews, Christian art was created by the Greeks and Romans, who could see wonderful ancient frescos, the Parthenon and Phidias' sculptures. They had been educated at schools that carried on the great ancient cultural traditions. The Jews did not have rich painting traditions, unlike the Greeks and Romans, whose outstanding painting legacy is attested by frescos from Knossos, Thera and Etruscan sites. Therefore, Christianity acquired this rich tradition almost in all forms of art that were deemed appropriate in terms of Christian *weltanschauung*. It accepted ancient painting traditions but rejected the free style of frescos and borrowed the Syrian-Palestinian style, which better suited the ascetic character of Christian icon and fresco. Later original Christian iconographic schools were established in different countries, whose masterpieces are important

not only for the church but also for the history of art, for instance, the Cappadocian painting or old Georgian frescos and holy icons preserved in churches, internationally well-known museums (e.g. the Shalva Amiranashvili State Museum of Art) and galleries (e.g. the Tretyakov Gallery). Monasteries in Crete frequently hold exhibitions of Cretan art. All these relate to the Eastern Church. As concerns the Western Church, it is closer to the ancient tradition, especially the Age of the Renaissance, which is the revival of ancient art re-filled with the Christian content.

Basilica as a type of architecture is very important in Christian art as it is one of the basic types of Christian church. Raised images are frequently used on the walls of churches as well as on steles, stone crosses and gravestones. This tradition, practiced in antiquity, was carried on in Christianity. Georgian pre-Christian culture too is rich in this tradition. A great number of remarkable pre-Christian bas-reliefs were discovered on the territory of Georgia.

The Eastern Church did not accept a three dimensional representation of saint, such as sculpture, though individual sculptural images survive from the early Christian period. Conversely, this branch of art has been widely practiced in the Roman Catholic Church, which, apart from Renaissance masterpieces, abounds in sculptures of Christ, the Mother of God and saints created by modern artists as well.

Thus, antiquity has certainly left significant heritage to Christian culture. This is evident almost in every sphere of art. Christianity adopted what it needed – the high level of professionalism, and very often, the form (as in case of basilica) as well as the painting, stone carving and stone painting traditions – and filled these with Christian spirit and creed, as the veneration of the latter was the main function of the Christian art.

Abstract

Inheritability means the transmission of spiritual and material values to future generations. This process stems from the Lord's creative act – the genesis of the world and man. According to the Book of Genesis, the Lord created man in His image and after His likeness. As Holy Fathers Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus comment, God created human mind in His image. It can be therefore construed that the Lord endowed man with creational/artistic faculties and various talents. This grace, including the artistic potential, originates from the Holy Spirit and unites people. However, each creation of God, and respectively, each person is individual and human creations are likewise diverse. An artist endows its creation

with unparalleled traits, unless he/she purposefully imitates someone else's work. This originality is the manifestation of the divine grace.

However, masterpieces may contain mutually unrelated similarities, as humans create in the likeness of nature created by God, and may perceive and represent some natural shapes in a similar way. Therefore, formal parallels and similar shapes cannot always be attributed to cross-cultural influences and their respective histories need to be studied in depth. A vivid example of such parallels is close resemblance between cross-shaped ornaments on a Sudanese Slit Drum from the British Museum and the so-called Bolnisi Cross. Though almost identical, they have different origins and cannot be put down to cultural heredity. The article also cites other examples of formal coincidences across cultures.

As an opposite case to the above-mentioned accidental parallelism, the paper discusses the influence of ancient culture on Christian art, which frequently may not involve formal identity but is obviously hereditary: this is ancient cultural heritage – Greek and Roman painting, sculptural and architectural traditions adopted by Christian art and filled with the Christian creed.

Ketevan Nizharadze (Tbilisi)

Poetic Reflection of Saving and Spread of Information in Homeric Epos

Saving and spread of information is one of the most typical characteristics of Greek civilization. This phenomenon has been typical for the civilizations in ancient Near East long before the formation of ancient culture. However, we have to mention that, because of the democratic character of Hellenic culture, this phenomenon had much more common feature in Greece and achieved significantly advanced level of diversity of delivering and receiving channels. Similar to other areas of Greek culture, Homer can be considered as a teacher for the Greeks in terms of forming their attitude towards information.

In this report I will try to discuss briefly how far did Homer go in terms of classification of the information, defining its destination and meaning as well as ranking the types of information.

First of all we have to discuss the issue of terminology. The variety of formatives associated to Homer can be connected to the information such as λόγος – a word, ἀοιδή – a song etc. However there is one term used by Homer which, in certain contexts, utterly contains the understanding similar to the one meant in the term “information” from nowadays perspective.

This term is ἀγγελίη. Although Homer grants several meanings to it (an information, a notification), the most important between them is the one which is mostly close to the term “information”.¹ Let us provide some examples.

In the second book of *Iliad* after the catalogue of Achaean ship Homer describes the arrival of the divine messenger – Iris to the Trojans:

And now from Jove, with heavy tidings charged,
wind-footed Iris to the Trojans came.

II, 786-787

Iris brings ἀγγελίη ἀλεγεινῆ, i. e. painful, sorrowful news. In this case one may assert that Iris is a divine messenger. Homer usually attributes the term ἄγγελος² only to the divine messengers and, accordingly, the news brought by Iris is ἀγγελίη. However, if we discuss other cases, such doubts will be removed. Book XVIII (17-19) describes the arrival of Antilochus to Achilles in order to announce the death of Patroclus. In this episode Homer uses the formative ἀγγελίη twice; once with the epithet ἀλεγεινῆ (painful) and then with the epithet λυγρή. The result of this notification is well-known. In this case it is obvious that ἀγγελίη refers to the news which does not necessarily come from god and it contains semantic which is similar to "information".

We have to mention that this combination of words (ἀγγελίη ἀλεγεινῆ and λυγρή ἀγγελίη) are used in *Iliad* several times and mostly it refers to the death of Patroclus.³ However, in many other cases it can be used without an epithet and during the expression of completely non-tragic story. I. e. in Book XVI of *Odyssey* a messenger is sent to Penelope in order to notify the arrival of Telemachus (327ff). In Book XV Odysseus tells Eumeus about his desire to arrive in the castle and bring Telemachus ἀγγελίη about his father (312). There is no need to discuss other examples since it is obvious that in all these cases ἀγγελίη refers to the contemporary definition of "information" to certain extent.

We also have to mention very significant role of delivery and spread of information in Homeric epos, considering that the poems are large systems of information inspired from the Muses. This process is indirectly realized in the action when the fresh and actual notification is brought to the place of destination. I.e. the couriers bring certain information to Achilles (I, 325) which afterwards becomes the reason of activating the anger. In *Odyssey* Hermes informs Calypso about the decision of the gods (V, 97-115) which gives an impulse to the whole development of the poem.

The area of spreading information in Homeric epos is usually a forum. People might just gather for listening certain information and their gathering have official character. In this case their meeting can make legitimate decision. Homer usually describes this process by the phrase-

formula αὐτὰρ οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤγηρθεν ὀμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο. In the final scene of "Iliad" many people gather in Hector's funeral:⁴

The people again assembled,
round the pyre of mighty Hector.

XXIV, 789-790

In *Iliad*, Book II (85ff) Agamemnon gathers an army in order to notify them about his decision. His speech, i.e. the information he delivers to the army gives an impulse to the desire to return home. Odysseus addresses to the same gathering (II, 246 ff) and his speech makes an army to change the decision.

In *Odyssey* Telemachus is inspired by Athena-Mentes and decides to gather Ithaceans (II, 6 ff). The information he delivers on this gathering is enough for the Ithaceans to give him consent in order to go and look for his father, i.e. to legitimate him. In all the cases gathering of the people has a purpose of receive and spread the information or make a decision afterwards, based on this information.

In Homeric epos the information can also have paradigmatic character (exemplum). It might refer to the story which has already happened and is afterwards inserted in the speeches of the protagonists in order to make the speech more convincing. In this regard it is worth mentioning that in *Iliad* the centre of nearly all speeches with circular composition is such exemplum. This paradigm basically narrates the story which happened in the past. For example, while meeting Glaucos, Diomedes brings the story of Licurgos as a paradigm in order to raise an argument that "Gods should not be resisted" (VI, 130-140). In order to persuade Priam, Achilles tells the story of Niobe (XXIV, 602-617). Exemplum can also reflect the information which refers to the well-known event. I.e. in the second book Odysseus reminds the army, what happened in Aulis before the outbreak of the war (II, 303 ff).

Homer presents quite wide spectrum of carriers of the information. They might be: god – i. e. Iris, who announces the will of Zeus and other gods to mortals or immortals,⁵ mortal – when Odysseus tells his adventure to Pheaks,⁶ specially authorized courier – Talthibius,⁷ ambassador – scene from *Iliad* Book IX,⁸ spirit of the deceased – so-called νεκρία from *Odyssey* is interesting in this regard,⁹ or the poet himself the illustrative example of which is Demodocus in *Odyssey*.¹⁰

The sign from god by which the human beings are tempted or warned can also deliver the information. It can also be expressed in the prediction of the prophet, natural phenomenon or other signs. In the second book Odysseus recalls the story of sacrifice which happened before the outbreak of the war, when the dragon crawled out from the sacral stone, swallowed eight nestlings with their mother and was afterwards hardened into stone by Zeus. This was the sign that, after nine years of fighting, in the tenth year Achaeans would be able to capture Troy (II, 303-332).

According to Homer the memory of human beings is the best savior of the information, which is illustrated in the address of Andromachus to Hector and mourn of Hector by Helen (VI, 407-439; XXIV, 762-775). They tell the past stories and recall the most vulnerable moments which happened to them. Genealogical tradition is also an important source of information, i. e. Glaucos represents the longest chain of his genealogy with five stages (VI, 145-211). Besides that, he tells the stories of his ancestors into details, since for him the information about his origin is mostly important.¹¹

Inanimate object can also deliver the information, for example, completely ordinary object at first sight – an oar. In *Odyssey* the spirit of Elpenor, who is notable for his imperceptibility, asks Odysseus to return to Aiaia, bury his corpse, build a hill and stick an oar into the hill, which would be savior of Elpenor's memory. In fact, Odysseus comes back to Aiaia and fulfills his desire (*Odyssey*, XII, 9 – 15).

Work of art can also save the information. In this regard the shield of Achilles is very remarkable in *Iliad*, which is mostly magnificent example of Ekphrasis and provides the global process of multilateral interaction in micro-informative structure. The shield of Achilles is a work of art where the cosmic phenomena and oceanus are portrayed together with the world of mortals and basic elements of their existence (XVIII, 478-607). The pictures which are represented there contain much more than just an indication towards the events of a certain city.¹²

Muse is the basic source of poetical inspiration and, in fact, main informative database (if we use modern terminology) for the poet. He may ask her to inspire the whole poem, for example – anger of Achilles in *Iliad* (I, 1 ff), or story of the man who travelled far and wide in *Odyssey* (I, 1 ff), and also precise information concerning the details of certain episodes. In

the second book in the beginning of ship catalogue the poet addresses to the muses in a following manner:

Tell me now, ye Muses that have dwellings on Olympus -
for ye are goddesses and are at hand and know all things,
whereas we hear but a rumour and know not anything -
who were the captains of the Danaans and their lords.
But the common folk I could not tell nor name, nay,
not though ten tongues were mine and ten mouths
and a voice unwearying, and though the heart within me were of bronze.

484-493

Accordingly we can conclude that Homer ranks the recipients and carriers of the information where the poet is on the top of the list, as he is the only one who can receive the information indirectly from the divine sphere and provide it to the audience in such a manner to please them greatly.¹³

After performing the song on the episode of Trojan War by Demodocus in *Odyssey*, Odysseus addresses to him:

Demodocus, I praise you above all mortal men,
one taught by the Muse, Zeus' daughter, or perhaps by Apollo,
for you sang the Achaeans' fate with truth and feeling,
all of their actions and their suffering, all the efforts they exerted,
as if you had been there, or heard it from one who was.

Poet is the highest expression of delivering the information for Homer, he is a model for other human beings and therefore Alcinous, fascinated by the narration of Odysseus, tells to him:

You have told us your adventures the skilfulness of a bard.

XI, 368

On the other hand, however skillful the ordinary narrator can be in terms of telling a story, there is one big difference between him and a bard – it has been mentioned that Odysseus and the others “have one basic difference from the bards: the narration of the former is either documentary reflection of the event or invented story usually based on the principle of delivering the information. In this case the protagonist can amaze an interlocutor or listener with the volume of knowledge as well as with fascinating manner of narration. However, he can not please them. His narration is, in well as with fascinating manner of narration. However,

he can not please them. His narration is, in the best case, fascinating transmission of the information which can be listened only once. This is not an artistic information which causes aesthetic pleasure and can be listened many times. The ability of granting artificial form to the information, developing and generalizing it and reviving the protagonists of usual stories is the gift of the Muse."¹⁴

Actually in the address of Odysseus to Demodocus it is underlined that in the song, which is performed by Demodocus apparently not for the first time, the story of Achaeans is revived in a manner that it can make the listeners cry, being excited and pleased. However, the information delivered by the poet has one more important function: it grants immortality to the events and protagonists and the song is transmitted from generation to generation. Therefore the protagonists of Homeric epos are worried that the information about their unworthy behavior can be delivered to the future generations as well.

