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Ann Chikovani (Tbilisi)

## **THE UNIVERSAL RITUALS AND THEIR FUNCTION IN STRATIS MYRIVILIS' PROSE**

Religious concepts and corresponding rituals acquire special importance in the history of the world culture. A lot of rituals have altered in the course of centuries, or even disappeared. However, there are customs that rarely yield to alterations. This way or other, rituals maintain existence in human consciousness, lifestyles and are correspondingly expressed in art. A large number of literary texts fully or partly reflect archaic rituals. Some writers use lifestyle components as supplementary materials to structure a literary piece, its texture, to build the plot on and attach to them a certain artistic function. Stratis Myrivilis is among such writers. Close consideration of rituals in his works leads to the study of the dialogues of cultures and mutual influence of civilizations. The issue is relevant nowadays as well and attracts scholars' intense interest.

The present paper aims to study the function of universal rituals in Stratis Myrivilis' prose, systemize the materials and provide their comparative analysis. While considering Myrivilis' literary texts, we are chiefly concerned with the way the relations between ancient Greek religion and modern Greek tradition are reflected in the literary works by the XX century writer, and how mythic elements and ancient universal rituals work in the modern Greek community.

The present research considers separately the rain-invoking, sacrificial and mourning rituals. The research dwells on the properties of rituals in the universal and Greek environments and their functional-symbolic implications. The research is based on the accepted conceptions of scholars about rituals and the episodes from Stratis Myrivilis' works that include the rituals.

Despite the huge size of the scientific literature dedicated to the study of rituals, the issue is not thoroughly studied in the modern Greek literature.

The greatest Greek female writer Sappho was a native of Lesbos. Sources refer to her as the "Lesbian Nightingale". Ages passed since Sappho's times. Greece fostered hosts of thinkers and went through thousands of dangers. In the XX century the country managed to regain independence. Political changes had an impact on the cultural heritage as well. In the 1930-ies, the Eolic school acquired a remarkable place in the literary life of Greece.<sup>1</sup> One of its leaders was Stratis Myrivilis. The group of writers from Lesbos revived Greek literature, and, consequently, the period of their activities is called "The Spring of Lesbos".<sup>2</sup> The rituals described in Myrivilis' works initiate the reader into the traditions of Lesbos island.

The 1930-ies mark the period of changes in the modern Greek literature. The Disaster of Hellenism in Asia Minor had a remarkable impact on the social life and ideology of Greek people. It found its way in political, scientific literature and fiction, in periodicals and newspapers. The works by Greek writers of the 1930-ies express the main problems of the epoch, the pulsation of the epoch through the original content and structure.<sup>3</sup> Remarkably, the modern Greek literature revived on Lesbos island in the 1930-ies. A big number of XX century Greek literary works recognized as masterpieces were first published in literary journals of Lesbos island and afterwards enjoyed the presentation to the wider publicity of Greece. A group of distinguished representatives of Greek writers of the 1930-ies started their literary activities on the island. Stratis Myrivilis was among them.

The Pseudonym Myrivilis implies both ancient (Lepetimos mountain) and Modern Greek (the name of the hill) components as well as pre-Christian (Elijah Rock) and Christian (acoustic and orthographic resemblance with "the Myrrh-streaming") senses.<sup>4</sup> The study of Myrivilis' pseudonyms leads to the detection of interesting principles that run throughout his works. In particular, Myrivilis represents a remarkable synthesis of ancient traditions and modern Greek legends, pagan mythological characters and Christian stories. The name Stratis is related to the Christian traditions (it is the title for Archangels). So, the pseudonym of the writer is another tool to express the writer's creed, which promotes the idea that modern Greece is the link of the

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<sup>1</sup> Beaton R., *Εισαγωγή στη Νεότερη Ελληνική Λογοτεχνία, Ποίηση και Πεζογραφία 1821-1992*, εκδ. Νεφέλη, Αθήνα 1996; 180-184.

<sup>2</sup> About "The Spring of Lesbos" see: Χατζηαναγνώστος Τ., *Η Λεσβιακή Άνοιξη και ο Στρατής Μυριβήλης*, Νέα Εστία, Αφιέρωμα στον Στράτη Μυριβήλη, τόμος 128, τεύχος 1523, Χριστούγεννα 1990; 135-138.

<sup>3</sup> Μουλλάς Π., *Η Μεσοπολεμική Πεζογραφία. από τον Πρώτο ως το δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο (1914-1934)*, τόμος Α', *Εισαγωγή*, εκδ. Σόκολη, Αθήνα 1996; 67.

<sup>4</sup> About Stratis Myrivilis' pseudonyms see Βαλέτας Γ., *Ο Μυριβήλης της Μυτιλήνης*, Νέα Εστία, Αφιέρωμα στον Στράτη Μυριβήλη, τόμος 88, τεύχος 1033; Αθήνα 1970; 910-922.

single chain that starts with ancient Greece. The same is implied in the writer's other pseudonyms that are less frequently used – "Foibus" and "Xanthos".

Myrivilis' works represent a literary interpretation of the history of the religious thinking and world vision, the mythos, cult and ritual of the folk. His works are rich in interesting findings and interpretations. They serve to the retrospective presentation of the pagan, pre-Christian religious thinking blended with Orthodox Christian beliefs.

The rain-invoking ritual described in the novel *Virgin Gorgon*<sup>5</sup> is held in order to rescue the olive trees, the sacred and supreme trees to all Greeks. The novel describes the custom for invoking the rain which represents one of the oldest ways to achieve communion with God<sup>6</sup> and refers to the ritual preserved in XX century Greece, and in particular, on Lesbos island.

The analysis of the part of the novel that describes the ritual reveals that the mentioned custom takes after the universal ritual model. The broad diversity of ritual elements spread all over the world in past, was preserved as well in Greece of Myrivilis' times. The author presents the literary interpretation of the oldest ritual, which at the same time is very much authentic. The characters of *Virgin Gorgon* experience the impact of the mystical function of the ritual. The belief in the power of the rain invoking ritual encourages the residents of the island and even, somehow, protects them. The point reveals the social function of the ritual. Myrivilis presents its psychological function as well: Every inhabitant of the island, no matter whether a farmer or a fisher, is brought up with the belief in the ritual and the perception of its relevance (cf. intensive participation of children in the ritual procession and their merriment after the ritual).

The function of the rain-invoking ritual in Stratis Myrivilis' novel has several stages. It aims at exerting an impact on the reader, which is implemented through the highly refined prose and reveals the image of the author as of the preacher of Greek people's historical and cultural unity. This determined Myrivilis' particular popularity in Greece. He reached the Greek people's spiritual core and touched its strings, which excited and attracted the Greek community to a remarkable degree.

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<sup>5</sup> the rain invoking ritual in the *Virgin Gorgon*: Μυριβίλης Σ., Η Παναγιά η Γοργόνα, εκδ. Οι φίλοι του βιβλίου, Αθήνα 1949; on p.p. 406-417.

<sup>6</sup> About the rain invoking ritual as one of the oldest ways to achieve communion with God, see: Элиаде М., Очерки Сравнительного Религиоведения, перевод с англ., изд. Ладомир, М. 1999; Щедровицкий Д. В., Дождь ранний и поздний, в сборнике: Архаический ритуал в фольклорных и раннелитературных памятниках, изд. Наука, М. 1988; 201-220; Фрэзер Дж. Дж., Золотая Ветвь, перевод с англ., изд. Политической Литературы, М. 1986; 66-80.



In the novel *Virgin Gorgon* and the short novel *Vasilis Arvanitis*, Startis Myrivilis gives a full account of the universal ritual of offering a sacred sacrifice to the Virgin.<sup>7</sup> Both works present "steady", established rituals. Myrivilis describes in detail not only the sacrificial ritual, but the whole celebration that accompanies it. In both cases, the offering is an oblation to the Virgin and is held on the day of Assumption – the 15th of August, one of the greatest holidays for Orthodox Greeks. Interestingly, both works picture the offering to the distinguished deity. In the novel, it is Virgin Gorgon – the unique synthesis of the Christian Virgin and the ancient Greek deity. And in *Vasilis Arvanitis*, the ritual takes place not in the vicinity of a church but near a sacred spring called Karini.

The ritual as described in Myrivilis' works corresponds to the ancient Greek tradition held in honour of Olympic gods in ancient Greece.<sup>8</sup> The comparison reveals almost precise resemblance of the described ceremony with the ancient Greek offering ritual. The human history includes a large number of cases when a ritual was handed down to generations and was not lost in the course of centuries, and the offering ritual is among them.

Apart from blood offerings, Myrivilis' works abound in episodes that include bloodless sacrifices. *Virgin Gorgon* mentions vegetal offerings along with blood sacrifices related to the same holiday – the Assumption. As concerns human offerings, this kind of sacrifice is not directly stated. However, Lambis' suicide, who was deeply in love with Smaragde (according to the novel, Smaragde is the hypostasis of the Virgin<sup>9</sup>), can be interpreted as the sacrifice to Smaragde.

The function of the ritual in Myrivilis' works becomes clear when the characters demonstrate their belief in supernatural powers. The ritual

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<sup>7</sup> Μυριβήλης Σ., Η Παναγιά η Γοργόνα, εκδ. Οι φίλοι του βιβλίου, Αθήνα 1949; the sacrificial ritual on pp. 266-271. Μυριβήλης Σ., Ο Βασίλης ο Αρβανίτης, εκδ. Πηγάσου, Αθήνα 1944; the sacrificial ritual on pp. 65-71.

<sup>8</sup> About the Ancient Greek Sacrificial traditions in details see: Буркерт В., Homo Necans, Жертвоприношение в древнегреческом ритуале и мифе, перевод с нем. и англ., в сборнике: Жертвоприношение, М. 2000; 405-480.

<sup>9</sup> In the Ancient World every female deity – (as well as every male deity) had their mortal hypostasis, those were: 1) priestesses, that wore obligatorily the clothes of their deities, with their symbols (Pythia, Cassandra); 2) Every deity had their corresponding images – a famous literary character (Aphrodite – Helena, Hekate – Medea, Hera – Klytemnestra etc.) who carry every symbol of their supreme deity and are their earthly hypostasis. Evidently Myrivilis as an analogy follows the principle to create his character – Smaragde. She perfectly embodies the features of the Virgin Gorgon. These two figures (Virgin Gorgon and Smaragde) fill each other and through the literary character of Smaragde it becomes easier to understand why the Virgin Gorgon was so acceptable to Greeks. About Smaragde as the hypostasis of the Virgin Gorgon see: Chikovani A., The Virgin-Gorgon and Smaragde, Proceedings of the First Republican Conference, Logos, Tbilisi 2003; 145-150.

concentrates people's minds on the traditional event. The common belief and rite serve as inner links within the community. Remarkably, quite a number of rituals have survived ages and are preserved till nowadays unaltered, while some yielded to the modern lifestyle. This is illustrated in the episode when mothers who participate in the offering ritual mark their children's and the ailing people's foreheads with a red cross of the sacrificial blood.

Myrivilis' works abound in elements typical of the mourning ritual. The ritual is distinguished with its diversity in terms of its content and form. The works describe several death cases all very different from one another: at an early age – caused by either illness or an accident, murder or suicide, as well as the physiological death of a person over 100 years old.

It is interesting to consider the extent of precision to which the information on the mourning ritual is described in Myrivilis' works, and the implications the mourning episodes convey, to reveal the impact of cultural and temporal environments on the tradition. A close consideration of the text evidence makes it possible to reconstruct the content of a number of rituals. Mourning rituals are by no means an exception. The writer does not intent to dwell on mourning, lamentations or description of the mourning ritual in particular. The like elements frequently occur in his works and bear a peculiar function in the artistic organization of their conceptions. The episodes are the intrinsic part of the plot of the literary works and therefore leave no impression of redundancy or exeggeration; on the contrary, they help to the understanding of the events described.

The components of the mourning ritual include the attributes to the deceased – the items laid in the coffin together with the dead person, flowers.<sup>10</sup> The offerings to the deceased person include as well the oil lamp hanging on the acacia tree for Vasilis and the marble mortar put under the tree. Their symbolic meaning illustrate the special role and importance of traditions in the Greek people's lifestyles, which found a diverse, profound and skillful presentation in Myrivilis' works. Greek people's ideas on life and eath is fostered both by ancient and Christian beliefs and are mixed with ages-old folk interpretations and customs.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the rituals are paid such a close attention in Stratis Myrivilis' prose testify to the validity of the universal rituals that have survived ages and have been handed down to generations.

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<sup>10</sup> About flower offerings in Ancient Greece see: Deubner L., *Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im Klassischen Altertum*, AFR 30, 1933; 1933; 72-75, Κοντολέοντας Ν., *Το Ερέχθειον ως οικοδόμημα χθόνιας λατρείας*, Αθήναι 1949; 37-39.

<sup>11</sup> Αναγνωστόπουλος Ι., *Ο θάνατος και ο Κάτω Κόσμος στη Δημοτική Ποίηση*, Αθήνα 1984; 243-244; see also: Lawson John Cuthbert, *Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals*, Cambridge 1909. Reprint New York 1964; 486-514.

The present analysis points to the special importance of rituals in Greek people's lives. The rituals are linked to people's ideas of the other world, which found their way in fiction. Stratis Myrivilis gives a consistent account of the ritual. He presents the sacred duties that have transformed into traditions throughout ages and have preserved till present times in their initial form. The narrative is filled with emotions and is distinguished with its plain character. The artistic function of the described ritual is to exert a literary impact on the reader, who is aware of the ritual due to his / her native traditions, and therefore becomes a participant of the event described.

The aim of the research was to study the universal rituals as presented in Stratis Myrivilis' works and identify their function in the particular pieces of fiction. The research lead us to the following conclusions:

Myrivilis' artistic vision is distinguished from that of other writers and is remarkable for its wide range. His works are examples of a new approach to ethnographical and folkloristic issues and of integrated and retrospective representation of innovating attempts and traditional spiritual culture. His works offer successions of different mythological and religious systems, which in their unity represent the real picture of his contemporary Greece.

Myrivilis' works neutralize the confrontations that existed in his contemporary Greek community. They are: Enemy / friend, Greek / Turk, Ancient Greek / the resident of modern Greece (here – the Greek of Lesbos island). The works serve to recover the balance and the sense of love for fellow-men.

In the works of our immediate interest, certain universal rituals are described in one or several episodes. They are rain-invoking, blood offering and mourning rituals.

Along with them, we come across other customs as well that are rooted in the remote centuries. However, they appear only in single episodes. These are, basically, the episodes that picture bloodless offering, oblations (to the Virgin); likewise, the details of the sacrificial rituals introduced in the story as the author's reminiscences, which revive the rituals as a narration or a drama. They enter the reminiscences in the form of a narration as well through reconstructing a certain scene.

Rituals in the works are presented in a "steady", unchanging way: fulfillment of the ritual is compulsory and acceptable for everyone. Both – the characters and the author regard them positively. There is no evidence of negative or neutral or ambiguous appreciations.

While considering the rituals described in Myrivilis' works, the following question arises: Does the mythopetic model enable the writer to express himself? That is where his skilfulness is revealed: the set rules for the rituals

are not violated while the writer's intention is expressed in a comprehensive and highly artistic way.

The function of a ritual is actualized in Myrivilis' works in the following ways:

1. What is closer to the reader is more understandable and acceptable. This way, the writer attempts to bring his ideas to the reader through making them closer to him / her. Why does the writer choose a ritual? Because it is a meta-language. It is a convenient way to express one's own ideas and make it perceptible to the reader.
2. One of the functions of describing rituals in the prose is the intention to reveal the syncretic nature of deities as well as to emphasize the co-existence of pagan and Christian elements, which is typical for the Greek community.
3. Through the rituals Myrivilis attempts to show the reader: a) The integrity, unity of the Greek people's history; b) Close links between the East and the West; c) Close links between Minor Asia Hellenism and the culture of the author's contemporary Lesbos.
4. The rituals described by the writer imply that one can find rescue upon perceiving one's own self, own roots and traditions.
5. Along with the idea of ethnic unity, the rituals in Myrivilis' prose have universal functions as well: Through describing the rituals of his native island, he shows their universal character.
6. The rituals have artistic function. Fiction describes unreal events (which is well expressed through the English word "fiction"). Description of the rituals well-known to the reader leaves the impression of reality, authenticity, and makes the narrative more convincing.

Myrivilis' life and activities are saturated with love for his country. At first, he fought with a weapon in his hands to defend his motherland, his native Lesbos, took part in both Balkan Wars and was even wounded in the struggle for Greece; afterwards he served his country through his highly patriotic prose. In the works considered in the paper, Stratis Myrivilis accentuated description of ancient Greek mythology, rituals and customs – all what forms the foundation for the modern Greek culture and subconsciously determines modern Greek lifestyle. The writer reminds Greeks of the historical and cultural values they have inherited from their forefathers. The splendid way the rituals are described serves to the illustration of the role, importance and function of rituals. His manner of presenting rituals determines the original character of his works and produces a remarkable impact on the reader.

While describing a universal ritual, the writer refers to his native traditions and attaches them the function of uniting ancient and modern Greek mythic-religious ideas.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

**FOR MODERN APPRECIATION OF PLATO'S AND  
DEMOCRITUS' VIEWPOINTS ON COLOUR DERIVATION**

*Or that anything appears the same to you  
as to another man?*

Plato<sup>1</sup>

According to the tradition, the phenomenon of light and colour was studied as early as by Pythagoreans; however, their ideas on the point are not available nowadays.<sup>2</sup> Notes on pre-Socratic philosophers' colour perception are rather scarce. As concerns Democritus, Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus, our awareness of their theories on colours is comparatively complete.

Atomist Democritus was the first philosopher which tried to work out the colour theory. Besides, he admitted existence of four primary colours (white, black, red, greenish-yellow (green)) (De Sens., 73-78),<sup>3</sup> and stated that the shape of atoms determined their colour: white atoms were straight, smooth and transparent, while black ones were crude and uneven. Red atoms resembled those of heat, but were larger in size. Admittedly, Democritus gave up his principle as concerns the greenish-yellow (green) atom and described it as solid and empty without referring to its shape. Along with this, Democritus regarded all the rest of colours as combinations of the mentioned four primary colours<sup>4</sup> and offered some quite unusual mixtures as regards spectral gradation. Democritus also believed these four initial colours determined brightness

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<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Thaetetus*, 154b.

<sup>2</sup> Koliopoulos I., *Colour Perception Vision in Greek Philosophy*, in: *Filosofia*, Epethri- tou Kentrou Ereunh- th- Ellhnikh- Filosofia-, 25-26, Aqna, 1995-1996, 268.

<sup>3</sup> They will be considered below as well.

<sup>4</sup> Below, the issue will be considered in detail.

(shining, flashing quality) and intensity, which the philosopher placed higher than colour shades.<sup>5</sup>

Plato mentions colours in several of his dialogues, in several cases.<sup>6</sup> However, in *Timaeus* (67e – 68d) he offers his theory developed after "Democritus' manner", which admits hosts of colours that exist in the world are derived from the four basic colours. However, unlike Democritus, Plato believes the primary colours include white, black, red and "flashing, bright" (*lampron*) instead of the greenish-yellow (green), which marks a principal difference between the worlds of colours as perceived by the two philosophers. In Democritus' opinion, it is white colour that determines brightness, while Plato attaches the function to "flashing, bright", which in fact is not a colour term. In Plato's opinion, white colour helps to the derivation of lighter colours.<sup>7</sup>

What can be said about the conceptual links between the ancient Greek colour theories and the modern scientific data?<sup>8</sup> Ancient philosophers as well as modern people perceived white and black as two polarities, two extreme points. However, ancient Greeks arranged colours from light to dark (i.e. theoretically, one could obtain various colours from white until one got black only) while a modern man arranges colours the way he/she sees them in spectrum (red, orange, yellow, green, blue, violet) and differentiates between the primary and complementary colours. Although ancient colour theories differ from Newton's system, scholars conclude colour perception of the classical theorists were different from that of earlier Greeks.

There is another point to pay attention to. While giving a definition of colours, modern science puts a special emphasis on two points: its optical nature and its relation to the shape detected as early as by Plato in *Meno*. According to Plato, "Figure is the only thing which always follows colour" (75b),<sup>9</sup> and "... colour is an affluence of form, commensurate with sight, and palpable to sense" (76d),<sup>10</sup> i.e. Plato was aware of the optical nature of col-

<sup>5</sup> For the interpretation and appreciation of Democritus' colour theory, see: Guthrie W. K. C., *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. II, Cambridge 1965, 445; Лосев А. Ф., *Принципы античного цветоведения*, в кн.: *История античной эстетики*, Москва 1963, 481-496; Prantl C., *Aristoteles über die Farben*, Christian Kaiser, München 1849, 48-58; Schultz W., *Die Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen*, Leipzig 1904.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. see *Meno*, 76d, e; *Phaedo*, 110b-e; *Symposium*, 211e; *The Republic*, VI, 500c-501c, 507d-509a, IX, 585b-586c, X, 601a-602e; *Cratylus* 424b-425b; *Thaetetus* 153d-154b, 156a-157a, 182a, b; *Philebus* 51b, d.

<sup>7</sup> On Plato's colour theory, see Gaiser K., *Platon's Farbenlehre*, Synusia, Festschr. Schadewaldt, Pfullingen 1965, 173-222; Prantl C., op. cit., 61-77.

<sup>8</sup> About the question, see Irwin E., *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry*, Hakkert, Toronto 1974, 26-27.

<sup>9</sup> εἶστω γὰρ δι' ἡμῶν τούτο σχῆμα, ὁμοῦνον τῶν ὀφθῶν τυχθαίνοι κρῶματι ἀπὶ ἐπιμένον (75b).

<sup>10</sup> κρῶμα ὀφθαλμοῦ συμμετροῦ καὶ αἰσθητοῦ (76d).

our as well as of the fact that its existence was motivated by its reference to a material object.

According to modern scholars, ancient theorists denied independent existence of colours and regarded them as "the consequence of atomic movement". The idea may be considered the basis for Plank's theory.<sup>11</sup>

Recognition of the qualitative character of colours had an impact on colour terms. The theorists attempted to coin the terms matching the colour boundaries; however, in certain cases, their sense went far beyond the colour limits. Besides, the classical thinkers attempted to compensate for the lack of terms for blue and green so as to be able to describe any kind of colour representation.

It is widely admitted that Greeks perceived colours not the way modern people do.<sup>12</sup> Goethe is to be "blamed" for the idea; he dedicated a special work to the ancient Greek colour perception and terminology (1810) and was the first to start the study of the problem. He worked out a theory on the nature of colours which enjoyed a large number of followers in German, English and French painting, although it still serves as an object for wide criticism.<sup>13</sup>

According to Goethe, ancient Greeks "derived all colours from white and black, from light and darkness. Their denominations of colours are not permanently and precisely defined, but mutable and fluctuating, for they are employed even with regard to similar colour. Their yellow inclines to red on the one hand and to blue on the other. The blue is sometimes green, sometimes red. The red is yellow on one occasion blue on another. Purpur fluctuates between warm red and blue, sometime inclining to scarlet, sometimes to violet. Thus, the ancients not only seem to have looked upon colours as a mutable and fluctuating quality, but appear to have had a presentiment of the physical and chemical effects of augmentation and reactions".<sup>14</sup>

In his work, Goethe returns to and more or less rehabilitates pseudo-Aristotle's viewpoint which regards colour as the mixture of white and black, and to produce colours, white should be "darkened" or mixed with black (*De*

<sup>11</sup> Koliopoulos I., op. cit., 270.

<sup>12</sup> Apart from Greeks, the like concepts deal with other peoples of ancient civilization. E.g. it is believed Greeks could not distinguish between blue and yellow, while Romans confused blue with green and Egyptians used the blue colour in painting but had no term to refer to it. See also Серов Н. В., *Античный хроматизм*, Санкт-Петербург, "Лисс", 1995, 31-35; Виппер Б. Р., *Искусство Древней Греции*, Москва 1972, 142 ff.

<sup>13</sup> For the interpretation of Goethe's colour theory, see G. Bughadze, *Several Ideas on the Practical Application of Goethe's Colour Theory in Painting, A Few Words on Colours*, in book: *Thoughts About Future*, Kaltha, Tbilisi 1994, 1-6.

<sup>14</sup> Goethe J. W., *Zur Farbenlehre in Die Schriften zur Naturwissenschaft* 6, Vol. 2, Weimar 1957, 36-7; Goethe J. W., *Zur Farbenlehre in Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 22, München 1913, 7-42, 39-42.



*coloribus*, 1-3, 791a-794a15).<sup>15</sup> According to Goethe, colours have the ability to transform and are prone to turn into one another and thus give birth to one another. Goethe is the first thinker to provide proofs to the existence of warm and cold colours.

Goethe refutes Newton's opinion on the nature of light as stated in his *Opticks* (1704). According to certain modern critics, Goethe's ideas are based on "misunderstanding, abuse, and derision" of Newton's theory.<sup>16</sup>

In the consequence of experiments launched in 1666, Newton, firstly, discovered that the spectrum colours may converge back and generate single white light again (earlier experiments revealed the ability of a prism to decompose the white light into spectrum colours) and, secondly, he explained that bodies look coloured under the white light as they reflect some of its spectral components more strongly.

Isaac Newton's observations and his spectral theory were extremely relevant to the scientific interpretation of colour, and the XIX century impressionistic and pointillistic trends are considered its remarkable achievements. However, Goethe refused to share Newton's ideas and confronted them in his book.

The basic difference between Newton's and Goethe's viewpoints is Newton's absolute neglect of the emotional eye of a human. It is based on visual experience and consequently claims scientific objectivity, while Goethe's theory attaches special significance to the colour as created by a human eye. It is the eye that reflects the objective world and enables the sight to perceive it. Ancient Greeks believed the eye was a "kin" to an object, and that was why Plato and Plotinus considered it "born by the sun". Presumably, this very mystical conception inspired Goethe's well-known words:<sup>17</sup>

Wär nicht das Auge sonnenhaft  
Wie Könnten wir das Licht erblicken?  
Lebt nicht in uns des Gottes eine Kraft,  
Wie könnt uns Göttliches entzücken?

So, the eye sees the colour it itself creates and this very personal, subjective perception makes the objective law as all human eyes obey one universal law, have the same common basis.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> For details, see Gottschalk H. B., *The De Coloribus and His Author*, *Hermes* 92, 1964, 59-85.

<sup>16</sup> For the modern appreciation of Goethe's teachings see Irwin E., op. cit., 3-17, Maxwell-Stuart P. G., *Studies in Greek Colour Terminology*, Vol. I, GLAUKOS, Leiden E. J. Brill 1981, 1-6.

<sup>17</sup> Kolipoulos I, op. cit., 267-268.

<sup>18</sup> For details, see Bughadze, G., op. cit., 1-2.

Some scholars believe Goethe's viewpoints, along with Plato's, pseudo-Aristotle's and Plotinus' theories, bear the impact of Dalton,<sup>19</sup> others think he was influenced by alchemists.<sup>20</sup> On his part, Goethe, along with Democritus' teachings inspired Herring's theory on opposing colours as well as other, more modern methodologies.<sup>21</sup>

As concerns John Dalton's theory, in 1794, the English scientist, distinguished for the development of the atomistic theory, presented to the Manchester Literary and Philosophy Society the paper *Extraordinary Facts Relating to the Vision of Colours*. The paper considered the optical properties of the eye presently known as Daltonism, "colour-blindness".<sup>22</sup> According to E. Irwin, it is not accidental that Goethe's ideas on colour perception among Greeks immediately followed Dalton's above-mentioned paper, as the "un-usual properties" of colours in the ancient Greek language can be explained under Daltonian light as the consequence of "deficient" eyesight.<sup>23</sup>

Forty four years after the publication of Goethe's work, W. E. Gladstone, an English scholar, offered his own theory, which is believed to be one of the most convincing, and at the same one of the most unlucky.<sup>24</sup> W. E. Gladstone agrees that the ancient terms for colours are based on the contrast between light and darkness and states that people of the earlier historical periods had much less refined and thus much weaker faculty to perceive colours as compared to a modern man. For instance, in the heroic epoch, the eyesight as the sensory organ was remarkably underdeveloped. W. E. Gladstone refers to Homeric poems to illustrate the statement. He notes that a) the Homeric range of colours is jejune; b) The same word is used to denote not only different tints of the same colour, but also different colours which the modern perception finds essentially dissimilar; c) Colours used as epithets to describe the same object are "fundamentally disagreeing"; d) The most recurrent are simple colours like black and white, meanwhile the rest of colours are regarded as intermediate between "these extremities"; e) Homer seldom resorts to colours as one of the beauty aspects "for the purpose of effect". Colours fail to occur even where obviously expected.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Irwin E., op. cit., 6.

<sup>20</sup> Koliopoulos I., op. cit., 268.

<sup>21</sup> Gray R. D., *Goethe the Alchemist*, Cambridge 1952, 101-32. Goethe's colour theory is sometimes referred to as Neo-Platonic (e.g. see Koliopoulos I., op. cit., 268).

<sup>22</sup> About Newton's and Dalton's theories, see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. VI, VII.

<sup>23</sup> Irwin E., op. cit., 5-6.

<sup>24</sup> Maxwell-Stuart P. G., op. cit., 1-6.

<sup>25</sup> Gladstone W. E., *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, Vol. III, Oxford 1858, 458; On colour terms in Homeric epics, see Handschur E., *Die Farb- und Glanzwörter bei Homer und*

According to P. G. Maxwell-Stuart's smart and ironic appreciation, W. E. Gladstone later "reinforced" his conceptions and stated that Homer's eye organ was "in its infancy" while that of a modern man is mature and developed. Correspondingly, a modern 3-year-old-child knows more of colours or distinguishes more colours than the genius like Homer.<sup>26</sup>

W. E. Gladstone was not only well acquainted with and accepted Goethe's theory, but developed the latter's interpretations in his own works.

W. E. Gladstone's theories are based on Daltonism as well as on the scientific data on live bodies that perceive and distinguish between light and darkness only and not between colours, which compels to conclude that ancient Greeks should have been in the same position. W. E. Gladstone's ideas preceded C. Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859). However, they are based on the idea of evolution of species ventured even before Darwin's well-known theory was developed (however, the notion of "the natural selection" belongs to Darwin). After Darwinism developed, the study of ancient Greeks' colour vision took a turn to this "evolutionary" direction as well. Darwinism replaced Daltonism; however, the latter would not yield completely.

In 1867, Alfred Geiger presented at the Frankfurt Assembly of Natural Studies a paper based on Goethe's, Gladstone's and Darwin's theories. The paper considered text evidence and concluded that the ancient Greek language had no words for green and blue, and the terms that later came to denote "blue" initially denoted "black". And above all, ancient Greeks initially perceived only three colours – black, red and golden (yellow).

A. Geiger's concepts were further developed by Hugo Magnus, a physician and altermumswissenschaftler. In Leipzig in 1877, he published a paper *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Farbensinnes*, which said that initially a human was able to perceive light and not colour. Then he started to perceive red (but sometimes failed to distinguish between bright colours, "rich in light", e.g. white and red), which was followed by identification of yellow and green. Finally, a human discerned the weakest colours in terms of light – blue and violet. H. Magnus related such a development of colour perception to the evolution of human eye membrane. In 1888, O. Weise also supported A. Geiger's and H. Magnus' theories and studied a particular Indo-European origin for chromatic terms in his work called *Die Farbenbezeichnungen der Indogermanen*.<sup>27</sup>

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*Hesiod, in den homerischen Hymnen und den Fragmenten des epischen Kyklos*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien, Verlag Notring, Wien 1970.

<sup>26</sup> Gladstone W. E., op. cit., 458; Maxwell-Stuart P. G., op. cit., 1, 2.

<sup>27</sup> For details, see Weise O., *Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den Griechen und Römern*, *Philologus*, 46, 1888, 593-605.

The theory on evolutionary development of eyesight had its opponents as well. In 1879, in *Die Frage nach der geschichtlichen Entwicklung des Farbensinnes* published in Vienna, Anton Marty criticized A. Geiger and G. Magnus for neglecting the method of deduction and refuted their theory alluding to lack of evidence to testify the differences between colour perceptions of wild tribes and civilized peoples. At the same time, A. Marty referred to considerable factual evidence, paintings and decorations to prove that ancient peoples as well "enjoyed" a wide spectre of colours.<sup>28</sup> The unusual use of colours in literature was qualified as peculiar property of poetic vision and language (the idea is nowadays maintained by U. Eco as well<sup>29</sup>), and was justified by the idea that a poet is more concerned with the "brilliance of the tone than colour gradation", while the development of colour terminology was determined by the fact that Ancient Greeks had no need to create and apply technical colours. Modern experts qualify A. Marty's position as weak because of scanty factual evidence and statistic data; however, its relevance is still great. A. Marty threw light on three important aspects of the problem: archaeological (that testifies to Greek people's faculty to discern a broad spectre of colours), technological (reminds of the fact that Greeks had no need for technical colour terminology) and literary (usage of colours in literary texts is motivated by a writer's personal desire and vision). And, finally, A. Marty made it clear that physiological aspects are not the sole motivations to consider while studying perception of colours in antiquity.<sup>30</sup>

The same year of 1879, Grant Allen, a specialist of comparative psychology, published in Boston a paper *The Colour-Sense: its Origin and Development*, where he criticized Geiger-Magnus theory and alleged that the latter considered evolution as a short-term process, i.e. according to their theories, the evolution developed at a high speed, which is not testified by factual evidence. G. Allen compiled a questionnaire for missionaries, government officials and the people who have to deal with "less civilized race". They were to answer several questions including "Do the representatives of the given language group distinguish between x (blue) and y (green, violet)? The questionnaire revealed no case of failure on the part of the "less civilized people" to distinguish the colours; however, every tribe had not their own terms to denote them.

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<sup>28</sup> N. Serov, a modern researcher of ancient chromatism, refers to archaeological data to illustrate the rich colour perception of ancient Greeks (Серов Н. Б., op. cit., 31-32).

<sup>29</sup> Eco U., *Empeirie- metafrash-, Legonta- scedon to idio*, Metafrashò Efh Kallifatidh, EllhnikaiGrammata, Aqhna 2003, 471-472.

<sup>30</sup> For the appreciation of A. Marty's theory, see Irwin E., op. cit., 7-8.

At the outset of the XX century, the theory of anomalous colour perception again enjoyed followers. In 1904, W. Schultz published *Das Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen*, which studied chromatic terminology according to colour theorists and lexicographers and attempted to detect the precise colour gradation expressed by each lexical unit (it should be noted, however, that his interpretation of colour terms are nowadays considered out-of-date and useless). W. Schultz considered as well the viewpoint popular in the ancient period on the genesis of the rainbow, theories by Plato and Democritus, Phidias' statue of Zeus in Olympia and so on. At the same time he severely criticized Democritus' ideas on the components of blue and green. According to W. Schultz, Greeks could not discern yellow and blue, could not distinguish between *prasino-* and *porfuroi-*, had vague ideas about red and *κλωρο-*.<sup>31</sup> After analyzing ancient Greek terms and theories, the German scholar appreciated Greek's eyesight as anomalous.