Thus far it can be concluded that Homeric epos provides the forms of saving and spread of information which are typical for the everyday life, on one hand, and which guarantees the long-term saving of the information, on the other. It is genealogical memory which saves the information on the ancestors. Basic form of granting immortality to the information is its fixation and expression through works of art and, first of all – by means of poetry. It demonstrates the importance of the culture which we can nominate as “commemorate culture” in Homeric epos, which has become essential, at first, for the ancient civilization and, later on – for the whole European civilization.

Bibliography:

- › 1. Langenscheidt's dictionary explained as as the equivalent of an information.
- › 2. For a review cf. Dularidze T., *The Phenomenon of Mission in Homeric Epos*, Messenger, 2014.
- › 3. Cf. Ebeling H., *Lexicon Homericum*, Lipsiae 1985, 8.
- › 4. About the using this formule cf: Holkeskamp K. J., *Agorai bei Homer in: Volk und Verfassung im vorhellenistischen Griechenland. Beiträge auf dem Symposium zu Ehren von Karl-Wilhelm Welwei (Bohum, 1.-2. März 1996)*, hrsg. Von W. Eder und K. J. Holkeskamp, Stuttgart 1997, 1-19; Cf: *Homers Iliad*, Gesamtkommentar, Hrsg. J. Latacz. Bd. I. 1. Gesang, 51.
- › 5. For the confirmation of extracts in Homer's text cf: op. cit. 601.
- › 6. So-called “Pheacia” in *Odyssey* begins from the Book VI.

- › 7. About Talthibios and the institute of courier cf. Dularidze T., op. cit. 19 ff. Cf: Latacz, op. cit. 120.
- › 8. For the overview of this scene cf. Dularidze T., op. cit. 22 ff.
- › 9. Book XI.
- › 10. He is acting in the episode of so-called "Pheacia".
- › 11. For the detailed analysis cf: Nizharadze K., *Scenes from Iliad*, Tbilisi 2014, 76ff.
- › 12. About this scene cf: op. cit. 170ff.
- › 13. For the role of poet cf: Гордезиани Р., Проблемы гомеровского эпоса, Тбилиси 1978, 345 ff.
- › 14. Cf: Гордезиани Р., 1978, 343.

Abstract

Similar to other areas of Greek culture, Homer can be considered as a teacher for the Greeks in terms of forming their attitude towards information. In this report I discussed how far did Homer go in terms of classification of the information, defining its destination and meaning as well as ranking the types of information. The variety of formatives associated to Homer can be connected to the information such as λόγος – a word, ἀοιδή – a song etc. However there is one term used by Homer – ἀγγελίη – which, in certain contexts, utterly contains the understanding similar to the one meant in the term "information" from nowadays perspective. Although Homer grants several meanings to it (an information, a notification), the most important between them is the one which is mostly close to the term "information". Homeric epos provides the forms of saving and spread of information which are typical for the everyday life, on one hand, and which guarantees the long-term saving of the information, on the other. It is genealogical memory which saves the information on the ancestors. Basic form of granting immortality to the information is its fixation and expression through works of art and, first of all – by means of poetry. It demonstrates the importance of the culture which we can nominate as "commemorate culture" in Homeric epos, which has become essential, at first, for the ancient civilization and, later on – for the whole European civilization.

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Γλωσσική υποχώρηση και γλωσσική επιβίωση. Το παράδειγμα των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας

Στις σημερινές διαλεκτολογικές έρευνες στην Ελλάδα καταγράφεται μια φθίνουσα πορεία των ιδιωμάτων τα οποία μέχρι τα μέσα του 20^{ου} αιώνα διατηρούνταν με ιδιαίτερη γλωσσική λειτουργικότητα. Οι διαλεκτολόγοι πλέον, συχνά μιλούν για το γλωσσικό θάνατο των ιδιωμάτων.

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση αφορά στα ιδιώματα ενός τμήματος της Βιθυνίας της Μικράς Ασίας, σε μία προσπάθεια να κατανοήσουμε τον τρόπο που επέδρασε το ιδιόμορφο μικρασιατικό και εν συνεχεία το νεοελληνικό περιβάλλον στην εξελικτική τους διαδικασία. Τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας ανήκουν στην ομάδα των μικρασιατικών ιδιωμάτων. Ως κυρίως μικρασιατικές “διάλεκτοι” ορίζονται στη βιβλιογραφία, αυτές που, αποσπασμένες για γεωγραφικούς και ιστορικούς λόγους από την ευρωπαϊκή Ελλάδα, εξελίχθηκαν αυτόνομα και ακολούθησαν μία εντελώς ξεχωριστή πορεία.¹ Βασικά χαρακτηριστικά των μικρασιατικών ιδιωμάτων, είναι ότι διατήρησαν πολλά γνωρίσματα της ελληνιστικής Κοινής και της μεσαιωνικής γλώσσας και δέχθηκαν – ιδίως τα καππαδοκικά και τα ποντιακά- την ισχυρή επίδραση της τουρκικής.²

¹ Dawkins, 1916, 5 και Τριανταφυλλίδης, 1938, 273 κ.εξ.

² σχετικά Τσοπανάκης, 1983, 284 και Browning, 1991, 2.

Πέρα από τον Πόντο και την Καππαδοκία, όπου διαμορφώθηκαν δύο από τις διαλέκτους της ελληνικής, η Βιθυνία επισημαίνεται από τους μελετητές ως ένα σημείο του μικρασιατικού χώρου όπου η ελληνική είχε επίσης μακραιώνη παράδοση.³ Ας σημειωθεί ότι η περιοχή αποικήθηκε κατά τους αρχαίους χρόνους (7^ο αι. π.Χ.) από Μιλήσιους και είναι πλούσια η ιστορική διαδρομή της τους επόμενους αιώνες, ενώ η ύπαρξη γηγενούς πληθυσμού με ιστορική συνέχεια από τους μεσαιωνικούς χρόνους μέχρι τον 20^ο αι. καταγράφεται στις μελέτες σημαντικών ερευνητών.⁴

Σε γενικές γραμμές, τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας, εντάσσονται στην ευρύτερη κατηγορία των περιφερειακών ιδιωμάτων, με την ιδιαιτερότητα ότι διαμορφώθηκαν και εξελίχθηκαν, κυρίως αυτά της παραλιακής ζώνης, σε έναν χώρο ανοιχτό και με την έντονη επίδραση της Κωνσταντινούπολης.⁵ Επιπλέον, σημαντική για την έρευνα είναι η ένταξη των ιδιωμάτων αυτών σε μια γενικότερη ομάδα, αυτή της *Θρακοβιθυνικής Οικογένειας*⁶ με βάση τη μακραιώνη οικονομικοπολιτιστική ενότητα που ανέπτυξε ο ελληνικός πληθυσμός της περιοχής αυτής (Προποντιδα, Θράκη, Βιθυνία, Ελλήσποντος, με έδρα φυσικά την Κωνσταντινούπολη).

Με βάση το ιδιωματικό υλικό που έχει καταγραφεί, στη Βιθυνία διακρίνονται τρεις περιοχές φωνηεντισμού: α) στα παράλια (Τρίγλια, Μουδανιά, Κίος, Παλλαδάρι, Ελιγμοί, Αρακλί, Κουρί, νησί Καλόλιμνος) απαντούν νότιου τύπου ιδιώματα, β) στην ενδοχώρα (Κουβούκλια, Ντεμίρντεσι) απαντούν ιδιώματα με χαρακτηριστικά των ημιβόρειων (νησίδα νότιου φωνηεντισμού αποτελεί το Ντερέκιοϊ που βρίσκεται ανάμεσα στις δύο περιοχές), ενώ γ) στην ορεινή και γεωγραφικά απομονωμένη περιοχή των Πιστικοχωριών απαντούν βόρειου τύπου ιδιώματα, με εξαίρεση την Απολλωνιάδα όπου επικρατεί νότιος φωνηεντισμός.⁷

³ Dawkins, 1916, παράρτημα χαρτών.

⁴ Για το ιστορικό περίγραμμα της περιοχής, βλ. Παπαδοπούλου, 2010, 8-17, όπου και σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

⁵ Παπαδοπούλου, 2010, 25-33, όπου αναλυτική παρουσίαση των απόψεων για τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας και βιβλιογραφία. Βλ. σχετικά και Κωνσταντινίδου, 2008, 355-360 και 2005, 119-148.

⁶ σχετικά Παπαδοπούλου, 2012, 1056-1062.

⁷ σχετικά Παπαδοπούλου, 2010, 33.

Ήδη από το 1916 ο Dawkins,⁸ στη μελέτη του για τα μικρασιατικά ιδιώματα, επισημαίνει τόσο τον κίνδυνο εξαφάνισής τους, όσο και το κενό της διαλεκτολογικής έρευνας στην περιοχή την εποχή εκείνη και την έλλειψη αξιόπιστων πηγών, καθώς αυτά τα ιδιώματα διατηρήθηκαν μόνο προφορικά και τα γραπτά μνημεία που διασώθηκαν είναι ελάχιστα. Υπογραμμίζει, επιπλέον, την επισφαλή κατάσταση στην οποία βρίσκονταν τα ιδιώματα λόγω του εντεινόμενου τουρκικού εθνικισμού, ο οποίος εκφραζόταν με τις διώξεις των Ελλήνων και τους εποικισμούς, αλλά και λόγω της αφομοίωσής τους από την κοινή ελληνική. Ο Dawkins πιστεύει ότι η ελληνική γλώσσα μιλιόταν αδιάκοπα στο μικρασιατικό χώρο, παρόλο που σε γενικές γραμμές οι Τούρκοι και η γλώσσα τους είχαν εκτεταμένη “κατοχή” στη χώρα, ώστε η πλειονότητα των χριστιανών να μιλά και τουρκικά. Πέρα από τους δίγλωσσους ή τους τουρκόφωνους Έλληνες, διαχωρίζει ως ιδιαίτερη ομάδα ομιλητών τους κατοίκους των εμπορικών κοινοτήτων και τους Έλληνες ομιλητές της νεότερης γενιάς, που η γλώσσα τους ήταν το αποτέλεσμα των ελληνικών σχολείων και του νέου γλωσσικού περιβάλλοντος που προέκυψε από τις μεταναστεύσεις.

Η γλωσσική μετακίνηση / μετατόπιση⁹ (language shift) και ο γλωσσικός θάνατος¹⁰ είναι μια διαδικασία που έχει εκτεταμένα απασχολήσει τους κοινωνιογλωσσολόγους και σε γενικές γραμμές αφορά στη σταδιακή συρρίκνωση και υποχώρηση μίας γλωσσικής ποικιλίας όταν δύο, ή και περισσότεροι, γλωσσικά διακριτοί πληθυσμοί έρχονται σε επαφή.¹¹ Στη διαδικασία αυτή επιδρούν μια σειρά από παράγοντες και αδρομερώς θα λέγαμε ότι η γλωσσική μετακίνηση ξεκινά με την εδραίωση ενός από τους δύο κώδικες, ως κώδικα ισχύος / υψηλή ποικιλία και την άσκηση “πιέσεων” προς τους ομιλητές του άλλου κώδικα. Η μετακίνηση, και στην ακραία περίπτωση, ο γλωσσικός θάνατος, της μίας από τις δύο ποικιλίες επέρχεται με τη

⁸ Dawkins. 1916.

⁹ Για τη γλωσσική μετακίνηση / μετατόπιση, βλ. Kulick, 1992, 8-9. Βλ. σχετικά και Αρχάκης-Κονδύλη, 2002, 136-142.

¹⁰ Πλαδή, 2002, 47-61, όπου αναλυτική περιγραφή του θεωρητικού πλαισίου του γλωσσικού θανάτου και σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

¹¹ σχετικά Fishman, 1964, 33.

διαμεσολάβηση ενός σταδίου παρατεταμένης διπλογλωσσίας¹² κατά την οποία συντελείται σταδιακά η αντικατάσταση του ενός κώδικα από τον άλλο.

Η περίπτωση των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας ως προς το πεδίο της γλωσσικής διατήρησης και συρρίκνωσης είναι εντελώς ξεχωριστή λόγω των ιδιαίτερων ιστορικών-κοινωνικών παραμέτρων που επικράτησαν τόσο στον τόπο της διαμόρφωσης και άνθισης τους (Μικρά Ασία / ετερόγλωσσο περιβάλλον) όσο και στον τόπο του τελικού προορισμού τους (κυρίως Ελλάδα / ομόγλωσσο περιβάλλον).¹³ Η μετοικεσία του 1922 αποτελεί μία αναμφισβήτητα καθοριστική τομή στην πορεία των ιδιωμάτων αυτών καθώς οι φορείς τους εκπατρίστηκαν και διασκορπίστηκαν στον ελλαδικό χώρο. Ωστόσο, εξαιρετικό ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και η πορεία τους πριν από το 1922 και ιδιαίτερα κατά το 19^ο αι. οπότε αρχίζει, κατά τη γνώμη μου, η διαδικασία συρρίκνωσής τους.

Σχηματικά, χαρτογραφώντας κοινωνιογλωσσικά την πορεία διατήρησης / συρρίκνωσης των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας, ο μελετητής θα πρέπει να σταθεί στις παραπάνω περιόδους και να εστιάσει στα παρακάτω ερωτήματα:

- α) Για ποιους λόγους τα ελληνικά ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας διατηρήθηκαν και άνθισαν στο πολυεθνικό, ετερόγλωσσο μικρασιατικό περιβάλλον υπό την σκέπη της επίσημης τουρκικής;
- β) Πώς και σε ποιο βαθμό η δημιουργία του εθνικού / ελληνικού κράτους το 19^ο αι. επηρεάζει γλωσσικά τη Βιθυνία;
- γ) Πώς και για ποιους λόγους η ένταξη στο ομόγλωσσο ελληνικό περιβάλλον οδηγεί σταδιακά στο γλωσσικό αφανισμό των ιδιωμάτων αυτών;

Οι Conklin & Lourie,¹⁴ κωδικοποιώντας τις παραμέτρους διατήρησης / συρρίκνωσης των γλωσσικών συστημάτων, μας δίνουν ένα σχετικά περιεκτικό κατάλογο των παραγόντων που επιδρούν προς τη μία ή την άλλη κατεύθυνση και τους διακρίνουν σε τρεις κατηγορίες: α)

¹² Για τους όρους *διπλογλωσσία* / *διγλωσσία* / *κοινωνική διγλωσσία*, βλ. Πλαδή, 2008, 143-256, όπου αναλυτική παρουσίαση των όρων, θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις και βιβλιογραφική επισκόπηση. Βλ. σχετικά και Καρβούνης, 2012, 845-847.

¹³ Για τη συρρίκνωση των διαλεκτικών συστημάτων σε ομόγλωσσο και ετερόγλωσσο περιβάλλον, βλ. Μαλικούτη-Drachman, 2000, 23-28.

¹⁴ Conklin & Lourie, 1983, 174-175.

πολιτικούς, κοινωνικούς, δημογραφικούς, β) πολιτιστικούς, και γ) γλωσσικούς.

Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, με βάση τις ιστορικές πληροφορίες, το περιβάλλον στο οποίο διαμορφώθηκαν τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας ήταν πολυεθνικό υπό την οθωμανική κυριαρχία. Επομένως η ελληνική γλώσσα, που αντιπροσωπεύεται στην περιοχή με την μορφή των ιδιωμάτων, είχε τα χαρακτηριστικά μειονοτικής γλώσσας. Ως ένα από τα πιο ισχυρά ατομικά χαρακτηριστικά, η γλώσσα αποτελεί καθοριστικό στοιχείο της ανθρωπίνης και κοινωνικής ταυτότητας παίζοντας έτσι ένα ρόλο-κλειδί στη διαμόρφωση της εθνικής ταυτότητας. Επιπλέον, η γλώσσα επιδρά ως ενοποιητικό συστατικό των μελών μιας ομάδας, της οποίας την ταυτότητα καθιστά διακριτή απέναντι σε άλλες ομάδες· στην περίπτωση δε των μειονοτικών γλωσσών συχνά λειτουργεί ως κώδικας αλληλεγγύης απέναντι στην επίσημη γλώσσα που στην περίπτωση μας είναι ο εχθρικός κώδικας ισχύος.¹⁵ Η διατήρηση των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας καθορίστηκε πρωτίτως από αυτή τη βασική παράμετρο, δηλαδή από το ότι η γλώσσα, με εκφραστές τα κατά τόπους ελληνικά ιδιώματα, αποτέλεσε συστατικό στοιχείο της ελληνικής ταυτότητας των χρηστών της και με δεδομένη την απειλή του τουρκικού εθνικισμού ανήχθη σε εμβληματικό μέσο και σύμβολο της εθνοτικής κουλτούρας και κληρονομιάς.¹⁶

Η δημογραφική σύνθεση όσο και η κοινωνική, πολιτισμική και οικονομική διάρθρωση των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων, αποτέλεσαν επίσης παραμέτρους που ευνόησαν τη διατήρηση των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας.¹⁷

Στις περισσότερες ελληνικές κοινότητες της περιοχής κατοικούσαν είτε αμιγώς ελληνικοί πληθυσμοί είτε το ελληνικό στοιχείο ήταν

¹⁵ Βλ. σχετικά Kahl, 2011, 36 και Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου, 1991, 347.

¹⁶ Βλ. Fishman, 1989, 24, 32, για το ρόλο της γλώσσας ως διάστασης που καθορίζει την έννοια της “εθνότητας”. Πβ. και Kahl, 2011, 36.

¹⁷ Πβ. και Danguitsis, 1943, 26, όπου ο συγγραφέας σημειώνει ότι το Ντεμίοντεσι κατοικήθηκε μόνον από Έλληνες και επισημαίνει την ομοιογένεια της γλώσσας, των ηθών και των εθίμων, την έμφαση στην παράδοση, τη διοικητική ανεξαρτησία και την ενοποιητική επίδραση της Κωνσταντινούπολης (μέχρι το 1830), ως παραμέτρους συντήρησης των γλωσσικών στοιχείων. Ο Δεληγιάννης (1956, 17), αναφερόμενος στα Κουβούκλια, χαρακτηριστικά σημειώνει: “Άξιο θαυμασμού είναι πώς κατόρθωσε το χωριό αυτό να διατηρήσει ζωντανή ως το τέλος τη γλώσσα και γενικά καθαρό τον Ελληνισμό του...”

κυρίαρχο.¹⁸ Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, η παρουσία του ελληνισμού στην περιοχή υπήρξε μακροαίωνα, με την ιστορική αφετηρία των επώνυμων οργανωμένων κοινοτήτων που αναφέρονται στις πηγές να ανάγεται στους βυζαντινούς χρόνους. Η οθωμανική κατάκτηση της Βιθυνίας το 14^ο αι. συνοδεύτηκε από βιαιοπραγίες και πιέσεις που ανάγκαζαν συχνά μεγάλα τμήματα του πληθυσμού να εγκαταλείπουν την περιοχή. Τους αιώνες που ακολούθησαν (15^ο και 16^ο αι.) η εποικιστική πολιτική των Τούρκων είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να σημειώνονται συχνές μετακινήσεις χριστιανικών και μουσουλμανικών πληθυσμών· ωστόσο, στο χώρο που εξετάζουμε δεν υπάρχει ιστορικά μαρτυρημένος εποικισμός μεγάλων συμπαγών πληθυσμών, ικανών να επηρεάσουν τη δημογραφική σύνθεση των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της περιοχής.¹⁹

Ο τρόπος που ήταν διοικητικά οργανωμένες οι ελληνικές κοινότητες σαφώς εννόησε τη διατήρηση των ιδιωμάτων. Πέρα από τον οθωμανό διοικητή, για την κάλυψη των εκκλησιαστικών, σχολικών και άλλων κοινωνικών αναγκών μεριμνούσε ο δήμαρχος και η δημογεροντία που εκλέγονταν από το λαό.²⁰ Ας σημειωθεί ο σημαντικός θρησκευτικός και πολιτικός-διοικητικός ρόλος της Εκκλησίας και του Πατριαρχείου Κων/πόλεως ήδη από τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους.²¹

Σε συσχετισμό με την ιδιαίτερη δράση του Πατριαρχείου Κων/πόλεως, που ως ηγετική αρχή αποτελούσε έναν ενοποιητικό παράγοντα του ελληνισμού, θα πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψιν την αντίστιξη

¹⁸ Βλ. Κ.Μ.Σ. (1974, 99-102), όπου αναλυτικά στοιχεία για τις περιφέρειες και τους οικισμούς της Βιθυνίας. Στην επαρχία Προύσας, στις αρχές του 20^{ου} αι. και πριν από τους εκτοπισμούς των Νεότουρκων, ο χριστιανικός πληθυσμός έφτανε τις 25.000-30.000 ορθόδοξους Έλληνες. Βλ. σχετικά Αναγνωστοπούλου (1998, 214-216) και Παπαδοπούλου (2010, 4-5).

¹⁹ Βλ. σχετικά Παπαδοπούλου (2010, 12-14) και Κωνσταντινίδου (υπό έκδ.), όπου πληροφορίες για την ιστορική διαδρομή της περιοχής και βιβλιογραφία. Πβ. και Άμαντος (1923, 335), όπου σχολιάζοντας τις συνέπειες της τουρκικής εισβολής από τον 11^ο αι. και έπειτα, τους εκτοπισμούς και εξιλαμισμούς που υπέστησαν οι ελληνικοί πληθυσμοί στη Μικρά Ασία, σημειώνει: "οι διασωθέντες απώλεσαν την γλώσσα των πλην του Πόντου, της Καππαδοκίας και εν μέρει της Βιθυνίας, όπου παρέμειναν ελληνόγλωσσοι κοινότητες μεσαιωνικά."

²⁰ Για την οργάνωση των ελληνορθόδοξων κοινοτήτων, βλ. Αναγνωστοπούλου (1997, 276-283 και 325-331).

²¹ Βλ. Horrocks (2006, 534-355), για το σημαντικό ρόλο του Πατριαρχείου την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας στην οργάνωση της παιδείας, την άσκηση δικαιοσύνης κ.λπ. Βλ. σχετικά και Αναγνωστοπούλου (1997, 283 κ.εξ.).

χριστιανού-μουσουλμάνου με τις εθνοτικές σηματοδοτήσεις που λάμβανε η θρησκεία στον μικρασιατικό χώρο. Ο Kahl²² επισημαίνει τη θρησκεία ως καθοριστική κοινωνιογλωσσική παράμετρο και σημειώνει ότι η επιβίωση των τοπικών και μειονοτικών γλωσσών συνδέεται τόσο με τη θρησκευτική κατανομή, όσο και με το βαθμό θρησκευτικότητας των ανθρώπων που τις μιλούν. Θεωρεί ότι όσο σαφέστερη είναι η θρησκευτική διάκριση της ομάδας που μιλά μια μειονοτική γλώσσα από την υπόλοιπη κοινωνία, τόσο μεγαλύτερες είναι οι πιθανότητες επιβίωσης της γλώσσας αυτής. Η σημασία του θρησκευτικού δόγματος για τους Έλληνες της Μικράς Ασίας αποτυπώθηκε χαρακτηριστικά από την επιλογή της θρησκείας, όποτε τους τέθηκε το αναγκαστικό δίλημμα θρησκεία ή γλώσσα. Από την επιλογή αυτή προέκυψαν και οι τουρκόφωνοι – ορθόδοξοι χριστιανικοί πληθυσμοί της Μικράς Ασίας.

Σε περιοχές με μικτό εθνολογικά πληθυσμό η γλωσσική επαφή μεταξύ των ετερόγλωσσων ομάδων είναι άμεση και επηρεάζει τη γλωσσική εξέλιξη.²³ Όπως φαίνεται από τα στοιχεία για την περιοχή, το ελληνικό στοιχείο ήταν ακμαίο κοινωνικά και οικονομικά.²⁴ Για τους ομιλητές, γλώσσα “κύρους” ήταν η ελληνική και όχι η επίσημη τουρκική, η χρήση της οποίας εντοπίζεται σε συγκεκριμένα πεδία που αφορούν κυρίως στις εμπορικές συναλλαγές και στις επαφές με τη διοίκηση, γεγονός που αποτυπώνεται και στα θεματικά πεδία δανεισμού των ιδιωμάτων από την τουρκική.²⁵

Πότε όμως ξεκινά η συρρίκνωση των ιδιωμάτων της περιοχής; Θεωρώ πως η διαδικασία αυτή ακολούθησε δύο φάσεις, εκκινώντας από το 19^ο αι. στο μικρασιατικό χώρο και ολοκληρώθηκε τις δεκαετίες μετά την εγκατάσταση των προσφύγων στον ελλαδικό χώρο το 1922.

Τα στοιχεία δείχνουν ότι το 19^ο αι. το ελληνικό στοιχείο της περιοχής ευημερεί λόγω των μεταρρυθμίσεων και της παραχώρησης πολιτικών δικαιωμάτων από το οθωμανικό κράτος στις χριστιανικές

²² Kahl, 2011, 35. Για τη θρησκεία ως κοινωνιογλωσσική μεταβλητή, βλ. και Darquennes & Vandebussche (2011), όπου και σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

²³ Βλ. σχετικά Fishman, 1989, 177, 673; Kahl, 2011, 35.

²⁴ Βλ. Αναγνωστοπούλου, 1997, 79, 82-83, 105. Βλ. σχετικά και Παπαδοπούλου, 2010, 15-17.