In 1921, an article by Morris Platnauer was published on ancient Greeks' colour perception. The impact of the article on scholars and intellectuals was so great that it is still cited. According to M. Platnauer, the ancient Greek colour terminology is obviously jejune as compared to the modern one, which can be explained two ways: on one hand, M. Platnauer refers to the version of Greek colour-blindness slightly mitigating it by the assumption that Greek people's eyesight was not defective; they simply were less subjected to the colour impact than a modern man. The author is more inclined to think that Greeks were less interested and therefore paid less attention to the qualitative difference between decomposed and absorbed lights. They were more concerned with the quantitative than with the qualitative differences between colours; black and white were considered colours while all the rest was regarded as shades. There was no actual difference between chromatic and achromatic, what they found relevant was the body surface and its brightness and not the aspects of its colouring.<sup>32</sup>

M. Platnauer himself called his theory a tenable hypothesis, i.e. admitted its hypothetical nature as well as the power of its supporting arguments.<sup>33</sup>

P. G. Maxwell-Stuart offered strong arguments against the theory of Greek daltonism. He found it unusual to imagine the entire nation inflicted with daltonism; besides, he believed discussions on the point should not be limited to Homeric terminology, and correspondingly, the conclusion should not be extended to millenniums.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Schultz W., op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> Platnauer M., *Greek Colour-Perception, Classical Quarterly*, 15, 1921, 162.

<sup>33</sup> For more details, see Platnauer M., op. cit., 153-162.

<sup>34</sup> Maxwell-Stuart P. G., op. cit., vol. 1, 3.

Neither U. Eco shares the version of Greek daltonism and has published several works on colour perception in antiquity and in modern period. According to the Italian scholar, the very phenomenon of daltonism is a social enigma which proves hard to localize and explain because of language problems.<sup>35</sup> There is one point to consider: those who suffer daltonism perceive colours in a different way, but link the results of their perception to the common language system. For instance, such people do not see a leaf as green but call green the colour they see<sup>36</sup> (i.e. we see different colours but call them the same conventional name).

In 1927, F. E. Wallace's dissertation *Colour in Homer and in Ancient Art* was published. The author attempted to study the chromatic terms in Homeric texts, detect their gradation as far as possible and compare them to the pieces of ancient art at his disposal.

In 1933, Alice Kober's dissertation *The Use of Color Terms in the Greek Poets, Including all the Poets from Homer to 146 B. C. except the Epigrammatists* was published. Like F. E. Wallace, A. E. Kober also attempted to determine the precise colour gradation as represented in chromatic terms in order to provide for her conception on the lack of "problem" regarding colour perception in Antiquity.<sup>37</sup> According to modern scholars, the weak point of the work is the lack of evidence to be obtained after consideration of word-forms and their transformations in the course of centuries.

In 1939, K. Jonas presented a research supporting M. Platnauer's conception. According to him, Greeks were at least partly afflicted with colour-blindness – especially as concerns the blue colour – and saw their own painting the way different from ours.<sup>38</sup>

In 1920s-30s, along with colour-related terminological and stylistic issues, other problems entered the scope of scholars' interest as well. E.g. In 1927, K. Meyer published in Freiburg a work called *Die Bedeutung der weissen Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*, and in 1936, Gerhard Radke's dissertation *Die Bedeutung der weissen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer* appeared in Jena which dealt with the religious dimension of colour and referred to a large amount of material.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Eco U., op. cit., 472-473.

<sup>36</sup> Linksz A., *Physiology of the Eye*, Grune & Stratton, New York 1952, 2, 52.

<sup>37</sup> Also see Kober A. E., *Some Remarks on Color in Greek Poetry*, *The Classical Weekly*, April 30, 1934, 189-191.

<sup>38</sup> Jonas K., *South African Architectural Review*, November, 1939.

<sup>39</sup> For more details, see Radke G., *Die Bedeutung der weissen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer*, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Gustav Neuenhahn, Jena 1936. In terms of methodology, J. André's *Etude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine* published in Paris is regarded as a model for corresponding studies. In the introduction to

In 1952, R. A. Cole, in his unpublished dissertation *Adjectives of Light and Colour in Greek Lyric Poetry from Alkman to Bacchylides* attempted to present various dimensions of colour i.e. chromatic gradation in Homeric and Hesiod's texts, in cyclic poems, in pre-Pindaric lyrics, Pindar poems, in Aeschylus and Bacchylides. R. A. Cole, like A. E. Kober, ignored the senses of the chromatic term that do not refer to colours.<sup>40</sup>

The discussion revived in 1958, when R. D'Avino published an article *La visione del colore nella terminologia greca*, in which the scholar studied the terms ἀργός, πορφύρεο-, πολιο-, χανός, κίωρος with regard to their etymological aspects.

In 1959, Jürgen Werner's article *Blauer Himmel bei Homer?* was published which is considered among reputable works in this sphere. The German researcher compiled his contemporary conceptions and through their analysis rejected the viewpoint on the reference of Homeric epithets σιδῆρεο- and κάλιο- to blue colour.<sup>41</sup>

In 1962, Gerhard Reiter's work *Die Griechischen Bezeichnungen der Farben Weiss, Grau und Braun* was published in Innsbruck in which the author, unlike A. E. Kober, F. E. Wallace and R. A. Cole, considered both prosaic and poetical texts and even analyzed certain post-classical terms. Remarkably, G. Reiter believes the terms μάλο-, ἀλφό-, ἐλεφαντινο-, ἀψυδῆ-, γογυοειδῆ- also refer to the white colour. As compared to his predecessors, the German researcher paid more attention to the critical analysis of the problem while the development of colour concepts escaped his thorough consideration.<sup>42</sup> G. Reiter also wrote an article on colour composites, one of the most important linguistic components of ancient Greek chromatisms.<sup>43</sup>

the research, the French scholar briefly considers the problem of Greek colour perception and terminology. J. André presents classification of Latin colour terms (groups them into "families"), offers a lexicological and stylistic investigation in which he dwells on colour symbols, poetic and prosaic styles, considers imitation of earlier passages by later authors and pays special attention to authors whom he considers "distinguished" by their usage of colours.

<sup>40</sup> Horst Farenholtz' dissertation *Farbe, Licht und Dunkelheit im älteren griechischen Epos* defended in Hamburg in 1985 deals with the contrast between dark and light. The same topic is considered in G. E. R. Lloyd's *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* published in Cambridge in 1966.

<sup>41</sup> For more details, see: Werner J., *Blauer Himmel bei Homer? Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 33, Heft 10, 1959, 311-316.

<sup>42</sup> For more details, see Reiter G., *Die Griechischen Bezeichnungen der Farben Weiss, Grau und Braun, Eine Bedeutungsuntersuchung*, Universitätsverlag Wagner, Innsbruck 1962.

<sup>43</sup> For more details, see Reiter G., *Zu den griechischen Farbnamenkomposita*, in: *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft*, Bande 7-8, Innsbruck 1961, 241-246.

In 1968, H. Osborne published an article *Colour Concepts of the Ancient Greeks*, which says that Greeks did not paid due attention to colour gradations but for the violet-purple group. Colour vocabulary was scanty, terms were often used as synonyms and differed from one another not in terms of colour gradation but according to their brightness and intensity.<sup>44</sup>

As concerns later interpretations of the ancient Greek colour perceptions, they are chiefly based on various versions ventured between XVIII and 1960s, and offer few conceptual novelties. Special attention should be paid to Eleanor Irwin's work *Colour Terms in the Greek Poetry* (1974), where, along with quite a detailed overview of the problem, the researcher offers some interesting ideas on the contrast of light and darkness, about *κλωρο-* and *κωανο-*.<sup>45</sup> Another remarkable work is P. G. Maxwell-Stuart's terminological studies (1981)<sup>46</sup> and a research pertaining to the fields of terminological and cultural studies by Italian scholars Lia Luzzatto and Renata Pompas *Il Significato dei colori nelle civiltà antiche (Colour Sense in the Ancient Civilizations)* (1988), which deals with the magical implication of colour as well.<sup>47</sup>

With respect to the profundity of investigation and remarkable degree of novelty, particular attention should be paid to a research called *Individuality of Colour* by Elisabeth Koch and Gerard Wagner as well as two works by N. S. Serov, a Russian scholar, one of the founders of Russian "Colour Institute": *The Chromatism of Myth* (1990) and *Ancient Chromatism* (1995), which represent the synthesis of a research and mystical weltanschauung.<sup>48</sup>

What is to be said as a conclusion to the colour perception in ancient Greece? In my opinion, the theory on ancient Greeks' color-blindness was successfully and quite convincingly rejected by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart and U. Eco.<sup>49</sup> As concerns Darwinism-based theory on the evolution of eyesight, my skepticism is fostered by architectural pieces, ceramics and paintings (in particular, mural paintings) found on the Greek territory and pertaining to pre-Greek and Greek periods, the rich colouring of which testify to ancient Greeks' application of a wide range of colours in art; however, the issue can be qualified as highly specific, belonging to the field of cultural studies and therefore I would restrain from any categorical statements, more so that the problem has not yet enjoyed ultimate solution. As commonly known, modern

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<sup>44</sup> For more details, see Osborne H., *Colour Concepts of the Ancient Greeks*, *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, 8, 1968, 269-283.

<sup>45</sup> For more details, see Irwin E., op. cit.

<sup>46</sup> For more details, see Maxwell-Stuart P. G., op. cit., 1-2.

<sup>47</sup> For more details, see Luzzatto L., Pompas R., *Il significato dei colori nelle civiltà antiche*, Rusconi Libri S. p. A., Milano 1988.

<sup>48</sup> For more details, see Cepov H. C., op. cit.

<sup>49</sup> see above.



digital technology enables reconstruction and study of the painted layers of architectural finds which were earlier considered useless for scientific research and gave no opportunity to make relevant conclusions (it is planned to use the digital technology to reconstruct the whole sculptural array of Parthenon with appropriate colouring. The project is designed to produce the virtual analogy of the initial appearance of Parthenon).

Although, to my belief, Daltonian and Darwinian theories on colour perception in ancient Greece do not look sufficiently convincing, the ancient Greek world of colours obviously poses a number of questions. How can Democritus' and Plato's ideas on colour derivation contribute to the study of ancient Greek chromatism? To what degree do the two great thinkers' views reflect reality (or our reality)?

Plato's philosophical heritage covers the whole world, every sphere of human life. The wide range of Plato's concepts includes colour theory as well, which represent a system of colour perception and understanding and is theoretically expressed chiefly in *Timaeus*.

As stated above, Plato's colours theory is based on common ancient greek perception, in particular, is fostered by Democritus' ideas and the widely-known treatise *On Colours* (Diels, 68A33; A135).<sup>50</sup>

In *Timaeus*, Plato first dwells on vision mechanism (67d-68b) and then on mixing different colours to obtain a new one (68b-d). According to B. Bregvadze, a Georgian translator and researcher, "one of the most original theories in the history of ancient studies – the Plato's colour theory is directly related to Plato's understanding of vision mechanism. The theory, like a focus, incorporates such a big number of key issues of ancient optics that a small note is absolutely unable to render them even in a rather general and sketchy way".<sup>51</sup>

The paper will not dwell on the colour theory as presented in *Timaeus* and the vision mechanism analysis, or its critical appreciation; I shall consider only the passages that imply the concepts similar to Democritus' treatise.

According to *Timaeus*, "... colours ... are a flame which emanates from every sort of body, and has particles corresponding to the sense of sight" (67c-d). This conception is similar to Democritus' atomistic theory. A. Losev writes: "According to Democritus' treatise, the colour is a physically tangible body with appropriate peculiarities, which at the same time consists of physi-

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<sup>50</sup> Democritus' disciple Theophrastus gives a detailed account and at the same time criticizes Democritus' teaching on colours. Democritus' concepts are criticized by modern researchers as well. However, as the problem is quite comprehensive, I will not dwell on the logical shortcomings of the doctrine and Democritus' wrong interpretation of colour (for more details on the issue, see Лосев А. Ф., op. cit., 481-496).

<sup>51</sup> Plato, *Timaeus*, translated from ancient Greek, introduced and commented by Bachana Bregvadze, Irmisa, Tbilisi 1994, 444.

cally tangible atoms. Democritus' method of identifying colours with physical bodies creates the picture of co-existence and interaction of the physically tangible atoms".<sup>52</sup>

Democritus distinguishes four elements, simple colours – white, black, red and greenish-yellow (green) (κλωρο),<sup>53</sup> and regards the rest of the colours as different combinations of the four elements. The identical principle of colour derivation is given in Plato's *Timaeus*.

According to *Timaeus*, "A bright hue mingled with red and white gives the colour called golden-yellow (ξανθο-) (68b), while according to Democritus, "golden (κρυσοειδης) is derived from white and red" (76). According to Plato "red, when mingled with black and white, becomes purple (αλουργου-), when the colours are burnt as well as mingled and the black is more thoroughly mixed with them" (68c). Democritus mentions the same colours to compose purple (πορφου-), but the portions are different – red prevails while black is less in quantity (77).

Both *Timaeus* and Democritus' Treatise formulate and illustrate the common principle for colour derivation. According to Plato, "There will be no difficulty in seeing how and what mixtures the colours derived from these are made according to the rules of probability" (68d), while Democritus, as Theophrastus has it, "[states] that according to the way we mix them, there exists a large number of colours; if we make one less and add more of the other, mix more of one and less of the other. [In these circumstances] neither colour is going to resemble the other" (78).

Although Democritus' and Plato's ideas coincide as concerns the derivation of golden / golden-yellow and purple, *Timaeus* is by no means an exact copy of Democritus' Treatise. For instance, Plato considers the following colours: gray (φαιο-) (white + black), flame-colour (πυρρο-) (golden-yellow + gray), ochre (ωχρο-) (white + golden-yellow), blackish-blue (white + black) and greenish-blue (white + blackish-blue) and green (πρασιο-) (flame-colour + black).

Out of these colours, Democritus mentions only blackish-blue and green (πρασινο-). However, the process of their composition differs from the one described by Plato. Here blackish-blue is derived from blue and the flame-colour, while green (πρασινο-) is composed of greenish-yellow and purple, or the mixture of the purple close to orange and blue.

<sup>52</sup> Лосев А. Ф., op. cit., 488.

<sup>53</sup> Sometimes the term used by Democritus (κλωρο) is translated as green, which I find unacceptable (e.g. cf.: Koliopoulos I., op. cit., 268).

Plato says nothing about the properties of the so-called elemental, simple colours, and the composition of blue (ijsæt i-) (dark black + greenish-yellow) and brown (karuino-) (greenish-yellow + blackish-blue).

So, Democritus' and Plato's ideas are not absolutely identical. Plato shares and repeats after Democritus' colour-derivation principles but presents different colours, their different combinations and ratios.

In *Timaeus*, Plato does not consider colour properties which imply objectified perception of colours on the basis of consistent observance of the atomic principle as presented in Democritus' Treatise. The objectified perception of colours, to my belief, is given in *Phaedo*.<sup>54</sup>

I ventured to find out, firstly, whether Democritus' and Plato's ideas on colour derivation correspond to the real picture, and secondly, whether their concepts can help to clarify the senses implied in ancient Greek colour vocabulary. Both, Plato and Democritus present descriptions and compositions of colours, which, presumably, should help to identifying the precise sense of the terms they are expressed through.

I asked Mr. Gia Bughadze, a distinguished painter and theorist, one of the interpreters of Goethe's colour theory, to put in practice Democritus' and

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<sup>54</sup> On the objectified perception of colours in *Phaedo* see Darchia I., *Plato's Phaedo (Literature, Philosophy, Mythology, Mysticism)*, Program Logos, Tbilisi 1998, 44-47.

Investigation of Plato's *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* and their comparative analysis leads to the following conclusions:

1. The dialogues consider different colour aspects: *Timaeus* has the mechanisms for colour composition while *Phaedo* presents objectified perception of colours, which once again implies that Plato's viewpoint on a certain question is not offered in a single dialogue but should be looked for in several texts, i.e. reconstruction of Plato's theories requires consideration of Plato's complete corpus.
2. Peculiarities of colour perception in *Phaedo* are impossible to understand without considering Democritus' ideas while the reference of the mentioned dialogue to Democritus' treatise becomes more conspicuous and convincing after tracing direct links between *Timaeus* and Democritus.
3. The common colour concept in *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* is expressed not only through various aspects but through various devices as well in accordance with the specific character and philosophical and artistic intentions of the dialogues. *Timaeus* presents theoretical considerations of different aspects of Plato's theory while *Phaedo* renders colour theory through its artistic aspect. It offers no discussions on the colour theory; it only illustrates what to my belief, can be qualified as unconscious expression of Plato's viewpoint. In *Timaeus*, the concept is stated by a philosopher, theorist, scholar, while the chapter on colors in *Phaedo* is narrated by a writer, artist, or even a painter, as the passages in *Phaedo* are rendered in such a picturesque way that raise before the reader visual images. In *Timaeus*, Plato explains, comments, considers, while in *Phaedo* he depicts, shows, makes us feel.
4. Comparative analysis of *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* with regard to colour understanding once again attests that while rendering his colour theory, Plato appears not only as a great thinker but also as a flawless writer and even an artist. Plato as a philosopher, a theorist, a writer and an artist is an integral phenomenon.

Plato's "recipes". The chromatic experiment exceeded all my expectations. The results are given as a chart to facilitate their presentation:

Democritus' viewpoint		
Colour combinations	Theoretical result	Actual result
white + red	golden	pink
white + black + red	purple	brown
black + greenish-yellow	blue	brownish-green
greenish-yellow + purple	green	light brown
blue + flame-colour	blackish-blue (dark blue)	brown
greenish-yellow + blackish-blue (dark blue)	brown	dark green

Plato's viewpoints		
Colour combinations	Theoretical result	Actual result
white + red	golden-yellow	pink
white + black + red	purple	brown
white + black	gray	gray
golden-yellow + gray	flame-colour	ochre
white + golden-yellow	ochre	light orange
white + dark black	blackish-blue (dark blue)	dark grey
white + blackish-blue	greenish-light blue	light gray
flame-colour + black	green	brownish-green

As shown above, with the exception of deriving gray after mixing white with black, Plato and Democritus regarded the process of colour derivation or rather the colour concept the way to be qualified as wrong from the modern point of view – at least the way absolutely different from ours. Along with the above stated physiological motivations, some other reasons should be considered.

According to specialists, the "strange" results of our experiment should not be explained by differences in compositions of paints in ancient and modern eras. Corresponding studies reveal that colour essence depends neither on the quality of the paint nor its composition. Paints of different quality and composition give different tints and nuances, but not diametrically different colours.

Researchers of ancient Greek chromatic theories explain the problem through terminological points as well. Nowadays, it is widely admitted that ancient Greeks had regular eyesight but "their terminology was wrong".<sup>55</sup> Correspondingly, the results of our experiments unusual as they are from the viewpoint of Democritus and Plato should be explained by terminological misunderstanding, i.e. we erroneously attach the ancient Greek terms the meaning they never had. E.g. I expect white and red to give golden-yellow as I believe it is what the term χανθοῦ implies.<sup>56</sup> Let us suppose it does not refer to golden-yellow as I thought it was, but to pink – as shown by the experiment; then it will appear that ancient Greeks perceived olives, cattle, human hair as pink, and in fact, the term is quite often used as an epithet to the words. So, approach to ancient Greek colour terminology requires a lot of caution.

In my opinion, while considering colour perception in ancient Greece, the peculiarities of the Greek Weltanschauung should also be taken into account and try to explain their "strange, unusual" perception of colours by their world perception that differs from ours. It also may not be accidental that Plato's and Democritus' "recipes" produce quite a limited range of colours, chiefly, different shades of brown, the colours of earth.

And finally, it should be admitted that as colour is a cultural notion, along with being a physical and chemical, physiological and linguistic phenomenon, its investigation requires diversified approach. While considering colour, we should take into account literary and ethnographical, architectural, plastic and artistic data, religious, mythological and ritual aspects, various symbols and even magic, the emotional and intellectual worlds of people, their psychology, age and even gender.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Irwin E., op.cit., 14.

<sup>56</sup> The term χανθοῦ causes a great deal of confusion as it was translated or, correspondingly, interpreted; as a matter of fact, it may refer to golden-yellow, the colour of fire, blond, reddish, golden, hazel-brown and straw-colour (Liddel H. G., Skott R., Jones H. St., McKenzie R., A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford 1940; Supplement by Barber E. A., Oxford 1968; Revised supplement by Glare P. G. W., Thompson A. A., 1996).

<sup>57</sup> Colour can acquire peculiar function even in medicine, i.e. chromatic therapy, a modern medical treatment aims at healing various diseases with the help of colours. It originated in ancient Egypt, India, China and Persia (for more details, see Amber R. B., *Crimatoqerapeia, Qerapeia me crumata*, Metafrasho Andrea- Lumperopoulou-, Kedro-, Aqhna, 1997). E.g. according to R. B. Amber, chromatic therapy treats up to 230 diseases (see the list in Amber R. B., op. cit., 284-307). By the way, chromatic therapy uses red colour to treat measles, similarly to the Georgian folk tradition (Amber R. B., op. cit., 294).

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## DER BEGRIFF DES FREIEN WILLENS ALS GEGENSTAND DER ORIGENEISCHEN HERMENEUTIK

Die Frage nach dem Begriff der Willensfreiheit in der Bibelauslegung des Origenes ist ein Aspekt seiner gesamten Freiheitslehre. Man kann wohl sagen, dass die Deutung dieser ontologisch-anthropologischen Kategorie bei dem Alexandriner von selbst den Problemkreis der biblischen Hermeneutik einschliesst. Um die Gesamtstruktur dieser synkretistischen Lehre ins Auge zu fassen, empfiehlt es sich hier einige Grundbegriffe der origeneischen Theologie bezüglich der Freiheitsidee zu akzentuieren und ihre Wirksamkeit gerade in seiner biblischen Hermeneutik nachzuvollziehen.

Die Abhandlung *Von der Willensfreiheit* in dem dogmatischen Systementwurf *Von den Prinzipien* (3. Buch) ist in polemischer Form als die traditionellen Aporien und ihre Auflösung jener Passagen aus der Bibel verfasst, die den Gedanken der Willensfreiheit des Menschen scheinbar abwehren.<sup>1</sup> Die Aufhebung des Begriffes in der Bibel ist nach Origenes sowohl gefährlich als auch unsinnig. Zum einen führt sie zur Verleugnung aller sittlichen Normen, im Grunde genommen des Strebens nach dem Guten, wie nach einem Weg zu Gott und letztlich zur Aufhebung der christlichen Religion; zum anderen impliziert sie, dass die Autoren der Bibel sich selbst widersprüchlich sehen könnten.

In Richtung der grosskirchlichen Theologie unterscheidet Origenes zwischen Gott als dem eigentlichen Besitzer der Freiheit des Willens und dem Menschen, der nach dem biblischen Schema (Urzustand – Sündenfall – Auferstehung) diese Eigenschaft der Vernunftwesen in der Gegenwart

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<sup>1</sup> Entsprechend dieser Absicht trägt die Abhandlung nach Philocalia den Titel: "*Von der Willensfreiheit, sowie Auflösung und Deutung der Schriftstellen, die ihr zu widersprechen scheinen*". Siehe Origenes, *Vier Bücher von den Prinzipien* (im folgenden *Peri archon*), hrsg., übers. und erläutert. von H. Görgemanns und H. Karpp, Darmstadt 1976, S. 463, Anm. 1.

beschädigt, jedoch durch das paradigmatische Handeln des Mensch gewordenen Wortes Gottes in einer Perspektive der Berichtigung sich befindet.<sup>2</sup> In der Kontroverse mit den Gnostikern, die das Absolutsein des göttlichen Wollens anerkannten und im selben Zusammenhang die menschliche Entscheidung zu beiden sittlichen Polaritäten nur für eine scheinbar wirkliche Wahl hielten, stellt Origenes die biblisch belegbare Mächtigkeit der menschlichen Wahlfreiheit in den Vordergrund. Diese Idee, die noch stark intensiviert wird, durchdringt die ganze origeneische Theologie. Im Gefolge des Glaubensinhaltes sieht Origenes das Heil nicht durch ontologische Ebenbildlichkeit realisiert, sondern durch Aktivität der eigenen freien Wahl des Menschen, womit er sich von Sünde und Tod befreit, so wie ihn genau einmal durch seine freie Entscheidung der Sündenfall betroffen hat. Es ist daher durchaus folgerichtig, dass Origenes – darin wohl mit den anderen Alexandrinern, sowie den Kappadokiern übereinstimmend – erst leise einen Unterschied zwischen dem formalen Begriff der Willensfähigkeit und der existenziell wichtigen Wahlfreiheit andeutet: Gott gibt den Menschen allgemein die Fähigkeit des Wollens und Vollbringens (τὸ καθόλου θέλειν καὶ τὸ καθόλου ἐνεργεῖν) wie auch des Sich-Bewegens allgemein, aber die Menschen wenden selbst ihren Willen und das Vollenden entweder zum Besten oder zum Gegenteil. Wir sind insofern Besitzer des freien Willens (αὐτεξούσιοι), als wir die freie Wahl (προαίρεσις ἐλευθερά) haben, das Licht oder die Finsternis zu akzeptieren.<sup>3</sup>

Das Dramatische der menschlichen Wahlfreiheit sieht dieses christliche Weltgefühl in der Instabilität unseres Willens zum Guten. Was Origenes als wissenschaftliche Rezeptur für die Entscheidung dieses Lebensproblems darbietet, liegt in dem philosophischen Gedankengut mit seiner geprägten Begrifflichkeit.

Dem Leser der Abhandlung *Von der Willensfreiheit* fällt ins Auge, dass die Hauptintention des Origenes darin besteht, dem Freiheitsbegriff gegenüber dem Determinismus einen breiten Wirkungsraum zu geben.

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<sup>2</sup> Ein formelhafter Ausdruck in dem *Comm. in Joh.* (*Origenes Werke 4, Der Johanneskommentar*, hrsg. von E. Preuschen, *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (GCS), Leipzig 1903), I, 31, p. 41, 9 lautet: Der Sohn Gottes hat die Gestalt des Sklaven aufgenommen um den Sklaven der Sünde die Freiheit zu geben. Vgl. *Comm. in cant. cant.* (*Origenes Werke 8, Kommentar zum Hohenlied*, hrsg. von W.A. Baehrens, GCS, Leipzig 1925), p. 224, 1-227, 12; *De oratione* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XI) 26, col. 500 B-505 A; *Comm. in Rom.* (*Commentarii in Epistulam ad Romanos*, hrsg., eingel. und übers. von T. Heither, *Fontes Christiani* 2/1), 1, 1, p. 76, 14; p. 80, 19; 1, 17, p. 140,26-142, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Peri archon* III 1,20: 234, 5-235, 8. Die Auslegung betrifft die Worte des Paulus in *Phil.* 2,13: "Das Wollen und das Vollbringen ist von Gott".

Es lässt sich als eine Neuerung des Origenes zu bezeichnen, wenn er die universale Deutung des philosophischen Begriffes 'Vorsehung' (πρόνοια) Gottes durch das 'Vorherwissen' (πρόγνωσις) begrenzt, um die zwei Begriffe in ein transparentes Wechselspiel mit dem Begriff der Willensfreiheit zu setzen, wobei in dieser gedanklichen Struktur ein besonderes Gewicht in der Realisierung eines menschlichen Subjekts auf die freie Entscheidung jenes Subjekts gelegt wird.<sup>4</sup>

Gott weiß im voraus – sagt Origenes – Kraft seines Vorherwissens, wer 'Gefässe der Ehre' oder 'Gefässe der Unehre' wird; er macht sie aber nicht selbst von Anfang an zu dem, was sie werden, "sondern er macht zu 'Gefässen der Ehre' die, die 'sich gereinigt' haben, und zu 'Gefässen der Unehre' die, die es verabsäumt haben, sich einer Reinigung zu unterziehen."<sup>5</sup>

Die Präsenz Gottes weist somit auf eine abwartende Grundeinstellung Gottes zum individuellen menschlichen Handeln hin, während die Providenz – mit ihrer Vollendungssemantik – in sich die Wechseleinwirkung zweier anderer Begriffe impliziert. Origenes formuliert die Idee prägnant im *Römerbriefkommentar*: Gott kennt im voraus den freien Willen eines Menschen und entscheidet darum für ihn etwas Bestimmtes. Also das Vorauswissen ist das

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<sup>4</sup> Der Ansatz des dreiteiligen Schemas ist schon in der bilateralen Beziehung zwischen Vorsehung und der freien Wahl im Platonismus vorgegeben; gleichwohl ist ohne Aussonderung des Begriffes "Vorherwissen" von dem zu umfassenden Begriff "Vorsehung" der Wechselbezug zwischen dem Göttlichen und Menschlichen viel unklarer. Siehe Alcinoos (Albinus), *Didasc.* (Alcinoos. *Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*. Introd., texte établi et commenté par J. Wittaker, trad. par P. Louis, Paris 1990) XXVI, p. 179, 1 f.; Plotin merkt an, πρόνοια im Sinne des göttlichen Voraussehens (πρόορασις) und Überlegens (λογισμός) Gottes erhält in sich die Annahme der Entstehung des Weltalls und ist deswegen für ihn nicht geltend; *Enn.* (*Plotins Schriften*. Übers. von R. Harder. Neubearb. mit griechisch Lesetext u. Anmerkungen von R. Beutler und W. Theiler, Hamburg 1956-1960), III 2, 1, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe *Peri archon* III 1, 21-23: 235, 9-242, 22; dazu S. 543, 547, 549. Die im Text angegebene Überlegung ist eine Auslegung von *Röm.* 9, 18 -21 (die Stelle setzt vor das *Röm.* 8, 28 angefangene Thema): "So erbarmt er sich nun, welches er will, und verstocket, welchen er will. Du sagst mir nun: was beschuldigt er denn uns? Wer kann seinem Willen widerstehen? Ja, lieber Mensch, wer bist du denn, dass du mit Gott rechten willst? Spricht etwa das Werk zu seinem Meister: Warum machtest du mich also? Hat nicht der Töpfer Macht über den Ton, aus einem Klumpen zu machen ein Gefäss zu Ehren und das andere zu Unehren?"

Die für die Verteidigung der Freiheitsidee schwierige Perikope erklärt Origenes hauptsächlich durch 2 *Tim.* 2, 20-21: "In einem grossen Hause sind nicht allein goldene und silberne Gefässe, sondern auch hölzerne und irdene, und etliche zu Ehren, etliche aber zu Unehren. So nun jemand sich reinigt, der wird ein geheiligtes Gefäss sein zu Ehren, dem Hausherrn bräuchlich und zu allem guten Werk bereitet?" Origenes synthetisiert zwei unterschiedliche Ausserungen: Während *Röm.* 9, 18-21 ein allgemeines Existenzbild des Sündenfalls und das göttliche Gnademotiv betont, hebt 2 *Tim.* 2, 20-21 die Rolle des menschlichen Willens hervor. Origenes bezieht sich in diesem Kontext auch auf die anderen Aussagen des Paulus (1 *Kor.* 5, 1-5; 2 *Kor.* 12, 21; 2 *Tim.* 1, 16-18; 2 *Kor.* 5, 10, 2), welche ihm ebenso für die Idee der Willensfreiheit des Menschen bei Paulus bezeugen. Das bedeutendste Textzeugnis ist aber 2 *Tim.* 2, 20-21.



Erste, darauf folgt die Vorsehung; jedoch nicht das Vorauswissen verursacht die Vorsehung, sondern der freie Wille des Menschen selbst.<sup>6</sup>

Origenes schliesst in *Peri archon* die Betrachtung des Themas mit der für ihn besonders wichtigen Dialektik der Synergese ab: "Weder ist unsere Selbständigkeit (τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν) ohne Wissen (ἐπιστήμη) Gottes, noch zwingt das Wissen Gottes uns zum Fortschritt, wenn nicht auch wir einen Beitrag zum Guten leisten. Weder ist unsere Selbständigkeit ohne Wissen Gottes und Gebrauch dessen, was er angemessen unserer Selbständigkeit gibt, so dass jemand ein Gefäss zur Ehre oder Unehre wird; noch schafft Gott allein jemand als Gefäss zur Ehre oder Unehre, wenn er nicht irgendeinen Stoff für den Unterschied in unserer freien Wahl hat, die entweder zum Besseren oder Schlechteren hinneigt".<sup>7</sup>

Der von Origenes konsequent durchgeführte Standpunkt wurde bindend für die Väter der Ostkirche, wenn auch die platonische Wiedergeburtstheorie, die den Hintergrund seiner Lehre von der Willensfreiheit bildet, als ein heterogenes Element für die Lehrverkündigung der Grossen Kirche verurteilt wurde.<sup>8</sup> Auch wenn die voluntaristische Deutung der Kraft des menschlichen freien Willens in dem origeneischen Gedanken der Synergese massgeblich erscheint, könnte man kaum nicht darin der paulinischen Gnadenlehre entscheidende Bedeutung verschaffen.

Die Logoschristologie des Origenes bildet eine Synthese von der biblischen Überlieferung (Paulus, Johannes), der Logoslehre der Apologeten und der judaistisch-hellenistischen Logospekulationen im Bereich der

<sup>6</sup> *Comm. in Rom.* I, 3, p. 86, 11-88, 17; vgl. *Peri archon* III 1, 17: 228, 22-29; III 3, 5: 262, 2-16.

<sup>7</sup> Siehe *Peri archon* III 1, 24: 243, 10- 224, 3; In gewisser Abweichung von Görgemanns' Übersetzung; vgl. S. 559. Siehe auch *Peri archon* III 1, 19: 230, 14-234, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Die Idee der platonischen Seelenwanderung reflektiert sich in der Freiheitslehre des Origenes durch das terminologische Syntagma "Vorausgehende Ursachen" (προσβυτέρα τινα αίτια /priosores causae/ praecedentes liberi arbitrii causae; siehe *Peri archon* III 1, 22: 239, 7; III 3, 5: 262, 5-6). Origenes spricht zwar über die vorausgehenden Ursachen, die die beiden menschlichen 'Gefässentypen' herstellen; vgl. "Mythos von Eros" in Platon *Rep.* X, 6, 614b-621b, insb. 620a. Eros wiederholt in seiner Erzählung, dass die Seelen der Gestorbenen selbst ihr Schicksal wählen. auch *Tim.* 42b-d; *Paedr.* 248b-249d. Nicht von Gott also prädestiniert, bestimmen sie selbst in gewissem Sinne Gottes Pronoia, indem Gott in einem solchen konzeptuellen Zusammenhang tatsächlich die von der menschlichen freien Wahl festgelegte subjektive Angegebenheit ausübt; als Folge führt dies zur Verminderung der göttlichen Wirkungskraft (vgl. *Peri archon* III 5, 5: 276, 6f). Zum Kriterium, dass man den Gedanken der platonischen Seelenwanderung aneignen darf, nimmt Origenes die Perikopen von der Hl. Schrift über die schon in dem Mutterschosse oder in der Kindheit geistkräftig wirkenden menschlichen Seelen (siehe z.B. *Luk.* 1, 44; *Mark.* 9, 21; *App.* 16, 16 *Jer.* 1, 5-6; bei Jeremias steht es sogar, Gott ihn "kannte, ehe denn er im Mutterleibe bereitet wurde"). Die These der subjektiven Wahl der Seele in der Wiedergeburt schliesst in der Sicht des Origenes ein zyklisches Wiederkehren aus (*Peri archon* II 3, 4: 199, 4f.).

alttestamentlichen Exegese. In der Übereinstimmung zunächst mit Paulus steht bei Origenes das gnadenhafte Sein in unmittelbarer Beziehung zur Christuslehre. Es ist jedoch zu seiner Innovation zu rechnen, dass er die Logoschristologie der vorläufigen kirchlichen Tradition auf die Schriftauslegung systemhaft und methodisch erweitert hat. So hat Origenes in seiner Initiative auch die Gnadenlehre des Paulus als ein Zentralthema der gottinspirierten Schrift nachgedacht; die theoretischen Denkansätze bei Philo und Clemens von Alexandrinus lieferten ihm ohne weiteres einen guten Ausgangspunkt dafür.