²⁵ Βλ. Παπαδοπούλου, 2010, 227-245. Πβ. και Danguitsis, 1943, 2.

μειονότητες.²⁶ Στην περιοχή της Προύσας εγκαινιάζονται δίκτυα συγκοινωνιών και επικοινωνιών, ναυπηγεία και εργοστάσια και η έντονη οικονομική ανάπτυξη προσελκύει συχνά τους κατοίκους άλλων περιοχών.²⁷ Οι πυκνές συναλλαγές, οι συχνές επαφές μεταξύ των κοινοτήτων εντός και εκτός του μικρασιατικού χώρου, οι δεσμοί με τα αστικά κέντρα, την Κωνσταντινούπολη, την Προύσα,²⁸ και μετά το 1830 με την Αθήνα, εδραίωναν δεσμούς ανάμεσα στους φορείς των ιδιομάτων και σε νέα γλωσσικά περιβάλλοντα με νέες συνήθειες.

Ενδεικτική αστικού τύπου κοινωνία της περιοχής φαίνεται να είναι αυτή της Τρίγλιας όπως σκιαγραφείται στις αφηγήσεις τριγλιανών πληροφορητών που συγκέντρωσα κατά την προσωπική μου έρευνα. Για παράδειγμα, σε ερωτήσεις όπως – Τι τραγούδια λέγατε; η απάντηση αναφερόταν σε “λόγια” άσματα, όπως, “Ενθυμήσου σκληρά την ωραία βραδιά...” ή “Αγάπησα επί τη γη του κόσμου των ανθέω, η τύχη μου με έριξε σε άγγελον ωραίο.” Στην ερώτηση: -Τι χορούς χορεύατε; απαντούσαν, “Βαλς, ταγκό και πόλκα”. Οι πληροφορητές συχνά μιλούσαν για τις χοροεσπερίδες με τις λατέρνες και τα γραμμόφωνα, αναφέρονταν στο σχολείο όπου διδάσκονταν την καθαρεύουσα, τα γαλλικά και τα τουρκικά, στη φιλαρμονική, στις σχολικές γιορτές, στις επισκέψεις τους στην Κωνσταντινούπολη και την Προύσα, και γενικά σκιαγραφούσαν μια εικόνα που κάθε άλλο παρά σε μια τυπική απομονωμένη αγροτική (με τους όρους της μητροπολιτικής Ελλάδας) κοινωνία παρέπεμπε.

Μέσα σ’ αυτό το πλαίσιο, η παράμετρος που σηματοδοτεί και καθορίζει το 19^ο αι. είναι η δημιουργία του ελληνικού κράτους. Ο ελληνισμός αποκτά ένα νέο εθνικό και πνευματικό κέντρο. Αναφερόμενος στην επίδραση που είχε αυτό το γεγονός στο Ντεμίρντεσι, ο Δαγκί-

²⁶ Για το πλαίσιο της μεταρρύθμισης (*Τανζιμάτ*) του οθωμανικού κράτους κατά το 19^ο αι. και τις επιπτώσεις του στις ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες, βλ. Αναγνωστοπούλου, 1997, 276-283.

²⁷ Η Αναγνωστοπούλου, 1997, 107-108, αναφέρει σχετικά: “Τούτη η δημογραφική αναταραχή, απόρροια της οθωμανικής πολιτικής από τη μια πλευρά, και σειράς ιστορικών γεγονότων από την άλλη, συνιστά κατ’ εξοχήν παράγοντα αποδέσμευσης φαινομένων, τα οποία θα τροποποιήσουν βαθιά τόσο τις κοινωνικές δομές όσο και τις “εθνικές” ισορροπίες”.

²⁸ Για το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα που μιλούσαν στην Προύσα, τις ιδιομορφίες και τα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά του, βλ. Κωνσταντινίδου, 2005^α, 335-346.

της²⁹ σημειώνει (παραθέτω σε δική μου μετάφραση): “Στη συνέχεια ο πόλεμος της ανεξαρτησίας που ξεκίνησε στην Ελλάδα ξύπνησε τα πατριωτικά αισθήματα· άρχισαν να μιλούν για τη Μεγάλη Ελλάδα, την ιστορία της, τους ήρωές της, να τραγουδούν κλέφτικα τραγούδια στις οικογενειακές συγκεντρώσεις. Νέοι πήγαιναν στην Αθήνα είτε για να σπουδάσουν είτε για εμπόριο και γυρνούσαν γεμάτοι ενθουσιασμό, θαυμασμό και λατρεία για την καινούργια Ελλάδα. Στο σχολείο μια πνοή εθνικιστική, πανελληνιστική άρχισε να καλλιεργείται επηρεάζοντας και τα γειτονικά ελληνικά χωριά, άλλα από τα οποία μπορεί να μιλούσαν ελληνικά και άλλα τουρκικά. Άρχισε έτσι να αναπτύσσεται ένας μεγάλος ενθουσιασμός για την αρχαία Ελλάδα. Για να αποδείξουν αυτή την αγάπη τους και τον στενό δεσμό τους με την αρχαία Ελλάδα έδιναν στα παιδιά τους αρχαία ονόματα όπως Όμηρος, Ηρακλής κ.λπ. Η Αθήνα παρέμενε το πνευματικό κέντρο για το Ντεμίρντεσι μέχρι και το 1922. Αυτή η μετατόπιση του σημείου αναφοράς από την Κωνσταντινούπολη, η οποία ως τότε ασκούσε μια ενοποιητική επίδραση, στην Αθήνα είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να χάσει η διάλεκτος την ισορροπία και την ενότητά της.”

Η δημιουργία του εθνικού κέντρου, επιδρά δραστικά στη γλώσσα, καθώς το αίτημα της ομοιογένειας ως συστατικό στοιχείο της ανάδυσης του νέου κράτους προμοδοτεί τη δημιουργία μιας ενιαίας εθνικής γλώσσας και απαξιώνει τη γλωσσική ποικιλομορφία.³⁰ Η “διεκδίκηση του Γένους”,³¹ τόσο από το Πατριαρχείο, όσο και από το ελληνικό κράτος, ο “ανταγωνισμός” ανάμεσα στο υφιστάμενο πολιτικό και πνευματικό κέντρο που ήταν η Κωνσταντινούπολη και το γεωγραφικά απομακρυσμένο νέο εθνικό κέντρο του ελληνικού κράτους που ήταν η Αθήνα, δημιούργησε σύγχυση, μια νέα αμφίρροπη κατάσταση που επηρέασε τη γλωσσική ενότητα. Η μετατόπιση του κέντρου είχε σαν αποτέλεσμα να διαρραγούν οι δεσμοί με την ντόπια παράδοση και τη φυσιολογική εξέλιξη τόσο της κοινωνίας όσο και της γλώσσας.³² Βασικός φορέας της νέας γλώσσας είναι τα εκπαιδευ-

²⁹ Danguitsis, 1943, 25-26. Για τον τρόπο που επιδρά το εθνικό κέντρο στις περιφερειακές διαλέκτους, πβ. και Καρυολαίμου, 2000, 206.

³⁰ Βλ. σχετικά Χριστίδης, 1999, 24.

³¹ Βλ. Αναγνωστοπούλου, 1998, 421-452.

³² Βλ. σχετικά Danguitsis, 1943, 26-28.

τήρια,³³ ενώ σημαντικό ρόλο έπαιξε και η ίδρυση φιλεκπαιδευτικών συλλόγων και σωματείων.³⁴ Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, στις κοινότητες λειτουργούσαν το 19^ο και στις αρχές του 20^{ου} αι. ελληνικά σχολεία· μάλιστα στα μεγαλύτερα κέντρα, υπήρχαν επτατάξια σχολεία, παρθεναγωγεία, “αστικές” σχολές κ.λπ.³⁵ Ας σημειωθεί ότι στα σχολεία αυτά διδασκόταν η καθαρεύουσα.³⁶

Ο Δαγκίτσης,³⁷ αναφερόμενος στο Ντεμίρντεσι, σημειώνει χαρακτηριστικά (παραθέτω σε δική μου μετάφραση): “Η γλώσσα της εκκλησίας και η γλώσσα της παιδείας αντί να λειτουργούν προς την ενοποίηση του ιδιώματος, αντιθέτως συνέβαλαν στην αποσύνθεσή του επιτείνοντας το πρόβλημα. Η σύγχυση ξεκινούσε από τη διδασκαλία

³³ Βλ. Κιτρομηλίδου (1990-1991, 87-106), όπου παραθέτει και σχολιάζει μία σειρά επιστολών του συλλόγου “Ανατολή” της Μηχανιάνας προς διάφορους φορείς στην Αθήνα (1898-1903) με αίτημα την αποστολή εκπαιδευτικού υλικού και κατευθύνσεων διδασκαλίας. Από το κλίμα των επιστολών φαίνεται χαρακτηριστικά η φροντίδα και η αγωνία για την ενίσχυση των ελληνικής παιδείας, την οποία θεωρούν απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση για την εθνική επιβίωση του μικρασιατικού ελληνισμού.

³⁴ Πολύτιμα στοιχεία για τα εκπαιδευτήρια, τα σωματεία και γενικότερα τις προσπάθειες και τις επαφές των μικρασιατών με συλλόγους και φορείς στην Αθήνα για την ενίσχυση της ελληνικής παιδείας το 19^ο αι. στους νομούς Προύσης και Σμύρνης καταγράφει το 1919 ο Κοντογιάννης (1919, 140-64). Χαρακτηριστικές είναι οι πληροφορίες (ό.π., 159) σχετικά με τις ενέργειες ώστε να ενισχυθούν οι τουρκόφωνοι πληθυσμοί στο να αποβάλουν την τουρκική και να ασπασθούν την ελληνική γλώσσα. Ιδιαίτερα διαφωτιστική για την κατανόηση της δεσπόζουσας, την εποχή εκείνη, ιδεολογίας των μικρασιατών είναι και η έκθεση “Ουϊλών – Οι Έλληνες εν Ασία” που παραθέτει στο παράρτημα του βιβλίου του (ό.π., 201-212).

³⁵ Βλ. *Αντίλαλοι* (1931, 40-41), όπου πίνακας των ελληνικών εκπαιδευτηρίων του νομού Προύσης.

³⁶ Ο προσανατολισμός της παιδείας φαίνεται χαρακτηριστικά στο σχολικό πρόγραμμα μαθημάτων. Ο Μαντάς (1983, 124-28), αναφερόμενος στα σχολεία του Παλλαδαρίου, σημειώνει για το ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα: “Προ του 1874 κυριότερα αναγνώσματα στο σχολείο ήταν η Οκτώηχος, το Ψαλτήρι, τα μηνιαία κ.α. εκκλησιαστικά βιβλία, λίγη αριθμητική, γραφή, λίγη μουσική και ο “γέρο-Στάθης”. Από το 1874 και μετά το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα περιλάμβανε διδασκαλία των εξής μαθημάτων. 1. Ανάγνωσης; 2. Χρηστομάθειας; 3. Αριθμητικής; 4. Γραμματικής; 5. Ιστορίας (Αρχαίας και Βυζαντινής); 6. Θρησκευτικών; 7. Γεωγραφίας; 8. Πατριδογραφίας; 9. Τουρκικής γλώσσας (μόνο για τα αγόρια); 10. Γαλλικής γλώσσας (μόνο για τα κορίτσια); 11. Ωδικής; 12. Γυμναστικής, Καλλιγραφίας, Ιχνογραφίας και Χειροτεχνίας.”

³⁷ Danguitsis, 1943, 27.

της καθαρεύουσας στο σχολείο, μιας γλώσσας που ήταν εντελώς ακατανόητη για τους Ντεμιοντεσιώτες και την οποία οι μαθητές ήταν υποχρεωμένοι να μάθουν να ακούν, να μιλούν και να γράφουν. Η ιδέα ήταν ότι είναι πολύ πιο αξιοπρεπές να λέει κανείς μήτηρ, άρτος, ύδωρ αντί μάνα, ψωμί, νερό κ.λπ. και ότι έτσι αποδίδεται φόρος τιμής στους προγόνους πολύ μεγαλύτερος από το να μιλάει τη μητρική του γλώσσα όπως είχε διαμορφωθεί (δηλ. το ιδίωμα). Έτσι προέκυψαν και μια σειρά από στρεβλώσεις σε λέξεις όπως, πχ. αλωνυχτιά (αλώνι-νύχτα) αντί για ολονυχτία, λινοβόθεια αντί αλληλοβοήθεια ...”