In dem hermeneutischen Lehrvortrag *Von den Principien* (4. Buch) erläutert er umfassend diese konzeptuelle Neuerung. Origenes führt Grund und Sinn der Verfassung der gottinspirierten Schrift aus und erwähnt in diesem Zusammenhang die Doppelabsicht der Hl. Trinität.<sup>9</sup>

Vorerst beabsichtigte der Geist nach der Vorsehung Gottes und durch das Wort Gottes die unaussprechbaren Geheimnisse (ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια) bezüglich des Menschen durch ausgewählte gotteingegebene Menschen – Propheten und Apostel – zu offenbaren. Den Erkenntnisgrund dafür bildet wiederum die Kenntnis der Wahrheit hinsichtlich Gott und seiner Anstalt. Wer dies begreift, während er sich der Tiefe des vernunftmässigen Sinnes der Wörter hingibt (τοῖς βάθει τοῦ νοῦ τῶν λέξεων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦς), wird des Ratschlusses (βουλή) des Hl. Geistes teilhaftig.<sup>10</sup>

Der hier dargelegte generelle Erlösungsplan wird in der zweiten, spezifischen Absicht des Hl. Geistes ergänzt: Der Geist unternimmt es, all diese göttliche Wahrheit den Menschen in verhüllter Form, nämlich in sinnlichen Bildern, zu verkündigen.<sup>11</sup> Die göttliche Entscheidung ist davon

<sup>9</sup> *Peri archon* IV 2, 7- 8: 318, 7-323, 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Peri archon* IV 2, 7: 319, 2; vgl. IV 1,7: 302, 14: ὁλη ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῶ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ θεοῦ. Sonstige Kontexte derjenigen mystischen Aussagen siehe bei H. Crouzel, *Origène et la "connaissance mystique"*, Paris 1961, p. 25f., 36-46.

<sup>11</sup> Die hermeneutische Struktur des Origenes verbirgt bekanntlich drei Deutungsschichten (die geistige, die seelisch-ethische und die leibliche Schicht) gemäss der Einsichtskraft des Bibelexegets. Die 'leibliche' Ebene (die historischen oder gedanklichen Realitäten) sei letztlich spirituell und ethisch nachdenkbar, denn sie ist in der inspirierten Schrift insofern vorgelegt, als sie nutzbar für den ethischen und geistigen Fortschritt des Menschen ist. Die absolute Gerichtheit des Textes auf das Geistige äussert sich ebenso in der "buchstäblichen Lüge"; von den spirituellen Zwecken ausgehend, lässt der Hl. Geist etwas als eine historische Realität darstellen, was als solche nicht belegbar ist (vgl. *Peri archon* IV, 3, 4-5: 329, 1-331, 17; *Comm. in Joh.* 10, 5, p. 175, 11). M. Reiser, "Allegorese und Metapher. Vorüberlegung zu einer Erneuerung der Väterhermeneutik", in: Franz Sedlmeier (Hrsg.), *Gottes Wege suchend. Beiträge zum Verständnis der Bibel und ihrer Botschaft*. Würzburg 2003, S. 433-465, bes. S. 456-459, verweist mit guten Gründen auf die Notwendigkeit des geprägten Sprachgebrauchs bezüglich dieser hermeneutischen Struktur: der Alexandrinische Exeget redet eigentlich über die verschiedenen Dimensionen des Erfassens, nicht aber über den verschiedenen Sinn des

verursacht, dass die Mehrheit der Menschen sich keine Mühe machen kann, die göttlichen Geheimnisse zu erforschen. Die lebenswichtigen Anweisungen liegen also wegen der Faulheit der menschlichen Vernunft nicht auf der Oberfläche des gottinspirierten Bibeltexes, sondern sind in Form der sprachlich-gedanklichen Geheimnisse kodiert.<sup>12</sup> So seien nicht nur die Schöpfungswerke, die Erschaffung des Menschen und die in der Bibel vorgetragene menschliche Geschichte, sondern sogar die Gesetzgebungen nicht einfach dem Wortlaut nach erfassbar. In allen diesen Fällen verweist die scheinbar einfache biblische Sprache auf den spirituellen Inhalt und macht genau durch ihre zugängliche Äusserungsform die Bibel zu einem Weltbuch – für gewöhnliche Menschen nutzbar.<sup>13</sup>

Die paradoxe Aussage von der Trägheit der Vernunft als die Ursache der Verborgenheit der Heiligen Schrift erläutert sich durch die Anschauung des Origenes, dass das gnadenhafte Umwandeln des Menschen ein dauernder und schmerzhafter Prozess ist. Es liegt ihm nahe, ihn in den Termini der *Paideia* und *Therapeia* der griechischen Philosophie auszudrücken.<sup>14</sup> Gott als Erzieher und Arzt steht dem Menschen als einem Ungebildeten, bzw. Kranken gegenüber. Das Ziel – die Erwerbung der Tugend – würde nur dann erreicht, wenn der Mensch sich seines eigenen Mangels bewusst werde und sich frei dem göttlichen Erzieher/Arzt unterwerfe. Das eben ist die erworbene Tugend, die es dem Menschen ermöglicht, in den Geboten Gottes zu wandeln und seine Anweisungen zu befolgen.<sup>15</sup> Von allem Zwang frei, bindet er sich an den göttlichen Ratschluss, weil er seinen eigenen Willen mit dem in dem

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Bibeltexes, da der Sinn des von und durch Geist geschriebenen Textes nur geistig sei. In diesem Bezug ist beachtenswert, was selbst Origenes in *II Homilie zu Hohenlied* sagt: *sapientia, cum pro intellectus uarietate sit multiplex, in subiacenti una est (Origène Homélies sur Le Cantique des Cantiques, Sources Chrétiennes 37<sup>bis</sup>, ed., introd, trad. et notes de O. Rousseau, Paris 1966, 2e Éd., II, 9, p. 134).*

<sup>12</sup> *Peri archon* IV 2 8: 320, 3; die beiden Aspekte der origeneischen Hermeneutik (Gott lässt sich ausschließlich durch das geistige Hineinlesen der Hl. Schrift erfassen; in der geistigen Allegorese besteht das Heil für die gefallene Menschheit) finden ihre Prämisse bei Clemens von Alexandrinus in *Stromata*; siehe dazu M. Harl, "Le langage de l'expérience religieuse chez les pères grecs", in: M. Harl, *Le Déchiffrement du Sens. Études sur l'hermeneutique chrétienne d'Origène à Grégoire de Nysse, Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Serie Antiquité* 135 (Paris 1993), p. 29-58, bes. p. 34-35.

<sup>13</sup> In der Kontroverse mit Celsus legt Origenes Nachdruck gerade auf die universelle Heilsabsicht der gottinspirierten Schrift gegenüber dem elitären Charakter der platonischen Philosophie; *Contra Celsum* (Migne, PG XI), 6, 2, col. 1289 B-1292 A.

<sup>14</sup> Siehe dazu H. Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis. Studien über Origenes und sein Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Berlin – Leipzig 1932).

<sup>15</sup> *Peri archon* III 1, 15: 222, 7-223, 10. Rufinus kennzeichnet den so gearteten Willen des Menschen als vollen Gehorsam: *offerenti se atque in omnem oboedientiam mancipanti: Peri archon* III 1, 15: 222, 34; vgl. *C. Cels.* 3, 61, col. 1000 B-D.

Gesetz geäußerten Willen Gottes gleichzusetzen lernt. Die Idee, dass die Freiheit in der Gesetzmässigkeit besteht, ist bei Origenes nicht neu; sie findet sich bereits bei Plato und kann sonst zum Gemeingut des antiken Denkens gerechnet werden. Ererben sollte Origenes sie jedoch von den Autoren des Neuen Testaments, vor allem von Paulus, aber auch von seinem Lehrer Clemens von Alexandrinus.<sup>16</sup> Das Neue jener christlichen Idee der göttlichen Erziehung des Menschen in Freiheit ist unter anderem auch die Stätte der sittlichen Umwandlung: sie läuft in dem Alten und Neuen Bund zwischen Gott und Mensch, wo der Mensch sich seinen wahrhaften – mit sich selbst identischen – Willen zu gewinnen erhofft.<sup>17</sup>

Im 3. Buch *Von den Principien* fällt ein Beispiel der hermeneutischen Analyse ins Auge. Es erlaubt einen tieferen Einblick, was unter göttlichem Erziehungs-Heilungsvorgang im hermeneutischen Sinn zu verstehen ist und in welcher Verknüpfung dabei die zentrale Idee der origeneischen Allegorese – die Verhülltheit der Heiligen Schrift – zum Freiheitsbegriff steht.<sup>18</sup>

Es betrifft die Deutung einer schwer zu interpretierenden Rede Christi aus den synoptischen Evangelien, die ersichtlich in doppelter Kontroverse gegen Gnostiker und Marcioniten ins Feld geführt wird. Christus – zitiert Origenes – "rede deshalb zu den Menschen draussen (τοῖς ἔξω) in Gleichnissen, damit sie mit sehenden Augen doch nicht sähen, hörten und doch nicht verstünden, auf dass sie sich nicht dermaleinst bekehrten, und ihnen vergeben werde".<sup>19</sup>

Die Perikope könnte man zum einen in der Sicht des gnostischen Determinismus so begreifen, dass es völlig in der Vorherbestimmung Gottes, nicht aber im freien Willen des Menschen liegt, ob er gerettet oder verdorben wird;<sup>20</sup> zum zweiten, könnte man diese Worte als Äusserung der Grausamkeit

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Plato, *Ep.* 8, 354e; Alcinoos (Albinus), *Didasc.* XXVIII (p. 181, 19 f.). Siehe auch H. Perls, *Freiheit*, in: *Lexikon der Platonischen Begriffe* (Bern – München 1973), col. 120-125; D. Nestle, *Freiheit*, in: *Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum (RAC)*, 8, col. 269-306, bes. col. 274, 280-286.

<sup>17</sup> Wie A. Dihle (*Ethik*, in: *RAC*, 6, col. 683) mit Recht vermerkt: "die antike Ethik kennt durchweg nicht den Willen als selbständige sittliche Potenz und damit nicht das Problem der Willensfreiheit in engerem Sinn".

<sup>18</sup> Die ganze Erwägung: *Peri archon* III 1, 16-17: 223, 11- 229, 7.

<sup>19</sup> Siehe *Peri archon* S. 519 und III 1, 16: 223, 11. Vgl. *Mark.* 4, 11-12: "Und er sprach zu ihnen: Euch ist das Geheimnis des Reiches Gottes gegeben; denen aber draussen widerfährt es alles in Gleichnissen, damit sie es mit sehenden Augen sehen und doch nicht erkennen, und mit hörenden Ohren hören und doch nicht verstehen, damit sie sich nicht etwa bekehren und ihnen vergeben werde" (*Das Neue Testament mit Erklärungen nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers* von G. Baumbach, K. M. Fischer, Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft zu Berlin und Altenburg, 1986); vgl. auch *Luk.* 8, 10; *Matth.* 13, 13-15.

<sup>20</sup> Zur origeneischen Kritik an der gnostischen Interpretationmethode der Bibel siehe M. Harl, "Pointes antignostiques d' Origène: Le Questionnement impie des Écritures", in: *Le Déchiffrement du Sens*, p. 137- 149. Die Theorie der absichtlichen Verhülltheit der Hl. Schrift und die

des evangelischen Gottes verstehen, so wie Marcion über den alttestamentlichen Welterschöpfer urteilt.<sup>21</sup>

Origenes lehnt beide Auffassungen ab und setzt, um das verhüllt Gesagte auszulegen, zwei Interpretationsmöglichkeiten voraus. Beide sind berufen, den gnadenwirkenden Charakter der Vorsehung Gottes in der Heiligen Schrift und die individuelle Initiative ihres Lesers zu prägen. Als die subjektive Ursache der Verborgenheit kommt diesmal nicht mehr die Trägheit der Vernunft vor, sondern jenes biblische Motiv der menschlichen Undankbarkeit und des Stolzes.

In der ersten Annahme hebt er die Prüfungsabsicht Gottes hervor.<sup>22</sup> Die Verhülltheit der Schrift ist für den Menschen "draussen" deswegen verfasst, weil Gott die rasche Hilfe bei solchen Seelen absichtlich verschiebe; er wisse, man heile sich von der Sünde leichter, wenn man seine Geheimnisse verschleiert hört; aber das könne für sie nicht nützlich sein, da solche Menschen nicht die rechte Benutzung der neuen Existenzweise – des Gnadenseins – kennten, so dass sie aufs neue und schneller ins übliche Dasein verfallen würden. So besteht die Hilfe Gottes für die "Menschen draussen" darin, dass er ohne seine Mithilfe die Willensfreiheit des Menschen gewähren lässt. *Philocalia* bietet weiterhin eine andere Bewertung der Verhülltheit unter Akzentuierung der Erlösungsabsicht der pädagogischen Prüfung Gottes. Dabei arbeitet Origenes mit dem platonischen Lehrstück von der präexistenten geistigen Welt: Die Verhülltheit sollte für solche 'Menschen draussen' verfasst werden, denen bereits Buße als ein kathartisches Gefühl bekannt ist; jedoch wegen ihrer Zuwendung zum Übel hatten jene Menschen "noch nicht die Zeit erfüllt", dass sie nach Verlassensein von der göttlichen Obsorge "zu einer beständigeren Reue berufen wurden".<sup>23</sup> Im Anschluss an Paulus vertritt Origenes die Idee des ungemässen Vorzugs der Gnade Gottes gegenüber den Menschen, wenn auch das menschliche Mitwirken im Prozess

allegorische Methode der Auslegung prägte sich gerade im Kontext des Kampfes gegen Häretiker.

<sup>21</sup> Im Blick der Marcioniten war der alttestamentliche Gott grausam im Gegensatz zum Gott des Evangeliums, den sie als ausschliesslich liebenswürdig charakterisierten. In der Kritik an der Auffassung Marcions und seiner Anhänger zieht Origenes eben diese Rede heran, worin Christus durch seine Redeweise nähert sich dem alttestamentlichen Gott. Vgl. *Comm. in Rom.* 1, 18, p. 146, 21; 2, 13, p. 288, 7. Zu Marcions Einstellung: A. Harnack, *Marcion. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, Berlin 1960, bes. S. 74- 141; desselb., *Dogmengeschichte* Tübingen 1922, 6. Aufl, S.77-78.

<sup>22</sup> Das klassische Beispiel für das Prüfungsmotiv Gottes (*βάσανος*) und die verfehlt Entscheidung des Menschen ist bei Origenes die Geschichte des Pharaos; vgl. *Peri archon* III 1, 7: 204, 7 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Peri archon* III 1, 17: 226, 11 und S. 525; vgl. III 1, 12-13: 214, 7-218, 14. III 1, 17: 228, 11-229, 4.

der geistigen Metamorphose als ein invariantes Element einbezogen wird. Gott als objektive Ursache der Bekehrung, in seiner absoluten Freiheit lässt für die 'Menschen draussen' einen Gnadenakt zu, während sie subjektiv noch nicht dafür vorbereitet sind: Er gibt ihnen Anstoss in die Gerechtigkeit seiner Vorsehung hineinzusehen, während sie noch nicht aufgehört haben sie zu tadeln. Und hier kommt im Zuspruch des vorausgesetzten freien Gnadenakts ihre spontane Verwandlung. Von dem Frechsein sich befreiend, jene Menschen verstehen, warum sie ein Dasein der 'Menschen draussen' führen, und somit lernen, dass die Vorsehung Gottes zum Guten führt; daraus folgt konsequenterweise hermeneutisch zu gewinnendes Verstehen: in der Verhülltheit der Bibel blicke der heilsmässige Sinn durch.<sup>24</sup> So setzt Origenes die in der Moderne so geachtete Idee der Intertextualität paradigmatisch zwischen der sinnlich-konkreten Geschichte der Menschheit und der Heiligen Schrift – als dem Buch jener in der spirituellen Perspektive sich befindlichen menschlichen Erfahrung – durch.

Wenn man die soteriologische Absicht der göttlichen Pädagogik in beiden angebrachten, obwohl nicht abgeschlossenen Deutungen der biblischen Verhülltheit mit den zutreffenden Intention der origeneischen Hermeneutik in einen Sinnzusammenhang stellt, scheint es, dass die erwähnte spontane Verwandlung mit dem bekannten Lehrsatz von dem Enthusiasmos zu vereinbaren ist. Der Begriff bezeichnet einmal einen auf der Offenbarung beruhenden religiösen Schwung, den die biblischen Autoren erlebten, zum zweiten auch ein kongeniales Begreifen Gottes mit ihnen während einer tiefgründigen Schriftlesung.<sup>25</sup> Anders als der Begriff "Ekstase" des paganen

<sup>24</sup> Der Gedanke ist nicht klar formuliert, wie übrigens die ganze Auslegung dieser Bibelstelle. Von der Wechselbeziehung der Gnade Gottes und der Bekehrung der Ungläubigen liest man in *Philocalia*: ... τὴν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ εὐλογον οὖσαν ἐλέγξει βουλόμενος δίδωσι ταῦτα, ἃ οἱ μεμφόμενοι τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτοῦ ἤτησαν· ἵνα μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἦππον ἐλεγχθέντες ὡς ἀσέβηστατοι τῷ μηδ' οὕτως τῷ ὠφελείσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐπίδεδωκέναι, παύσωνται τοῦ τοῦτου θράσους, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ ἐλευθερωθέντες μάθωσιν... *Peri archon* III 1, 17: 228, 11-229, 4.

Die unbegrenzte göttliche Gnade verbreitet sich auch auf die andere Kategorie der Sünder, die das Wort Gottes wegen besonderer Lebensumstände nicht gehört haben. Im Evangelium erscheinen sie unter dem Namen 'Tyrier' (*Luk.* 10, 13); auch ihnen verspricht Origenes die Erlösung in der Perspektive der endgültigen Wiederherstellung des Geschöpfes; *Peri archon* III 1, 17: 227, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Im Falle des geistig aktiven Schriftlesers bedient sich Origenes des metaphorischen Ausdrucks ἵχνος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ (Spur der göttlichen Eingebung): "Wer sich aber sorgfältig und aufmerksam mit den prophetischen Worten befasst und beim bloßen Lesen eine Spur (einen Eindruck bei H. Karpp) von göttlicher Eingebung erfahren hat, der wird sich durch seine Erfahrung davon überzeugen (παθὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν ἵχνος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, δι' ὧν πάσχει πειθήσεται), dass die Worte, die nach unserem Glauben von Gott stammen, keine Schriftwerke von Menschen sind" *Peri archon*, S. 689; vgl. IV 1, 6: 302, 3. Rufinus ist explikativer: ... in eo ipso dum legit et diligentius intuetur, certum est quod ab aliquo diviniore

Gotteinfühlens meint er, dass der individuelle Verstand des Menschen aufbewahrt bleibt, so dass er bewusst und freiwillig mit dem Wort Gottes mitwirkt.<sup>26</sup> Die Idee der Synergese im Erfassen Gottes wird auch an mehreren anderen Stellen als Gnadenakt des dem Menschen zugewandten Gottes aufgestellt, indem er das Subjekt des Erfassens als einen Zeugen des eigenen Innewerdens zeigt.<sup>27</sup>

Den "Menschen draussen", deretwegen die verhüllte Sprache der gottinspirierten Schrift verfasst ist, stellt Origenes die "Menschen drinnen" (οἱ ἐξω) gegenüber. Die paulinische Antithese deutet den Unterschied bezüglich des hermeneutischen Schrifterfassens. Die prinzipiell verschiedene Auffassungsgabe bezüglich des Gotteswortes bei den zwei Denktypen liegt metaphorisch genommen an der verschiedenen Beziehung der Lehrenden/Kranken zu ihrem Erzieher/Arzt, denn beide Vorgänge, wie Erziehung und Heilen, lassen sich erst durch Glauben hervorbringen: während "Menschen draussen" das von Gott Gesagte undeutlich, zunächst entfernt, an der Oberfläche der Parabel "hören", weil sie nicht glauben, "hören" "Menschen drinnen" es deutlich, weil sie durch ihr Glauben in den inneren Sinn des Gesagten hineinschauen können.<sup>28</sup>

Die Umkehr zum Guten findet ihren Hintergrund in der origeneischen Anthropologie. Das ist die paulinische und zugleich platonische Teilung des Menschen in "den inneren und äusseren Menschen" und die darausfolgende

spiramine mentem sensumque pulsatus agnoscat non humanitus esse prolatus eos, quos legit, sed dei esse sermones; IV 1, 6: 302, 18-21. Die ganze Passage, *Peri archon* IV, 1, 6 – 7: 302, 1-303, 1. Die Überlegung von ἵχνος ἐπιθυσιασμοῦ ist tatsächlich ein Kommetar zu 2. Kor. 3, 1-18. Vgl. auch Kommentar zu diesem paulinischen Gedanke *Peri archon* I 1, 2: 18, 9-19.

<sup>26</sup> H. Crouzel in *Origène et la "connaissance mystique"*, p.184-208, untersucht weitgehend den typisch christlichen Charakter der Gotteingebung bei Origenes. H. Lubac empfindet in dem Lehrstück von Inspiration den Nachdruck auf die Freiheit und Sittlichkeit des menschlichen Subjekts; siehe H. de Lubac, *Geist aus der Geschichte. Das Schriftverständnis des Origenes*, übertr. und engl. von H. U. von Baltasar, Einsiedeln 1968, S. 352, zum Inspirationsthema im allgemeinen p. 347-357.

Wenn Origenes in der nicht recht klaren Auslegung der Rede Christi betont, wie die Gottesgnade auf die "Menschen draussen" wirkt, beabsichtigt er nicht, die subjektive Vorgegebenheit der geistlich-ethischen Verwandlung zu beschreiben. Die Erwägung findet aber eine Parallele mit *Peri archon* III 1, 12: 214, 7-217, 3. Hier markiert Origenes die paulinische Selbstverurteilung des Menschen als die Voraussetzung des von Gott bescherten spontanen Heils. Der Mensch übt sich selbst zu verurteilen und eigene Schwäche zu spüren. In dieser Weise wird er davon behütet, sich einzubilden, es sei sein geistiges Verdienst, was in Wirklichkeit ihm als Gabe Gottes gegeben wird; vgl. auch III 1, 15: 222, 7 f.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. z. B. *Peri archon* III 1, 12: 216, 1 (...τύχουσιν ὁδοῦ θεραπείας); III 1, 19:230, 14- 234, 4; II 3, 3: 118, 16; *Comm. in Rom.* 2, 5, p. 190, 4; *Comm. in cant. cant.*, p. 216, 25-31.

<sup>28</sup> *Peri archon* III 1, 17: 227, 4; vgl. III 1, 15: 222, 9f. Das Begriffspaar – οἱ ἐξω / οἱ ἔσω – sollte im neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch eine übliche Bezeichnung für Gläubige und Ungläubige sein; vgl. *Kor.* 5,12-13.

Lehre von der Teilhabe des Menschen an Gott nach seiner inneren, geistigen Natur. Nach diesem Standpunkt trägt jeder Mensch, sei er Gläubiger ("Mensch drinnen") oder ausserhalb des Glaubens ("Mensch draussen" und "Tyrier"), in sich die beiden Aspekte seines Wesens. Den Prozess des freiwilligen Errichtens vom äusseren in den inneren Menschen betrachtet Origenes in den Termini des philosophischen Intellektualismus als vernunftmässiges Sich-selbst-Konstituieren zum Guten: Die menschliche Seele, sofern sie Vernunft enthält, hat Anteil am geistigen Wesen der Dreifaltigkeit, beziehungsweise hat die geistige Fassungskraft Gott zu erkennen, wenn auch in unterschiedlichen Stufen – jeder nach seinem Eifer in Einsicht und Erkenntnis.<sup>29</sup> Sich anlehnd an die stoisch-spätplatonische Seelenlehre, sucht Origenes das Kriterium der rechten Entscheidung in der menschlichen Vernunft (λόγος). Rufen die äusseren Ereignisse unsere Vorstellungen (φαντασίαι) hervor und ist dies nicht zu vermeiden, so ist der Beurteiler der Ereignisse und der Vorstellungen die menschliche Vernunft. Sie untersucht jene aufgrund der eingeborenen Prinzipien (ἀφορμαί), die das Gute von dem Bösen differenzieren können. Es gehört zur Fähigkeit der Vernunft, jenen Prinzipien in der Entscheidung zum Guten zu folgen. Es wird so aufgenommen, dass das Leitorgan der Seele (Hegemonikon) bestimmten Umständen der Aussenwelt aus bestimmten überzeugenden Gründen zustimmt oder sie ablehnt.<sup>30</sup> Origenes verharrt bei der rationalen Deutung der Willensfreiheit, obwohl er weiß, dass die falsche freie Wahl auch bei denen stattfindet, die in der Entscheidung zum Guten geübt sind.<sup>31</sup> Versteht man die Lebenstäuchung

<sup>29</sup> Den Bezug der individuellen menschlichen Vernunft zum ersten Prinzip der Erkenntnis fasst Origenes eher ontologisch. Vgl. *Peri archon* IV 4, 9: 362, 2-363, 13.

<sup>30</sup> *Peri archon* III 1, 3-5: 197, 9- 201, 6. λόγος und den stoischen Begriff ἐγερμονικόν verwendet Origenes gleichartig; die beiden Termini korrespondieren weiterhin mit dem immanenten νοῦς des späten Platonismus. Was φαντασίαι angeht, so gehört dieser Begriff bei den Stoikern und auch im späten Platonismus zum sinnlichen Teil der Seele. Zeno definiert sie als Eindruck von aussen (Cicero, *Acad. post.* I, 11, 40-42; siehe M.Tullius Cicero. *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, ed. C.F.Müller, IV 1, Lipsiae 1904). Es ist eine stoische Ansicht, dass ein Sinnenbild (φαντασία) im Hegemonikon zu einem intelligiblen Bild (ἐννοία) verarbeitet wird. Die origeneische Überlegung stimmt hier mit der stoischen Psychologie bis in den Wortlaut überein; weitere Hinweise siehe bei H. Görgemanns und H. Karpp, *Peri archon*, S. 469, Anm. 10-12; über diese philosophisch-begriffliche Erfassung der Seelenarbeit bei Origenes A. Dihle, "Das Problem der Entscheidungsfreiheit in frühchristlicher Zeit. Die Überwindung des gnostischen Heilsdeterminismus mit den Mitteln der griechischen Philosophie", in: *Gnadenwahl und Entscheidungsfreiheit in der Theologie der Alten Kirche*, F. von Lilienfeld und Ek. Mühlenberg (Hrsg.), *Oikonomia*. B. 9, S. 9-31 (Anm. zum Aufs., S.90-94) bes. S. 20-25.

<sup>31</sup> *Peri archon* III 1, 5: 200, 13; III 1, 12: 214, 8; *Comm. in Jer.* (hrsg. von E. Klostermann, *Jeremiahomilien*, GCS 3, Leipzig 1901), p. 19, 15; *De orat.* 2, col. 420B-421C. Origenes synthetisiert in seiner Anthropologie die rationalistische Auffassung der Griechen mit der christlichen Willenslehre. Der christliche Willensbegriff bewertet das Wollen, nicht das Erkennen als wichtigste Kraft des Hegemonikon, so dass das Wollen als der Erkenntnis des



als der göttlichen Pädagogik zugehörig, wird die Umkehr zur Vernunft wiederum dank dem Gnadenakt Gottes möglich. Die Parallelität zwischen der philosophischen und der paulinischen Auffassung über die sich beurteilende Seele ermöglicht eine Synthese des philosophischen Lehrstücks mit der Gnadenlehre des Paulus. Die Aktivität des menschlichen Geistes ist nach Origenes souverän im Prozess des geistlichen Fortschritts, jedoch wird sie ohne Mithilfe Gottes nie zu Ende geführt. Deswegen sieht er an die paulinischen Gnadenlehre anlehnend den ganzen geistigen Aufstieg als das Werk Gottes an.<sup>32</sup> So flankiert der Gnadenbegriff im *Johanneskommentar* Anfang und Ende der geistlichen Vollendung: Nicht nur die erworbene Tugend sei eine Gnade Gottes, sondern auch unsere Entscheidungsfreiheit, jene Tugend zu tun, sei zugleich eine solche Gnade, so dass dies "bei Gott Übergeben der Gnade statt Gnade bedeutet".<sup>33</sup>

Sagt man nun ein summierendes Wort über den Begriff des freien Willens in der biblischen Hermeneutik des alexandrinischen Theologen, so sollte man noch folgendes bemerken: Nach der origeneischen Metaphysik der Freiheit<sup>34</sup> fungiert die Vorsehung Gottes in der Hl. Schrift als ein genereller

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erstrebten Ziele unabhängige, sogar dem Verstand vorausgehende seelische Kraft vorkommt (siehe A. Dihle, *Ethik*, in: *RAC*, 6, col. 750-752). Mit der paulinischen Psychologie ist Origenes näher jenen Stellen verbunden, wo er über eine spontane sittliche Kraft, wie es der judaistisch-christliche Gewissensbegriff ist, über das "reine Herz" oder die Gnade spricht. Viel kritischer, und darin auch mehr alttestamentlich, ist Philo in seiner Einschätzung des menschlichen Verstands, wenn er neben der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung auch dem Verstand keine Zuverlässigkeit zuweist, da der erste uns täuschen, der zweite aber zum Wahnsinn führen kann; die richtige Wahrnehmung und der Verstand sind also kein Verdienst des Menschen, sondern eine Gabe Gottes (vgl. *De conf. ling.* 122-127, nach *Philo with an Engl. Transl.* by F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker); vgl. oben Anm. 28 die analoge Ansicht des Origenes über die menschliche Vernunft.

<sup>32</sup> *Peri archon* III 1, 19: 232, 1-14; III 2, 5: 253, 28.

<sup>33</sup> *Comm. in Joh.* Fr XI, p. 493, 19; Vgl. *Comm. in Joh.* VI, 6, p. 114, 6; *De orat.* 1-2: 416A – 417A. Gnade als Erkenntnisgrund für die richtige Annahme der Schiftworte *Peri archon* IV 2, 3: 310, 7.

<sup>34</sup> Th. Kobusch stellt Origenes als einen Begründer der genuin christlichen Metaphysik – einer praktischen Metaphysik – dar (siehe eine Reihe von Erscheinungen zur Sache dieses Autors). Ihr zufolge wird die menschliche Seele gemäss ihrer freien Entscheidung einer ethisch-geistlichen Metamorphose unterzogen. Im Kontext des Glaubensinhalts zielt sie ja auf eine Selbstbestimmung des Menschen in der Liebe zu Gott und liebenden Beziehung zum Nächsten. Diese Art der Metaphysik betreibt also eine von dem inneren Gesetz der Sittlichkeit (Würde) gestaltete Handlungsfreiheit als Lebensform. Man könnte durchaus sagen, dass die christlich geprägte Epiktasis-Metaphysik des Origenes schon diejenigen Grundansätze enthält, die im christlichen Mittelalter die Metaphysik der Freiheit zusammenfügten. Die historische Resonanz der Lehre scheint wohl unbestritten zu sein; vgl. Th. Kobusch, "Die philosophische Bedeutung des Kirchenvaters Origenes. Zum Zusammenhang zwischen der Renaissancephilosophie und der Patristik. Zur christlichen Kritik an der Einseitigkeit der griechischen Wesensphilosophie", in: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 165, (1985) S. 94-105.

Heilsplan, was zwar impliziert, dass Gott in seinem Vorherwissen den ideellen Leser des Lebensbuches konstituiert, während der letztere in der Freiheit seines Gehorsams den Sinngefügen Gottes folgt und in dieser Weise sich allmählich von dem stofflichen Weltgebilde befreit. Damit wird in der biblischen Wissenschaft des grossen Mentors die Metaphysik der Freiheit mit der Metaphysik der Sprache vereint.

Tea Dularidze (Tbilisi)

**FOR THE FUNCTION OF TWO TERMS *ajgel o~* AND *khru*x  
DENOTING A MESSENGER IN HOMERIC EPICS**

In Homeric epics, the institution of messengers holds a peculiar place in the system of important relations. In the ancient world as well as in modern life, a messenger's service was a communication means which enabled one party to deliver a message to the other through a messenger. Remarkably, the phenomenon has diversified functions in Homeric epics while messengers' functions, missions, statuses and their roles in the society are quite differentiated. In *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the system of relationships extends vertically as well as horizontally i.e. operates among gods as well as among humans. It should be noted that at either level, diplomatic mission is carried out by the individuals specially commissioned to act so, while those not in charge of the duties, sometimes, undertake the mission under certain circumstances. The poet chiefly uses two terms *ajgel o~* and *khru*x to refer to a messenger. A large number of lexical formatives related to the notion of ambassadorial functions is derived from these roots. From the modern perspective, it is, naturally, hard to determine the precise meaning of any lexeme. The paper attempts to trace at least approximate semantics of the mentioned terms related to the performance of ambassadorial duties. The word *ajgel o~* denotes "a messenger", "an ambassador", "an envoy". So far, the precise etymology of the root is unknown. Chantraine and Frisk<sup>1</sup> believe *ajgel o~* has Oriental origin and offer their own versions. They link its origin to the term *ajgaro~* and consider it a borrowing from one of the Oriental languages, Iranian in particular, which the majority of scholars finds convincing.<sup>2</sup> According to Frisk, *ajgaro~* comes from the Persian source or at least has the Babylonian origin. He links the

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<sup>1</sup> Frisk H., Griesches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3 Bde, Heildeberg, 1960, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Chantraine P., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque, Tome I, Paris, 1968, 8.

term to "argu", which means "a mediator". The word ἄγγαρο- referred to a mounted herald who was in charge of delivering royal messages to Persia (Hdt. 8,98; Xenop. Theopomp. Hist.). Later, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Greek literature mentions the term and corresponding compounds and derivatives. However, we do not come across ἄγγαρο- in Homeric epics.

It is interesting to identify the following: what sense does Homeric ἄγγελο- convey? who is the person in charge of the corresponding function? how is the meaning of the word understood and used in the epics?

First of all, the term is used to refer to the persons who have the function of a messenger and generally determines their functional essence. So-called "official ambassadors" at the level of gods are Iris and Hermes. They are under Zeus' direct protection and accomplish their duties under his service. Homeric epics strictly observe hierarchy and define the power balance among gods. All what happens in the poems is closely linked to the fulfillment of Zeus' will from the very start.<sup>3</sup> Unlike other gods, Zeus never takes part in wars<sup>4</sup> nor carries out any functions except for giving orders and supervising. His function is to maintain order and justice on the earth.<sup>5</sup> Correspondingly, he does not undertake ambassadorial functions either.

In *Iliad*, Iris most frequently appears in the role of Zeus' messenger: "The messenger of Zeus am I" (*Il.* 24, 173).<sup>6</sup> Iris is Zeus' messenger (and not only Zeus'). Her function is to deliver orders and messages. However, Homeric poems imply ambassadorial commitments as well. Iris is charged not only with delivering information but also with executing the god's decision and persuading the other party regarding the issue. When Zeus sees that Achaeans with the help of Poseidon force Trojans to retreat, he immediately calls Iris and Apollo through Hera. Zeus orders them to stop Poseidon so as to enable Hector to get prepared for next struggles (*Il.* 15, 157-218). Remarkably, apart from delivering Zeus' order to Poseidon, Iris advises him to obey Zeus' will as the Cronid is superior to all in might. It is interesting to find out whether Iris is concerned with Poseidon's lot in case Zeus bursts in rage, or whether her duties include precise execution of the supreme god's will. We believe Iris' function is to persuade the other side as her mission is specifically result-oriented. The passage implies the Homeric principle: Every conflict that starts upon the supreme will ends upon his will as well.<sup>7</sup> Poseidon appreciates and,

<sup>3</sup> Gordeziani R., *Greek Literature*, v. I, Tbilisi, 2002, 61 (in Georgian).

<sup>4</sup> Taplin O., *Homeric Soundings, The Shaping of The Iliad*, Oxford, 1992, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Gordeziani R., *Greek Literature*, v. I, Tbilisi, 2002, 105 (in Georgian).

<sup>6</sup> აჲ I jაგაჲ: froneusa: Dio" dertoi აგგელო' eijni (*Il.* 24, 173).

<sup>7</sup> Gordesiani R., *Abwandlungsformen der traditionellen Struktur des Mythos in der griechischen und römischen Heldendichtung*, Lektaj 206.

correspondingly, follows Iris' advice: "It is a fine thing when a messenger knows what is fitting" (*Il.* 15, 207).<sup>8</sup> Iris, a kindly advisor, frequently appears in the poem. She addresses the army or people, warns them against a pending danger and gives helpful advice to heroes on her own initiative i.e. her function extends at the level of mortals as well. Homer makes obvious attempts to present to the fullest degree possible his own interpretation of relations between gods and mortals. In most cases, gods get in touch with humans through messengers. Zeus sends Iris to Ilion to see Priam. The messenger delivers to the king the Cronid's message to offer Achilles a gift, which would compel the hero to let him take Hector's corpse: "Zeus' messenger addressed Priam in a hardly audible (low) voice, and [Priam's] body started trembling" (*Il.* 24. 169-170).<sup>9</sup> *Iliad* abounds in the passages when the term Dio- aḡgel o- (Zeus' messenger) refers to Iris. However, in the poem, the goddess-messenger fulfills the function on her own initiative. When she wished to inform Helen on the cessation of the war and tell her only Paris and Menelaus were to meet in single combat, Iris appeared before her under the guise of Laodice, Priam's daughter: "Iris the messenger appeared before fair-haired Helen" (*Il.* 3, 121).<sup>10</sup>

Homeric epics also mention some of the compounds derived from the term aḡgel o-: metaḡgel o-, feudaḡgel o-, euḡgel ion.

The compound metaḡgel o-, is always used to refer to Iris.<sup>11</sup> Although the root of aḡgel o- is preceded with the prefix metaḡ the sense of the compound noun is not changed. Homer twice (23, 199, 15, 144) uses the term to refer to Iris in *Iliad*. "When she heard his prayers, the messenger rushed away with the wind" (*Il.* 23, 199).<sup>12</sup>

Remarkably enough, the compound metaḡgel o- is not mentioned by any other author after Homer.

The compound noun feudaḡgel o- means "a false messenger". *Iliad* mentions the term only once. "Away with you, swift Iris, to lord Poseidon and tell him all, be not a false messenger" (*Il.*, 15, 158-159).<sup>13</sup> Homer does not use the term to refer to Iris. To our belief, the poet intends to underline in general the existence of bearers of false information in the period. Later authors use

<sup>8</sup> eḡsq|on kai; to; tetuktai, of t aḡgel o" aiḡsima eiḡh/(*Il.* 15, 207).

<sup>9</sup> sth de para; Priamon Dio" aḡgel o", hḡde; proshuda tutqon fqegxamenh: ton de; tromo" eḡ labe guia: (*Il.* 24. 169-170).

<sup>10</sup> ḡri" d jauq jEl enh/leukwlenw/aḡgel o" hl qen (*Il.* 3, 121).

<sup>11</sup> Ebeling H., *Lexikon Homericum*, I Aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1885, 1076.

<sup>12</sup> aḡrawn aiḡbusa metaḡgel o" hl q jahemoisin (*Il.* 23, 199).

<sup>13</sup> bask jiḡi, ḡri tacea, Poseidawni aḡakti panta tad jaḡgeil ai, mhde; yeudaḡgel o- einai (*Il.* 15, 158-159).

the verb *feudaggel ew* derived from the noun. The verb means "to be a false messenger or a false angel". However, Homer does not mention the verb.

*Odyssey* mentions a derived compound *euaggel ion* (*euaggel ion dermoi eḡstw Od. 14, 152*). *wḡstw*, which denotes a thank-offering given to a messenger for good-tidings. The term has this very sense in the Homeric epic. In Attic dialect, the term was always used in plural<sup>14</sup> – *euaggel ia*, which gradually altered its meaning and it came to denote "good news", "delightful news" – the compound acquires a significant place in the Christian literature. The Christian Holy Scripture (the Gospel, the Acts of Apostles, the Epistles and the Revelation) are called *euaggel ia*.

In Homeric texts, another so-to-say "official envoy" is Hermes. If *Iliad* chiefly mentions Iris as Zeus' messenger, in *Odyssey* the duty is accomplished by Hermes and correspondingly, as the bearer of the function, Hermes is referred to as *aggel o~*: "Hermes, you are my messenger after all"<sup>15</sup> (*Od. 5, 29*).

Zeus sends Hermes as his "official envoy" to nymph Calypso. He is to inform the nymph about Zeus' will to let Odysseus leave the Island so that the hero could return home. Hermes' words clearly express his status and duty before Zeus. He says he pays Calypso a visit upon Zeus' will and talks generally about gods' pantheon, accentuating, however, Zeus' superiority. The passage once again emphasizes the power balance among the immortals; no one can change the Cronid's word. Both mortals and the immortals have to obey Zeus' will. Through emphasizing hierarchy among gods, Hermes attempts to persuade the nymph that Zeus' will must be executed so as to successfully accomplish his result-oriented mission. Although Calypso is not much delighted with Zeus' decision, she has to obey the will of the Supreme. Hermes, who is charged with mediation between the two immortals is referred to as *aggel o~*. Like that of Iris, Hermes' function as of a messenger extends at the level of mortals as well. Zeus sent Hermes as an envoy to Aegisthus. Hermes warned him not to murder Agamemnon as his heir would revenge (*Od.1. 35-43*).

By the time described in Homeric epics, Greeks believed gods interfered with mortals' lives. They used to inform humans of their will either through a messenger or a divine sign. However, sometimes the warning was so explicit that there was no need to explain it.<sup>16</sup> One of the divine signs is a dream

<sup>14</sup> Liddell H. G., Scott R., Jones H. St., McKenzie R., A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1940<sup>9</sup>, Supplement by E. A. Barber, Oxford, 1968; Revised Supplement by P. G. W. Glare, A. A. Thompson, 1996, 705.

<sup>15</sup> *Ermeia: su gar aute tart ja lla per aggel o~ eḡssi: (Od. 5, 29).*

<sup>16</sup> Gordeziani R., Greek Literature, v. I, Tbilisi, 2002, 103 (in Georgian).

(Oneiro-), which Zeus sends to a hero. Agamemnon sees a sinister dream sent by Zeus, where a messenger disguised as Nestor gives him advice to send Achaeans to the battle-field. He states he is Zeus' messenger (Dioṛ dev toi aḡgel o~ eijni *Il.* 2, 26) and is executing his will. The Cronid, who takes care of Agamemnon in the heaven as well, promises to help him take Troy. At the same time, Ossa the messenger called the army for resuming the struggle. In Homeric epics, the duties of Zeus' messenger is fulfilled by Ossa as well (Ossa Dioṛ aḡgel o~, *Il.* 2, 93; Ossa ek Dioṛ *Od.* 24, 413). She is an abstract goddess in the mythology represented as a traveling sound. She only spreads words among the army men and inspires them to fight. Ossa itself, in Attic oḡta h| means "a voice", "a word", "noise". Interestingly, Zeus' messenger appears in Homeric texts as an abstract creature and delivers Zeus' messages to people only with her voice. In certain cases, the duties of Zeus' messengers are fulfilled by other gods as well. Upon Zeus' directions, Thetis goes to Achilles and informs him of the Cronid's will to accept Priam's offering in return for Hector's body. It is very important that Zeus sends his mother in the capacity of his messenger (Dioṛ aḡgel o~) to the son of Peleus as well although the duty could have been accomplished by Zeus' "official messengers". In our opinion, Homer accentuates selection of a person to perform the duty as a guarantee for the successful outcome of the mission. The function of Zeus' messenger (Dioṛ aḡgel o~) is performed solely by gods; only immortals have the privilege to act so; only they are capable of fulfilling Zeus' mission. Thetis is not Zeus' "official messenger", neither does the mission specify her functional essence; however, being immortal she can become Zeus' messenger and enjoy the envoy's status. To our belief, this is why Homer refers to her as to aḡgel o~ in that episode. In *Iliad*, the duties of a messenger are performed by Athena as well. This happens when Athena takes the responsibility to deliver some information: "Athena the messenger came"<sup>17</sup> (*Il.* 11, 714). Through messenger Helios (aḡgel o~ Hlio~, *Od.* 8, 270) Hephaestus learns about Aphrodite's affair with Ares. The function of Apollo's messenger is performed by chorus who is also called aḡgel o~ ("The swift messenger of Apollo, *Od.* 15, 526).<sup>18</sup>

Interestingly, in several cases, the word aḡgel o~ is used in the sense of a messenger in general and implies a mortal bearer of news. "But the devoted messenger did not come to inform"<sup>19</sup> (*Il.* 22, 438). The passage refers to Andromache being informed about Hector's death.

<sup>17</sup> jaqhnh aḡgel o" hl qe (*Il.* 11, 714).

<sup>18</sup> kurko", japol lwo" tacu" aḡgel o" (*Od.* 15, 526).

<sup>19</sup> oujgar oḡ ti" ejthitumo" aḡgel o" eḡ qwn hggeile (*Il.* 22, 438).

Bearers of news are also called *kh̄rux*. The word *kh̄rux* means "a herald". There are several different opinions on the etymology of the term. The majority of scholars identify the root of the word as *kar*. Boisacq linked the etymology of the term *kh̄rux* to the verb *karkairw* ("buzz", "done").<sup>20</sup> According to him, the verb was composed as a result of the intensive reduplication of the root *kar*, which is of onomatopoeic (sound-imitating) origin.<sup>21</sup> In Sanskrit, *car-kar-ti* means "to mention through praise". According to Frisk, the Sanskrit word *kāru* ("a singer", "a poet") is identical to the Greek *karkairw*.<sup>22</sup> Chantraine also related the origin of the term *kh̄rux* to the Sanskrit *kāru* and assumed – *k-* could be expressive in the word.<sup>23</sup> The word *karuke* appears in Mycenaean (PY Fñ 187, Un 219),<sup>24</sup> while Dorian and Aeolian have *kh̄rux*. Scientific analysis reveals the Indo-European origin of the mentioned term itself.

It is interesting to trace how Homer understood and applied the term and what place the individuals with corresponding function held in the society. Heralds were gentle mortals who served kings or nobles. This honorary position was directly protected by Zeus. Heralds enjoyed high reputation in the society. Their chief accessory is was scepter, which made them distinguished from ordinary folk. It also served as the sign of their royal dignity, authority and high reputation. In past, a scepter was used to indicate social status and position.<sup>25</sup> The scepter of a messenger is often called the scepter of peace as well. The bearers of the scepter, as the judges of the assemblies and protectors of justice, called for public peace and gave them right to express their opinions only by pointing at them with the scepter or presenting them "this royal accessory". Later, in Athens the messengers of legal officers had the same functions, and afterwards the mission was committed to "Boule and the messengers of people" (*kh̄rux th̄- boul̄ h̄- kai; tou dh̄mou*),<sup>26</sup> which points to the gradual extension of the sphere of their service.

Detailed analysis of Homeric poems enables to single out the functions mortal messengers were in charge of. They were to spread information, call people for a public meeting or a struggle, maintain order when cases were discussed in agora, be at king's service and take part in the offering ritual.

<sup>20</sup> Boisacq E., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque, Paris, 1916, 451.

<sup>21</sup> Frisk H., Griesches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3 Bde, Heildeberg, 1960, 789.

<sup>22</sup> Frisk H., Griesches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3 Bde, Heildeberg, 1960, 845.

<sup>23</sup> Chantraine P., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque, Paris, Tome II, 1970, 527.

<sup>24</sup> Предметно-понятийный словарь греческого языка, Крито-Микенский период. Составители: В. П. Казанскене, Н. Н. Казанский, Ленинград, 1986, 126.

<sup>25</sup> Джек-Тресиддер, Словарь символов, Москва, 1999, 96.

<sup>26</sup> Adolf Kaegi, Griechisch Deutsch, Leipzig, 1981, 436.



The primary duty of a herald is to deliver or spread information. Heralds as bearers of news in general frequently appear in the poems. "The herald was sent to Odysseus' palace to tell the news to sensible Penelope"<sup>27</sup> (*Od.* 16, 328-329).

Mortal heralds, in fact, have the function of mediators between the king and people. They are charged with the mission by the king himself and that is why they enjoy high reputation in the society. The heralds spread information on the start of a war and invite people to assemblies. In these cases, they are authorized to make public the will and order of the Master. "At once called Agamemnon the loud-voiced heralds, so that they inform the long-haired Achaeans about the struggle"<sup>28</sup> (*Il.* 2, 442-444).

After Zeus sent the sinister dream to Agamemnon, the king, immediately upon waking up, ordered heralds to gather the Achaean army. The heralds fulfilled the order at a short notice. They never reveal the cause for the assembly at the King's palace as it is not their duty. Agamemnon himself says it when addressing the gathered army. It happens after the nine shouting heralds (εἰρηὰ κήρυκε- βοωνῆτε-) pacify the excited army. Along with spreading information, heralds have other social functions as well. They are charged with keeping order during case discussions at the assemblies or in agora. Achilles' shield made by Hephaestus bears the following scene: two men argue about the compensation money for a murder. One of them claims to have completely covered the amount while the other denies the fact. The people around are spilt into two. Remarkably, the process is supervised by heralds. They pacify the exited parties i.e. maintain order in agora and at the same time present their scepter to either of the parties to give them opportunity for self-defense or for making a statement. Homeric poems normally do not name the executers of the above mentioned duties and presents them as king's heralds in general. In one of the episodes in *Iliad* (2, 280), Athena, in the shape of a herald calls people for piece. In this case, the goddess acts as a herald for the mortal king on her own initiative. Apollo undertakes the same function. He addresses Eneas with the words of compassion disguised as Periphas, a former herald (*Il.* 17, 324). The term κήρυξ is also applied to Hermes who executes the mission of Zeus' herald. Hermes is the protector of heroes and the guide of souls. Homer applies to him the following epithets: πομπή- ("a guide", "a guard", *Il.* 24, 153, 182, 437, 416) or ὀδοίπορος- ("a companion", "a guide", *Il.* 24, 375; *Od.* 11, 626), which convey the exact content of the mentioned duties.

<sup>27</sup> აუტარ κήρυκα προῆσαν δόμον εἰς Ὀδυσσο-,  
 ἄγγελ ἰὼν εἰρήντα περὶ φρόνι Πηνελόπειν (*Od.* 16, 328-329).

<sup>28</sup> αὐτίκα κήρυκῆσι λίγυφῶγγοῖσι κελεῦσε  
 κήρυξ ἰσχυρὸν δὲ κάρη κομώντα" Ἰαχαιοὺς" (*Il.* 2, 442-444).

Apart from "common" heralds who are in charge of spreading information, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* also mention "official" heralds. Like the supreme god, the king never does any duty, including ambassadorial one, but for giving orders and supervision.

*Odyssey* frequently mentions Medon, a herald of Penelope's suitors. Although not an "official herald" of the Queen of Ithaca, he chiefly informs her of all on his own will. In fact, it was his devoted service that rescued him from Odysseus' rage on his return home. Medon overheard the suitors talk, who intended to set an ambush to murder Telemachus on his way to find something out about Odysseus. He immediately rushed to the palace to tell Penelope about the suitors' evil intention. "Medon the herald informed [Penelope] on the agreement between them [the suitors] in the palace court"<sup>29</sup> (*Od.* 4, 676-677).

Medon informs the queen and leaves the palace. In fact, he only gives the information, while advice was offered by devoted Euryclea. Medon is called *kh̄rux*. Correspondingly, Medon's duty as of *kh̄rux* is only to deliver information. The functions of the immortal messengers (*αγγελοι*) are different. They frequently appear as kind advisors, whose advice is considered even by gods. A herald's speech, in terms of its length, is often short and informative, while the function of an immortal messenger surpasses the limits of a mere informer. The latter is charged with a special mission by Zeus and correspondingly, his / her speech reflects his / her duties. The immortal messenger applies both logics and emotional impact to reach the aim and execute Zeus' will on the earth, while mortal heralds do not have the mission to persuade. They hardly ever express their own position, try to keep neutral, but are always on the guard of the king's interests as the devoted servants of the state. So, there is quite a difference between the functional implications of heralds called *kh̄rux* and "Zeus' messengers" (*Διο- αγγελο-*), which is another proof of the differentiated presentation of messengers' diversified functions and inner hierarchy in Homeric poems.

It is interesting to consider such characters as Talthybius, Eurybates and Idaeus – king's "official" heralds in Homeric poems. According to Herodotus, Talthybius is considered protector of heralds in the Greek mythology. Even a temple was erected in Sparta in his honour.<sup>30</sup> His descendents are called Talthybiades (*Ταλκυβιάδαι*).<sup>31</sup> They succeed to the position of an ambassa-

<sup>29</sup> *kh̄rux gar oileipe Medwn, of- epeute to boul a-  
aui h- εκτο- εμν: oild jehdoqi mhtin uffainon.* (*Od.* 4, 676-677).

<sup>30</sup> Мифы народов мира, Энциклопедия, т.2, Москва, 2001, 491.

<sup>31</sup> Friedrich Lübkers Reallexikon des Klassischen Altertums, J.Geffcken und E.Ziebarth, Berlin 1914, 1010.

dor and regard Talhybius as their ancestor. Eurybates is Odysseus' private herald who also executes Agamemnon's will in the Trojan War. He is not good-looking but is highly appreciated owing to his reason.<sup>32</sup> Idaeus serves Priam, king of Troy.

The heralds have special functions in Homeric epics; they execute king's orders and participate in the offering rituals. At the same time, they are kings' companions in the situations of paramount importance. Although they hold honorary position and enjoy high reputation in the society, neither of them is sent to the other party with the intention to persuade. In Song I, *Iliad*, Agamemnon sends Talhybius and Eurybates to Achilles for Briseis. The king is self-confident and is certain the hero will obey his will. The heralds are not charged with the mission to persuade; they only are to execute Agamemnon's will while the persuasive mission is carried by well-known individuals who in fact act as envoys in critical situations. Remarkably, Odysseus, Phoenix and Aias are delegated to Achilles in the capacity of "official envoys". Homer calls them κλητοί ("the shosen") (*Il.* IX, 165). Each of the three selected has his own particular function. Therefore, each of them conducts negotiations in a different direction. The delegation was accompanied with two heralds – Eurybates and Odys, who are called κήρυξ. The following question requires proper consideration: What place do they hold among the delegates and what are their functions in the mission? The heralds do not participate in talks with Achilles but have other duties. Their function is demonstrated at a special ritual performed by particular individuals. It is the so-called "purification" ritual performed before initiating any work. It is Eurybates and Odys who perform the ritual while being called κήρυξ. Although the term ἀγγελό- chiefly refers to immortal messengers of the supreme god, the poet calls Talhybius, Eurybates and Idaeus, who in fact are heralds, "the messengers of gods and men"<sup>33</sup> (*Il.* 1, 334; 7, 274). We should bear in mind that these heralds never accomplish their duties at the level of the immortals. Homer distinguishes heralds according to their responsibilities and missions. Among the mortal heralds mentioned in the poem Talhybius, Eurybates and Idaeus have specific functions and enjoy special respect, which is testified by the fact that Homer refers to them with the term ἀγγελό- as well. So, as early as Homeric times, we may conclude that the terms ἀγγελό- and κήρυξ had their respective senses and functional implications directly related to the duties of ambassadors, and in particular, of messengers. The poem distinctly differentiates the

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<sup>32</sup> Roscher W.H., Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie, Leipzig, 1884-1890, 1420.

<sup>33</sup> καίρετε, κήρυκε-, Διο- ἀγγελοὶ ἤδε; καὶ ἀδρῶν, –  
(I welcome you, heralds, messengers of gods and men) (*Il.* 1, 334).

functions of messengers expressed through using different terms. Homer chiefly uses the term *aggelō-* to refer to the messengers who directly serve Zeus and execute his will, which determines their functional essence. Another important point to mention is that Zeus' messengers are the immortals only and the accomplishment of the mission is their privilege. Their functions extend at the level of gods as well as men. Along with information delivery, their duties also include persuasion. As concerns mortal heralds, they are merely bearers of news and are never delegated with the purpose of persuasion. Their responsibilities never extend at the level of the immortals. They directly serve the king. Unlike immortal messengers, along with disseminating information, they are charged with other functions as well – they maintain order in agora when cases are discussed and participate in offering rituals. The two terms to denote messengers have different implications to quite a remarkable degree. However, the common mission that unites them and makes them synonymous is that of delivering or spreading information. It is their primary duty at both levels – of men and gods.

It should be noted that in the course of time, the semantics of the term *aggelō-* altered. Already in the antiquity it was enriched with additional senses while in Christianity it acquired a special meaning. Since the term denoted a bearer of news at the level of gods already in the antiquity, and was used by Homer to refer to Zeus' messengers (*Diō- aggelō-*), we may presume that the word with such a meaning came to denote "the Lord's messenger". An angel is an ethereal, unbodied mediator between God and humans. The New Testament makes its significant role for the human world even more conspicuous and precise. It frequently mentions *aggelō- kuriou* (God's messenger, the angel of the Lord), who declares God's will on the earth.

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## OID'S POLYPHONIC CHARACTER AND HIS FAILURE

One of the famous representatives of the "Golden Youth", its heart and soul – Publius Ovidius Naso was highly gifted. He was handsome, quite well-off, he never served as an official and so, he could, as Quintilianus says, "Freely use his gift"<sup>1</sup> and unlimited time. Ovid was among the recognized poets: Tibullus, Propertius, despite the difference in age-Horace. Ovid aspired to knowledge at rhetorical schools in Rome. It taught him the rhetorical-declamatory style. At the same time he was well accepted among the relatives of Princes, even in the circle of his granddaughter – Julia. But, though the poet did not lose the opportunity to sing Augustus' praises, he was not a preacher of a new regime, as Virgil – the apologist of the politics of Octavius, was. The latter dedicated his poetic talent to the works of Octavius, as the interpretation of the realization of the great historic mission and saw the prosperity of Rome, called the "Golden Century" in the revival of the best traditions of the remote past. When we speak about Ovid, beside Virgil, we must remember the second poet – Horace, but conditionally called of an official tendency. The talented poet did not support Augustus willingly, but from time to time, he praised him, notwithstanding his republican past. Virgil, like Horace, was a safe figure for Princes.

Like world literature and literary criticism, Russian classical literature was extremely well familiar with the talented representatives of Augustus epoch and often referred to it giving certain evaluation. The famous poet – Pushkin called Horace a "clever hypocrite", a "singer of Augustus" and he liked his poetry so much, that he translated his ode that was dedicated to Pompeus Varus. Prominent critic N. Chernishevski estimates him as a "form" poet, "fastidious", but, at the same time, he rejects "submission".<sup>2</sup> If we estimate the

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<sup>1</sup> Quintilianus. *The Institutio Oratoria*, 90, X.

<sup>2</sup> N. Chernishevski. *Complete works*. V. IV, 508 (In the Russian language).

life of Ovid from the retrospective point of view, we can conclude, that unlike the above – mentioned "pen brothers", he was a great thinker and a real interpreter of the events. He confronts the norms of life made by Princes and by means of his great talent he shows his own opinion about the amorous relations between people. Ovid managed to make the main motives of his works common to mankind that made the readers the images of the society. We must also mention that he brought not serious motives, flippant, thoughtless, doltish characters in his poetry. So, he rejects moral purity, the rules of pure, immaculate life and confronts to Princes. That was why the relations between Augustus and Ovid ended in such a tragic way for the latter. Publius Ovidius Naso as Ovidius Drimba calls him remained "the poet of Rome and Tomis"<sup>3</sup> in the memory of posterity. Here is meant, that Octavius Augustus exiled him to the shore of the Black Sea, to far cold Tomis. The last fact became an actual problem for scientists and researchers of all the epochs. The certain part of mankind has had a desire to solve this item for a long time and wants to find those real reasons that made Augustus get rid of the dangerous poet and punish him. The research on this theme made by Iamze Gagua in the Georgian language was added<sup>4</sup> to the scientific researches published in different countries. To her mind, the reason for Ovid's exile and punishment was his poems. Many researchers of classical philology have the same opinions and not only representatives of the researchers, but also those poets, who admire the Roman poet and regret his exile. Sufficient to mention Alexander Pushkin, who speaks about Ovidius Naso with honour. In "Evgeni Onegin" he says that the Roman poet was opposed<sup>5</sup> because of his frivolous poems. Pushkin's hero – Evgeni, besides other knowledge, knew Roman poetry; he was a worshipper of Ovid "tender passion". Pushkin says that Ovid ended his life so terribly because of the description of such kind of feelings. We must mention that, unlike Cicero, who suffered the betrayal of Augustus terribly and even thought to enter his palace secretly and commit suicide to provoke the ghosts of vengeance<sup>6</sup> against Princes, Ovid accused only himself. We do not meet a reproach towards the Emperor anywhere. Though he was taken away from the marvellous society, excellent people.

It is known, that Ovid confessed the credo of his life: we always want something forbidden. If we look through his life and poetic works superficially, we shall see that his ideas had their rhythm in this echo of his soul, i.e.

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<sup>3</sup> Ovidius Drimba. Ovid a poet of Rome and Tomis, Bucharest, 1967 (In the Russian language).

<sup>4</sup> I. Gagua. Ambivalent in the works of Ovidius and the politics of Augustus. Doctoral dissertation (manuscript), Tbilisi, 2004 (In the Georgian language).

<sup>5</sup> A. Pushkin. Evgeni Onegin, chapter VIII (In the Russian language).

<sup>6</sup> S. Utchenko. Cicero and his time. Moscow, 1972, 351 (In the Russian language).

wanting something forbidden, what was unacceptable for the regime of Octavius. It seems that Ovid did not know with whom he had to do. Even Cicero, oppressed by Octavius, calls him "divine". The senate presented Octavius with an honorable name – "Augustus", that comes from the verb "Augere" and means "raised by the Gods", "bringing kindness for those who praised their government".

We must mention that Augustus, unlike Ovid was brought up in a very strict atmosphere and under constant attention.<sup>7</sup> Another circumstance must be taken into consideration, as Plutarch says, the fame of Ceasar Gaius Julius, even of the dead one, helped his friends greatly, and those who became the inheritors of his name, turned from weak boys into the first Romans.<sup>8</sup> The owner of the famous name, taken from the inheritance, having endured so much misfortune, could not stand any resistance from anybody, even from popular Ovid. It is natural, that the Emperor had pretension towards him. In "Divine Augustus' matters" Octavius tells us, that he gathered the army by his decision and own sources. It brought freedom to his government, that was in the hands of conspiratorial gangs.<sup>9</sup>

Augustus tried to behave properly and at the some time modestly. He wanted to return for spoilt Rome by luxury the morality and image of the old Republic. He issued the rules to strengthen the family and root out immorality, dissoluteness. As it is known, he did not spare even the members of his family and spread the rules on them. Of course Ovid could not survive from his rage. I do not think, it is right, when M. Schanz talks about the motive of incest and brings Ovid in this context.<sup>10</sup>

Besides dominating challenging character of love motive in his poetry I think, one of the main reasons for the poet's exile must be historical. It is a fact, the reason for Naso's exile remains the secret of the history of Rome and the white spots in the history of multinational world's people, we must discuss it not only in the context of the works of the poet, but also by foreseeing his encirclement.

It becomes more interesting and real, if we take into consideration the fact, that Ovid mentions the reason for his exile nowhere. We can suppose everything from the analysis of his works. If the poet, at the beginning of "Tristia"<sup>11</sup> says, he was punished because of his poems, then he talks about

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<sup>7</sup> Nicolas Damascius. About the life of Augustus and his up-bringing, 1960, № 4, 114, IV.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, Brutus, L VII (IV).

<sup>9</sup> The affairs of divine Augustus, edited by S. Utchenko, Moscow, 1962, P. 527 (In the Russian language).

<sup>10</sup> Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur, von M.Schanz, München, 1911, VIII, II, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ovid, Tristia, II, 7.

the accident, that brought him much harm.<sup>12</sup> In the second chapter he claims that the accident was the reason for his punishment.<sup>13</sup> In the "Letters from Ponto" he doubts whether to name or not the reasons of his mistake,<sup>14</sup> but fear makes him withdraw, as he wants to avoid the rage of Princeps and he leaves the possibility of pardoning him. When speaking about the poet, another thing remains impenetrable and unsolved, there was a serious, important reason, that made Ovid's fate turn backwards and I want to mention one of the events of Ovid up-to-date epoch. We must stress not only the help of Julia in love affairs by the poet, who unlike Augustus, saw the moral norms differently, but also that secret conspiracy, which meant to make Agrippa Postumus free. If we pay attention to that fact, how carefully Ovid handles the possibility of revealing the secret, we can conclude, that the reason for his exile is connected with the name of Agrippa Postumus. The reason for making this matter confidential and keeping it for a long time, becomes clear. The mystification of the exile reason makes me think about the above-mentioned circumstance. The history has brought us the information, that Augustus thought about reconciling with his grandson. If it had happened Ovid would have had opportunity to come back to Rome. In fact, there was no accusation of the poet, made by the Emperor, nothing threatened his life, and nobody touched his property.

Michael von Albrecht expresses the following viewpoints about the reasons for Ovid's exile: "Our poet claims that the reason is generally known to everybody, but cannot be declared. He hints that he has seen something forbidden – it is not explicit whether he means Julia Junior's lovemaking or his attempt to make Agrippa Postum heir of Augustus' throne".<sup>15</sup>

We can, therefore, conclude that the scholar does not give preference to either of his presumed reasons.

So, discussing the events connected with Publius Ovidius Naso this way, gives us the opportunity to make sure, how closely interconnected are the historic and literature facts and a man whatever great person he is, is a toy in the hands of the omnipotent fate. To confirm the fact that Ovid is great, it is enough to remember the words of academician A.Losev: "Ovid together with Homer, is the greatest poet of all times, who represents the main source of acquainting wide society with antique mythology".<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> idid, II, 89.

<sup>13</sup> idid, II, 122.

<sup>14</sup> *Epistolae ex Ponto*, II, 2, 55.

<sup>15</sup> М. фон Альбрехт. *История римской литературы*. Перевод с немецкого А. И. Любжина. Москва, 2002, 863.

<sup>16</sup> A. Losev, G. Sonkina, A. Takho-Godi, N. Timofeeva, N. Cherjomukhina. *The Antique Literature*. Moscow, 1963, 308 (In the Russian language).



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## DIE GESCHICHTE DER ÜBERSETZUNG DER GEORGISCHEN BIBEL

(Kurzer Überblick)

Den Überblick in der Textgeschichte der georgischen Bibel möchte ich mit einer kurzen, für den christlichen Osten selbstverständlichen Bemerkung beginnen: Christentum ist eine Religion, die mit dem Schrifttum verbunden ist und darum darf man annehmen, dass auf die Einführung des christlichen Glaubens schnell die Übersetzung der Heiligen Schrift folgte. Aufgrund dieser These ist es angebracht, die Anfänge der georgischen Bibelübersetzung im Kontext des historischen Hintergrunds zu beleuchten.

Zur Staatsreligion wurde der christliche Glaube in Georgien (im Osten – Iberien und im Westen – Egrisi) im ersten Drittel des 4. Jahrhunderts erhoben. Es ist bekannt, dass die zwei Bischöfe von Egrisi, Stratophilos Pituntos und Domnus Trapezuntos, schon am Konzil in Nicea 325 teilgenommen haben.<sup>1</sup> Nach Angaben georgischer<sup>2</sup> und byzantinischer<sup>3</sup> Quellen wurde in Georgien jedoch das Wort Gottes viel früher, nämlich schon von den heiligen Aposteln Andreas, Simonos von Kananitas und Matthathas gepredigt.

Die konkreten Angaben über die georgischen Bibelübersetzungen findet man in georgischen und byzantinischen historischen und literarischen Quellen. Als älteste gilt die Vita des Petrus der Hiberer, des Bischofs von Maium, aus dem Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts. Sie berichtet, dass Petrus, der junge Prinz, bevor er nach Konstantinopel fuhr (421) und bevor er Griechisch und

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<sup>1</sup> Patrum Niceanorum nomina latine, graece, coptice, syriace, arabice, armenice. Sociata opera ed. H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz. Lipsiae 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Leonti Mroweli (11. Jh.), Ephrem Mcire (11. Jh.), Akten der Ruisi-Urbnisi Konzil (1103).

<sup>3</sup> Siehe Michel Tamarati, L' Eglise georgienne, Rome 1910, 120-130 und Epiphanius Monachus PG CXX, col. 221, sofromi Tillemont, Memoires pour serviz a l'histoire ecclesiastique" Paris, 1701, t.I, p.319, Nicetas Paphlago PG CV col. 64.

Syrisch gelernt hatte, also solange er nur georgisch sprach, bereits die ganze Schrift studiert hatte.<sup>4</sup>

Nach den Angaben des georgischen Chronikschreibers, Juanscher, gab es in der Mitte des gleichen 5. Jahrhunderts im ostgeorgischen Königreich Schriftgelehrte, die Sagducht, der jungen Gemahlin des iberischen Königs Mirdat, der Tochter des persischen Oberfürsten, das Evangelium erklärten.<sup>5</sup> Es ist weiterhin überliefert, dass etwas später ihr Sohn, der König Wachtang Gorgasali, einen Evangeliencodex geschmückt hat.

Das erste georgische Originalwerk "Martyrium von der heiligen Schuschanik", das auf Georgisch als nicht revidierte Fassung überliefert ist, ist schon in geschliffener theologischer Sprache geschrieben, voll von biblischen Reminiszenzen und Zitaten aus dem Neuen (u.a. auch aus der Apokalypse) und dem Alten Testament (z. B. Genesis, Josua, 3. Königen). Die Helden des Martyriums lesen das Evangelium, Apostel (die Apostelgeschichte und Apostelbriefe) und hundertfünfzig Psalmen.

Wenn man von den Anfängen der georgischen Bibelübersetzung spricht, ist der Kolophon des Heiligen Sabas, des Gründers der großen Laura in Jerusalem, besonders zu erwähnen: Sabas verbietet den Iberern und Syrern den Gottesdienst in ihrer eigenen Sprache abzuhalten und erlaubt ihnen nur für Stundengebet, das Mittagsgebet, die Apostel und das Evangelium vorzulesen.<sup>6</sup> Daraus kann man schließen, dass schon am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts zahlreiche Texte des Neuen und Alten Testaments existierten, die man während des Stundengebets las.

Die indirekten Zeugnisse lassen uns also vermuten, dass am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts die Bibel, bzw. einzelne Teile vom Alten und Neuen Testament, auf Georgisch schon existierten. Was die direkten Zeugnisse – die georgischen Bibelhandschriften – betrifft, so sind sie als Palimpsestfragmente aus dem 5.-7. Jahrhundert überliefert. Unter den entzifferten Fragmenten sind neben größeren Teilen des Tetraevangeliums Abschnitte aus folgenden alttestamentlichen Büchern überliefert: Genesis, Exodus, Numeri, Deuteronomium,

<sup>4</sup> "მცირედთა ჟამთა დასწავა ყოველივე წერილი, გულისკმისყოფით აღმოკითხავნ და იწუროთბ დღე და ღამე" ქართლის ცხოვრება, I, S. 132-135; Ruphinus, In der Syrischen Übersetzung siehe Raabe, Petrus der Iberer, herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. Raabe, Leipzig, 1895). Siehe K. Kekelize, ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია, I, 411.