Τα μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια των πληροφορητών κατά την έρευνά μου για την κοινότητα της Τρίγλιας είναι επίσης ενδεικτικά, καθώς οι ίδιοι διέκριναν στο χωριό δύο κατηγορίες ομιλητών. Αυτούς που ήταν “μορφωμένοι” ή αστοί και έμεναν στον κάτω “μαχαλά” του χωριού, και στους κάτοικους του πάνω “μαχαλά” της Τρίγλιας, οι οποίοι όπως χαρακτηριστικά υπογράμμιζαν μιλούσαν τη γλώσσα “βαριά”, ήταν “χωριάτηδες”, αγρότες και τους θεωρούσαν πιο αντιπροσωπευτικούς φορείς του ιδιώματος.³⁸

Ανάλογη εικόνα καταγράφεται στην Κίο. Η Κωνσταντινίδου³⁹ σημειώνει σχετικά: “Σύμφωνα με τους πληροφορητές μου, τα *Κιώτικα*, το γλωσσικό δηλ. ιδίωμα των Ελλήνων της Παλαιάς Κίου, ήταν δύο ειδών. Από τη μια υπήρχαν τα λεγόμενα *βαριά Κιώτικα*, μία γλώσσα με έντονα ιδωματικά και αρκετά τουρκικά στοιχεία, την οποία μιλούσαν κυρίως ψαράδες της Κίου που βρισκόνταν εγκατεστημένοι στη συνοικία του Ψαρομαχαλά, και από την άλλη υπήρχε ένας λιγότερο αυστηρός, οιονεί εξαλλοιωμένος τύπος του ιδιώματος, ο οποίος βρισκόταν πολύ κοντά στη νεοελληνική κοινή και τον οποίο η αστικοποιημένη εν πολλοίς κοινωνία της Κίου του 19^{ου} και των αρχών του 20^{ου} αιώνα θεωρούσε περισσότερο ‘καλλιερηγμένο’... Η ήπια, η ανειμένη μορφή του ιδιώματος της Κίου, την οποία θα μπορούσε να ονομάσει κανείς *αστικά Κιώτικα*, δεν ήταν παρά καρπός της συστηματικής καλλιέργειας της ελληνικής γλώσσας στα σχολεία της

³⁸ Πβ. Πλαδή (2001, 622), για τη σύνδεση του ιδιώματος, από την πλευρά των ιδίων των ομιλητών, με τη γλώσσα των “αμόρφωτων”, των “απολίτιστων”, των “χωριατών”, των χαμηλότερων κοινωνικο-οικονομικά στρωμάτων. Βλ. σχετικά και Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου, 1991, 348.

³⁹ Κωνσταντινίδου (υπό έκδ.).

Κίου για διάστημα ενός και πλέον αιώνα, και συγκεκριμένα από το 1802 και μέχρι τη μετοικεσία του 1922.”

Από τα παραπάνω, φαίνεται ότι από το 19^ο αι., όπως και στη μητροπολιτική Ελλάδα, έτσι και στην περιοχή της Βιθυνίας, προβάλλεται ένας νέος τύπος γλωσσικού ιδεώδους,⁴⁰ αυτού της καθαρεύουσας, που συμπλέει με τη Μεγάλη Ιδέα και στο όνομα του οποίου περιβάλλονται με κύρος, γόητρο αλλά και καθαρότητα εθνική, όσες και όσοι μπορούν να την χειριστούν⁴¹. Τα σχόλια των πληροφορητών αποκαλύπτουν μια μετακίνηση της ιδεολογικής βάσης που μέχρι τότε στήριζε τα ιδιώματα ως φορείς της εθνογλωσσικής ταυτότητας των ομιλητών. Η ανάγκη της ταύτισης με το εθνικό κέντρο οδηγεί σε μια ιδιότυπη διπλογλωσσία, και μια νέα, αρνητική πλέον, αξιολόγηση των ελληνικών γλωσσικών ποικιλιών.

Η συρρικνωτική διαδικασία των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας θα επιταχυνθεί καθοριστικά από το 1922 και έπειτα. Ο βίαιος εκπατρισμός και η ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών, αποτελεί ανατρεπτική –θα έλεγα ισοπεδωτική– παράμετρο για τη μετέπειτα διαμόρφωσή τους. Το χρονικό αυτό σημείο ορίζει την πλήρη ανατροπή των συνθηκών, γεωγραφικών, δημογραφικών, οικονομικών, κοινωνικών, πολιτισμικών, και κατά συνέπεια της γλωσσικής κατάστασης των φορέων των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας, αλλά και γενικότερα της Μικράς Ασίας. Με την εγκατάσταση των προσφύγων στην Ελλάδα ανακόπηκε η φυσική εξέλιξη των ιδιωμάτων και μεταβλήθηκε σημαντικά η κοινωνική διάρθρωση και η γεωγραφική τους κατανομή.

Όπως υπογραμμίζει η Καρυολαίμου⁴² ένας από τους παράγοντες που ευνοεί τη διατήρηση των γλωσσικών ιδιομορφιών / συνηθειών είναι η σταθερότητα των κοινωνικών δικτύων, δηλαδή των κοινωνικών σχέσεων που υφίστανται ανάμεσα στους ομιλητές. Η διάσπαση των κοινωνικών δικτύων αποσταθεροποιεί και τους κανόνες γλωσσικής επικοινωνίας και οδηγεί στην απώλεια γλωσσικών δεδομένων. Στην περίπτωση μας, το κοινωνικό δίκτυο θα λέγαμε ότι διαμελίστηκε καθώς οι πληθυσμοί των κοινοτήτων της Βιθυνίας που εξετάζουμε,

⁴⁰ Βλ. σχετικά Χριστίδης (1999, 23-24, 155-156), για τη γλωσσική μυθολογία του έθνους.

⁴¹ Βλ. σχετικά Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου, 1991, 348.

⁴² Καρυολαίμου, 2000, 208, 210.

διασκορπίστηκαν μετά το 1922 σε διάφορες περιοχές της Ελλάδας.⁴³ Στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις μάλιστα δεν παρέμειναν συμπαγείς. Εκτός από τους ντόπιους πληθυσμούς, συχνά συγκατοίκησαν και με πρόσφυγες από άλλες περιοχές, με αποτέλεσμα το εύρος των επιρροών και των επιδράσεων του νέου περιβάλλοντος να διαμορφωθεί και να κλιμακωθεί ανάλογα με την πληθυσμιακή υπεροχή των ομάδων.

Κατά τις πρώτες δύσκολες δεκαετίες της μετεγκατάστασής τους, οι πρόσφυγες αντιμετώπιστηκαν από τους γηγενείς πληθυσμούς εχθρικά, με καχυποψία και προκατάληψη.⁴⁴ Έπαψαν να έχουν την κοινωνική υπεροχή που απολάμβαναν στη Μικρά Ασία. Στο νέο ομογενές περιβάλλον η χρήση του ιδιώματος αποτελούσε στοιχείο “διαφορετικότητας” και δυσχέραινε την κοινωνική τους προσαρμογή. Τα ελληνικά τους, τα ελληνικά ιδιώματα (τα οποία στη Μικρά Ασία ήταν παράγοντας συνοχής και γλώσσα κύρους, αλλά ταυτόχρονα και βασικό στοιχείο διαφοροποίησής τους από τους Τούρκους μαζί με τη θρησκεία), στην Ελλάδα δεν ήταν τα “καλά” ελληνικά και οι φορείς τους θεωρούνταν οι “Άλλοι”.

Επιπλέον, η νέα γλωσσική κατάσταση που αντιμετώπισαν με την εγκατάστασή τους στην Ελλάδα ήταν εξαιρετικά πολύπλοκη, καθώς ήρθαν αντιμετώπι με την ελλαδική διπλογλωσσία, αυτήν της καθαρεύουσας με τη δημοτική. Στο νέο περιβάλλον, επίσημη γλώσσα δεν ήταν πια η τουρκική, αλλά η ελληνική, και μάλιστα η εκάστοτε εκδοχή της. Στην πραγματικότητα η γλωσσική κατάσταση των προσφύγων μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως “τριγλωσσία”, όρο που χρησιμοποιεί ο Browning⁴⁵ για να περιγράψει τη γλωσσική σύγχυση στην Ελλάδα το

⁴³ Σχετικά με τους τόπους εγκατάστασης των προσφύγων, βλ. Παπαδοπούλου (2010: 17-8) για την Τρίγλια (σε Νέα Τρίγλια Χαλκιδικής, Ραφήνα, Καβάλα, Θεσσαλονίκη κ.α.), Ταβουλτζίδης (1999: 67-8) για τα Κουβούκλια (σε Ξάνθη, Κομοτηνή, Νευροκόπι, Φλώρινα, Αριδέα, σε χωριά της Κοζάνης κ.α.), Μαντάς (1983: 10) για το Παλλαδάρι (σε Πέλλα, Πιερία, Δράμα, Θεσσαλονίκη, Έδεσσα, Βέροια, Γαστούνη Πελοποννήσου), Danguistis (1943: 20) για το Ντεμίρντεσι (σε Φλώρινα, Δράμα, Καβάλα, Κατερίνη, Θεσσαλονίκη), Κωνσταντινίδου (υπό έκδ.) για την Κίο (σε Παραλία της Πιερίας, Νέα Κίο Αργολίδος, Θεσσαλονίκη, Πειραιά, Αθήνα, Αμαλιάδα, Γτέα, Σκύδρα, Δράμα κ.α.), *Αντίλαλοι* (1931: 225) για τα Μουδανιά (σε Νέα Μουδανιά Χαλκιδικής, Θεσσαλονίκη, Βόλο, Καβάλα, Δράμα, Σέρρες κ.α.).

⁴⁴ Βλ. σχετικά Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου, 1991, 353 και Μπασλής, 2000, 132-135.

⁴⁵ Browning, 1991, 141. Βλ. σχετικά και Πλαδή, 2008, 158-161.

19^ο αι., όπου συνυπήρχαν τοπικό ιδίωμα, δημοτική και καθαρεύουσα. Δεν είναι εύκολο να προσδιορίσει κανείς το κατά πόσον η γλωσσική “αμηχανία” που επικρατούσε στην Ελλάδα επέδρασε στα ιδιώματα. Είναι βέβαιο ότι η καθομιλουμένη δημοτική γλώσσα⁴⁶ σαφώς ήταν πιο κοντά στα ιδιώματα και η καθιέρωσή της ως επίσημη γλώσσα τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες 20^ο αι., σε συνάρτηση βεβαίως και με άλλους παράγοντες, έδρασε διαβρωτικά ως προς τα ιδιώματα.

Έτσι, μετά τη δεκαετία του '70, η συρρίκνωση των ιδιωμάτων συντελείται με γοργούς ρυθμούς. Η επίσημη γλώσσα, που πλέον είναι η δημοτική και όχι η καθαρεύουσα, κατέχει ηγεμονικό ρόλο που εμπειδώνεται μέσω της εκπαίδευσης, της χρήσης της στα Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης και γενικότερα μέσω της πολιτικής που υιοθετεί το κράτος για την επιβολή της.

Ο κοινωνικός μετασχηματισμός, η αξιολογική θέση των ιδιωμάτων σε σχέση με την επίσημη γλώσσα επέδρασε καταλυτικά στις γλωσσικές στάσεις και στη γλωσσική μετακίνηση των ομιλητών τους. Η ανωτερότητα που προσδίδεται στην επίσημη γλώσσα λειτουργεί σε βάρος των τοπικών ιδιωμάτων ή διαλέκτων. Η KNE αντιμετωπίζεται ως η υψηλή ποικιλία, που αντιπροσωπεύει την εξουσία και την κοινωνική άνοδο, σε αντίθεση με τα ιδιώματα που θεωρούνται κατώτερες γλωσσικές παραλλαγές, όχι γιατί υστερούν από γλωσσολογικής άποψης, αλλά λόγω της γλωσσικής προκατάληψης απέναντί τους⁴⁷. Αυτή την υποτίμηση συχνά, συνειδητά ή ασυνείδητα, την εσωτερικεύει και την υιοθετεί σε κάποιο ποσοστό και ο ομιλητής του ιδιώματος, με αποτέλεσμα να καταγράφονται αρνητικές στάσεις και τοποθετήσεις των ομιλητών απέναντι στο ιδίωμα.⁴⁸ Σταδιακά οι ομιλητές των ιδιωμάτων γίνονται δι-διαλεκτικοί,⁴⁹ χρησιμοποιώντας παράλληλα και συμπληρωματικά (ανάλογα με τις περιστάσεις επικοινωνιακά

⁴⁶ Βλ. Browning, 1991, 147-149, όπου παραθέτει τα ‘πέντε επίπεδα’ της ελληνικής που κατά τον Mirambel (1937) χρησιμοποιούνταν στην Ελλάδα.

⁴⁷ Βλ. σχετικά Μπασλής, 2000, 128-131. Για τη διαδικασία στιγματισμού των χαμηλών ποικιλιών προς όφελος της κυρίαρχης γλώσσας, βλ. και Κουρδής, 1997, 580-590) και Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, 80-81.

⁴⁸ Βλ. Χριστίδης, 1999, 98-99. Για τις γλωσσικές στάσεις των ομιλητών απέναντι στο ιδίωμα, πβ. και Κουρδής, 1997, 577-590, Πλαδή, 2001, 620-629, Παύλου, 2006, 394-395).

⁴⁹ Βλ. Τζιτζιλής, 2000, 192.

ωνίας) και τους δύο γλωσσικούς κώδικες, με αποτέλεσμα ιδίωμα και επίσημη γλώσσα να βρίσκονται σε σχέση γλωσσικής διπλοτυπίας/διπλογλωσσίας.

Κατά τη διαδικασία συρρίκνωσης πρώτα υποχωρούν σημασιολογικά πεδία που συνδέονται με εκφάνσεις του πολιτισμού και της καθημερινής ζωής που αναδιαμορφώνονται ή εγκαταλείπονται, όπως για παράδειγμα όροι που αφορούσαν τη διοίκηση, τους παλιούς τρόπους παραγωγής, επαγγέλματα, εργαλεία που έπαψαν να υπάρχουν· γλωσσικές απώλειες προέκυψαν από την αλλαγή στις δομές των παραδοσιακών κοινωνιών και των κοινωνικών συνθηκών που συντηρούσαν τις τοπικές γλωσσικές μορφές κ.ά. Οι περιστάσεις χρήσης και οι λειτουργίες του ιδιώματος περιορίζονται στο σπίτι, στο πλαίσιο της οικογένειας και κυρίως στους ηλικιωμένους και στην επικοινωνία μεταξύ προσφύγων.

Η επίδραση του σχολείου, η αστικοποίηση, ο εκσυγχρονισμός, οι νέες κοινωνικές και εκφραστικές ανάγκες έχουν σαν αποτέλεσμα η δεύτερη γενιά των προσφύγων⁵⁰ να απομακρυνθεί ακόμα περισσότερο από τα ιδιώματα, τα οποία σιγά σιγά άρχισαν να σβήνουν μαζί με τους γνήσιους φορείς τους. Τα ιδιώματα βαθμιαία αφομοιώθηκαν γλωσσικά από το νέο περιβάλλον και όπως χαρακτηριστικά σημειώνει ο Τζιτζιλής περιορίστηκαν σε μία γλώσσα της μνήμης ή καλύτερα γλώσσα των αναμνήσεων.⁵¹ Σήμερα επιβιώνουν στερεότυπες φράσεις, παγιωμένες προτάσεις, οι οποίες αποτελούν συνήθως ανάκληση φράσεων που έλεγαν οι πρόσφυγες πρώτης γενιάς. Τα ιδιώματα αποτελούν πια κομμάτι του παρελθόντος, της κληρονομιάς των μικρασιατών και συνδέονται με τη συναισθηματική στάση των ομιλητών, ενώ η ΚΝΕ γίνεται αντιληπτή ως συστατικό στοιχείο της νεο-ελλαδικής ταυτότητας των προσφύγων.

Συνοψίζοντας, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι η πορεία των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας, ως προς τη διαδικασία μετατόπισης/μετακίνησής τους τόσο στην αρχική κοιτίδα τους, όσο και στο νέο περιβάλλον αποτελεί μία ιδιαίτερη περίπτωση. Ξεκινώντας από μία διγλωσσική αφετηρία (ελληνικά και τουρκικά) στη Μικρά Ασία, ως συστατικό στοιχείο της

⁵⁰ Βλ. Πλαδή (2008, 187), για το “χάσμα γενεών” στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο του γλωσσικού θανάτου.

⁵¹ Τζιτζιλής, 2000, 19-20.

ταυτότητας των ομιλητών τους, διασώθηκαν και διατηρήθηκαν επί αιώνες στο πολυεθνικό περιβάλλον υπό την πίεση της επίσημης τουρκικής. Ουσιαστικά άρχισαν να συρρικνώνονται και να υποχωρούν από το 19^ο αι. με την εμφάνιση του ελεύθερου κράτους και της ενιαίας εθνικής γλώσσας, προκειμένου, όντας στην περιφέρεια του ελληνισμού, να υπηρετηθεί η ανάγκη των φορέων τους για σύνδεση με τον εθνικό ιστό, το νέο ελληνικό κράτος· τέλος, στον ελλαδικό πια χώρο μετά το 1922, ακολουθώντας την κοινή μοίρα όλων των ιδιωμάτων, αφομοιώθηκαν κάτω από την ηγεμονία της ΚΝΕ.

Όπως ελπίζω να φάνηκε από την αναγκαστικά διαγραμματική αυτή παρουσίαση, τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας ακολούθησαν τη φθίνουσα πορεία όλων των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών που αναζητούν το χώρο τους δίπλα στην εκάστοτε “επίσημη εθνική γλώσσα”. Οι όροι εξασθένισής τους λειτούργησαν κατά κάποιο τρόπο νομοτελειακά στην προβληματική συχνά λογική μιας αφομοιωτικής εθνικής πολιτικής. Σήμερα πάλι, στη νέα παγκοσμιοποιημένη κοινωνία, παρόμοιες πιέσεις ασκούνται στην κατεύθυνση της διαμόρφωσης μιας ενιαίας γλώσσας “εργαλείου” επικοινωνίας και όχι έκφρασης, και στη συνακόλουθη επιβολή μιας “μονογλωσσίας”.⁵² Ωστόσο, έξω και μακριά από από κάθε εθνορομαντική νοσταλγία, η ενθάρρυνση της διατήρησης της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας, είναι αναγκαία και επιβεβλημένη καθώς συνδέεται με δύο βασικές ανάγκες: α) αφενός, τη δυνατότητα του ομιλητή να μπορεί στη γλωσσική πρακτική του να αντλεί από περισσότερες της μιας γλώσσες ή ποικιλίες χωρίς να στιγματίζεται από αρνητικές στάσεις, συναισθήματα κατωτερότητας και υποτίμησης για τη μητρική του γλώσσα,⁵³ και β) αφετέρου, τον συγχρονισμό με ένα γενικότερο πολιτικό πλέον αίτημα των προηγμένων κοινωνιών, την αυτονόητη δηλαδή προάσπιση του δικαιώματος στις ταυτοτικές επιλογές των πολιτών τους.⁵⁴

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⁵² Βλ. σχετικά Χριστίδης, 1999, 154-165; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, 82-83.

⁵³ Βλ. σχετικά Haberland, 1999, 16-18, Crystal, 2000, 27, 154.

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Abstract

The present paper discusses the dialects of a part of Bithynia, Asia Minor, in an effort to report on the way in which the evolutionary process of the area's dialects was affected by the peculiar multinational environment first of Asia Minor and later of Greece.

In this context we present the sociolinguistic parameters that have affected the aforementioned dialects so as to show how and for what reasons language resists in unfavourable linguistic environments and under adverse sociohistorical circumstances (Asia Minor – Ottoman environment). Next, we examine to what extent and how the creation of the Greek state and the “unified national language” in the 19th century affected the course of the evolution of these dialects in Asia Minor, and lastly, we explore how language resistance mechanisms are inactivated in a theoretically “friendlier” linguistic environment, such as that of the Greek territory in this case. It should be noted that the age-old evolution of these dialects in Asia Minor was interrupted due to their users' emigration and dispersal in Greece in 1922.

The dialects of Bithynia followed the downward course of all language varieties that strive to coexist with the current “official national language”. The conditions of their attenuation acted somewhat deterministically in the context of the frequently problematic rationale of an assimilative national policy. Today, once again, in the new globalized society, similar pressures are exerted to form a unified language as a tool of communication and not of expression, and subsequently to impose a kind of “monolingualism”. However, outside and beyond any form of ethno-romantic nostalgia, it is necessary and imperative to encourage the maintenance of linguistic diversity, as it is connected with two basic needs: (a) on the one hand the ability of the speaker, in language practice, to draw elements from more than one languages or varieties without being stigmatized by negative attitudes and feelings of inferiority and disparagement concerning his/her mother tongue, and (b) on the other hand the need to be tuned in to a more general demand of advanced societies, which is now a political one, namely the self-evident protection of their citizens' right to identity determination choices.

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Kamara von Tacitus und Lasische Menexila von Evliya Çelebi

Der bedeutende römische Historiker Cornelius Tacitus (um 55-116/120 n. Chr.) berichtet in seiner "Geschichte" über zahlreiche interessante Tatsachen über Georgier. Darunter zieht der Bericht über einen großen Volksstamm von "Kamariten" die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich, der diesen Namen erhalten hat, weil seine Bevölkerung die nach besonderer Bauart gebauten und auf Griechisch *Kamaras* benannten Schiffe besessen haben. In der Tat wurden mit diesem Namen die im Südosten der Schwarzmeerküste lebenden georgischen Volksstämme bezeichnet, deren Schiffe der römische Historiker wegen des deutlichen Unterschieds zu den griechischen Analoga besonders eingehend beschrieben hat.

Nachfolgend wird die vollständige Beschreibung aufgeführt: "Die Barbaren bewegten sich wohlfühlend mit den hastig gebauten Schiffen. Die Schiffe werden *Kamaras* genannt. Sie haben hohe Seiten und einen breiten Schiffskörper, der ohne Kupfer und Eisenklammer zusammengebunden ist. Bei einem Seesturm, wenn die Wellen hochstiegen, vergrößerte man die Höhe des Schiffes mithilfe von Holzbrettern, bis es als Dach zugedeckt war. Mit beiden gleichartigen Seiten und ersatzbaren Rudern können sie schadenfrei anhalten, egal von welcher Seite: mal hier, mal da" (6, III, 47).

Laut Tacitus wurde das beschriebene Schiff ohne Kupfer zusammengebunden. Damit ist gemeint, dass sein Hauptteil – der Schiffskörper – ein aus Holz geschnittenes Boot darstellte (nur in diesem Fall brauchte es keine Metallklammer).

Die am Schiff bewegenden Holzbretter sollten aus einzelnen Holzstücken so ausgeschnitten werden, dass die Konstruktion dieses

dreiteiligen Schiffes aus drei Hölzern hergestellt worden sein müsste. Die Tatsache, dass das Schiff kein Schiffsheck hatte und seine beiden Seiten am Ende gespitzt waren, gab ihm die Möglichkeit in beiden Richtungen gleich gut zu bewegen. Was die Räumlichkeit des Schiffes anbetrifft, schreibt Tacitus darüber nichts. Jedoch gibt es folgende Hinweisung bei Strabon (I Jahrhundert v. Chr. – I Jahrhundert n. Chr.), der über die an der Schwarzmeerküste und in der Gegend des Kaukasus lebenden Akeleen, Dzigen und Heliohen folgendes berichtet: “Sie haben kleine und leichte Boote; ungefähr 25 Personen passen da rein, selten passen auch 30 (Personen) rein. Die Hellenen nennen sie *Kamaras* (5, XI, 2, 12).

Dieser Bericht vom griechischen Historiker und Geografen scheint nicht ganz glaubwürdig zu sein, denn im Unterschied zu Tacitus hält er *Kamara* für das Schiff mit einer differenten Konstruktion (nach seinem Bericht hatte *Kamara* keine breite Form, wie Tacitus darüber berichtete, sondern eine “schmale”, d.h., es hatte einen längeren Aufbau). Die Tatsache aber, dass Tacitus *Kamara* als ein Schiff bezeichnet, bedeutet, dass seine Räumlichkeit im Vergleich zur Räumlichkeit der Boote wesentlich größer war und es für mehrere Dutzende Menschen geeignet war.

Die Existenz der von Tacitus beschriebenen, *Kamara* ähnlichen Schiffe in der gleichen Schwarzmeerregion wird auch nach 15 Jahrhunderten bestätigt und diesmal sind sie als *Lasische Menexila* bezeichnet. Über diese Schiffe berichtet der türkische Reisende, Geograf und Historiker Evliya Çelebi (1611 – 1682) in seiner Erzählung “Das Buch von Reisen”: “Diese Schiffe werden aus drei dicken Pappelbäumen zusammengebaut, die am Ufer des Flusses Tschorochi wachsen. Ein Holzbrett ist darunter als ein [Trog],¹ die anderen zwei an den Seiten, das sind aber sehr große Holzbretter. Um die Seiten des Schiffes sind Geflechte aus Schilf und Binse befestigt. Deswegen kann der Meeressturm nicht eindringen und sie schwimmen ins Schwarzmeer als Korke. Das sind wunderbare Schiffe mit Trogform, an denen weder vordere und noch hintere Seite zu sehen sind. In dieser Gegend nennt man sie Menexila. Es passen hundert Menschen rein” (4, 95).

¹ Im georgischen Übertext steht “als Schale”, die wir mit “als Trog” geändert haben, denn man kann das Schiff mit einem ovalen Trog vergleichen und nicht mit einer runden Schale. Übrigens wird bei der russischen Übersetzung von “Das Buch von Reisen” auch (корыто) erwähnt (7, 46).

Auch *Lasische Menexila* gleichartig wie *Kamara* wurde aus drei Hölzern hergestellt und es bestand aus zwei Nebenbrettern und einem Trog ähnlichen Boden, d.h., aus einem aus Holz geschnitzten Boot. *Menexila* ebenso, wie *Kamara*, hat kein Schiffsheck ("es hat keine vordere und hintere Seite") und dementsprechend ist es auch an beiden Enden gespitzt. Das aber bedeutet, dass sich *Lasische Menexila* in entgegengesetzte Richtungen bewegen kann. Nach all diesen Merkmalen treffen sich *Menexila* und *Kamara* völlig zusammen. *Menexila* unterscheidet sich von *Kamara* nur mit einer größeren Räumlichkeit (darin können dreimal mehr Menschen, bis zu 100, anstatt 25-30 Menschen passen).