<sup>5</sup> "გამოკითხა სჯული ქრისტესი: რამეთუ ქმარმან მისმან მოჰკუარნა კაცნი სჯულისა მეცხვიერნი, და ჟთარგმანეს სახარება უფლისა ჩუენისა იესო ქრისტესი", ქართლის ცხოვრება, I, S. 142; Siehe K. Kekelize, ibid. S. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Μη ἔχειν δὲ ἔξωσιαν μήτε τοὺς Ἰβήρης, μήτε τοὺς Σύρους λειτουργεῖν τελείαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ συναθροισζομένοις ἐν αὐτοῖς ψάλλειν τὰς ᾠρας καὶ τὰ τυπικά, ἀναγινώσκειν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος τῶν θείων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων, Siehe Kekelidze, I, 38-39.

Richter, Josua, Chronik I und II, Sprüche Salomos, Jeremia, Jesaja und, was besonders zu erwähnen ist, da die Existenz dieses nichtkanonischen Buches die Existenz des vollendeten Kanons auf Georgisch voraussetzt aus dem apokryphen Buch Esra I.

Mehr zu dem Problem der Anfänge der georgischen Bibel können uns weder direkte noch indirekte Quellen verraten. Wir wissen nicht, ob die ersten Übersetzungen durch einen oder mehrere Übersetzer entstanden sind, ob die Entstehung kurze Zeit oder mehrere Jahrzehnte bzw. Jahrhunderte gedauert hat, ob sie mit liturgischen Bedürfnissen verknüpft war oder unabhängig von den Lektionartexten stattgefunden hat. Es fehlen uns die Kenntnisse über den ersten Übersetzer, über den Übersetzungsort, über die Initiatoren und Betreuer solch eines bedeutenden Ereignisses. Umstritten ist auch die Frage nach der Vorlage der georgischen Übersetzung. Nähere Kenntnisse zu diesen Fragen kann man nur durch skrupulöse textkritische Forschungen gewinnen. Bis das geschehen ist, wird die Erforschung der Geschichte der georgischen Bibel auf der Ebene der oberflächlichen Interpretationen der georgischen Geschichte und Lexika verbleiben.<sup>7</sup>

Die bisherigen textkritischen Untersuchungen führen zu dem Ergebnis, dass jede Handschrift und jedes Buch einzeln zu betrachten ist.

Bis zu uns überlieferte vollständige Bibeltexte stellen eine Folge der mannigfaltigen Überarbeitungen dar. Diese wurden in unterschiedlichen Richtungen und nach unterschiedlichen Kriterien unternommen: der Text wurde mit unterschiedlichen anderssprachigen und georgischen Vorlagen verglichen, man hat versucht, ihn mit der Exegetik in Übereinstimmung zu bringen, es wurden stilistische und sprach-lexikalische Glättungen unternommen. Die Schreiber haben ebenfalls – mit oder ohne Absicht – für Änderungen gesorgt. All das ist so eng miteinander verbunden, dass es schwer fällt, die chronologischen Schichten voneinander zu trennen, ursprüngliche Textarten zu bestimmen und die Rezensenten und deren Rezensierungsprinzipien zu erkennen. Die geringe Anzahl der georgischen Bibelhandschriften, ihre späte Entstehungszeit, die noch nicht festgelegten Kriterien für die georgische Bibeltextkritik, das Fehlen von geeigneten historischen Quellen für die Erstellung eines Gesamtbildes der Übersetzungs- und Textgeschichte erschweren eine Trennung der Rezensionsschichten, ihre Datierung und die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Gestalt der Übersetzung.

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<sup>7</sup> Siehe ა. ხარანაული, ბიბლიის ქართული თარგმანების დედანი და კვლევის მეთოდოლოგიური პრობლემები, გელათის მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის ჟურნალი, 2003, 9, 26-37; A. Kharanauli, Die Vorlage der georgischen Bibelübersetzungen und die methodischen Probleme, in: Societas Caecasiologica Europaea, Tenth International Colloquium, Meeting Handbook, München, 31.

Aus all diesen Gründen ist es offensichtlich, dass bei der textkritischen Untersuchung der georgischen Übersetzung, bei der Erforschung ihrer Entstehung, ihrer Textgeschichte und des Charakters der Übersetzung, den uns überlieferten ältesten Zeugen aus dem 5.-7. Jh., eine besondere Bedeutung zukommt. Die erwähnten Fragmente gehören den sog. *Xanmeti-Texten* an, d.h. Texten, in denen für die Bezeichnung von bestimmten grammatischen Kategorien das Präfix *x-* gebraucht wird, was auf das hohe Alter der Überlieferung hinweist.

Diese Hss. sind allein schon aufgrund ihres Alters deshalb besonders wichtig, weil sie nicht nur besonders genaue, sondern, in den meisten Fällen, auch nicht rezensierte, von späteren Überarbeitungen und sprachlichen Glättungen noch verschonte Übersetzungen bieten. Deshalb sind sie von großer Wichtigkeit auch für die Septuaginta-Textkritik. Man muss aber auch in diesem Fall differenziert vorgehen: Es ist deutlich, dass all diese Hss. nicht eine Etappe der Textentwicklung darstellen. Vielmehr scheinen sie aus verschiedenen Texttraditionen alttestamentlicher Bücher zu stammen und entfernen sich auf unterschiedliche Weise von ihrer georgischen Vorlage.

Die auffälligste und bedeutendste innerhalb dieser Handschriften ist der Text von Esdra 1. Das Fragment ist die untere Schrift eines Palimpsestes (Georg. 2.) und ist in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt.<sup>8</sup> Es ist eindeutig nachweisbar, dass als Vorlage eine griechische Handschrift der lukianischen Rezension<sup>9</sup> benutzt und ihr treu gefolgt wurde. Angesichts dessen, dass die lukianische Rezension nur in zwei griechischen Handschriften überliefert ist und dass diese mindestens fünf Jahrhunderte jünger sind als die georgischen Handschriften, ist die Bedeutung der Übersetzung für die Herstellung der ursprünglichen Form der Vorlage und ihre spätere Entwicklung besonders wichtig. Die von den vorhandenen lukianischen Hss. abweichenden georgischen Lesarten stammen in den meisten Fällen von einer lukianischen Vorlage, die viel älter zu datieren ist, als die anderen überlieferten lukianischen Zeugnisse. Außerdem kann man in einigen Fällen vermuten, dass es sich bei der in der georgischen Übersetzung überlieferten Lesart um eine genuinlukianische Variante handelt. Anhand dessen kann man erstens in konkreten Fällen die Form der griechischen Hs. bestimmen, welche dem Georgischen als Vorlage diente und zweitens die ursprüngliche lukianische Lesart rekon-

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<sup>8</sup> veröffentlicht in J. N. BIRDSALL, Palimpsest Fragments of a Khanmeti Georgian Version of I Esdras, in *Le Muséon*, LXXXV (1972), 1-2, S. 97-105.

<sup>9</sup> *Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, vol. VIII/1 *Esdrae Liber I*, ed. R. Hanhart, Göttingen.

struieren, sowie drittens, im Allgemeinen, die Geschichte der lukianischen Rezension darstellen.<sup>10</sup>

Ein anderer wichtiger Zeuge der lukianischen Rezension ist das Fragment von Jesaja, untere Schicht eines Palimpsestes, die im Handschrifteninstitut Tbilisi aufbewahrt ist.<sup>11</sup> Die lukianische Rezension des Jesaja ist von Ziegler<sup>12</sup> nach mehreren Minuskel-Hss. bestimmt, davon sind die ältesten Hss. ins 10.-11. Jh. datiert. Das georgische Jesaja-Fragment stammt aus dem 5.-6. Jh. Die Übersetzung folgt ziemlich genau ihrer lukianischen Vorlage. Diese Vorlage scheint sich aber von den überlieferten Lukianhandschriften unterschieden zu haben. Wenn die lukianischen Hss. sich voneinander trennen, folgt die Xanmeti-Hs. mal der einen, mal der anderen Untergruppe. Ebenfalls überliefert sie in einigen Fällen Varianten, die nur von einzelnen Hss. aus den lukianischen Untergruppen bezeugt sind. Interessantes Merkmal dieser Vorlage ist, dass sie viele in lukianischen Hss. überlieferte Zusätze auslässt. Anders als im Falle von Esdra 1. besteht die Wichtigkeit der alten georgischen Hs. darin, voneinander abweichende und in Untergruppen gespaltete Vielfalt der lukianischen Hss. geschichtlich zu ordnen. Das georgische Fragment könnte man also als eine frühere Zwischenstufe in der Entwicklung der lukianischen Rezension darstellen und als eines von den Kriterien für die Bewertung der griechischen lukianischen Hss. benutzen.

Wenn man Anfängen der Bibelübersetzungen spricht, vermutet man normalerweise, dass die Übersetzung an einem Ort und von einer Gruppe der dafür bestimmten Leute angefertigt wurde, man sollte eine Vorlage aus einer bestimmten textuellen Tradition verwendet und mit der gleichen Übersetzungstechnik gearbeitet haben. Diese Vermutung sollte, wenn nicht für die ganze Bibel, dann mindestens für einzelne Textgruppen stimmen, wie z. B. Oktateuch, Propheten etc. Für den Fall, dass man annähme, die Xanmeti-Fragmente würden die erste Übersetzung überliefern, bestätigen sie diese Vermutung nicht.

Im Unterschied zu Xanmeti-Jesaja, weicht das Xanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia<sup>13</sup> von der lukianischen Rezension ab und folgt der hexaplarischen.

<sup>10</sup> Siehe A. Kharanauli, Ein Chanmeti-Fragment der georgischen Übersetzung von Esdra I (Fragen der Authentizität, Vorlage und Übersetzungstechnik), *Le Muséon*, 2002/3-4, S. 431-465.

<sup>11</sup> ქაჯაია დ. ერთი წარმოშობის ორი პალიმფსესტის შესახებ, *მრავალთავი III*, 1973, S. 52-57; დ. ქაჯაია, Ханметные палимпсесты, проблемы палеографии и кодологии в СССР, *Наука*, 1974, S. 409-427.

<sup>12</sup> *Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, vol. XIV, *Isaias*, ed. Joseph Ziegler, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1. Aufl. 1939, 3. Aufl. 1983.

<sup>13</sup> Veröffentlicht von ი. ჯავახიშვილი, ახლად აღმოჩენილი უძველესი ქართული ხელნაწერები და მათი მნიშვნელობა მეცნიერებისათვის, *ქართული პალეოგრაფიკა*, 1974, S. 1-10.

Die Hauptgruppe der hexaplarischen Rezension ist von dem Herausgeber, J. Ziegler,<sup>14</sup> hauptsächlich durch die griechische Hs. 88 aus dem 10. Jh. und die sog. Syrohexapla bestimmt. Ein im 6. Jh. datiertes georgisches Fragment, die untere Schrift eines Palimpsestes, wurde in der Kairoer Geniza entdeckt und ist in Oxford (Bodleian Library) und Cambridge (Cambridge University Library) aufbewahrt. Der Xanmeti-Text bietet nur selten Lesarten, die von den erhaltenen hexaplarischen Quellen abweichen und als ältestes hexaplarisches Zeugnis bestätigt es die hexaplarischen Lesarten gegenüber den lukianischen.<sup>15</sup>

Die Übersetzung, die in diesen Texten überliefert ist, ist schwer mit einem Wort zu charakterisieren: einerseits folgt sie ihrer Vorlage sehr genau, d.h. sie ist nicht nur sinngemäß richtig, sondern auch formell: der Übersetzer versucht die Vorlage nuanciert genau wiederzugeben, z. B. die dem Griechischen entsprechenden Präpositionen zu benutzen, feste lexikalische Äquivalente zu behalten, für das Georgische nicht übliche Infinitive und partizipiale Konstruktionen nachzubilden, die Komposita mit Komposita wiederzugeben. Er ist dabei aber nicht immer konsequent: neben den für die georgische Sprache fremden gräzistischen, bzw. Hebreistischen Ausdrücken kommen für die Übersetzungssprache charakteristische Ausdrücke vor, also Nebensätze neben infiniten Konstruktionen. Einmal benutzt er gleiche lexikalische Äquivalente, die er vorher schon benutzt hat, zum anderen Mal wählt er ein Wort nach dem Kontext; einmal werden Neologismen nach dem Griechischen gebildet, einmal übersetzt er Komposita ihrem Sinne nach. Ebenso ist es mit der Wiedergabe der Idiome: in manchen Fällen gibt er jedes Segment einzeln wieder, in anderen findet man einen dem Sinn entsprechenden Ausdruck im Georgischen. Der Übersetzer ist noch auf der Suche nach Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten, bei dem Versuch, die georgische Sprache der "Bibelsprache" anzupassen. Man muss aber bei der allgemeinen Charakterisierung auch die Differenzen zwischen den Hss. in den Augen behalten. Z. B. stellt Jesaja eine viel genauere Übersetzung dar als Jeremia. Allerdings kann man den nach den Un-

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ფია, ივ. ჯავახიშვილის შრომები, IX, თბილისი, 1996, S. 304-305; ა. შანიძე, ხანმეტი იერემიას კემბრიჯული ნაწიკვებები: ენიმკის მონამე, II, ნაკ. I, 1937, S. 36-39; Robert P. Blake, Catalogue of the georgian manuscripts in the cambridge university library, Khanmeti Palimpsest Fragments of the Old Georgian Version of Jeremiah, Harvard Theological Review, vol. XXV, July, 1932, #3, S. 207-272; J. Molitor, Monumenta Iberica Antiquiora, Textus chanmeti et haemeti ex inscriptionibus, s. Bibliis et Patribus, Collegit et in linguam latinam convetiv addito Glossario Joseph Molitor, Louvain, 1956).

<sup>14</sup> Septuaginta. vol. XV Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae. ed. Joseph Ziegler, 2. Aufl., 1976 (1. Aufl. 1957).

<sup>15</sup> Siehe A. Kharanauli, Das Chanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia – Fragen seiner Entstehung und seiner Übersetzungstechnik, Oriens Christianus, 85, 2001, S. 204-236.

tersuchungen der Xanmeti-Übersetzungstechnik gewonnenen Eindruck kurz auf folgende Weise zusammenfassen: Die ältesten georgischen Handschriften überliefern einen Text, der erstens ziemlich treu seiner Vorlage folgt, während zweitens keine festen Übersetzungstechnischen Prinzipien nachzuweisen sind.

Nach Giorgi Mtacmideli (Giorgios Hagiorites), einem Igumen des Athos Klosters Iviron, dem Rezensenten und Übersetzer einzelner Teile der Heiligen Schrift im 11. Jahrhundert, waren die Xanmeti Bibelübersetzungen "heilig und gut übersetzt". Trotz dieser Charakterisierung sind aber diese Übersetzungen in späterer Zeit meistens entweder völlig durch andere Übersetzungen ersetzt (z.B. Esdra I) oder aber so stark rezensiert worden, dass sie kaum zu erkennen sind. In einigen Fällen sind aber die Texte praktisch unverändert geblieben und weiter, ohne Präfix *x-* benutzt (z.B. Jesaja).

Neben den Xanmeti Bibelhandschriften nennt Giorgi Mtacmideli noch eine andere Version, die in seiner Zeit im Umlauf war – "Sabacmituri", d.h. eine Version, die von der Laura des Hl. Sabas in Jerusalem stammen sollte. Vielleicht überliefert das Jeremia-Fragment gerade diese, aus der hexaplarischen Rezension in Palästina übersetzte Version?

Die Lösung des Problems – ob es schon ziemlich am Anfang, mindestens für einige Bücher, mehr als eine Übersetzung gab, liegt in der Entzifferung und Erforschung weiterer Bibelhandschriftenfragmente und durchgängigen textkritischen Untersuchungen der späteren Hss.

Der erste überlieferte Bibelkodex ist die s.g. Oschki-Bibel (Ath. 1.), eine Hs., die in der südgeorgischen Laura – Oschki im Jahre 978 abgeschrieben und von dem Besteller, dem Ktitor des Athos-Klosters Iviron dem neugegründeten Kloster geopfert wurde. Eine ebenfalls alte Bibelhandschrift ist die Jerusalemer Hs. (Jer. 7/11) aus dem 11. Jh. Sie überliefert die kleinen und großen Propheten und Esdra 1. und 2. Die sprachlichen Merkmale, wie z. B. archaische Lexik, archaische Formen der Eigennamen, Spuren des überflüssigen Gebrauchs des Präfixes *h-* weisen daraufhin, dass diesen Hss. als Vorlage eine alte Hs. diente. Beide Handschriften enthalten zwar die gleichen Übersetzungen, überliefern aber in manchen Büchern deren unterschiedliche Rezensionen. Z. B. muss die Jerusalemer Handschrift in Jeremia eine ältere Fassung enthalten als das in der älteren Oschki-Bibel der Fall ist. In manchen Teilen des Buches Jesaja enthält Oschkihandschrift den älteren Text, in manchen aber – Jerusalemerhandschrift.

Die Texte, die Bibelhandschriften aus dem 10.-11. Jahrhundert überliefern, unterscheiden sich von den Bibelfragmenten aus dem 5.-7. Jh. je nach Buch. In Jeremia und Esdra 1. überliefern Oschki- und Jerusalemer Bibel einen stark überarbeiteten Text, bzw. eine andere Übersetzung als das in den Xanmeti-Fragmenten der Fall ist. Zu den unterschiedlichen Rezensionen soll-

ten auch die Xanmeti- und Oschki-Texte in Proverbien gehören. Kleinere Unterschiede bestehen zwischen diesen Hss. im Buch Genesis. Ganz im Gegenteil folgen die Oschki und Jerusalemer Hss. dem Xanmeti-Jesaia ziemlich genau. Die Abweichungen beschränken sich fast nur auf Fehler und von Schreiber verursachte sonstige Änderungen. Bei manchen Varianten überliefern die jüngeren Hss. sogar ältere Formen als das Fragment. Das heißt, dass wir auf Georgisch eine vollständige Überlieferung des lukianischen Jesaja des 5.-6. Jh.-s haben. Man kann ebenfalls vermuten, dass einige Bücher, wie z. B. Ezechiel oder die Weisheit Salomos eine frühere Etappe der Textüberlieferung darstellen, wogegen es sich bei den Königsbüchern eindeutig um mehrmals und nach mehreren Kriterien rezensierte Texte handelt.

Wegen der Vielschichtigkeit der in den erwähnten Handschriften überlieferten Texte sind sowohl die ursprüngliche Übersetzung als auch die späteren Rezensionen schwer zu charakterisieren. Auch die Frage nach der Vorlage der einzelnen Bücher bedarf noch weiterer Klärung. Man könnte aber sagen, dass es sich hier im Grossen und Ganzen um den gleichen Übersetzungscharakter handelt, wie bei den Übersetzungen, die in Xanmeti-Fragmente erhalten sind: der Übersetzer versucht ohne seinen Übersetzungsprinzipien starr zu folgen, seine Vorlage treu wiederzugeben; dabei experimentiert er mit der eigenen Sprache, bildet neue Ausdrücke und hält sich nicht zurück bei der Benutzung neuer Ausdrücke. Gleichzeitig jedoch weicht er zu Gunsten der Übersetzungssprache von der Vorlage ab.

Hier muss man auch die Bibeltexte erwähnen, die in den Lektionarhandschriften des 10.-11. Jh. überliefert sind. Das sind die Lektionare aus Kala, Lagurka, Latali, Sinai, Paris und noch einige andere Fragmente. Die Frage danach, ob die Bibeltexte in Lektionaren und in Bibelhandschriften einen gemeinsamen Ursprung haben und die Unterschiede zu der späteren Textentwicklung gehören, oder aber, ob sie von Anfang an unabhängig voneinander übersetzt wurden, ist noch offen. Anscheinend muss man auch diese Frage von Buch zu Buch einzeln untersuchen. In einigen sind diese Texte voneinander völlig unterschiedlich und die Lektionartexte scheinen von der Übersetzungstechnik her und sprachlich älter zu sein (z. B. in den Kleinen Propheten)<sup>16</sup> als die, die Bibelhandschriften überliefern. In manchen Büchern aber, wie z. B. in Jesaja, ist der Unterschied gering.

Eine deutliche Tendenz, die Übersetzung nach bestimmten Prinzipien durchzuführen, ist erst ab dem 10. Jahrhundert sichtbar: Diese neue Strömung findet im Athos Kloster Iviron statt und weitet sich auf andere Klöster in und außerhalb Georgiens aus. Sie umfasst fast die ganze byzantinische theolo-

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<sup>16</sup> Altgeorgische Übersetzungen der Propheten Amos, Michaeas, Jonas, Sophonias und Zacharias, herausgegeben und untersucht von J. Abfalg, München, 1959, 3. Teil, S. 411-425.



gische und philosophische Literatur. Dieser Prozess hatte bestimmte Ursachen, worüber uns selbst die Prozessführer, Giorgi Hagiorites, Giorgi Mcire und Ephrem Mcire unterrichten: Die Freiheit der alten Übersetzungen befriedigte sie nicht mehr, außerdem waren diese Übersetzungen nicht mehr im ursprünglichen Zustand überliefert: einige wurden von den Abschreibern geändert, andere – durch monophysitische Ansichten. Das allererste Prinzip bei der Neuübersetzung, bzw. Neubearbeitung der theologischen Literatur war die Angleichung an die griechische Vorlage. Dafür wählte man sorgfältig griechische Handschriften aus, meistens hatte man sogar mehrere Handschriften vor sich liegen; um keine Nuance des Textes zu übersehen, die in einer "wie der Abgrund, so tiefen" griechischen Sprache verfasst war, wurden Wörterbücher benutzt. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit galt der theologischen Seite des Textes, deshalb stützten sich die Rezensoren auf die reiche exegetische Literatur. Bei der Rezensierung führte man eine gründliche Analyse des Textes, seiner Sprache und der altgeorgischen Übersetzung durch. Man studierte den Stil des Buches, versuchte die Gründe zu klären, die zu der bestimmten Übersetzungsweise geführt hatten. Man besprach die unterschiedlichen Möglichkeiten der Übersetzung gleicher Passagen. Interessant zu erwähnen ist die respektvolle Beziehung zu den früheren Übersetzern: man hat sogar die kleinsten Änderungen gekennzeichnet und damit die Verantwortung für die neue Lesart übernommen. Wenn der Text unterschiedliche Interpretationen zuließ, ist man bei der ursprünglichen Lesart geblieben. Jede Entscheidung wurde nach ernsthaften Überlegungen mit großer Mühe getroffen, deshalb wurde in den Kolophonen der Nachfolger darum gebeten, keine weiteren Änderungen im Text vorzunehmen, sondern, falls nötig, eine neue Übersetzung zu schreiben.<sup>17</sup>

Wie man von literarischen Quellen weiß, befassten sich die Klöster auf dem Athos und auf dem Schwarzen Berg nur mit dem Neuen Testament und dem Psalter. Der restliche Teil der Bibel wurde vermutlich von der s.g. Gelathi-Schule ergänzt. Es handelt sich um Übersetzungen, die in zwei Katenehandschriften aus dem 12. Jahrhundert und einigen späteren Handschriften und Druckausgaben überliefert sind. Alle zusammen enthalten die Texte des Oktateuch und die Grossen (angefangen von Jesaja) und die Kleinen Propheten. Der Bibeltext und seine Kommentare kommen anscheinend nicht von dem gleichen Übersetzer, so dass nicht unbedingt zu vermuten ist, dass der Lemma-Text und die Katene gleichzeitig angefertigt wurden.

So wie die Mönche vom Athos und Schwarzen Berg, beabsichtigten auch die Gelathi-Bibel-Hersteller kaum eine neue Übersetzung anzufertigen, ihre

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<sup>17</sup> Siehe Kolophonen von Giorgi Mtacmideli und Ephrem Mcire, Vita von Ioane und Euthime Mtacmideli, Vita von Giorgi Mtacmideli.

Absicht war nur die Rezensierung der alten handschriftlichen Überlieferungen. Für diesen Zweck nahmen sie als Grundlage die Übersetzungen, die sich anscheinend von dem s.g. Oschki-Typ unterschieden und sich mehr den Xanmeti-Texten und Lektionaren annäherten. Die lexikalischen Übereinstimmungen deuten daraufhin. Aber die Ähnlichkeit beschränkt sich nicht auf die Lexik. Das Prinzip – Angleichung an die Vorlage – haben sie auf einem hohen Niveau vollendet. Jetzt sorgen sie sich nicht nur darum, die Semantik, die Quantität der Segmente zu bewahren, sondern richten ihre besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf die formale Übertragung der Segmente selbst. Jetzt achten sie mehr auf die Vorlage als auf die Natur der Übersetzungssprache. Sie scheuen die Neologismen nicht, sie suchen nach adäquaten Ausdrücken der Bibelsprache im Georgischen, versuchen jedes Segment, sogar die Suffixe, in die Übersetzung zu übernehmen, führen in der Sprache eine neue, Geschlechtskategorie ein. Besondere Änderungen unternehmen sie im Bereich der Syntax. Systematische Verwendung der infiniten Konstruktionen wandeln die Rezensionen in der Neuübersetzung um und geben dem Text eine etwas künstliche Färbung. Die für die Gelathi-Rezension charakteristischen Merkmale sind den älteren Übersetzungen auch nicht fremd. Der Unterschied zwischen den alten, z. B. Xanmeti-Übersetzungen und jüngeren Gelathi-Übersetzungen besteht hauptsächlich darin, dass in den Letzteren das Prinzip der wort-wörtlichen Übersetzung nicht spontan, sondern ziemlich konsequent durchgeführt ist. Aber auch in dieser Rezension unterscheiden sich die Rezensenten von einander: einige sind mäßig bei der Bearbeitung des Textes, die anderen gehen ziemlich weit und wandeln sich vom Rezensenten zum Übersetzer.

In Zusammenhang zu Gelathi-Übersetzungen muss man auch Ioane Petrizi, den georgischen Prokloskommentator des 12. Jh. erwähnen. Seine Zitationen einiger Bibelstellen und Kommentare dazu weisen darauf hin, dass es die Arbeit über die Präzision der georgischen Übersetzung nach der Vorlage und nach der Exegese auch in Gelathi-Versionen noch nicht abgeschlossen war.

Im Gegensatz zu der Gelathi-Rezension, gibt es eine andere Strömung in den georgischen Bibelhandschriften. Das ist eine freie Sinnwiedergabe des Ausgangstextes, manchmal sogar eine verkürzte Fassung. Diese Versionen sind in unterschiedliche Hss. der unterschiedlichen Büchern dargestellt, z. B. Nehemia und I. Paralipomenon in Hss. H-885(XVII), A-570 (1460), 1. und 2. Könige (Samuelbücher) in J-113,<sup>18</sup> einige Abschnitte von Exodus in H-1207

<sup>18</sup> Über die Kurzen Rezensionen der georgischen Bibel siehe ცინდელიანი უ., მეფეთა პირველი ორი წიგნის ქართული რედაქციები, მრავალთავი I, 1971, S. 46-65; ცინდელიანი უ., ერთი რედაქციული თავისებურების გამო მეფეთა წიგნებში (მოკლე რედაქცია), მრავალთავი, X, 1983, S. 50-74.

und Qut. 28. Die kurzen Fassungen haben aber auch die älteren Hss. überliefert, z. B. Ester in Oschki-Bibel. Eine interessante Jesajaüberlieferung dieser Art enthalten auch Oschki- und Jerusalem-Hs.. Die Eigenartigkeit dieser Überlieferungen besteht nicht nur in der Verkürzung – in mechanischer Auslassung der wiederholten Erzählungen, Toponymen und Eigennamen, sondern in der richtigen Periphrase des Textes.

Es ist schwer zu sagen, wie es nach den Gelathi-Rezensionen die weitere Entwicklung der Bibeltextgeschichte verlaufen wäre, wäre sie nicht von den Mongoleneroberungen in 13. Jh. gestoppt. Die Teilung des georgischen Staates, die Eroberungen von Persen und Türken, die fast tägliche Verwüstungen der Klöster, all das war bestimmt keine geeignete Grundlage für die weitere Entwicklung und Überlieferung des georgischen christlichen Kulturgutes.

Nach den dunklen Jahrhunderten der georgischen Geschichte hat ein neuer kultureller Aufschwung im 17. Jh. begonnen. Dieser Aufschwung ist mit den intensiven Kontakten zu Russland und Westeuropa verbunden, das von der muslimischen Welt umgebene Georgien in dieser Zeit pflegte. Unter anderem wurde auch an der Bibel gearbeitet. Erst die von dem König Wachtang der Sechsten gegründete Kommission der Gelehrten unter der Leitung von Sulchan-Saba Orbeliani, dann in Moskau, in Asyl lebender König Archil und die Prinzen – Vachushti und Bakar – fingen an, die altgeorgische Bibelhandschriften zu sammeln und nach den anderssprachigen (Slavischen, Griechischen und Armenischen) Vorlagen zu rezensieren. Die Bücher, die man nicht fand, übersetzte man neu. So hat man die neue Hs. und Druckausgaben, s.g. Mccheta-Bibel und Moskauer-, oder Backarbibel angefertigt.

Um die lange und komplizierte Geschichte der georgischen Bibel in ganze Breite und Tiefe darzustellen, muss man tiefer, in jedem Buch und jeder Hs. einzeln greifen. Nicht nur für die Erforschung der georgischen Kultur wird es zu Gute kommen.

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### EURIPIDES' *ALCESTIS* – THE NORM OR THE IDEAL?

Among the tragedies of Euripides the *Alcestis* is admitted to be one of the most complex plays. There is no agreement among critics which genre the play pertains to.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there are controversial ideas concerning the main issue of the play. Critics do not have unanimous opinion who the central character of the play is – Alcestis or Admetus.<sup>2</sup> From 1970s on, interpreters also focus on the gender problems of the tragedy.<sup>3</sup> To our belief, in this respect the following question is to be thoroughly considered: What links can be traced between the leading literary fiction of the play – Alcestis' sacrifice and the author's contemporary social norms? I.e. the problem is in the following: whether Alcestis' action was regarded as a stereotype, as wife's normal behaviour and therefore sacrificing herself to her husband was Alcestis' duty as of a wife; or whether it was considered ideal in the society and correspondingly was committed on rare occasions.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> B. Seidensticker enumerates the genres which the *Alcestis* is believed to pertain to. Seidensticker B., *Palintonos Harmonia: Studien zu Komischen Elementen in der griechischen Tragödie, Hypomnemata 72*, Göttingen, 1982. See also von Fritz Kurt, "Euripides' Alkestis und ihre modernen Nachahmer und Kritiker", *Antiker und Moderne Tragödie*, Berlin, 1962, 256-321.

<sup>2</sup> The following works are particularly relevant with respect to the main idea of the play: Luschning C. A., *The Gorgon's Severed Head, Studies of Alcestis, Electra and Phoenissae, Mnemosyne*, Licden, New-York, Köln, 1995.

Gregori J., "Euripides' Alkestis", *Hermes* 107, 1979, 259-270; Segal Ch., "Euripides' Alkestis: Female Death and Male Tears", *CA* 11, 1992, 142-158, esp. 152-157.

<sup>3</sup> Vellacot P., *Ironic Drama, A Study in Euripides' Method and Meaning*, Cambridge, 1975; des Bouvrie, Synnove, *Women in Greek Tragedy: An Anthropological Approach*, Symbolae Osloenses, supp. 27, 1990.

<sup>4</sup> While considering the reference of Alcestis' behaviour to the dominating social norms, we, naturally, do not attempt to trace similar cases in the context of Athenian lifestyle. Alcestis' behaviour is one of the expressions, although remarkably radical, of a wider phenomenon – of wife's extreme devotion to husband, woman's being at man's disposal, at his service.

The question is related to another problem as well – how Admetus' acceptance of Alcestis' proposal was acknowledged and what it was regarded to be. Was it husband's normal behaviour i.e. did Admetus behave in accordance with the existing stereotypes? The right answer is not easy to find. The play offers no obvious tips to qualify Admetus' and Alcestis' behaviours.

Clarification of the problems requires thorough consideration of the text. The paper presents the main points of the detailed analysis we have undertaken. Along with other issues, particular attention is paid to the appreciation of Alcestis' and Admetus' behaviours – Alcestis' and Admetus' perception of their own deeds as well as other people's ideas on what they had committed. The paper also points to what determines other characters' different interests towards them and whether their attitudes to the protagonists change in the course of the play; likewise, what conclusions come forth after considering the dynamic development of the appreciations.

The play starts with Apollo's prologue, which presents the disaster the leading characters have to endure – in particular, on that very day, Thanatus is to take away Admetus' wife Alcestis in accordance with the promise. After Admetus' parents and close friends refused to die instead of Admetus, his wife Alcestis appeared to be the only person who agreed to accept death instead of the king. Apollo intends to make Thanatus change his decision to take Alcestis' life away, however he is primarily concerned with Admetus' lot who is about to lose his wife. It seems Apollo does not pay much attention to Alcestis – he does not attempt to appreciate her devotion and mentions the queen's name only in line 52.<sup>5</sup>

The chorus of Pheraean old men is concerned with Admetus' lot as well. Although they admire Alcestis' decision, it is the king whom they pity and call unlucky (*Alc.*144) as he is to lose his wife. It is interesting how they treat Alcestis – whether they consider her the the best woman – i.e. regard her as an ideal, or whether she is one from the company of good people. Remarkably, the passage implies both appreciations – in lines 80-85 they claim Alcestis to be the best ἀρίστη of wives ever born, but later they consider her as one of the good (*Alc.*109). So far, interestingly, no one mentions the key moment of the story – the moment when Admetus accepted his wife's proposal. Evidently, Chorus, which expresses the opinion and disposition of the society, has not yet considered the point.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Luschnig, 1995, 17-18.

<sup>6</sup> On the male perspective of Chorus, see Rosenmeyer, Thomas G., *The Masks of Tragedy*, Austin, 1963, 219, also Scully S.E., "Some Issues in the Second Episode of Euripides' Alcestis" in Cropp H., Fantham E., Scully S., *Greek Tragedy and Its Legacy: Essays presented to D. J. Conacher*, Calgary 1986.

After Chorus' part the woman servant appears, who describes the last minutes of Alcestis' life. Her words are entirely dedicated to Alcestis. She does not take interest in Admetus' feelings. She mentions him only when Chorus asks her about the king. She treats him critically. According to the woman servant, Admetus has no idea what awaits him. He has to endure before he realizes. King Admetus is going to face an awful sorrow, suffering – ἄλγος, which he will never forget. So, the characters of the play split into two groups when it comes to appreciation of the protagonists' behaviours. The woman servant represents the female perspective of the play. From this perspective, Alcestis is the best (noblest)<sup>7</sup> of women, is an ideal wife. With regard to the interpretation of the ideal, the dialogue of Chorus and the woman servant is particularly noteworthy. When Chorus calls Alcestis the best wife, the woman servant agrees with their appreciation specifying and explaining the general term "best":

"Noblest? – how not? – what tongue will dare gainsay?  
 What must the woman be who passeth her?  
 How could a wife give honour to her lord  
 More than by yielding her to die for him?" (*Alc.* 153-...)