Es bleibt zu erwähnen, dass Evliya Çelebi über *Lasische Menexila* auch in Bezug auf Mengrelen berichtet. Nach seinem Bericht sind Mengrelen aus Odishi auf das Gefechtsfeld bei einer der Kriegshandlungen gegen Türken mit den *Lasische Menexila* – Booten erschienen (4,324). Darauf, dass diese *Menexilas* selbst von den Mengrelen hergestellt waren, weist die Tatsache hin, dass sie hochqualifizierte Bootsbauer waren und beherrschten diesen Beruf nicht schlechter als Lasen. Noch in den V-IV Jahrhunderten vor Chr. wies der berühmte griechische Arzt Hippokrates ausdrücklich darauf hin, dass die in der Nähe von Fasisi lebenden Einwohner "nicht viel durch Städte und Häfen wandern". Dafür aber, nach seinen Worten, "sie fahren mit den aus einem Holz geschnitzten Booten rauf und runter, da es mehrere Kanäle gibt" (4, 1, 15).

Vom zitierten Fragment wird es deutlich, dass für die Einwohner, die unter den Bedingungen von zahlreichen Kanälen lebten und "nicht viel wandern", die Boote als Hauptfortbewegungsmittel galten. Unter diesen Umständen sollten die Einwohner von Fasisi das Zusammenbauen von Booten auf hohem Niveau beherrschen. Und tatsächlich lässt sich die adäquate Vielzahl von Booten wegen der Vielzahl von Kanälen nicht bezweifeln. Ebenso mussten die Boote über besondere Bootscharakteristika verfügen, was auch durch ihre ungewöhnliche Bautechnologie – Zusammenbau aus einem Holz – bedingt war. Diese Bautechnologie beherrschten überwiegend die an der Meeresküste lebenden georgischen Volksstämme. Das beweist noch ein ziemlich alter griechischer Autor. Nämlich berichtet Xenophon (zwischen 430 und 455 v. Chr.) in Bezug auf Mossiniken, dass "sie sind mit den 300 aus einem Holz geschnittenen Booten gekommen. In jedem Boot saßen 3 Menschen (7, V, 4,11).

Obwohl die im zitierten Fragment erwähnten Boote für 3 Personen geeignet waren und eventuell über die gleiche Räumlichkeit verfügten, wie auch die Boote bei Hippokrates, ist es hier das Wesentliche, dass der Hauptteil – der Schiffskörper – in den beiden Fällen, auch bei *Kamaras* von Tacitus, nach dem Verfahren des Ausschnitzens hergestellt wurden. Dieses technologische Zusammenfallen aber weist auf die Umstände hin, dass *Kamaras* bereits in uralten Zeiten außer Kamariten auch andere georgische Volksstämme zusammenbauen konnten. Genauso, wie nach 15 Jahrhunderten konnten *Lasische Menexila* außer Lasen auch Mengrelen herstellen.

Die Mengrelen beherrschten nicht nur die Baukunst von Lasischen Menexilas, sondern mit ihrer Hilfe (noch präziser zu sagen, mit Hilfe eines in ihrer Bootsbaupraxis aufbewahrten Brauchs) wäre es möglich folgende Frage zu beantworten: Wie gelang es den Lasen (und Mengrelen) aus einem Holz einen Schiffskörper mit solcher Räumlichkeit herzustellen, dass darin gleichzeitig 100 Menschen passen konnten (das war praktisch unmöglich, auch wenn sie am Ufer des Flusses Tschorochi riesengroße Rappeln ausgewählt hätten).

Ungeachtet der wegen der Baumgrößen beschränkten Möglichkeiten erwies es sich, dass die mengrelischen Bootsbauer über so ein technisch originelles Verfahren von der Vergrößerung der Räumlichkeit eines aus einem Holz hergestellten Boots verfügten, welches diese Beschränkungen zu vermeiden ermöglichte. Nämlich:

Im Jahre 1974 haben wir vom im Dorf Dschwari lebenden K. A. Kvarazhelia (62 Jahre alt) ein besonders interessantes Verfahren aufgeschrieben, welches von den mengrelischen Bootsbauer gebraucht wurde. Laut des Befragten wurde für das Vergrößern des Bootsmaßes in Mengrelien folgendes Verfahren gebraucht: Zuerst wurde dem abgeschnittenen Holzbalken mit einem größeren Durchmesser von beiden Seiten eine gespitzte spindelige Form gegeben. Danach wurde vom Balken das obere Teil weggenommen, aber nicht in der Mitte, sondern ungefähr in der Höhe von $\frac{3}{4}$ vom Durchmesser (siehe. Abb. 1a,b). Aus der bereits glatten Oberfläche fing man an den Holzstoff auszuschneiden, bis es in der Mitte ein inkompletter Bogen entstand (siehe. Abb. 1,g). Aus der Mitte des Holzbalkens wurde der Holzstoff zuerst mit einer Axt und danach mit Etscho-Beil herausgenommen und zur Beschleunigung des Prozesses gebrauchte man auch das Feuer.

Nach dem Ausschneiden wurde an den spindeligen Spitzen ein Seil befestigt, um das mögliche Entzweibrechen des Holzes bei folgenden Operationen zu vermeiden. Gleichzeitig wurde in den ausgeschnutzten Bereich Wasser eingegossen und daneben Feuer gezündet, um darin Steine zu erhitzen. Die bereits erhitzten Steine wurden ins mit Wasser gefüllte Holz gelegt, wonach das Wasser ganz schnell kochte.

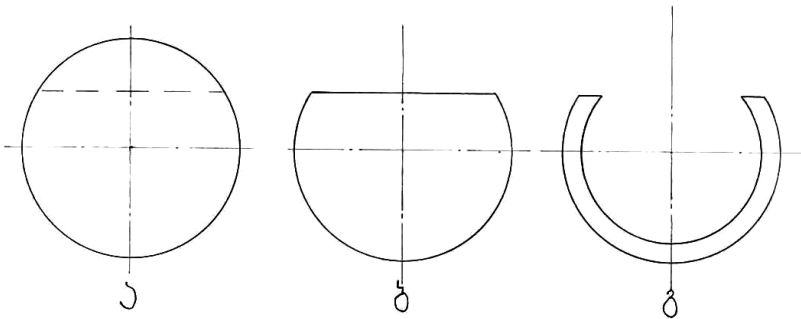
Nach dem Erhitzen des Wassers fing man an, den oberen Teil der Holzwände, d.h., die Ränder des Bootes mit Hilfe der Ziehbalken auseinanderzuziehen. Da die Ziehbalken länger waren, als der gegenseitige Abstand der Ränder (im höchsten Punkt), wurden sie zuerst zwischen den Rändern schräg eingesetzt und danach mit den Hämmern ausgerichtet, wobei die Ränder auseinandergezogen wurden (siehe. Abb. 1, d).

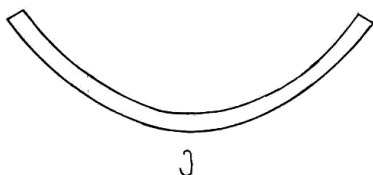
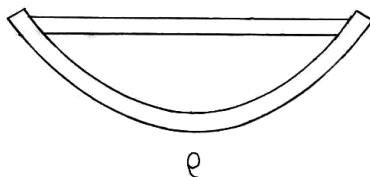
Nach dem Abkühlen des Wassers wurden die Ziehbalken von den Rändern entfernt. Die Ränder blieben im auseinandergezogenen Zustand, in den sie durch das Einsetzen der Abziehbalken gebracht wurden (siehe. Abb. 1, e). Infolgedessen wurde der Durchmesser des Holzes im Querschnitt um ca. über 1,5-mal erweitert, dementsprechend vergrößerte sich auch die Räumlichkeit des Bootes (grob gerechnet das ausgeschnutzte Holz mit dem Durchmesser ca. 1 Meter ergibt im auseinandergezogenen Zustand einen über 1,5 Meter langen Halbbogen). Es ist selbstverständlich, dass es bei solchem Vergrößern der Räumlichkeit eines Bootes völlig möglich war, darin bis zu 100 Menschen gleichzeitig unterzubringen.

Das behandelte Verfahren zum Vergrößern der Bootsräumlichkeit weist nochmals auf die gute Kunstfertigkeit der lasischen und menegrelischen Bootsbauer. Dieses Verfahren wird noch heute zur Herstellung von Bugholzmöbel gebraucht und das Prinzip, worauf es sich beruht, war für unsere Vorfahren schon viel früher bekannt. Bei der Holzbearbeitung durch kochendes Wasser oder den Dampf wird das Wasser in die Tiefe des Holzstoffs leicht eingedrungen und erweicht seine Fasern. Dies aber erleichtert die Schrumpfung- und Erweiterungsfähigkeit des Holzstoffs und im erhitzten Zustand unterliegt das plastische Material leicht der mechanischen Einwirkung. Gemäß einigen modernen Untersuchungen schrumpfen bei der Bearbeitung mit Kochwasser manche Holzstoffsorten die Fasern entlang von der Anfangslänge bis um 30% (6. 116-117; 5, 49). Bei der Abkühlung aber verschwindet der Erweichungseffekt von Fasern und das Holzerzeugnis behält die Form, die ihm bei der Bearbeitung mit dem Kochwasser und Dampf verliehen wurde.

Durch die behandelten Materialien wird der Entwicklungsweg einer Richtung vom georgischen Bootsbau gut veranschaulicht. Bereits in der Antike, viel früher als V-IV Jahrhunderte v. Chr., haben die georgischen Volksstämme eine geschickte Technologie erarbeitet, wonach man aus einem Holz mit der Operation von Ausschnitzen ein mobiles 3-Personen Boot herstellen konnte. Später, in den Anfangsjahren vor Chr., oder vielleicht noch früher, hat das obengenannte Boot als Grundlage für die als *Kamara* bekannte 25-30-Personsn Schiffskonstruktion gedient, dessen Hauptteil – der Schiffskörper ebenso ein aus einem Holz ausgeschnittenes Boot darstellte. Noch später, vermutlich in den früheren Jahrzehnten des XVII Jahrhunderts haben Lasen (vielleicht zusammen mit Mengrelen) die Herstellungstechnologie des gedrehten Holzstoffs gebraucht und dadurch die Räumlichkeit von *Kamara* wesentlich vergrößert. So haben sie einen wesentlich räumlichen Prototyp – *Lasische Menexila* geschaffen, das bereits für 100 Menschen geeignet war.

Erwähnenswert ist es auch, dass der Begriff "Menexila" auf den Zusammenhang zwischen dem aus einem Holz ausgeschnittenen Boot *Kamara* und *Lasische Menexila* hinweist. Hippokrates und Xenophon bezeichnen ein aus einem Holz geschnittenes Boot als "Monoxilus ..." (2, 146). Diese Bezeichnung bedeutet wortwörtlich "einholzig" und davon ausgehend sollten die genannten Autoren diesen Begriff für die Beschreibung der aus einem Holz geschnittenen Boote von georgischen Volkstämmen gebraucht haben.





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Abstract

The "vault" of the boat of vessels of particular structure cut from one timber mentioned by a Roman historian Tacitus (*Hist.*, V, 4,11) is associated with the *Lazian Vessel Menexilla*. Existence of vault-like vessels is confirmed in the same region of the Black Sea after the 15 centuries as well and now they are known under the name of *Lazian Vessel Menexilla*, which would also be used by Megrelians (*The Book of*

Travels of the Turkish traveller, geographer and historian Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682). The technology of cutting from one tree was mainly used by Kartvelian tribes of the sea coast. This is confirmed by the ancient Greek author Xenophon (430-355 BC) (V, 4,11).

The report accentuates the technology of making the *vault* and the *Lazian Vessel Menexilla*. It is shown that for the purpose of increase of capacity of *Menexilla* in comparison to the *vault*, the Lazian masters had to use technology by which twisted furniture is made today. After processing the newly carved frame with hot water, the wood used to become rather resilient which ensured noticeable increase in dimensions.

Vera Tsereteli (Kutaisi)

Intellectual Characters in Homer's Epic

In modern scientific literature the theory of intellect by Howard Gardner – Harvard University professor, is widely acknowledged. Howard Gardner admits that the intellect of the person may be defined according to the skills he owns. However, a skill is a person's inherent (physical and mental) ability. The ability is given to a human being as a potential and further development of this ability depends on how the person will be given a chance to develop this skill (for instance, appropriate education, living conditions, requirements and so on). If a person acts properly, or gets proper training, the inherent ability turns into a skill and if he does not learn or work in this field, this skill will not develop. Gardner enumerates different kinds of intellect: linguistic-humanitarian, logical-mathematical, visual-graphic, physical-kinesthetic, audio-musical, interpersonal and intrapersonal intellect. Gardner enumerates the skills which indicate the existence of each type of intellect in a person (Gardner, 1989, 4-9). I tried to use these measurements while ascertain the intellectual level of epic characters.