As for Apollo and Chorus, they express the male perspective of the play. They perceive tragedy within the scope of Admetus' feelings.<sup>8</sup> In their song (stasimon I), Chorus does not respond to the woman servant's critical words towards Admetus. It imitates Admetus' unconscious reluctance to face the reality.<sup>9</sup>

Alcestis, who enters the stage in the company of her household, utters her farewell words through which she explains the motive for her behaviour:

"I, honouring thee, and setting thee in place  
 Before mine own soul still to see this light,  
 Am dying, unconstrained to die for thee.  
 I might have wed what man Thessalian  
 I would, have dwelt wealth – crowned in princely halls.  
 Yet would not live on, torn away from thee,  
 With orphaned children ..." (*Alc.* 284-288)

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<sup>7</sup> The text has ἀρίστη, the English equivalent for which is "the best". However, along with it, we also give in the brackets the term "noblest" as the English translation we refer to uses it for the Greek word ἀρίστη.

<sup>8</sup> They do not give a critical appreciation to Admetus' behaviour. Evidently, they believe the king's action, acceptance of Alcestis' proposal, was normal. According to Vellacot, Chorus sees nothing blameworthy in Admetus. Vellacot, 1975, 104.

<sup>9</sup> Luschig, 1995, 40.

The words imply that Alcestis had an opportunity to make choice and that she chose to die for her husband; her action is an extraordinary one and not the norm compulsory for a wife – anyway, this is how Alcestis herself appreciates it. Her words make it clear that she behaves in accordance with the ideal which she has set to herself.<sup>10</sup>

Alcestis unambiguously considers herself the "best" of wives, and remarkably, is determined not to lose the position of the "unique" – she makes Admetus promise not to bring a step-mother to their children. Evidently, apart from the care for her children, she is driven by a deeper motive as well – she is categorically against Admetus' sharing their bridal-bed with another woman; she fights for the matrimonial ideal she sacrifices herself to.<sup>11</sup>

In his farewell speech, Admetus gives Alcestis a promise of faithfulness and admits that no woman can replace Alcestis.<sup>12</sup> Evidently, he has not yet acknowledged his deed.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, appreciations of Admetus' and Alcestis' deeds change. The female perspective starts to prevail. In III stasimon Chorus unambiguously regards Alcestis as the best and the unique.<sup>14</sup> Along with it, Chorus seems to question the king's dignity.

Alcestis' status of the "unique" and the "best" faces another threat that comes from a male character, Pheres, Admetus' father. Pheres' appreciation of Alcestis is somehow general in the beginning, Alcestis is ἐσθλή (noble) and σόφρων (virtuous) (*Alc.* 615). However, when Pheres responds to Admetus' critical words in the same critical way, he calls Alcestis ἄφρον (reckless) as he considers reckless the woman who intends to fulfill one role only – that of a wife – and is ready to sacrifice her life to it. The choice is the result of her narrow vision, which Pheres criticizes.

<sup>10</sup> Vellacot gives a different motivation to Alcestis' behaviour. He believes, Alcestis took the decision for the sake of her children and placed their happiness higher than her own. According to Vellacot's interpretation of the text (*Alc.* 284-288), the idea becomes clear from Alcestis' words, Vellacot, 1975, 102.

<sup>11</sup> Luschnig, 1995, 44.

<sup>12</sup> Admetus not only promises Alcestis to be faithful to her, but also vows, he will not be happy any more. According to Luschnig, it is Admetus' attempt to pay her back, to die to pleasure as she died to the light. Luschnig, 1997, 48, Cf. Scully, 1986, 142.

<sup>13</sup> Vellacot regards the issue in a different way. According to him, Admetus' words: "The Sun sees what we both suffer, and can witness that we have done the gods no wrong to deserve your death" (*Alc.* 247) indicates that Admetus realizes his guilt. It is "the first stirring of guilt below the surface". Vellacot, 1975, 104.

<sup>14</sup> "Farewell, you are the best, but there, in Hades", sings the chorus (*Alc.* 436). Poets will praise her in Sparta and Athens at Festivals. According to Luschnig's interesting remark, Alcestis' fame will spread beyond her hearth to two polis with opposite ways of seeing and treating women: if her heroism is masculine in an attic setting, perhaps we are invited to view it in a Laconian one; Luschnig, 1995, 55.

On the other hand, according to Pheres, the reckless deed of the reckless wife is quite favourable to her husband's position. Naturally, men would only benefit if Alcestis' behaviour became a norm and other wives as well took after her.

"Cunning device hast thou devised to die  
Never, cajoling still wife after wife  
To die for thee" (*Alc.* 699-700)

"...Thus to wed, I say,  
Profiteth men – or nothing – worth is marriage" (*Alc.* 627-628)

To our belief, Pheres' idea on generalizing Alcestis' deed insults her even more than his calling her "reckless", because Alcestis cherishes her uniqueness more than anything else.

Besides, the scene marks the beginning of Admetus' self-acknowledgement.<sup>15</sup> Pheres openly blames Admetus. He shamefully avoided death and is today alive only because he let his wife die. Pheres qualifies him as coward. But the most shameful thing is that he, a man, appeared weaker than a young woman (*Alc.* 694-695). Admetus severely criticizes Pheres' words, but later it becomes clear that they reached the target.

Admetus, back at home after burring his wife, starts to perceive the lesson, "ἀρτὶ μανθάνω, he says. In our opinion, Admetus endures emotionally and acknowledges rationally that it was improper, moreover, wrong of him (*Alc.* 961) to accept Alcestis' proposal. But most important is the fact that he, Admetus, only now starts to understand the essence of life bought at such a price, and to appreciate what he himself is after all. He realizes that henceforth he will be called a coward, and the most tragic point is that the qualification is going to be true. Through her behaviour, the woman achieved honour and glory, while accepting Alcestis' proposal, he received unendurable life. Henceforth, he will constantly suffer from guilt. "This is a play about a good husband and an admirable marriage which, confronted with a crisis of Necessity, suddenly faces not merely the loss and sorrow, which are the common lot, but disgrace and guilt arising from the rare performance of what everyone recognizes as a wife's duty to her husband".<sup>16</sup>

In IV stasimon Chorus sings about Alcestis. The female perspective reaches its peak. Alcestis is unambiguously recognized as the ideal, she surpasses the limits of human dimension and becomes the "blessed daimon" (*Alc.* 1001-1003).

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<sup>15</sup> Vellacot, 1975, 105.

<sup>16</sup> Vellacot, 1975, 105.



Consideration of the dynamic development of the characters' appreciations brings up the following conclusion: The entire emotional chaos entailed by Alcestis' death, and especially, Admetus' ultimate tragic realization compels to think that Alcestis' deed is regarded as altogether extraordinary. Correspondingly, the generalized understanding of the behaviour – the extreme devotion and self-sacrifice of a wife to her husband should not be regarded as a norm in matrimonial relations. It was a cultural ideal. Unlike the society, Euripides had critical attitude towards the ideal. His position becomes clear when he presents a picture of Admetus' lot – acceptance of the ideal brought him only humiliation and tormenting sense of guilt. Beside the partner, who himself acknowledges the wrong and improper nature of his own choice and calls himself a coward, Alcestis is more distinguished as the woman of supreme dignity and the person who accomplished the highly noble deed.

Dali Nadibaidze (Tbilisi)

**GOODNESS AND BEAUTY ACCORDING TO THE  
COMMENTARIES ON GENESIS BY ST. BASIL THE GREAT  
AND GREGORY OF NYSSA**

(Six Days of Creation of the World and Man by God)

Every cultured nation has taken interest in the notions of goodness and beauty throughout the entire existence of humankind. The point was closely considered by ancient Greeks; Holy Fathers attached particular relevance to the notions and regarded them as supreme categories; likewise, the modern community in all its diversity regards goodness and beauty with close interest from varied angles. We will dwell on the Holy Fathers' ideas – in particular, on their commentaries on the Biblical Book of *Genesis*. While considering goodness and beauty, we do not mean the terminological analysis of the text. We aim to throw light on these two notions as understood by the Holy Fathers while commenting on the Six Days of Creation, as all was brought into being by the Lord and was created good. This idea is confirmed by John Chrysostom, according to whom everything created by God is very good.<sup>1</sup> We will attempt to provide a consistent analysis of *Genesis* and highlight the points of our immediate interest. Moses relates about the first day of Creation: "In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God swept over the face of the waters. God said, "Let there be light"; and there was light. And God saw the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light the day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, the first day" (*Gen.1.1*) Basil the Great gives the following comment to the above abstract from the Bible:

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<sup>1</sup> *Old Georgian Language Monuments, Fathers' Homilies According to the Manuscripts of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, issued by I. Abuladze as redacted by A. Shanidze, Tbilisi, 1955, 46.

"...let us say with Moses "God created the heavens and the earth". Let us glorify the supreme Artificer for all that was wisely and skillfully made; by the beauty of visible things let us raise ourselves to Him who is above all beauty".<sup>2</sup> The deep concept of the words glorifies the Lord as the Great Creator, who, perfect and fair Himself, creates from nothingness the likewise beautiful heaven and earth by means of grace, power and wisdom. Vl. Loski's opinion on the creation of the universe from nothing is quite interesting. According to the scholar, the making of the world from nothingness implies the following: What the universe was created from was not the divine essence, neither was it material (as the matter can not be referred to as nothing). Creation of the world from nothingness means that God created an altogether new plot which had not existed before and which the Lord granted existence and "allotted a place" beside His completeness. This plot is infinitely distant from Him "not in space but in its nature" (οὐ τοπῶ, ἀλλὰ φύσει), as John Damascene put it.<sup>3</sup> So, God initiates the creation of a being and of existence from nothingness through His good will so as to share His own grace and divine existence with another being whose nature is different from His, and who is a creature.

"In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth..." – these are the first words of the Bible and according to Basil the Great, the making of the heavens and the earth implies that God laid the foundation from which the heavens and the earth were created. He writes: "But God, before all those things which now attract our notice existed, after casting about in His mind and determining to bring into being time which had no being, imagined the world such as it ought to be, and created matter in harmony with the forth which He wished to give it. He assigned to the heavens the nature adapted for the heavens, and gave to the earth an essence in accordance with its form"<sup>4</sup> – i.e. before creating the visible world, the Lord projected in advance the way He would appreciate the universe to look like and designed the nature to fit the heavens in accordance with His (God's) decision and the "matter" to fit the earth in accordance with his intention and will as concerns the image of the earth. In connection with the above mentioned "heavens" Basil the Great comments that God adapted to them the "nature" and not the "matter" as according to Basil (and the same idea is substantiated by Gregory of Nyssa), the heavens mentioned here are not the heavens we see (the heavens visible to us, i.e. the material heavens were created on the second day of the Biblical Crea-

<sup>2</sup> Basile de Cesarée, *Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, Texte grec, introduction et traduction de Stanislas Giff, Gerf (Source Chrétiennes No 26, bis.), Paris 1968, 134, 28A.

<sup>3</sup> В. Н. Лосский, *Очерк мистического богословия восточной церкви, Догматическое богословие*, издатель Центр "СЭИ", Москва 1991, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Basile de Cesarée, *Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, 148, 33A.

tion). While dwelling on the heavens created on the first day of Creation, Basil the Great refers<sup>5</sup> to St. Paul, who mentions the "third heaven" (*II Cor.* 12, 2) and to the Psalms saying "highest heavens" (*Ps.* 184, 4), which implies several heavens. The idea is specified by Gregory of Nyssa, who says that the created universe consists of three heavens, which are 1. The sky cover right around the earth; 2. Galaxy; 3. The Paradise, which St. Paul was honored to see.<sup>6</sup>

"... the earth was a formless void ...". According to Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, it was invisible as the matter was invisible and shapeless,<sup>7</sup> and being a "void" means that it lacked flowers, trees and all that embellishes the earth and what is referred to as its embellishments.<sup>8</sup>

"... and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God swept over the face of the waters" (σκοτός ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος) St. Basil interprets "the deep" as the multitude of waters and their depth difficult to reach,<sup>9</sup> while the seemingly controversial phrase that the darkness was over "the deep" and "a wind from God" moved over it, is explained by Gregory of Nyssa as follows: God is the unattainable light and is distant from the darkness as well as from every kind of evil; and as God and the Holy Spirit are one essence, "a wind from God" that "swept over the face of the waters" was also light.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Gods' creations are all good in their structure and consequently, the deep was also good in its structure. So, how shall we understand the darkness over the deep? In this connection, the Bishop of Nyssa writes that the light represented by the Holy Spirit that moved over the deep was not yet brightened in that matter, has not yet penetrated it, and therefore darkness was over the deep while the Spirit of God moved above on His own. Here "darkness" conventionally refers to the lack of light.<sup>11</sup>

So, the deep awaited the order of God to brighten up with light; the text logically continues with God's words: "Let there be light". The first words uttered by God as known to men and as written in the Bible are "Let there be light" – the words that grant beauty and light brightened up the matter with the grace that had abode over it and had not yet penetrated it. As soon as the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 198, 57B-200, 57C.

<sup>6</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia*, PG 44, 121, A, B, C.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, PG 44, 80A.

<sup>8</sup> Basile de Cesarée, *Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, 140, 29A.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 156, 37A,B.

<sup>10</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia*, PG 44, 81,B,C.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, PG 44, 84A.

words were uttered, they were turned into the deed and the grace and light of the Holy Spirit brightened up the material world.

"And God saw the light was good" – the Greek text says "καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν" (Γεν.1,4). In the Book of Creation, every daily deed, every single episode ends with God's vision and appreciation of His creations, with the admission that what He created is "good": "And God saw the light was good". The phrase, like the preceding sentences, reads in the Greek text (according to *Septuaginta*) as follows: "καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καλόν". The word "καλός" means "beautiful", "fair", "good", "serving good purpose", "morally beautiful". "right", "noble".<sup>12</sup> Its Hebrew equivalent "tov" also denotes "good", "corresponding", which in the given case may imply "corresponding to God's will" – when God saw the world of his own creation, He saw it the way He wished it to be; what He saw corresponded to his intention and will. In this connection, Al. Men writes: "The Bible says that God is fond of the light He created, and of the world He created. That "tov", "tov" means "beautiful", "good", and in the end the Book says: "tov neod", i.e. "very good", "very beautiful" and "perfect".<sup>13</sup> While providing profound comments on Gregory of Nyssa's above writing, the German scholar Fr. Risch notes that all created by God is beautiful and this fullness of beauty should be discerned in all beings. The general word "good" is used when the material world was created as the creatures – animals, plants, etc. – are all diverse; while after creating a human being, it is said: "very good", which refers to the perfection and faultlessness of man; "very" implies the sense of "faultlessness".<sup>14</sup>

While commenting on *The Six Days of Creation*, Basil the Great highlights all senses of "καλός" and explains that the primary components of God's intention is goodness and usefulness of the creations while outer, visible beauty is not essential; however, it is implied that all God's creatures are beautiful.

Let us come back to the text analysis and see how Basil the Great understands the goodness and beauty of the light. "How can we worthily praise light after the testimony given by the Creator to its goodness? ... how in a simple and homogeneous essence like light, can this idea of beauty be preserved? Would not the symmetry in light be less shown in its parts than in the

<sup>12</sup> A Lexicon Abridged from Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. Printed and bound in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd, Frome and London. 1993.

<sup>13</sup> Александр Мень, *Шестоднев*, ihtik. lib. ru / philosopher.

<sup>14</sup> Gregor von Nyssa über das Sechstageswerk Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur, B. 49, eingel., übers. und komm. von Franz Xaver Risch, Anton Hiersemann / Stuttgart 1999, 78-79.

pleasure and delight at the sight of it?"<sup>15</sup> – Basil the Great writes and explains that despite the comprehensive, all-embracing beauty of light, it is not for its visible beauty that God calls it good; far more essential and important are the usefulness and goodness that light brings to men – light is accompanied with brightness, which helps the world around open its eyes, i.e. the important thing is that the beauty bears goodness.

The following words of the Bible "and God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, the first day" (*Gen.1, 4-5*) delimit the first day and may be understood in the following way: God separated light from darkness i.e. the "lightless" space; and the light or the period when the heaven and the earth are lit were called Day while the "lightless" period was called Night, and both together were called not Day and Night but One Day because Day as existing in light was regarded superior: "Evening is then the boundary common to day and night; and in the same way morning constitutes the approach of night to day. It was to give day the privileges of seniority that Scripture put the end of the first day before that of the first night, because night follows day: for, before the creation of light, the world was not in night, but in darkness. It is the opposite of day which was called night, and it did not receive its name until after day".<sup>16</sup> As the words make it clear, Moses mentions evening prior to morning as evening is the end of the day and morning the hour when the night meets the day. And as the day is superior to the night, evening is superior to morning. According to Basil the Great, this is why time is counted through days and this is why David the Prophet says, "the length of our days" (*Ps. 89, 10*). This is how the first day and the creation of order, Cosmos from Chaos started on the earth.

Moses describes the start of the second and the third days as follows: "And God said, "Let there be a dome in the midst of waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters". So God made the dome and separated the waters that were under the dome from the waters that were above the dome. And it was so. God called the dome Sky. And there was evening and there was morning, the second day.

And God said, "Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear". And it was so. God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together He called Seas. And God saw that it was good" (*Gen.1, 6-10*).

The first verse already mentioned the making of the heavens and the earth while the above cited passage, as Basil the Great comments, implies the sky

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<sup>15</sup> Basile de Cesarée, *Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, 174, 48A.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 176, 48C-178, 49A.

which "... is different from the heaven which was made at the beginning; ... it is of a stronger nature and of an especial use to the universe".<sup>17</sup> I.e. this is the visible sky – "strong" (as Basil the Great puts it), solid in its essence, so-called material sky – where rain and snow come from and where one sees lights, and not the heaven mentioned in the first verse. While the earth, which was invisible as it was covered with waters, became visible after the waters were "gathered together": "Let the waters be gathered together, and let the dry land appear". The veil is lifted and allows the earth, hitherto invisible, to be seen"

("Συνέλεκεται τὰ παραπετάσματα, ἵνα ἐμφανῆς γένηται ἡ τέως μὴ ὄρωμένη").<sup>18</sup> Writes Basil the Great comparing in an eloquent manner the act of unveiling the invisible to God's deed when the dry land was made visible by means of placing the waters aside.

Basil understands the waters above the sky as the vapor produced by rivers and seas that turns into clouds and protects the earth from the heat.<sup>19</sup>

As concerns the lower waters, it is clearly written that "the waters that were gathered together he called Seas. And God saw that it was good". The passage, like that about light, refers to the favorableness of creating the sea, its benefit and usefulness. Basil the Great describes the fascinating charm of the violet-blue placidity of the sea; however, he concludes that "It is not with eyes that the Creator views the beauty ("τὰ κάλλη") of His works....., it is not in this that Scripture makes God find the goodness ("καλῆν") and charm of the sea. Here it is the purpose of the work which makes the goodness ("τὸ καλὸν")."<sup>20</sup> I.e. God called good those qualities of the sea that put this fascination to the service of goodness, of human's kind deeds. While considering the favorableness of the sea, Basil the Great dwells on the waters with which the sea nourishes the earth, and on the large number of activities that link humans to the sea: navigation, connection of lands through seas and trade, evaporation of water and rainfall and many others. The divine Eye saw all this in advance and while appreciating it said it was all good.<sup>21</sup> The words, like entire *Genesis*, clearly imply that God makes all beautiful and fascinating: from the nothingness and chaos the heaven and the earth are created and light is cast over the deep; the sky and the earth appear, and the sea acquires its place. All created is beautiful but the most important is that everything is good as they imply the potential service to a man, and were made to be highly

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 202, 60A.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 148, 81A.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 224, 69B.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 270, 92B.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 274, 93B.

favorable and useful to humans in many diverse ways, and thus the sky, the earth and likewise the man through the kind deeds to be accomplished with their help will fulfill their respective functions before God and will give glory to their Creator.

In the second half of the third day, plants emerged, and on the fourth day the lights appeared. "Then God said, "Let the Earth put forth vegetation: plants yielding seed, and fruit trees of every kind on earth that bear fruit with the seed in it. And it was so. The earth brought forth vegetation: plants yielding seeds of every kind, and trees of every kind bearing fruit with the seed in it. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the third day.

And God said, "Let there be lights in the dome of the sky to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, and let them be lights in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth". And it was so. God made the two great lights – the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night – the stars (lights). God set them in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth, to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the fourth day" (*Gen.* 1,11-19).

Light is already mentioned in the first verse; however, as stated above, that was the divine, eternal, non-made light – the Spirit of God that has ever existed with God; while on the fourth day, the material light was created, i.e. the light issued from material, physical, created energy, and as the source for this physical energy, lights were created so as to separate day from night. So, first the vegetation is made, which, at the first sight, could not have appeared without the sun, and then, on the fourth day, the sun and the moon were created, while day and night had existed even before that.

Basil the Great praises God, whose one verbal order made the barren and dry land produce grass, trees and beautiful flowers: "Let the earth bring forth". See how, at this short word, at this brief command, the cold and sterile earth travailed and hastened to bring forth its fruit, as it cast away its sad and dismal covering to clothe itself in a more brilliant robe, proud of its proper adornment and displaying the infinite variety of plants" ("βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ. Νόησόν μοι ἐκ μικρᾶς φωνῆς, καὶ προστάγματος οὕτω βραχείως, τὴν κατεψυγμένην καὶ ἄγονον ὠδίνουσαν ἀθρόως καὶ πρὸς καρπογονίαν συγκινουμένην, ὥσπερ τινα σκυθρωπὴν καὶ πευθῆρη ἀπορρίψασαν περιβολὴν, μεταμφιεσμένην τὴν φαιδρότεραν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις κόσμοις ἀγαλλομένην, καὶ τὰ μυρία γένη τῶν φυομένων προ



βάλλουσαν").<sup>22</sup> According to Basil the Great, God created plants and trees prior to the sun so that each and everyone could realize the power of God and that God is the Creator, and not ascribe the embellishment of the earth to the lights, neither worship the sun as the god: "The reason why the adornment of the earth was before the sun is the following; that those who worship the sun, as the source of life, may renounce their error. If they be well persuaded that the earth was adorned before the genesis of the sun, they will retract their unbounded admiration for it, because they see grass and plants vegetate before it rose".<sup>23</sup>

While talking about lights, God's intention to create them envisaged the considerable benefit that their movement, also time recording and weather forecast with their help would bring to the mankind. One can tell the weather according to the shape of the moon – whether full or crescent, which is very beneficial – especially for those (e.g. sailors) whose job is connected with the weather, and whose experience helps them avoid a lot of dangers if they closely watch the nature – according to the moon, the sailor can be certain whether to expect the rain and wind or not, and will not enter the sea thus avoiding danger. By describing this and some other cases, the Bishop of Caesarea points to the purposefulness and consistency of all beings and their respective existences as implied in the *Genesis* – of the sky covered all over with lights and bright stars and of the earth decorated with trees, wonderful grass and flowers; of the movement of lights and cultivation of plants with seeds – all fulfilling their respective functions so as to build up the common purposefulness and co-existence (e.g. the lights favor the cultivation of plants) and to meet in their unity the daily needs of men: wood for warmth and living, plants for nourishment, etc.

On the fifth and the sixth days the first living creatures appeared on the earth, in the sea and the sky. "And God said, "Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth across the dome of the sky". So God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves, of every kind, with which the waters swarm, and every winged bird of every kind. And God saw that it was good. God blessed them, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters in the seas, and let birds multiply on the earth". And there was evening and there was morning, the fifth day.

And God said, "Let the earth bring forth living creatures of every kind: cattle and creeping things and wild animals of the earth of every kind". And it was so. God made the wild animals of the earth of every kind, and the cattle

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 284, 97B.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 280, 96B.

of every kind, and everything that creeps upon the ground of every kind. And God saw that it was good" (*Gen.* 1, 20-25).

First of all, it should be mentioned that as soon as the living creatures appeared, God blessed them, which Moses had not stated before. The second important point to highlight is that as soon as the animal loses blood, its flesh joins the earth and "Do not suppose that ... [its soul] survives the dissolution of the flesh"<sup>24</sup> – i.e. unlike the man, the animal does not have the immortal soul.

It is noteworthy that birds are created from waters, which Basil the Great explains by the similar build and movements of birds and fish. The bird cleaves through the air with its wings the same way as the fish does through the water with its fins both maintaining the direction of their movement by means of their caudal appendage. God created all good, and took care of all of them – created them so as to fit the environment they would exist within, for their own sake: the swallow was created short-legged as it does not need long ones, and the hen was made long-legged as it needs to walk on the earth and find food.<sup>25</sup>

Basil of Caesarea is the great exegete and preacher. Admittedly, his *Hexaemeron* was delivered during the sermon, and his commentaries were intended for the congregation. Therefore, along with exegetic content, the work includes as well edifying episodes, which makes it more multicolored and attractive. We may bring several examples to illustrate the above statement. Basil refers to birds and animals and this way preaches the faith in God, kindness, lack of evil, wisdom and purity. Let us recall these wonderful passages from *Hexaemeron*: it is commonly known that bees are useful to all, their activities are quite interesting to observe – they obey the king, none of the bees flies up earlier than the king in order not to pass ahead the latter. The most surprising thing is that the king is not elected, neither does it claim its position by force – it is born distinct from all: "It is nature which makes the king of the bees, for nature gives him superior size, beauty, and sweetness of character".<sup>26</sup> And the king bee, who is superior to the rest of the bees not by its force but by its inward placidity has one more distinction: it does not have a sting and is completely harmless; never takes revenge, while the bee that disobeys the king bitterly regrets that later and dies from his own sting. Here Basil the Great refers to St. Paul's Epistle and offers his words as an aphorism: "Listen, Christians, you to whom it is forbidden to "recompense evil for evil" and commanded "to overcome evil with good" ("

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 434, 168A-436, 168B.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 440, 169A,B.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 448, 173B.

Ἄκουέτωσαν Χριστιανοί, οἷς πρόσταγμά ἐστὶ μηδεὶν κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν".<sup>27</sup>

The Bishop of Caesarea relates about the bird halcyon (Gr. Lat. *alcedo hispida*), which lays eggs along the shore and hatches its nestlings in winter when the wind rages. During the seven days when halcyon broods, the wind drops and the sea calms down, and on the seventh day the eggs are hatched. More than that, God grants the bird another seven calm days so that it could raise its nestlings, and "All sailors know this, and call these days halcyon days. If divine Providence has established these marvellous laws in favour of creatures devoid of reason, it is to induce you to ask for your salvation from God," – this is how Basil the Great addresses men, for if the sea was ordered to calm down for the reason of one bird, how much more wonders God will make "for you-you have been made in His image".<sup>28</sup>

After that Basil the Great talks about the turtle-dove, which, separated from her mate, does not seek to contact a new one in remembrance of her first mate. The Bishop of Caesarea addresses widows: "What veneration for widowhood, even in these creatures devoid of reason, how they prefer it to an unbecoming multiplicity of marriages".<sup>29</sup>

We will not dwell long on animals and will only give an example of the sea urchin. Basil the Great states: This creature, ugly and small at the first sight, can in fact be a teacher as concerns the unrest and appeasement of the sea, it feels in advance the pending wind and the tempest, gets under a large stone and clings to it in order not to be taken away by the waves. This way, sailors understand that they are threatened with the tempest and do not enter the sea. So, God endowed this contemptible creature with great wisdom and vital goodness.<sup>30</sup>

The "unfinished" earth of the first day of the Creation became "finished" on the sixth day. The sky was embellished with lights and stars, the earth with herbs, birds and animals, and the sea with fish. "Then God said: "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness ("καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ κ

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 448, 173B, cf.: "Do not repay anyone evil for evil; ... Do not be overcome by evil but overcome κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες... μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν (Ρωμ. 12,17-21).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 456,177A,B. The Latin-Russian Dictionary gives the following definition of the word: "alcedo (*halcedo*), inis, f – halcyon, a bird that hatches its nestlings in the warm days of winter". Its derivatives are *alcedonia* (*halcedonia*)*orum* [*alcedo*] (sc. tempora) 1) Calm, windless days of winter; 2) Calmness, silence, И. Х. Дворецкий, Латинско-Русский словарь, Москва, "Русский язык", 1976.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 458, 177C.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 416, 160A,B.

αθ' ὁμοίωσιν"); and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth". "So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them" ("κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν") (*Gen.* 1,26-27). "Then the Lord formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being" (*Gen.* 2,7). "God saw everything that he had made, and indeed, it was very good" (*Gen.* 1,31). While creating other beings, God did not judge – He said and the world was created with animals and birds in it, but when God made a human, the Hypostases of the Holy Trinity<sup>31</sup> – the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit – judged, which is evidenced by the plural form: "Let us make ..." The participation of the Son in the creation together with the Father is attested by the beginning of the Gospel by John: "In the beginning was the Word ("the Word", as commonly admitted, refers to Christ) and the Word was with God, and the Word was God... All things were created by him, and without him nothing was created" (John 1, 1-3). The participation of the Holy Spirit in the creation is stated in the very first chapter of the Bible: "... a wind from God swept over the face of the waters" (*Gen.* 1,2). The idea is verified by the Holy Fathers: Ephraem Syrus, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea,<sup>32</sup> Gregory of Nyssa write that He, who said, "Let us make in our image" said it in the plurality of the Trinity.<sup>33</sup>

Here we may face the following question: why was the man created on the sixth day, last of all? Gregory of Nyssa gives an answer to the question: "For this reason man was brought into the world last after the creation, not being rejected to the last as worthless, but as one whom it behoved to be king over his subjects at his very birth".<sup>34</sup> The Lord first prepared the dominion for the man, which was the earth embellished with all kinds of goodness, and then the man himself was made as the king. God gave the man His own image, and His own spirit as well – the immortal spirit; so He gave the man the superior spirit and flesh, divine, called to be perpetual, and granted him the free will – thus making him immortal and assigning him to be the king. The essence of being a king is presented throughout the entire Holy Scripture and the patristic literature. "For as, in men's ordinary use, those who make images of princes both mould the figure of their form, and represent along with this the royal rank by the vesture of purple, and even the likeness is commonly

<sup>31</sup> In this connection, see Митр. Антоний Сурожский, ...*Мужщину и женщину сотворил их*, <http://www.pagez.ru/olb/103.php>.

<sup>32</sup> Basile de Cesarée, *Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, 518, 205C, 208A.

<sup>33</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio*, PG 44, §6, 40B.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, PG 44, §2, 133A.

spoken of as "a king", so the human nature also, as it was made to rule the rest, was, by its likeness to the King of all, made as it were a living image, partaking with the archetype both in rank and in name, not vested in purple, nor giving indication of its rank by sceptre and diadem (for the archetype itself is not arrayed with these), but instead of the purple robe, clothed in virtue, which is in truth the most royal of all raiment...<sup>35</sup> Gregory of Nyssa writes and names the virtues through which a man should perceive the true life; "...purity, freedom from passion, blessedness, alienation from all evil, and all those attributes of the like kind which help to form in men the likeness of God...".<sup>36</sup> While the evil is the servility to the sin which entails, as Gregory of Nyssa writes, gradual assimilation with brutes until the human nature becomes fully akin to the image of a brute.<sup>37</sup> The virtues are obtained by the reasonable behavior of a man. Gregory of Nyssa comments on the role of reasoning in obtaining the divine beauty and goodness: The perfection, fulfillment of every goodness is God, to whom all kindly creatures aspire; therefore, the reason bears the likeness to the goodness provided it is laid on the foundation of beauty – God – in accordance with its own powers; within such a framework it is beautiful. The reason that follows God rules the human body and maintains and enhances his likeness to God. As soon as the reason is detached from God, it loses the control over the body and the opposite process starts: passions i.e. sins dominate the human body, the body enslaved by passions rule the reason and deprive it of the divine beauty and nature. Consequently, the human loses the likeness to God.<sup>38</sup> In connection with this commentary by Gregory of Nyssa, P. Bouteneff writes; "νοῦς itself is not God's image unconditionally, it must partake in its likeness to the archetype. It must govern the body, not be governed by it, or else the soul will also lose its iconic beauty".<sup>39</sup> So, if virtues contribute to the likeness of humans to God, which humans are called to maintain, abandonment of the virtues entails the loss of the divine likeness and image and alienates them from the Divine Spirit.

Among the virtues, the Disciples as well as the Holy Fathers distinguish the three most important ones: faith, hope and love. St. John of Sinai, the author of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, mentions the three virtues on the highest, the thirtieth step, and like the Disciples, he also writes that amongst the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, PG 44, §4, 136D.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, PG 44, §5, 137B.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, PG 44, §18, 192D.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, PG 44, §12, 161C.

<sup>39</sup> Peter C. Bouteneff, *Essential or existential: the problem of the body in the anthropology of st. Gregory of Nyssa*, Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Beatitudes, ed. by Hubertus R. Drobner and Albert Viciano, Brill. Leiden. Boston. Köln, 2001, 412.

three, love is superior as it is called God.<sup>40</sup> Two images are distinguished within love: love for God, which, according to the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus Christ calls the first and foremost commandment, and the second, similar to that, is the love for a neighbor. "The whole law and the prophets hang on these two commandments" (*Matt.* 22,40). I.e. the Savior reduced the whole Scripture, the Old and the New Testaments, to the two mentioned commandments, out of which the superior one, love for God, is expressed through the obedience assigned to a man in the Garden of Eden: "You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die" (*Gen.* 2,16-17). The man, as a free being, was offered a choice to either get closer to the Creator and succeed to the entire heritage, or lose whatever he possessed, i.e. either obtain immortality which he was called to succeed to through his divine image and immortal spirit, or lose the image through his dishonest deeds liable to death. Gregory of Nyssa writes that every reasonable action resembles the divine beauty, while the deviation towards sinfulness is grave and leads to the abyss.<sup>41</sup> Gregory of Nyssa presents the move of a human towards God as an aspect of the category of beauty and goodness.<sup>42</sup>

All above mentioned can be put in a few words: God created the invisible and visible worlds from nothingness with all the beauty and goodness that corresponds to His own perfect goodness and beneficial beauty and assigned man to be the king of the earth as He made him in His own image and granted him the immortal soul. God took care of every creature, considered vital needs of each and every being, and created all good. All earthly beings are called to serve man and this way praise their Creator. On his part, man is called to serve God with his kindly deeds, through obtaining virtues so that the creature made in the image of God could maintain likeness to God and succeed to eternal life and immortality. The ascent of the ladder of virtues is everlasting; likewise eternal is the way leading to God and the opportunities of perfection.

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<sup>40</sup> *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by Reverend John of Sinai Mountain, Zugdidi, 1997, 261, cf.: "God is love" (*I John* 4, 16), "Faith, hope, and love now remain, these three; and love is the greatest of these" (*I Cor.* 13,13).

<sup>41</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio*, PG 44, §18, 194C.

<sup>42</sup> In this connection, see T. Dolidze, *Der Κίνησις-Begriff der Griechischen Philosophie bei Gregor von Nyssa*, Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Beatitudes, ed. by Hubertus R. Drobner and Albert Viciano, Brill/ Leiden. Boston. Köln, 2001.

Robert Schmitt-Brandt (Heidelberg)

## ZUR ETYMOLOGIE VON Μήδεια

*Frau Mzia Galdavadze gewidmet*

Gelegentlich helfen uns Etymologien archaischer Namen, die Eigenschaften und Funktionen von Gestalten der griechischen Mythologie besser zu verstehen. So zeigt uns das Wort Κύκλωψ "Rundauge", dass man sich die Kyklopen ursprünglich nicht einäugig vorstellte. Denn ein von Natur einäugiger Mensch wäre von den zweiäugigen Menschen nicht nach der Form seines Auges, sondern nach seiner Einäugigkeit (vielleicht \*μούνωψ) benannt worden. Vielleicht waren es nicht-menschliche, große Primaten (Gorillas?), denen die griechischen Seeleuten begegneten oder von denen sie hörten, welche Anlass zu diese Legende boten und die Einäugigkeit wurde erst später hinzuge-dichtet.

Bei den Ἀμαζόνες, nach Herodot 4. 110 ff. ein mit den Skythen verwandtes, also iranisches Volk, führt der Versuch einer griechischen Etymologie in die Irre (ἄ-μαζός "brustlos!"). Bei Hesych steht ἀμαζακαραν· πολεμειν Περσαι, wo -καρ-αν deutlich zur indo-iranischen Wurzel \*kar- "machen" gehört und sich amaza aus \*ha-maza <\*sm-maǵh-e/o- "zusammen kämpfen" > erklärt.<sup>1</sup> Es handelt sich also um einen nominalen n-Stamm zur Wurzel von agr. μάχομαι "kämpfe". Die Ἀμαζόνες, waren demnach Leute, bei denen die Frauen zusammen mit ihren Männer kämpften, echt griechisch vielleicht \*συμμαχέοντες, und die Legende von dem ausschließlich aus Frauen bestehenden Volk entstand erst später.

Viel weniger verdächtig nicht-griechischer Herkunft ist dagegen der Name von Μήδεια, der Tochter des Kolcherkönigs Αἰήτης. Denn altgriechische Personennamen wie Ἀμφιμήδης, Εὐμήδης, Περιμήδης treten schon in Linear B auf (a-pi-me-de, e-u-me-de, pe-ri-me-de) und niemand

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<sup>1</sup> Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, 697.

bezweifelt ihre Herkunft aus \**mēd-* in μήδομαι "erwäge, ersinne, beschließe", einer dehnstufigen Bildung zu \**med-* "messen" (got. *mitan*). Von hier aus führt semantisch über "ermessen" ein Weg zu "erwägen" (got. *mitōn*), "besorgt, bedacht sein um ..." (μέδομαι, vgl. auch Μέδων, Λαομέδων) und weiter zu "heilen" (lat. *medēri*). Es gibt in Georgien sogar Leute, die glauben, lat. *medicus* "Arzt" sei aus Μήδεια entstanden.

Die Dehnstufe gehört zum neutralen s-Stamm μῆδος "Rat", Pl. μῆδεα = armen. mitk J dass., wozu auch die oben genannten mask. s-Stämme auf -μῆδης und eine Ableitung \*μηδεηα > Μήδεια "die Rat wissende" zählt. Dazu gibt es wieder ein mask. Μήδειος bei Hesiod, Th. 1001, das auch schon im Mykenischen erscheint: me-de-i-jo KN B 8004. Besteht also kein Zweifel an der griechischen Herkunft des Wortes? Handelt es sich nicht sogar um einen sprechenden Namen, da !lavswn doch gerade durch die Ratschläge der Μήδεια die Hindernisse überwindet, die ihm Αίητης in den Weg gelegt hatte?

Dagegen spricht jedoch m. E. gerade diese Benennung der Frau nach ihrer Funktion in der Sage für eine nachträgliche Umdeutung. Es ist ganz so, als erklärte man Ἀχιλλεύς als "den, welcher dem Volk bzw. Heer (ion. λῆός, hom. λαός, myk. la-wa-ge-ta "Heerführer") ἄχος "Leid" bringt.

Noch nachdenklicher wird man, wenn man in der griechischen Mythologie auf einen offensichtlich verwandten Namen stößt, auf Ἴφιμέδεια Od. I 305 nämlich, die Geliebte des Poseidon. Das kurze "e" behindert den Vergleich nicht, vgl. μήδομαι und μέδομαι. Das Vorderglied des Namens deutet man als Instrumental von ἴς, urverwandt mit lat. *vīs* "Kraft", der häufig bei Namen auftritt (Ἴφιάνασσα, Ἴφιγένεια, Ἴφιδάμας) und offenbar eine Vorstellung wie lat. *super-* oder *kelt. ver-* (*Ver-cingeto-rīx* "Superheldenkönig") vermitteln soll. Doch in Linear B lautet der Name I-pe-me-de-ja PY Tn 316 ohne das ansonsten im Mykenischen erhaltene w und mit Silbe pe statt pi, also i-pe- statt wi-pi-.

Damit wird klar, dass es sich nicht um das erwartete griechische Wort handelt und wir außerhalb des Griechischen suchen müssen, um dieses Element zu verstehen. Schauen wir zuerst einmal nach Kolchis. Dies ist ja nun keineswegs eine aus dichterischer Phantasie entsprungene Landschaft, sondern ein historisches Königreich, das im heutigen Westgeorgien lag, wo man gewiss auch schon im Altertum eine südkaukasische Sprache benutzte, am ehesten eine Vorstufe des heutigen Mingrelischen oder Svanischen, ersteres in der Ebene bei Phothi < \**phathi* (> agr. Φᾶσις), letzteres in der Bergen nördlich davon gesprochen.

Nun gibt es im Mingrelischen ein Wort ephi, georg. iaphi, das "niedrig (Preis), billig" bedeutet und im Georgischen hört man gelegentlich eine Inter-



jektion *iph*, *iph*, *iph* gegenüber Kindern, die man als besonders hübsch und niedlich kennzeichnen möchte. Im Hattischen finden wir das Element *ippi* als Vorderglied eines Kompositums *ippi-zinar*, wozu es auch ein *hun-zinar* gibt, was man als "kleines" bzw. "großes" *zinar* (ein Musikinstrument) zu übersetzen pflegt. Doch auch im Griechischen selbst scheint es eine Spur dieses Wortes zu geben. Denn Hesych verzeichnet  $\iota\phi\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\nu$ , also  $\iota\phi\iota$ -"schön". War die  $\text{Ἰφιμέδεια}$  also eine kleine, niedliche oder doch wohl eher eine schöne -μέδεια? Auch das deutsche Wort "klein" hatte noch im Mittelalter die Bedeutung "zierlich, fein", vgl. Kleinod.

Ist nun aber die Deutung von *iphi-* aus *\*wiphi-* "mit Kraft" das Ergebnis einer Volksetymologie, warum nicht auch die Beziehung von -*mevdeia* und  $\text{Μήδεια}$  zu  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  und  $\mu\eta\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ? Vielleicht finden wir auch dafür ein anklingendes Wort in einer einheimischen Sprache.

Ein in Westgeorgien sehr beliebter weiblicher Vorname lautet *Mzia*, eine Ableitung von georg. *mze* "Sonne". Das Suffix *-ia* hat eine teils identifizierende, teils deminutive Funktion. So nennt der Besitzer eines Stiers (*bugha*) diesen *Bughia*, aber es spricht zu dritten von seinem *bugha*. Ebenso nennt ein Kind seinen Onkel (*bidza*) *Bidzia*. Doch auch ein Bauer gibt einem seiner Ochsen den Namen *Ghvinia* (nach georg. *ghvino*, mingr. *ghvini* "Wein"), da der Ochse weinfarben ist.<sup>2</sup> Die Sonne gilt bei den Südkaukasiern (vor allem in der Poesie) als weiblich. Es gibt in diesen Sprachen zwar kein Genus, doch man liest in der Literatur von der Sonnengöttin und dem Mondgott, die man vor Übernahme des Christentums (4. Jh.) hier verehrte. So ist *mzekhala* (zu *khali* "Frau"), ein alter Beiname der Sonne, heute auch ein weiblicher Vorname und eine gute Bekannte des Autors, der z. Zt. in Kutaisi an der Universität lehrt, heißt *Mzevinari*, wörtlich "wer (vin) wie die Sonne ist", ein Name, den man nur Frauen geben kann.

Dem georgischen Wort *mze* "Sonne" entspricht im Svanischen *miž* aus *\*məž* mit einem ursprünglich südkaukasischen silbischen *m* im Anlaut.<sup>3</sup> Das mingrelische *bža* ist erst einzelsprachlich durch den Lautwandel *e* > *a* und *m* > *b-* vor *ž* entstanden. Demnach lautete *Mzia* damals *\*Məžia* (*ž* zwischen *z* und *ž*). Die Südkaukasier betonen (wenn auch schwach) die erste Silbe des Wortes.

Ersetzten die Griechen den Laut *ž* durch *z* ( $\zeta\eta\tau\alpha$ ), das damals [zd] gesprochen wurde, so musste der Name bei ihnen [*mezdia*] klingen, was eine Deutung als  $\text{Μήδεια}$  "Beraterin" nahelegte und vielleicht sogar den Verlauf des Epos selbst beeinflusste, vgl. die Idee von der Geburt der Aphrodite aus

<sup>2</sup> Beispiele aus H. Fähnrich, Kurze Grammatik der Georgischen Sprache, 1993<sup>2</sup>, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Gamkrelidze, Sonantensystem und Ablaut in den Kartwelsprachen, Günter Narr-Verlag, Tübingen 1982.

der volksetymologischen Identifizierung von Aphro- mit ἀφρός "Schaum"<sup>4</sup> oder die Geschichten von den Amazonen, die gelegentlich einen Nachbarts-tamm aufsuchen mussten, um sich begatten zu lassen.

Αἰήτης, der Vater der Μήδεια, ist nach der griechischen Mythologie ein Sohn des Sonnengottes Ἥλιος, Μήδεια also die Enkelin des Ἥλιος. Dieser wieder ist kein Olympier, sondern ein Titane, also Angehöriger eines vorolympischen und damit wohl auch vorgriechischen Göttergeschlechts. Insofern ist auffällig, dass er, wie auch andere Mitglieder seiner Familie, sprechende griechische Namen tragen. ἥλιος ist einfach das griechische Appellativum für "Sonne", ganz wie die römische Venus zweifellos das alte lateinische Appellativum für die körperliche Liebe (neutr. s-Stamm) darstellt. Seine Eltern Ὑπερίων "der oben gehende" und Θεία "die göttliche", seine Frauen Νέαира "die frische, neue" (vielleicht der Neumond, weil auch Σελήνη als eine Frau des Ἥλιος gilt), Αἴγλη "Glanz", die mit Λαμπετίη (zu λαμπετών "leuchtender") und Φαεθοῦσα (zu φαέτων "glänzender") seine Rinder hütet.

Mit Πέρση zeugte Ἥλιος die Πασιφάη, die Licht (φάος) für alle (πᾶσι) zu bringen scheint, obgleich wir für diese Bedeutung eher Πασιφάεσσα erwarten würden, vgl. Εὐρυφάεσσα "die weit leuchtende", eine andere Frau des Ἥλιος (hom. hym. 31). Dies lässt vermuten, dass es sich hier teils um Lehnübersetzungen, teils volksetymologische Neubildungen für vorgriechische Gottheiten handelt.

Das vorgriechische Äquivalent zu Ἥλιος dürfte Τιτάν gewesen sein, der Urvater der Titanen. Sah man in der Sonne jedoch eine Göttin, so ist an Titwv zu denken, die als Appellativum titwv im Griechischen noch für "Sonne, Tag" erscheint. Die Pevrsh finden wir vermutlich in den Linear B-Texten als pe-re-\*82 = / preswā / ? wieder, wo auch ein Personennamen pe-re-\*82-ta = / preswatā / ? auftritt. Auch im Namen der Περσεφόνη (volksetymologisch zu φονή "Mord"?) dürfte diese Gottheit weiter leben.

Besagte Πέρση, Tochter des Ὠκέανος, gebar dem Ἥλιος neben Πασιφάη und Αἰήτης, König von Αἶα, auch Κίρκη, die auf der Insel Αἰαία lebte. Falls ihr Name in der Tat zu κύρκος "Ring" gehört und den Umlauf der Sonne um die Erde symbolisieren soll (so Kerényi, Töchter der Sonne), hätten wir hier eine weitere Anspielung auf eine Eigenschaft der Sonne. Doch auch die runde Form der Sonne oder die Zauberkraft des Kreises (vgl. κίρκου "mit einem Ring fesseln") könnte hier Pate gestanden sein. Αἰήτης (zu Αἶα "Erde"?) wäre demnach der irdische Sohn des Sonnen-

<sup>4</sup> Deutungsversuch des Namens bei Robert Schmitt-Brandt "Einführung in die Indogermanistik", A. Francke-Verlag, Tübingen, 1998, 299.

gottes, der mit Εἰδυῖα, "der Wissenden", Μήδεια zeugte, "die von der Sonne", in griechischem Mund "die Beraterin". Erst später im Epos tritt ihr sonnenhafter Charakter als in der Liebe feurige und im Hass und der Eifersucht alles verbrennende Gottheit wieder hervor, Eigenschaften, die den heutigen Nachkommen der Kolcherinnen auch nicht fremd sind.

PS Erst nach Vollendung dieses Artikels fiel mir ein georgisch geschriebener Aufsatz von Thomas Gamkrelidse in die Hand (Ena da kultura N 3 (2002), dessen englischer Zusammenfassung ich entnehme, dass mein verehrter Kollege eine georgische Parallele zu agr. κῶας (Linear B ko-wo) "Haut, Fell" gefunden hat: *t'k'ow* dass. So findet auch das goldene Vlies seinen Weg zurück nach Kolchis.

Irene Tatišvili (Tbilisi)

## QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA PENSÉE RELIGIEUSE CHEZ LES HITTITES<sup>1</sup>

C'est en étudiant les problèmes d'organisation des "mille dieux" du pays hittite et les mécanismes de régulation qui permettaient aux Hittites d'équilibrer dans leur religion stabilité et changement, identité et différence<sup>2</sup> que je me suis intéressée au développement de la pensée religieuse hittite.

Tout d'abord il faut constater que la religion dite "hittite" contient des éléments empruntés par les Hittites à divers systèmes culturels. Les composantes décelables dans la religion hittite et qui appartiennent à différents noyaux ethniques sont par ordre d'importance: la composante hattie, l'indo-européenne (c.-à-d. hittito-louvite) et la hourrite. Ce n'est pas sans raison que les recherches sur la religion des Hittites se scindent en deux grandes approches méthodologiques : l'une refuse toute idée de la formation du système religieux ordonné chez les Hittites. Par conséquent, la coexistence chaotique des différentes traditions ou bien de certains éléments constitutifs de la religion des Hittites se retrouve sous l'appellation *religions anciennes* (ou *de la période hittite*) *de l'Asie Mineure*. L'autre approche méthodologique suppose l'existence d'une forme de système religieux plus ou moins ordonné, chez les Hittites. C'est ce point de vue que j'adopte et je vais essayer ci-après d'en esquisser les grandes lignes, concernant la formation de ce système et des changements qu'il a subi.

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<sup>1</sup> Texte de l'exposé présenté à l'Université de Paris I, sur l'aimable proposition de Monsieur Michel Mazoyer. Diverses idées présentées ici sont développées dans: *Zur hethitischen Religion*, Tbilissi 1996; Les divinités hatties dans le panthéon hittite, *Caucasica* 5, 2002 ; exposé présenté au Ve Congrès International d'Hittitologie (Çorum, 2002). Je voudrais remercier cordialement Madame Marie-Claire Perroudon d'avoir eu l'amabilité de lire et de corriger mon texte français.

<sup>2</sup> I. Tatišvili. *La religion hittite. Genèse, formation et structure du panthéon*, Tbilissi 2001, 2004<sup>2</sup> (en géorgien, avec un résumé en allemand).

La composante la plus ancienne, fondamentale, de la religion hittite, c'est la composante hattie.<sup>3</sup> Mais alors, une question s'impose inévitablement: comment se fait-il que les Hittites aient emprunté aux Hattis non seulement les divinités principales du panthéon impérial hittite, mais aussi leur conception religieuse? Pour y répondre il faut essayer d'analyser les mécanismes et de suivre autant que faire se peut les étapes de cette adoption d'importance capitale. Je voudrais citer à ce propos la remarque d'E. Laroche, très intéressante du point de vue méthodologique: "La réussite d'un syncrétisme païen ne s'explique guère par une aspiration spontanée des populations en présence vers l'unité des cultes. Elle dépend surtout de la volonté centralisatrice d'un clergé conscient, s'appuyant sur un pouvoir politique fort".<sup>4</sup> J'ai déjà essayé de montrer<sup>5</sup> que le *Texte d'Anitta* (CTH 1) reflète l'intervention consciente du roi Anitta, sa réforme religieuse, si j'ose dire. Cette réforme a culminé, je pense, dans le remplacement de Šiuš, dieu suprême des Nésites, dieu du ciel diurne, dont le nom est dérivé d'une racine indo-européenne \*dyeu(s), par le couple de divinités hatties composé d'Eštan et de Taru. Ce qui fait que Šiuš ayant cessé d'exister en tant que divinité, son nom étant devenu un nom commun désignant le dieu.

Eštan et Taru ont continué à dominer le panthéon impérial hittite, présentés respectivement comme la déesse Soleil d'Arinna et le dieu de l'Orage du Hatti.

On peut supposer que c'est l'idéologie hattie du pouvoir royal qui a attiré Anitta et l'a incité à une réforme, mettant en branle un processus de syncrétisme hattie-nésite qui, en fin de compte, aboutit à la formation de la religion hittite. Nous ne pouvons pas suivre tout le processus de ce développement. On peut supposer qu'il arriva à son terme à peu près lors de l'apparition des premiers textes hittites, c'est-à-dire vers le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.

<sup>3</sup> Voir, par ex., A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, München 1957<sup>2</sup>, 135; A. Kammenhuber, *Das Hattische. Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, Bd. 2, Leiden, Köln 1969, 428; E. Neu, *Der Alte Orient: Mythen der Hethiter*, *Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium* 2, 1990, 94; J. Klingner, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*, *StBoT* 37, 1996. Pour un point de vue différent, selon lequel l'héritage indo-européen est prédominant dans la culture hittite, voir en premier lieu: E. Masson, *Le combat pour l'immortalité*, Paris 1991, 26 sq.; id., *Le bilinguisme hittite-hatti au début du royaume. Le bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, Paris, 1996, 23 sq.; Certes, les Indo-Européens d'Anatolie ont subi l'influence de la civilisation des Hattis, mais ils ont aussi conservé leurs propres traditions. Poursuivant le propos de cet article, ce qui m'intéresse ici ce sont les mécanismes d'adoption et les conséquences qui en découlent dans la pensée religieuse des Hittites.

<sup>4</sup> E. Laroche, Un syncrétisme gréco-anatolien: Sandas = Héraklès. *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (1971)*, Paris 1973, 104.

<sup>5</sup> Tatišvili, *Zur hethitischen Religion*, 4 ff.; id. *La religion hittite*, Tbilissi 2004<sup>2</sup>, 102 sqq., 175 sqq.

Le couple des divinités suprêmes – la déesse Soleil d'Arinna et le dieu de l'Orage du Hatti – était entouré de leurs enfants, tous des divinités hatties: Mezzulla et Zintuhi, Telipinu, les dieux de l'Orage de Nèrik et de Zippalanda. Ces divinités, venues de centres religieux locaux, occupaient des places importantes dans le panthéon d'État.

Le panthéon présenté dans les mythes et les rituels de provenance hattie n'est pas homogène. De ce point de vue, il faut bien constater que les relations de parenté – les parents, la femme et les enfants de la figure principale des mythes, par exemple le dieu de l'Orage, diffèrent d'un texte à l'autre.<sup>6</sup> Il est évident que les hattis n'étaient pas parvenus à unifier leurs panthéons locaux et qu'il n'existait pas de panthéon commun à toutes les cités du Hatti, bien qu'on puisse supposer qu'une partie des divinités, ainsi que la trame des mythes s'y rapportant, étaient communes à toutes.

On peut reconstruire deux schémas principaux du panthéon hattie.<sup>7</sup>

1. Au sommet du panthéon se trouve le couple de la déesse-Soleil et du dieu de l'Orage entourés de leurs enfants / petits-enfants et de quelques dieux.

2. Au sommet du panthéon se trouve le dieu de l'Orage, le fils de la déesse-Soleil. Le père étant un dieu peu important, il n'est pas toujours mentionné par son nom. Le dieu de l'Orage possède des enfants, une femme et une concubine.

Dans les panthéons des grands centres religieux on trouve aussi quelques autres divinités. Ceux des centres d'importance secondaire se réduisent au couple ou à la triade de divinités. Le panthéon hittite officiel est fondé essentiellement sur le premier schéma, mais il a aussi intégré le second. C'est pourquoi la couche culturelle hattie compte plusieurs générations du dieu de l'Orage. Ce double schéma se révéla être assez commode et il a beaucoup facilité l'adoption de nouveaux cultes: on peut dire que la place était réservée d'emblée pour n'importe quel dieu de l'Orage des cités ou pays voisins.<sup>8</sup>

Cette particularité du panthéon a dû s'avérer pratique pour les prêtres hittites confrontés à la nécessité de classer les divinités, dont la quantité a augmenté au cours de l'histoire, au fur et à mesure de l'agrandissement du royaume hittite et de la constitution du panthéon impérial. Mais quelle solution les prêtres hittites allaient-ils trouver?

D'une part, ils laissent intact des divinités venues de pays voisins tels que le Kizzuwatna, les royaumes de Syrie du Nord ou des cultes locaux d'Anatolie centrale. Toutes s'enracinent dans la religion hittite avec leurs fêtes et rituels.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. Steiner, Gott, *RLA* 3-7, 1969, 553 ff.; C.-G. Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten, MVAeG* 46/2, 1943, 72 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Je me reporte aux données présentées par J. Klinger dans : *Untersuchungen*, 169 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Tatišvili, *Les divinités hatties*, 109 sqq.

Aussi découvre-t-on dans certains textes de rituels on découvre le panthéon de tel ou tel centre local, son système religieux.<sup>9</sup>

D'autre part, quand ces divinités accèdent au panthéon impérial, les prêtres hittites les classent selon leurs fonctions ou bien leur nature. L'Assemblée divine (tuliya-), présentée dans des listes divines officielles bien organisées, est attestée dans les différentes sortes de textes – mythes, descriptions des fêtes, instructions, prières, et surtout dans les traités. On peut distinguer ici un groupement typologique / fonctionnel. Le groupe fonctionnel comprend la divinité, issue du syncrétisme hattî-nésite, ses hypostases et ses innombrables variantes locales, et des divinités "étrangères", c.-à.d. les divinités introduites dans le panthéon officiel à l'issue du syncrétisme hattî-nésite et qui sont, en fait, leurs homologues d'après leur fonction. Le tableau №1 illustrera mon propos; y sont présentés à titre d'exemple des extraits de listes des dieux témoins des traités et un extrait de la prière de Mursili II. Les extraits sont rangés dans l'ordre chronologique. L'ordre d'énumération des dieux est un peu dérangé dans CTH 53 et dans 379 dans un but de comparaison, pour voir comment se complète le groupe fonctionnel:

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<sup>9</sup> Pour les panthéons locaux se référer à E.Laroche, Panthéons d'Asie Mineure. L'organisation des dieux chez les Hittites. *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, Paris 1981, 237 sqq.; R. Lebrun, Les religions hittites et asianiques. *Encyclopédie des religions* 1, Bayard Éditions, 1997, 80 sqq.; V. Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion*, Leiden/New York/Köln 1994, 539 ff., 583 ff.; B.Sergent, Panthéons hittites trifonctionnels, *RHR* 200, 1983, 136 sqq.; J.Hasenbos, *The Organisation of the Anatolian Local Cults During the 13<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.*, Leipzig 1998.

1. Tableau des listes de dieux

<p><i>Traité avec les Gargas</i> (CTH 139)/KBo 8.35 Vo II 9' sqq.:</p>	<p><i>Traité entre Šuppiluliuma I et Tette du Nuhasse</i> (CTH 53) /KBo 1.4 + IV 9' sqq.:</p>	<p><i>Prière de Muršili à tous les dieux</i> (CTH 379)/KUB 48.111 + I 1sqq.</p>
<p><sup>D</sup>IM le dieu de l'Orage</p>	<p>le dieu de l'Orage du ciel, le dieu de l'Orage] du <b>Hatti</b>, [Šeri, <b>Hurri</b>, la montagne Nanni, la montagne] <b>Hazzi</b>, [le dieu de l'Orage du m arché(?), le dieu de l'Orage de l'armée, le dieu de l'Orage de ... , le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Halap</b>, le dieu de l'Orage de Zippalanda, le dieu de l'Orage de Nérik, le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Lihzina</b>], le dieu de l'Orage [des ruines, le dieu de l'Orage] de <b>Hiššašhapa</b>, [le dieu de l'Orage de] <b>Šahpina</b>, le dieu de l'Orage [de Šapinuwa, le dieu de l'Orage de] <b>Pittiyarik</b>, le dieu de l'Orage [de <b>Šamuha</b>, le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Hurma</b>], le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Sarišša</b>, [le dieu de l'Orage] de l'aide, le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Uda</b>, [le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Kizzuwatna</b>, le dieu de l'Orage ] d' <b>Išhupitta</b>, le dieu de l'Orage de <b>Nuhašše</b></p>	<p>Le dieu de l'Orage du Hatti, [Le dieu de l'Orage de] Zipalanta, Šeri, <b>Hurri</b>, [le dieu de l'Orage <i>pihaimi</i>(?)], <b>tous les dieux de l'Orage</b></p>
<p><sup>D</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> le dieu de la guerre</p>	<p>le dieu de la guerre, le dieu de la guerre du <b>Hatti</b>, le dieu de la guerre d'Illyaya, le dieu de la guerre d'Arziya, Yarri, Zappana</p>	<p>Le dieu de la guerre, [<b>to</b>]us les <b>dieux de la guerre</b></p>
<p><sup>D</sup>LAMMA le dieu protecteur</p>	<p>[<b>le dieu protecteur</b>], le dieu protecteur du <b>Hatti</b>, <b>Zithariya</b>, [Karzi], <b>Hapantaliya</b>, le dieu protecteur de <b>Karahna</b>, [le dieu protecteur de le steppe, le dieu protecteur] de la toison (?)</p>	<p>Le dieu protecteur, [le dieu protecteur du] <b>Hatti</b>, <b>tous les dieux protecteurs</b></p>

De telles listes représentent indubitablement une tentative de systematisation des différents noms (hatti, hittite, louvite ou autre) d'une divinité. Ainsi, le nom du dieu "étranger" dans tel ou tel groupe de la liste des dieux hittites devait être conçu comme l'équivalent du nom hittite de la divinité. L'existence d'un tel "glossaire" dans l'empire plurilingue des Hittites ne saurait nous étonner.



L'usage de sumérogrammes était aussi très commode: d'une part, le sumérogramme donnait le titre d'un groupe de dieux exerçant la même fonction et, d'autre part, il pouvait s'entendre de diverses manières: chacun dans l'empire hittite pouvait le lire comme il voulait: en hattî, en hittite, en hourrite, etc.<sup>10</sup>

Je crois que le système religieux ouvert des Hittites, qui donne une impression de tolérance particulière même parmi les religions polythéistes, était fondé sur la structure ouverte du panthéon, qui, en l'absence d'une hiérarchie stricte, permettait de placer n'importe quel nombre de divinités dans le groupe fonctionnel d'une divinité.

Cette invention des théologiens ou politiciens hittites représentait, sans aucun doute, un système assez souple. Il exprimait la concomitance du multiple dans l'unique et arrangeait la coexistence des "mille dieux" des Hittites.

Une telle solution apportée au problème de l'unicité et de la pluralité de leurs dieux a dû pousser les Hittites à des réflexions sur l'essence du divin et sur divers problèmes théologiques...

Les prières hittites sont très significatives à cet égard. Chacun de ces textes – comme l'a remarqué R. Lebrun à juste titre – s'avère novateur, tout en gardant une constante traditionaliste.<sup>11</sup>

Il est notable que les prières manifestant un tournant dans la pensée religieuse hittite, couvrent une période d'à peine deux siècles. Le royaume hittite, lui, n'a duré que cinq siècles. Toutes proportions gardées, l'intensité et la dynamique de ce développement nous rappellent un peu le développement de la pensée en Grèce classique.

Parmi les prières hittites on nommera ici en premier lieu la prière de Kantuzzili (CTH 373, datée du début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle). Ce texte représente le tout premier échantillon d'une nouvelle forme de prière hittite, la prière personnelle.<sup>12</sup> Les célèbres prières de Muršili, connues sous le titre de prières de la peste, révèlent sans aucun doute les réflexions théologiques de ce roi. L'héritier spirituel de Muršili était son fils Muwatalli.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites*, Paris 1947, 132 sq.; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, 17. Pour la *Gleichsetzungstheologie* en Babylonie voir W. von Soden, *Das Fragen nach der Gerechtigkeit Gottes im Alten Orient*, *MDOG* 96, 1965, 45ff.

<sup>11</sup> Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 461 sqq.

<sup>12</sup> Voir I. Singer, *Kantuzzili the Priest and the Birth of Hittite Prayer*, *Fs. M. Popko*, Warsaw 2002, 302 ff.; M. Mazoyer, *A propos des relations entre les Dieux et les Hittites*, *Dieu Miséricorde Dieu Amour. Actes du colloque – Patrimoine Syriaque VIII*. Editions du CERO 2003, 29 sq.

<sup>13</sup> Il porte le nom de la divinité personnelle de son père: Muršili se nommait, on le sait, "le favori du dieu de l'Orage NIR.GÁL / Muwatalli / "vaillant". Cette divinité se rencontre régulièrement dans les textes du règne de Muršili et n'est pas attestée avant. Voir *KBo* 1.28 obv. 3 et le sceau provenant d'Ugarit (*Ugaritica III*, sceau 1/RS 14.202/ RS 17.235+335 + 379 + 381?). Cf. *CTH*

Je considère l'activité religieuse du roi Muwatalli comme le point culminant de l'évolution de la pensée religieuse hittite et voudrais examiner plus en détail certains aspects de l'oeuvre de ce roi.

C'est un fait bien connu que le roi Muwatalli a abandonné sa capitale **Hattuša**, pour s'installer à **Tarhuntašša**, une ville du sud. Ce déplacement est interprété en général comme un acte stratégique, qui s'expliquerait par la menace *kaška*<sup>14</sup> et par un désir de se rapprocher des frontières occidentales et méridionales,<sup>15</sup> le royaume hittite étant à la veille d'une guerre avec l'Égypte.

Je partage totalement l'opinion d'Itamar Singer, l'auteur d'une excellente édition de la prière de Muwatalli (CTH 381), qui, n'excluant pas entièrement des considérations stratégiques de la part de Muwatalli, croit pourtant que le transfert de la capitale à **Tarhuntašša** doit être considéré dans le contexte plus large des réformes religieuses de Muwatalli.<sup>16</sup> Ce fait, d'après I. Singer, est lié étroitement à l'adoption d'un "nouveau" dieu par Muwatalli et à ses conséquences théologiques. Ce dieu – le dieu de l'Orage, *pihaššašiš Tarhuntaš*, dont l'étymologie louvienne ne laisse plus aucun doute, et qui n'est pas attesté avant Muwatalli, aurait été "découvert" (ou bien créé) par Muwatalli et serait devenu son dieu personnel. Selon I. Singer, on peut y voir une situation analogue à la fondation de la nouvelle capitale par Akhénon en l'honneur d'Aten, hypostase du dieu Soleil – Re.

Je me permets de remarquer que le système religieux hittite, tel que je le conçois, n'aurait nullement empêché Muwatalli ni de recevoir et d'instaurer un nouveau culte dans le panthéon impérial, ni non plus de promouvoir telle ou telle divinité ou de remplacer une hypostase par une autre hypostase. Donc, pour que Muwatalli ait eu besoin de transférer sa capitale, pour des motivations religieuses, il devait songer à des changements radicaux dans le système religieux hittite. Est-il possible de révéler dans les conceptions théologiques de Muwatalli les changements fondamentaux qui devaient causer l'écroulement de ce système?

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68 (Traité de Muršili avec Kupanta-Kurunta du pays de Mira-Kuwaliya) où le dieu de l'Orage "vaillant" est mentionné avant le dieu de l'Orage du ciel. Voir *KUB* 19.52 + IV 9' sqq.: le Soleil du ciel, [le Soleil d'Arinna], le dieu de l'Orage "vaillant", le dieu de l'Orage du ciel, Šeri, Hurri, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Voir, par ex., K. Bittel, *Hattuscha – Hauptstadt der Hethiter*, Köln 1983, 30.

<sup>15</sup> Voir, par ex., F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter*, Darmstadt 1973, 224; E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer*, Berlin 1965, 55.

<sup>16</sup> I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning* (CTH 381), 1996, 185 sqq., 191 sqq.; idem, From Hattuša to Tarhuntašša: Some Thoughts on Muwatalli's Reign, in: *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology* (Çorum 1996), Ankara, 1998, 535 ff.; idem, The Fate of Hattusa during the Period of Tarhuntašša's Supremacy, *Fs Haas*, 2001, 395.

Je voudrais revenir au texte de la prière de Muwatalli (CTH 381) qui, me semble-t-il, rend manifeste des aspects très suggestifs de l'activité religieuse de ce roi.

D'après le préambule (I 1-4): *UM-MA* ta-ba-ar-na <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL LU-GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ha-at-ti (2) [DUMU] <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-i-li LU-GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ha-at-ti UR.SAG ma-a-an UN-[ši] (3) [me-m]i-aš ku-iš-ki na-ak-ki-ya-aš-zi nu-za *A-NA* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar (4) [D]Û-zi

"Ainsi (parle) le Tabarna Muwatalli, grand roi, roi du pays hittite, fils de Muršili, grand roi, roi du pays hittite, le héros: Si quelque problème accable / trouble un homme / (c'est à dire: s'il a mauvaise conscience), il présentera sa plaidoirie aux dieux / (se justifiera devant les dieux)".

Rappelons-nous les particularités de la prière, souvent notées dans la littérature spécialisée: le péché de Muwatalli n'est pas nommé dans le texte; ne sont pas nommées non plus ni la cause ni les circonstances qui pourraient le justifier devant les dieux, comme c'est pourtant souvent le cas dans les textes des prières personnelles hittites.

Parmi les particularités de la prière on notera aussi le fait qu'elle ne contient aucune demande concrète formulée par le roi en échange de sa plaidoirie, comme le font d'autres rois hittites. Cela pourrait indiquer que nous sommes en présence d'un modèle de prière,<sup>17</sup> ce qui peut être considéré en soi comme une tentative de réforme sur le plan théologique. Mais, s'il en est ainsi, ce modèle n'a eu aucun succès, car les rois suivants n'en ont pas fait usage, à en juger d'après les prières qui nous sont parvenues.

Je préfère une autre interprétation et voudrais citer à ce propos deux passages:

1. KUB 6.45 I 25-32 / 6.46 I 27-33: (25) EGIR-ŠU-ma-za ŠA ZI-YA A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar i-ya-mi nu-mu DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> (26) EN<sup>MES</sup> GEŠTUG-an pa-ra-a e-ep-tén nu-mu ke-e ar-ku-wa-ar-ri<sup>HLA</sup> (27) iš-ta-ma-aš-tén nu-za A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> ku-e *A-NA* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> EN<sup>MES</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar (28) DÛ-mi nu ki-i A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> EN<sup>MES</sup> da-at-ti-in iš-ta-ma-aš-ti-ni-ya-at (29) ku-e-ma-mu A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> Û-UL iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni am-mu-uk-ma-za-at (30) *A-NA* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar i-ya-mi-pát na-at-mu-kán UN-az (31) KAXU-az ša-ra-a ú-iz-zi-pát na-at DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> EN<sup>MES</sup> (32) iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-wa-an-zi para-a tar-ni-iš-tén

I. Singer traduit:

"Divine lords, lend me (your) ear, and listen to these my pleas! (27) And the words which I will make into a plea to the divine lords, (28) these words, divine lords, accept and listen to them! (29) And whatever words you do not

<sup>17</sup> Voir par ex.: Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 289; Singer, *Muwatalli*, 149 sq. ; idem, *Hittite Prayers*, Atlanta 2002, 86; idem, *Kantuzzili*, 306-307, n. 34.