There are a lot of personages in Homer's epic. There are about 956 characters only in *Iliad*. Surely I would not be able to discuss all of them. That is why I chose the most outstanding characters, analyzed them and did the generalization. These personages are the following: Agamemnon, Odysseus, Nestor, Priam, Hector and so on. These personages have been discussed in the scientific literature in many different aspects, though nobody has paid attention to their level of education. Not only the main characters are educated, but other characters also show their knowledge in

different fields: they are singers, dancers, healers, masters of military service, orators and so on (Duglas, 2001, 67-78)

Agamemnon frequently makes compromises. This trait of character can be seen from the very first chapter. His first reaction to give back the daughter to Chryse is negative (Hom., *Iliad*, I. 28-30), however, he soon changes his decision as he sees that according to Calcha's prediction, Apollo abates his anger only when they give the daughter back to Chryse (Hom., *Iliad*, I. 116-117).

The second case of making a compromise can be seen in the relation with Achilles. When Agamemnon surrenders Chryse's daughter and requires Briseis this makes Achilles angry. He decides to stop fighting and return home.

At first Agamemnon does not take his anger into consideration, on the contrary, he tries to show his cruelty to him and punish him for resisting his ideas (Hom., *Iliad*, I. 178-180). However, in the second book Agamemnon admits his mistake, is very self-critical and believes that their reconciliation has great importance for defeating Troy and says if they conciliate nothing will avoid Troy from losing (341).

Agamemnon can listen to and take wise advice, he can confess his faults. He is quite self-critical. In the fourth book Atrides got angry, when he saw the army was not fighting and addressed to them rudely. The king tells them that they appear to dine straight away, but they avoid fighting (Hom., *Iliad*, IV, 338-348).

Odysseus did not like Agamemnon's words and thought that he did not deserve scolding. Agamemnon took back his words and even apologized to him (Hom., *Iliad*, IV, 358-363).

In the ninth book Achaeans believe that they can do nothing without Achilles. Nestor tells Agamemnon about his fault and asks him to give him a gift, affectionate and friendly word. Agamemnon confesses his fault and shows readiness to expiate his blame with the gift and enumerates the list of gifts in front of everybody (Hom., *Iliad*, X, 115-116).

Agamemnon can give clever advice. In the tenth book he addresses to his brother Menelaus to be modest to the soldiers and address to them with their manes and fight with them (Hom., *Iliad*, X, 67-71).

In book 14 he highlights that he is ready to take any person's advice, despite the person's age. The important thing is that the advice must be good (Hom., *Iliad*, XIV, 107-108). In the 19th book Agamemnon's self-

critical character is obvious. He analyses the reason of Achilles's anger and admits that the Gods made him insane when he took Achilles's war prize—the maiden Briseis (Hom., *Iliad*, XIX, 88-89).

Achilles is a symbol of incomparable physical strength, victory and the best friend. In the *Iliad* his coordinative trait of character is to turn from radical decision to common sense or making a compromise.

In the first book he gets angry with Agamemnon who decides to capture other soldiers' treasure instead of Chryse's daughter. Achilles decides to stop fighting and return back to native Phthia, as he is ashamed by Agamemnon's scolding and does not want to enrich his treasure (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 149-171).

By this action the king became much angrier and decided to capture Achilles's maiden. Achilles had a bad idea in mind: to take out the sword and kill the king. At this time Athena tells him that she is sent by Hera to inform that he should calm down and he should not use the sword, scolding would be enough (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 207-214).

Achilles manages to control his feelings. Here it is obvious that Achilles has the ability to keep balance in tension and to obey God's rules (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 218).

In my opinion, Achilles's intellect is highlighted by the sophisticated gesture he met the delegates sent by Agamemnon. Evribate and Talthibios were sent to visit Achilles and to take his maiden with them for Agamemnon. Although they obeyed the king's order, as they reached the tent of Achilles, they became scared (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 332-333).

Achilles met the guests with honour and tried not to make them feel tensed. He admitted that the guests should not be blamed as the author of the decision was Agamemnon (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 334-336). Achilles did not even let them tell about their intentions, he asked Patroclus to give the maiden to the delegates.

In the ninth book Achilles appears still angry and it seems he will never calm down. Swift-footed character tells the delegated about his strict decision that he is going to come back to his native Phthia (Hom., *Iliad*, IX, 315-316). To Phoenix he says that he will think about whether to stay on the fighting field or to go home (Hom., *Iliad*, IX, 618-619). However at the end he says that he will not involve in the battle until Hector makes fire to their ships (Hom., *Iliad*, IX, 651-655).

In the 16th book Achilles punctuates that he is not going to forget about

his anger (Hom., *Iliad*, XVI, 53-55). However when he sees the necessity to be involved in the battle, he changes his decision immediately. Here it is obvious that he can predict the future danger and tries to avoid it.

From the 18th chapter Achilles's complete changing is obvious, turning from imprudence to prudence. He learns about Patroclus's death and feels himself guilty. Peleus's son is self-critical, regrets about his behaviour because of him lots of Achaeans were killed. He is ready to forget about his anger, involve in the battle, fight against Hector and revenge for his friend. If the Gods want him to be killed, he is ready for such misfortune (Hom., *Iliad*, XVIII, 101-116).

Calchant is famous for having much knowledge in the poem. I want to pay attention to his judging skill. When Achilles asks him to tell the reason why Apollo had got furious, he first asks him to protect him from Agamemnon (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 74-84).

After Achilles promises that nobody would insult him, Calchant tells them the reason: the god got furious because the king captured Chrise's daughter and he will not calm down until the woman was given back to his father (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 93-100).

As we see Agamemnon's further action, we guess that Calchant's discretion was necessary. From here it is obvious that he has the sense of prediction the results.

Nestor is the most intellectual character among Homer's personages. He is famous for his wise advice. We can say that his knowledge is connected with his life experience that is why he tries to prove his advice with real examples. His advice is connected with different issues. Among them are military affairs what he knows the best. In the fourth chapter he gives Agamemnon military advice where his knowledge of military issues is well illustrated (Hom., *Iliad*, IV, 301-309). He advises the king to pay attention to other's opinion as a good piece of advice values much (Hom., *Iliad*, II, 360-368). Agamemnon likes his advice and considers him as the best advisor (Hom., *Iliad*, II, 370).

Despite the fact that Nestor cannot take part in the battle, he has the mission to encourage the warriors by words. He is the best orator, he speaks in a very sweet voice and in his speech we see high level of education. From the very first chapter we see that he is the expert in eloquence. He tries to reconcile Agamemnon and Achilles. He is very accurate as he is trying not to make either of them irritated. He tries to

praise both of them in the equal degree and equally asks them to calm down, so that neither of them thinks that he is guilty.

He appeals to Agamemnon not to capture Achilles's woman, at the same time he asks Agamemnon to get rid of rivalry with the king. It is difficult to say which one is his favorite. He tells Achilles that Agamemnon is stronger, but tells to the king that Achilles is the strongest of all. Surely, Nestor is a master of eloquence. I suppose, this episode is the best example of ancient eloquence (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 254-284).

Nestor makes right decisions. He chose the delegates to be sent to Achilles and the fact that this decision was the best can be proved by Achilles's words. He said that he liked the most among the Achaeans (Hom., *Iliad*, IX, 198). It seems Nestor intentionally chose the delegates who were famous for their diplomatic skills and were Achilles's favorites.

Hector deserves the most honor from the readers of the *Iliad*. Like other characters he can make decisions independently. However his choice is always based on the responsibility for the country and readiness to fight to defend the native people. Before he joined in the battle, Andromache cries that she has no mother or father and if Hector dies, he will stay alone.

Hector proves his decision logically: if he does not join in the battle he will be laughed at by the Trojans for cowardice (Hom., *Iliad*, VI, 441-443). Enemies may take Andromache as a captive and she would have to live there her whole life (Hom., *Iliad*, VI, 460-465). Hector convinced his wife that there was no other way and she agreed to her husband right away (Hom., *Iliad*, VI, 495-496). Hector surely seems to be a very educated and intellectual person.

Priam has judging and decision-making skills. Menelaus orders to fetch him to help Trojans make the right decision as he is famous for his witty mind (Hom., *Iliad*, III, 109-110). He is a great orator that is well expressed in his speeches (Hom., *Iliad*, XXIV, 486-506).

'Strong-minded' – Homer calls Odysseus (Hom., *Iliad*, I, 311) and his smart consciousness is indeed eye-catching in Homer's poems.

When Agamemnon addressed to the army to come back home as there was no hope to win (Hom., *Iliad*, II, 140-142). The soldiers went to the ships, began to get ready to go back. Athena tasked Odysseus to stop them and encourage to continue fighting. The goddess was hopeful he could do the job well as he was eloquent (Hom., *Iliad*, II, 169)

Odysseus used his knowledge of oratory and addressed to the army. His speech is based on rational arguments: 1. Nobody knows what really the king thinks, he may have tested the army; 2. What he said was not well heard for the soldiers; 3. If Agamemnon got furious, he would punish the Achaeans. We believe in the strength of Odysseus' speech as he manages to persuade the army (Hom., *Iliad*, II, 211).

Trojan Antenor remembers Odysseus, when he was sent to the Trojans for Hellen. Odysseus fascinated them with his eloquence. He admits, before he began speaking, he did not seem different from others (Hom., *Iliad*, III, 219), but when he began speaking, everybody learned about his uniqueness.

Odysseus eloquence is visible in the episode when he was sent to Achilles. Odysseus has diplomatic and rhetoric education. He began speaking with apologizing and admitted that the table did not lack anything as the supper in Agamemnon's tent (Hom., *Iliad*, IX, 225-228). So he mentioned Agamemnon's name and is careful not to irritate him by mentioning the king's name. This speech is a good example of eloquence. The speech is not based on the emotion. He logically proves the existence of the danger and asks Achilles to help the army: 1. He addressed to Achilles, if he hates the king, other soldiers are innocent and he should help them; 2. As he is angry because of one woman, the king will give him seven women together with other treasure; 3. Odysseus reminded him not to pass the chance to fight against Hector, so he could gain the most important fate -the name of the hero and honor; 4. And finally, he asks to show respect in his tent, as they are his guests and ask for help (Hom., *Iliad*, IX, 225-642). Here we see that Odysseus can think logically and expresses his opinion supported with arguments.

Odysseus's characteristics is expressed in the 'Odyssey' in different ways. Homer created a new method to show his rational mind. In the strange environment does not mention his name and tells an unreal story about himself, in which his fantasy helps him. By this Odysseus manages, learns first what is the attitude to the story of the Troy and only after that decides whether to take away his mask. For example, he tells to the Phaeacians that he is Odysseus, when he learns that there is no danger. In the case of the Penelope's suitors, he began acting with the name Odysseus when sees there is the right time for it (Hom., *Odyssey*, XXII, 5-7). He did not even tell Evmeus about himself before he learned what he thinks

about his master. He does it so well that even the Goddess Athena praises his creative skill (Hom., *Odyssey*, XIII, 291-292).

After Considering Homer's characters, we can conclude that they have almost all the characteristics that is given in the theory of intellect by Howard Gardner: they are self-critical; they can admit their fault; they can give wise advice; they can take sensible advice into consideration; they never refuse to apologise; they make compromises; they have rich vocabulary; they can predict the results (that is why they make compromises); they are physically active; they are good leaders; they love team-work (fight), etc. Accordingly they have all kinds of intellect: linguistic-humanitarian, logical-mathematical, visual-graphic, physical-kinesthetic, audio-musical, interpersonal and intrapersonal intellect. Their intellectual level is not lower than of what a modern educated person has. That means ancient education gave the same skills to people as the modern education provides.

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Absrtact

In modern scientific literature the theory of intellect by Howard Gardner – a Harvard University professor, is widely acknowledged. Howard Gardner admits that the intellect of the person may be defined according to the skills he owns. However, a skill is a person's inherent (physical and mental) ability. The ability is given to a human being as a potential and further development of this ability depends on how the person will be given a chance to develop this skill (for instance, appropriate education, living conditions, requirements and so on). If a person acts properly, or gets proper training, the inherent ability turns into a skill and if he does not learn or work in this field, this skill will not develop

The paper aims to define the intellectual level of the characters in the Homeric epic. They seem to have almost all the characteristics that is given in the theory of intellect by Howard Gardner: they are self-critical; they can admit their fault; they can give wise advice; they can take sensible advice into consideration; they never refuse to apologise; they make compromises; they have rich vocabulary; they can predict the results (that is why they make compromises); they are physically active;

they are good leaders; they love team-work (fight), etc. Accordingly they have all kinds of intellect: linguistic-humanitarian, logical-mathematical, visual-graphic, physical-kinesthetic, audio-musical, interpersonal and intrapersonal intellect. Their intellectual level is not lower than of what a modern educated person has. That means ancient education gave the same skills to people as the modern education provides.

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