(wish to) hear from me, (30) and I nevertheless persist in making them into a plea to the gods, (31) they merely emerge from my human mouth; (32) refrain from listening to them, divine lords".<sup>18</sup>

Et si l'on admettait que c'est Muwatalli qui va se justifier devant tous les dieux, car il a mauvaise conscience et ressent le besoin de se repentir (cf. I 1-3, III 46)?<sup>19</sup> Mais, dans ce cas, en quoi consiste le péché de Muwatalli et pourquoi ne le nomme-t-il pas? Pourquoi donc les dieux devraient-ils "s'abstenir d'écouter" Muwatalli? Sa faute est-elle si grave que, bien qu'osant plaider sa cause devant les dieux, en leur rappelant que ses mots sortent de sa bouche de mortel, Muwatalli n'ose pas se faire écouter d'eux?

2. Examinons maintenant le passage KUB 6.45 III 45-47/ 6.46 IV 14-16:

nu am-me-el ku-wa-pí A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi (46)  
nu-mu-kán ku-iš i-da-lu-uš ZI-ni an-da (47) na-an-mu DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> EGIR-pa  
SIG<sub>5</sub>-ah-ha-an-zi šar-la-an-zi.

Je donne ici la préférence, pour la traduction du contexte, à l'interprétation traditionnelle du verbe *šarlai-* – "erhöhen, verherrlichen, rühmen, preisen,"<sup>20</sup> let prevail".<sup>21</sup>

"Lorsque les dieux entendront mes paroles, les dieux corrigeront / remettront dans l'ordre et feront triompher / ennobliront (!) ce qui est mauvais dans mon esprit".<sup>22</sup>

Il est fort probable que "ce qui est mauvais dans mon esprit", de même que "ce qui est dans le coeur de sa Majesté" (IV 46: kue AWATE<sup>MES</sup> ANA D<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠT</sup> ŠĀ-ta/karta), désigne le péché de Muwatalli. Mais, s'il en est ainsi, en quoi consiste le péché qui triompherait ou serait ennoblir par les dieux? À mon avis, il pourrait s'agir de la réforme religieuse de Muwatalli.

La partie du texte contenant la description du rituel présente des indications suggestives allant dans ce sens. On y remarque, je dirais, comme un

<sup>18</sup> Singer, *Muwatalli*, 53. Cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 274: "Ô dieux, mes seigneurs, prêtez-moi votre attention, prêtez l'oreille à mes plaidoiries que voici. Dieux, mes seigneurs, accueillez ces paroles que j'adresse en guise d'excuse aux dieux, mes seigneurs, et écoutez-les. Mes paroles que vous n'écoutez pas mais que j'adresse uniquement comme plaidoirie aux dieux, et qui sortent seulement de ma bouche d'homme, ô dieux, mes seigneurs, daignez une fois les écouter".

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Singer, *Muwatalli*, 147 ff., cf. aussi Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 289.

<sup>20</sup> Voir, par ex., J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Innsbruck 2001, 145.

<sup>21</sup> H. G. Güterbock, An Addition to the Prayer of Mursili to the Sungodess and its Implications, *AnSt* 30, 1980, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Cf.: G. Kellerman, Les Prières hittites (A propos d'une récente monographie), *Numen* 30, 1983, 275: "Lorsque les dieux entendront mes paroles, ils transformeront en bien et ennobliront le mal qui est dans mon âme"; Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 281: "Lorsque les dieux entendront mes paroles, les dieux corrigeront leur point de vue en ma faveur et feront triompher ce qui (est) une mauvaise parole dans mon/leur? esprit"; Singer, *Muwatalli*, 41: "When the gods will hear my word, the bad thing which is in my soul, the gods will put it right and lift it from me".

désir qu'a le roi de séparer le couple suprême: la déesse Soleil d'Arinna et le dieu de l'Orage du **Hatti**.

Dans le préambule (I 4-6) il est question de deux tables d'offrandes, dont l'une est destinée à la déesse Soleil d'Arinna et l'autre aux dieux masculins, au nombre desquels devrait se trouver le dieu de l'Orage du **Hatti**. La façon dont les offrandes sont distribuées est aussi énigmatique (IV 4 sqq.).<sup>23</sup>

On remarquera que les divinités qui ne disposent pas de tables d'offrandes pendant le sacrifice (tous les dieux du Hatti, Seri et Hurri, toutes les déesses du Hatti, les montagnes, les rivières), reçoivent leurs offrandes rangées sur la table de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna et sur celle du dieu de l'Orage **Pihaššašši**.

Il est vrai que le dieu de l'Orage du **Hatti** – tout comme la déesse Soleil d'Arinna – diffère des autres dieux, en ce qui concerne les sortes d'offrandes, mais, dans l'ordre hiérarchique des divinités évoquées à ce propos, ses deux hypostases principales (le dieu de l'Orage du ciel et celui du **Hatti**) occupent la quatrième et la cinquième place, précédées de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna, du dieu de l'Orage **Pihaššašši**, de **Hebat**, et suivies du dieu de l'Orage de Zippalanda (IV 4 sqq.).

Dans la longue liste des panthéons locaux (I 37 sqq.) la capitale – **Hattuša** – est nommée après Arinna, **Šamuha**, **Katappa**.<sup>24</sup>

Un autre détail est d'importance: le dieu de l'Orage du **Hatti** est désigné dans le texte, comme d'habitude, par <sup>D</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>**Hatti**. Une fois seulement (I 33) il est désigné par <sup>D</sup>U **ŠA KUR** <sup>URU</sup>**Hatti**. Autant que je sache, c'est un cas unique.<sup>25</sup> Je me demande si cela ne voudrait pas nous laisser entendre que la désignation traditionnelle ne vaut dans ce texte que pour le dieu de l'Orage de la cité de **Hattuša**, c'est à dire pour le dieu local.

La vénération pour le dieu de l'Orage **Pihaššašši**, exprimée dans la prière qui lui est adressée directement, sort de l'ordinaire, même s'il s'agit du dieu personnel du roi. Selon la remarque, justifiée, de R. Lebrun, "cette notion d'une divinité tutélaire du roi, à l'origine parfois de second plan au niveau officiel, est nouvelle et significative au plan politique".<sup>26</sup> Mais ce qui est remarquable à mon avis, c'est que le texte contient des indices – indirects cependant, et émis avec beaucoup de précaution – sur la discrimination du père traditionnel de la déesse d'Arinna au profit du dieu de l'Orage **Pihaššašši**, qui semble prendre place à côté de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna au détriment du dieu de l'Orage du **Hatti**.

<sup>23</sup> Voir Singer, *Muwatalli*, 156, Tableau 3.

<sup>24</sup> Pour une explication de ce fait cf. Singer, *Muwatalli*, 172 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Voir B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, Leiden 1998, 800 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 288.

2. Tableau des listes de dieux

A	B	C
"Prière de Muwatalli" KUB 6.45 I 10 sqq.	"Prière de Muwatalli" KUB 6.45 IV 4 sqq.	Traité avec Alaksandu KUB 21.1 IV 1 sqq.
le Soleil du ciel et le Soleil d'Arinna _ ma maîtresse, reine, ma maîtresse, reine du Hatti	le Soleil du ciel (attesté dans CTH 381.B I 39) le Soleil d'Arinna	[le Soleil] du ciel _ roi des pays, pasteur des hommes, le Soleil d'Arinna, [reine] des pays
le dieu de l'Orage – roi du ciel, mon maître	le dieu de l'Orage Pihaššašši	le dieu de l'Orage Pihaššašši _ dieu personnel de "Mon Soleil", dieu de l'Orage "vaillant" (NIR.GÁL/Muwatalli), [roi des pays]
<b>Hébat</b> _ reine, ma maîtresse	<b>Hébat</b>	
le dieu de l'Orage du Hatti _ roi du ciel, seigneur du Hatti, mon maître	le dieu de l'Orage du ciel le dieu de l'Orage du Hatti	[le dieu de l'Orage du Hatti] _ roi des pays, dieu de l'Orage <b>HI.HI</b> /Pihaššašši
le dieu de l'Orage de Ziplanda – mon maître, fils chéri du dieu de l'Orage, seigneur du Hatti	le dieu de l'Orage de Zippalanda	le dieu de l'Orage de Zippalanda, [le dieu de l'Orage de Nerik], etc.
Šeri (et) Hurri	tous les dieux du Hatti	Šeri, Hurri, Namni, Hazzi
		Hébat, reine du ciel ...
(tous) les dieux	Šeri (et) Hurri	(tous) les dieux
(toutes) les déesses	les déesses	(toutes) les déesses
(toutes) les montagnes	les montagnes	les montagnes
(toutes) les rivières	les rivières	les rivières

On remarquera, entre autres, que dans la colonne C) le dieu de l'Orage Pihaššašši est accompagné du dieu de l'Orage pourvu de l'épithète "Muwatalli"/c.-à.d. vaillant.

À la section suivante, le voici mentionné – et cette fois à côté du dieu de l'Orage du

Hatti; On serait tenté de considérer que le "le dieu de l'Orage du ciel", mentionné au-dessous de Hébat dans la colonne B), et le "le dieu de l'Orage –

roi du ciel", mentionné au-dessus de Hébat dans la colonne A), sont bien tous deux le dieu de l'Orage **Piḥaššašši**.

**Piḥaššašši** semble être, pour ainsi dire, identifié au dieu de l'Orage du ciel. Je voudrais insister sur son épithète EN nepišaš "le maître du ciel" (KUB 6.45 III 51).

Il est fort probable que la légende hiéroglyphique des sceaux SBo I 38-41, Bog V 1 – GRAND ORAGE (du) CIEL se rapporte au dieu enlaçant le roi. Or ce dieu pourrait être le dieu de l'Orage **Piḥaššašši**.<sup>27</sup>

Certes, d'après Hattušili, le dieu de l'Orage **Piḥaššašši** est le dieu sur l'ordre duquel Muwatalli a établi sa résidence à **Tarhuntašša** et y a transféré les dieux du **Hatti** et les mânes de ses ancêtres:

Apologie de Hattušili (CTH 81) I 75 II 1-2 II: GIM-an-ma ŠEŠ-YA<sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL-iš IŠ-TU A- MA-AT DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-ŠU (76) I-NA KUR ŠAP-LI-TI kat-ta pa-it<sup>URU</sup> **Ha**-at-tu-ša-an-ma ar-**ha** tar-na-aš (II 1) nu ŠEŠ-YA DINGIR<sup>MES URU</sup> KÙ.BABBAR-TI GIDIM<sup>HI.A</sup>-ya ša-ra-a da-a-aš (2) na-aš I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> [ŠAP-LI-TI kat-ta] pí-e-da-aš

"Lorsque Muwatalli, mon frère, suivant le command de son dieu, partit aux Bas-Pays et avait laissé Hattuša, mon frère prit avec lui les dieux de Hatti et les mânes, et les emmena aux Bas-Pays".<sup>28</sup>

Pourtant, Muwatalli n'oublie pas la tradition, du moins à cette époque. En effet, la prière est adressée d'abord à la déesse Soleil d'Arinna, dont le roi est le grand-prêtre privilégié depuis le début de son règne, lui qui se déclare "prêtre de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna et de tous les dieux" (III 29-30): ANA<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> TÚL-na Û ANA DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> humandaš<sup>LU</sup> SANGA.

Muwatalli adresse sa plaidoirie à l'assemblée des dieux du Hatti en proposant aux lecteurs ou auditeurs du texte une longue liste de dieux, comptant 83 toponymes et près de 140 théonymes. Il est vrai que, à la différence d'Akhé-**naton**, Muwatalli ne cherche pas à éliminer dieux et cultes traditionnels, mais pourtant, en les présentant d'après les centres locaux, en soulignant ainsi le principe de localité, Muwatalli brise l'unicité du panthéon impérial. À la fin de la liste, nous lisons (KUB 6.45 III 4 sqq.) : "les dieux (et) les déesse du roi et de la reine qui ont été nommés<sup>29</sup> (et) qui n'ont pas été nommés, (ceux) dont les temples le roi et la reine fréquentent et (ceux) dont les temples ils ne fréquentent pas, et pour qui, pourtant, les prêtres font des sacrifices ..." Muwatalli semble absorbé par le souci de n'oublier aucune divinité. Mais on a l'im-

<sup>27</sup> Voir Singer, *From Hattuša*, 538.

<sup>28</sup> Cf.: II 52-53: ...DINGIR<sup>MES URU</sup> Hatti GIDIM<sup>HI.A</sup>-ya pí-dí ni-ni-ik-ta na-aš I-NA URU<sup>D</sup>U-aš-ša kat-ta pí-e-da-aš "Il rassembla/réunit les dieux de Hatti et les mânes et les emmena à Tarhuntasša".

<sup>29</sup> En hittite: daranteš. Cf. Singer, *Muwatalli*, 39; Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 280: "invoqués".

pression qu'il pourrait s'agir ici d'une liste d'adieu: Comme si Muwatalli, en invoquant tous les dieux du Hatti pour se justifier devant eux, avait eu en même temps l'intention de prendre congé et de se séparer d'eux d'un seul coup.

La réforme, qui transparait dans la prière, devait, sans nul doute, toucher à l'essence des divinités suprêmes, à leur position dans le panthéon impérial et aux rapports entre le roi et les dieux suprêmes. Je me demande si l'activité religieuse de Muwatalli ne visait pas à instaurer soit un monothéisme (une monolâtrie)<sup>30</sup> soit la divinisation du roi (de son vivant), ou peut-être même à combiner ces deux développements possibles (qui sont, en fait, indissociables)?

Il est probable que Muwatalli a réalisé (ou a voulu réaliser) son programme de réformes avec précaution et par étapes. Rappelons-nous l'innovation iconographique de ses sceaux – l'existence d'une scène centrale, et l'ambiguïté exprimée par les légendes des sceaux (SBo I 38-41, Bog V 1), portant notamment sur les noms et la titulature du roi et du dieu. Voici un résumé succinct des problèmes posés par ces sceaux:<sup>31</sup>

- a. l'absence du disque ailé au-dessus du nom dynastique du roi dans la légende de gauche: MAGNUS+REX/grand roi Muwatalli;
- b. l'absence du déterminatif divin sur la légende de droite au-dessus du bras du dieu (MAGNUS TONITRUS CAELUM) et sa relation à la personnalité du dieu représenté au centre;
- c. la composition de la légende sous le bras du dieu et son interprétation: si on l'interprète comme le nom de naissance du futur Muwatalli, la présence du signe MAIESTAS (SOL<sub>2</sub>) présente une difficulté;
- d. la composition de la légende cunéiforme<sup>32</sup> et sa relation à la scène centrale. Puisqu'il est fort probable que le dieu enlaçant le roi dans la scène centrale est le dieu de l'Orage Pihaššašši, son absence dans la légende cunéiforme exige une explication.

Cette ambiguïté se retrouve dans les textes. Par exemple, dans CTH 381 Pihaššašši n'est pas mentionné dans le préambule parmi les dieux principaux

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Dinçol, *The Rock Monument of the Great King Kurunta, Acts of the III<sup>d</sup> International Congress of Hittitology*, Ankara 1998, 162.

<sup>31</sup> Voir, par ex., H.-G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy I*, Berlin 1940, 22; E. Laroche, *Documents hiéroglyphiques hittites provenant du palais d'Ugarit, Ugaritica III*. Paris 1956, 117 sqq.; H. Nowicki, *Der hurritische Name des Muwatalli, Hethitica V*, 1983, 111ff.; H. Gonnert, *Remarques sur les sceaux de Muwatalli II, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 34/1987*, Ankara 1998, 259 sqq.

<sup>32</sup> [NIR.GÁL LU]GÁL (...) [NA-RA-AM] <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>D</sup>IM hi-el-li-pi <sup>D</sup>Šar-ru-ma (Ú) <sup>D</sup>KAL (...) <sup>1</sup>Mur-ši-DINGIR<sup>LM</sup> LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG "Muwatalli Grand-roi Favori de la divinité solaire, du dieu de l'Orage du Salut, du dieu Šarruma, du dieu protecteur". Le fait que l'épithète "favori" n'est pas suivie du nom d'un seul dieu, comme c'est le cas en général, surtout avant Muwatalli, mais qu'il est suivi de la liste des dieux, mérite aussi d'être signalé.



du Hatti, alors qu'une des plus impressionnantes parties de la prière lui est adressée. Quant à l'autre prière de Muwatalli CTH 382, on a du mal à définir le "destinataire" : s'agit-il de Tešub de Kumanni ou bien d'une hypostase plus universelle, ou bien encore du dieu de l'Orage Pihaššašši?<sup>33</sup>

Ces ambiguïtés me paraissent conscientes et pourraient correspondre à une certaine étape de l'activité réformatrice. On ne sait pas si Muwatalli a réussi à réaliser ses intentions – en tout ou en partie – au cours de son règne. Quoi qu'il en soit, le nom dynastique d'origine louvite et le transfert de la capitale au sud, dans le territoire louvite, d'une part, le respect de la tradition anatolienne attesté par Hattušili et peut-être évoqué par son nom,<sup>34</sup> d'autre part, pourrait indiquer un changement fondamental suivi d'un retour à la norme, tout comme ce qui s'est passé en Egypte après le règne d'Akhénaton. Des allusions à ce processus supposé, il s'en trouve sans doute dans l'Apologie de Hattušili, où il parle du "dieu méchant" (huwappa- DINGIR-), dans la lettre à Ramses où Puduhepa accuse Urhi-Tešub d'avoir ruiné la résidence royale à Hattusa, en donnant tout ce qui restait au Grand Dieu (DINGIR GAL).<sup>35</sup> N'est-ce pas ce même dieu à qui Muwatalli avait donné, d'après la prière de Hattušili et Puduhepa (CTH 383), l'argent et l'or appartenant à tous les dieux? Dans cette prière à la déesse Soleil d'Arinna, Hattušili et Puduhepa expriment de la manière suivante leur sentiment concernant le transfert par Muwatalli de la capitale et de ses dieux (KUB 14.7 I 3 sqq.)<sup>36</sup>: (3)...[DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš-ma-at-ta ar-nu-um-mar (?)] (4)[ma]-a-an ZI-an-za [e-eš-ta ma-a-an-ma-at-ta Ú-UL] (5)[Z]I-an-za e-eš-t[a na-at tu(-e)-el A-NA ZI DINGIR-LIM GAŠAN-YA] (6)ku-iš an-da ša-ak-ta [am-mu-ug-ma-za-kán] (7)ta-pa-ri-ya DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš ar-n[u-um-ma-aš an-da Ú-UL] (8)e-šu-un GEŠPÚ-ah-hu-u-wa-aš-ma[-mu ut-tar e-eš-ta] (9)EN-YA-aš-mu e-eš-ta DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš-ma[-m]u ar[-nu-um-mar (?)] (10)Ú-UL ZI-an-za e-eš-ta a-pé-e-da-ni[-ya-za ta-pa-ri-ya] (11)pí-ra-an ú-e-ri-te-iš-sa-an-za e-šu-u[n]

"Si le trans[fert des dieux était] conforme à la volonté [de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna, ma Dame, ou si cela n']était [pas conforme à ta] volonté, c'est toi, [ma Dame], qui le savais [dans ton esprit, ô déesse, ma Dame. Mais je ne fus nullement] impliqué [dans cet] ordre concernant le trans[fert] des dieux. [Pour moi c'était une affaire] de contrainte/de pression, [parce qu']il était mon maître. Mais [le transfert] des dieux n'était pas conforme à ma volonté, face à cet [ordre] j'eus peur/je fus craintif".

<sup>33</sup> Voir Singer, *Muwatalli*, 161-162; Singer, *From Hattuša*, 540.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. M. Forlanini, Remarques sur la dynastie hittite: avant et après Bogazköi, *Hethitica* 14, 22.

<sup>35</sup> KUB 21.38. Voir Ph. H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Tesub's Career, Anatolian Studies Presented to H.G. Güterbock*, Istanbul 1974:125-126; cf. Singer, *From Hattuša*, 537-538.

<sup>36</sup> Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Tesub's Career*, 125.

Il ne faut cependant pas oublier que les successeurs de Muwatalli ont mis à profit certaines innovations idéologiques provenant de son époque et que nous révèlent la "Umarmungsszene" ou le capuchon conique orné de cornes porté par le roi.<sup>37</sup>

On est tenté de considérer que ce n'est pas par hasard que Hattušili III emploie, quand il parle du décès de ses prédécesseurs – Šuppiluliuma(?), Muršili, Muwatalli – non pas l'expression traditionnelle DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-iš kiš- "devenir dieu", mais parfois le verbe ak(k)-/ek(k)- "mourir".<sup>38</sup> Que signifie donc cela: l'adoption de la nouvelle conception de Muwatalli ou son rejet? La désacralisation du roi ou l'idée de la divinisation du roi de son vivant?

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Il me semble que les éléments originaux et novateurs dans la pensée religieuse hittite de l'époque impériale doivent être compris comme le résultat d'une longue évolution.<sup>39</sup> La structure ouverte du panthéon impérial issue des panthéons locaux anatoliens, la solution apportée au problème de la coexistence des "mille dieux" par le génie hittite aurait préparé un terrain favorable pour les idées monothéistes.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Th. van den Hout, Tuthalija IV. und die Ikonographie hethitischer Grosskönige des 13. Jhs., *BO* LII, 1/2, 1995, 546ff.; J. Börker-Klähn. Marginalien zur Bogazköy-Glyptik. *SMEA* 38, 1996, 39ff.; R.L. Alexander, Contributions to the Interpretation of the Fraktin Reliefs, *Acts of the III<sup>d</sup> International Congress of Hittitology*, Ankara 1998, 17; E. Masson, Le complexe cultuel du "Südburg" (Hattusa): quelques réflexions, *StBoT* 45, 2001, 379 sqq. Dans ce contexte, la mention de <sup>m</sup>NIR.GAL dans la liste des dieux du traité d'Ulmi-Tešub (rev. 53') me paraît très significative. Cf. Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitesub-Vertrag (StBoT 38)*, 1995, 69, et le compte-rendu publié par I. Singer dans: *BO* LIV, 3/4, 1997, 418.

<sup>38</sup> Pour les contextes voir Theo van den Hout, Tuthalija IV., 545.

<sup>39</sup> Certes, des idées monothéistes n'étaient pas inconnues à l'époque, et l'on ne peut exclure un certain rôle des influences étrangères.

<sup>40</sup> Voir contra: G. Wilhelm, "Gleichsetzungstheologie", "Synkretismus" und "Gottesspaltungen" im Polytheismus Altanatoliens, *Polytheismus und Monotheismus in den Religionen des Vorderen Orients (AOAT 298)*, 2002, 53 ff.

## PHILHELLENIC DAYS IN GEORGIA

Georgia enjoys centuries-old relations with Greece. Hellenic culture has always been and will continue to be widely appreciated by Georgian people. On May 3-10, in the Olympic year 2004, the Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies of the Tbilisi Ivane Javakhishvili State University held Philhellenic Days in cooperation with Georgian higher education institutions and secondary schools. The event came as an expression of goodwill on behalf of every citizen of our country – a friend to Hellas. Its program was diverse.

Philhellenic Days opened in the conference hall of the Institute on May 3 with the speech by the Director of the Institute Prof. Rismag Gordeziani (the speech is published in the present issue of the journal). Addresses were delivered by Ms. Konstantina Mavroskelidou, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Hellenic Republic to Georgia (the address is published in the present issue), Academician Roin Metreveli, Rector of the University, Mr. Dimitris Tranos, the First Adviser of the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia, Mr. Levan Berdzenishvili, head of the parliamentary committee for education, science, culture and sport, Mr. Kakha Lomaia, Minister of Education and Science of Georgia, Prof. Freddy Decreus, Head of the Classical Philology Department of Ghent University (Belgium), Mr. Kyriak Jordanidi, Head of the Federation of the Greek Diaspora in Georgia, Prof. Sophie Shamanidi, Deputy Director of the Institute, Head of the TSU Chair of Modern Greek Philology, Ms. Maria Bitska, a visiting teacher of the Institute. After the addresses Prof. Darejan Kacharava, head of the Vani archaeological team, and Prof. Guram Kipiani, Deputy Director of the Mtskheta Archaeological Institute spoke on The Hellenic Culture in Georgia Against the Background of the Latest Discoveries (the papers are published in the present issue).

On May 4, the exhibition Hellas in Georgian Paintings opened in the lobby of the Institute conference hall. The exhibition presented works by well-known Georgian painters and sculptors – Gia Bughadze, Temo Gotsadze, Muraz Murvanidze, Zurab Nizharadze, Giorgi Shkhvatsabaia and Gia Japaridze. Prof. Gia Bughadze, Rector of the Georgian Academy of Arts, delivered a lecture on The Interpretation of the Greek Mythology in Works by Modern Georgian Painters, which was widely appreciated. The same day, school students presented a performance in Greek language at the Tbilisi secondary School N91 while the TSU Akhaltsikhe branch celebrated the same day with an activity dedicated to the Athens 2004 Olympics.

The cycle of lectures **The Hellenic Drama and Contemporaneity** by Prof. Freddy Decreus started on May 5 and lasted the following three days

(the papers are published in the present issue). On May 5, students and young teachers of the Institute presented a soiree of the Greek poetry in the Institute conference hall.

On May 6, the lobby of the Institute conference hall hosted the exhibition of books on hellenology and the presentation of the book **The Introduction to the Classical Philology** by Rismag Gordeziani and Maia Danelia. In the evening of the same day, a film **The Traveling Players** by Th. Angelopoulos was screened in the conference hall of the Institute.

On May 7, a poetry soiree Hellas in Georgian Poetry was performed by undergraduate and post-graduate students of the Institute. After the soiree, the Caucasian Theatre/Lab presented a project **The Suppliants** (staged by David Sakvarelidze) after the play by Shota Iatashvili. The same day, the Rustavi Secondary School N19 organized an activity The Day of the Hellenic Culture, the Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State University hosted a workshop on The Aspects of Greek-Georgian Relations, and the Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University held a poetry soiree Ancient Hellas in Modern Greek Poetry.

On May 8, a literary soiree Olympic Sketches (staged by Maria Bitska and performed by the students of the Institute) was held in the Institute conference hall. The same day, the students of the Tbilisi Classical Gymnasium N1 performed in their school a play in Greek language while the Tbilisi University School N53 organized a students' conference on Ancient Hellas and Georgia.

On May 9, the Institute conference hall hosted the activities of the Federation of the Greek Diaspora in Georgia (including addresses and a concert).

On May 10, the presentation of the book **The Corpus of Greek Inscriptions in Georgia** was held in the Institute conference hall to celebrate the jubilee of its author – academician Tinatin Kauhchishvili. After the closing of Philhellenic Days, its participants were invited to a reception in the lobby of the Institute conference hall.

Philhellenic Days enjoyed wide repercussion in Georgia. The whole event as well as its particular aspects were covered by a number of TV programs and newspaper articles. The present issue of the journal publishes a part of the addresses and speeches delivered at Philhellenic Days.

*Maia Danelia*

Rismag Gordeziani, Head of the Institute

## THE OPENING SPEECH

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Colleagues and Students,

Today we have gathered in the Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies of the Tbilisi State University to open Philhellenic Days in Georgia. It is common knowledge that the very term "philhellene" or "hellenophile" means a friend to Greece, one who is fond of Greece. The notion was formed already in antiquity and has existed throughout centuries with slight modifications. The root phil, which means "being a friend to" and "love", can be linked to various lexical formatives and terms; however, the term "philhellenism" is an absolutely distinguished phenomenon which has repeatedly and powerfully revealed itself from the Roman civilization till nowadays. In the 18th century, "philhellenism" developed to a remarkable extent – many distinguished artists and thinkers including Goethe sometimes called themselves Hellenes. Byron was the first to attach a new sense to the term. It is common knowledge that he joined Greek people's struggle for independence and fell a victim to it. In this very period, the term "philhellenism" was used to denote support to Greek people in their struggle for independence; however, after the country was liberated, the term acquired back its broader meaning and came to denote friendliness and affection towards Greeks.

Georgian people enjoy close relations with Greeks since the very period of their appearance on the historical scene. Therefore, "philhellenism" or "hellenophilia" has always been a natural and commonly accepted expression of Georgian people's respect for Hellas. Notwithstanding political situations and relations between Georgia and Greek-dominated state entities, the phenomenon has always been powerfully expressed. "Philhellenism" existed in ancient Georgia and revealed itself at all levels of Georgian civil life – first of all in education. Historical events after the fall of Constantinople, which proved extremely dramatic both for Georgia and Greece, tarnished hellenophilic traditions in Georgia to a certain extent. However, after Greece became independent and Georgia regained an opportunity to get in touch with Europe and European culture, the phenomenon started to consolidate again. We may

claim that after the Gelati Academy and the medieval Georgian cultural and educational centers, it was not until the foundation of the Tbilisi State University and the opening of one of its oldest departments – that of the classical philology, the powerful center of hellenology that owes its establishment to the invaluable devotion and efforts of distinguished Georgian scholars Grigol Tsereteli and Simon Kaukhchishvili – that "philhellenism" started to enjoy intensive development in the new epoch, which entailed restoration of philhellenic traditions, reappearance of books on Hellas and translations of Greek literature and so on. Likewise remarkable is how hellenology developed from the establishment of the classical philology department till nowadays. Despite ideological curbs in the USSR and the repression of many distinguished scholars and public figures, "Hellenophilia" would develop with a vengeance and would penetrate the education system, institutions for humanity studies and the fields of art and culture in many diverse ways. It suffices to mention that solely in the Tbilisi State University the department of the classical philology opened in the late 1960s, which was followed by the establishment of the department of modern Greek studies in the late 1980s. In 1972, the Greek and Latin library opened which initiated translation and publication of works by ancient and medieval authors. In 1982, the Center for Mediterranean Culture Studies was set up, and in 1997, owing to Greek support and the strong will and determination of the Tbilisi University authorities, all Hellenology-related fields integrated into a new institute – the one that opens today Philhellenic Days; more than that, a new body, the chair of Modern Greek studies was set up. We aimed at creating a higher education and research institution which would resemble those within many leading European and American universities. It is not an independent legal entity; it is an integral part of our alma mater – the part which is capable of running and accomplishing very important didactic, research and cultural programs as it enjoys appropriate logistical potential, incorporates a publishing house, a library for specific purposes, an information center, a conference center and so on. And what is most important, the Institute employs highly qualified specialists who have achieved distinction not only in Georgia but in the humanity centers of many leading states worldwide. Here we should also mention that the University and the Academy of Sciences have various hellenology chairs and departments that conduct studies in different fields of hellenology – the byzantinology department in the Institute of Oriental Studies, the department of ancient history in the Institute of History, the Institute of Art; a very important work is being carried out in the Institute of Manuscripts, and of course we should not forget the Archaeology Center and various archaeological institutions and expeditions that make invaluable contribution to the study of Greek-Georgian relations. Within the University itself, we should by all means mention the

activities of the following chairs: that of ancient history, history of culture, history of philosophy, history of art. In fact, all education and research institutions involved in Georgian philological studies are as well concerned with hellenology as links between Georgia and Greece are very close and old.

At present, after we have organized a number of significant activities including large-scale scientific conferences, the event of primary relevance is the present unusual celebration which is the repercussion of the Olympic year and which we undertake together with other Georgian higher and secondary education institutions. We believe it is the first occasion, at least for the last decades, that the country of the earliest Europeans and at the same time the most recent member state of the modern European community holds an activity dedicated not to the week of Greek culture, but to the expression of friendly and affectionate attitude towards Hellas. We are particularly delighted to learn that our modest initiative was supported with exceptional vigor and pure-hearted enthusiasm by a large number of distinguished scholars, artists, as well as university and secondary school students. This is testified by the program of Philhellenic Days. All the above mentioned points to the special attitude that Georgian people experience towards Greece and the deep roots of "hellenophilia" that have penetrated many spheres of our inward life.

Allow me to extend a most cordial welcome to our Greek guests – to Ms. Konstantina Mavroskelidou, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Hellenic Republic to Georgia and to her entourage, to the representatives of the Greek Embassy in Georgia headed by Mr. Tranos, to the visiting teachers from Greece and to all Greek people who are the citizens of Georgia and share our happiness and troubles.

We are also honored to enjoy the presence of Georgian legislative and executive authorities: Mr. Kakha Lomaia, Mr. Giorgi Gabashvili and Mr. Levan Berdzenishvili, who was educated at our department and whom we appreciate as a true hellenologist and a hellenophile.

I also welcome Mr. Roin Metreveli, Rector of the University, and our distinguished guests, whether Georgian or non-Georgian, who have granted us the pleasure of their company.

I would like to express my gratitude to our colleagues in Batumi, Kutaisi and Akhaltsikhe; likewise to the school authorities, teachers and students of the Tbilisi Classical Gymnasium N1, the Tbilisi University School N53, the Tbilisi Secondary School N91 and the Rustavi Secondary School N19, who joined the present activity with rare enthusiasm. And, of course, I am particularly grateful to the students and employees of our Institute as it would be impossible to hold Philhellenic Days but for their priceless efforts. And now allow me to conclude my address and declare Philhellenic Days open.

## Ομιλία της Πρέσβευς της Ελλάδος στη Γεωργία κας Κ. Μαυροσκελίδου

Θέλω κατ' αρχήν να συγχαρώ και να ευχαριστήσω τον Διευθυντή του Ινστιτούτου Κλασικών, Βυζαντινών και Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου της Τιφλίδος κ. Γκορντεζιάνι για την πρωτοβουλία που είχε, με την στήριξη της ελληνικής πλευράς, αλλά και όλους εσάς που μετέχετε σ' αυτή την πολυπρισματική διοργάνωση γύρω από τις εκλεκτικές πολιτισμικές συγγένειες της Ελλάδος και της Γεωργίας – μια διοργάνωση που συγκεντρώνει ξεχωριστές προσωπικότητες των γραμμάτων και των τεχνών από την Γεωργία, την Ελλάδα και άλλες χώρες της Ευρώπης, και που θα διαρκέσει μια εβδομάδα για να καλύψει όλο το φάσμα της πολιτισμικής έκφρασης.

Η θεματολογία των πολιτιστικών αυτών ημερών μας καλεί να στρέψουμε τον νου και την καρδιά πίσω στο παρελθόν: στο αρχαίο θέατρο, στην αρχαία ποίηση, στην μυθολογία. Να αντλήσουμε από το παρελθόν όπως αντλούμε από μια ανεξάντλητη πηγή γνώσεως και σοφίας.

Ένα ερώτημα αναδύεται μέσα μας: γιατί άραγε σήμερα, ενώ βρισκόμαστε ήδη στην 3<sup>η</sup> μετά Χριστόν χιλιετία και ενώ ο άνθρωπος έχει ήδη απογειωθεί και άρχισε το ταξίδι του στο μακρινό διάστημα, γιατί στρεφόμαστε στο παρελθόν ελκόμενοι από μιάν αναλλοίωτη γοητεία, σαν κάτι να μας λείπει κρυφά ότι εκεί, στην κιβωτό της μακρυνής γνώσεως, κρύβονται μυστήρια που δεν μας έχουν ακόμη αποκαλύψει τους θησαυρούς τους;

"Ο δρόμος για το μέλλον περνάει από το παρελθόν", λεί μια παλαιά κινέζικη παροιμία, επισημαίνοντας, πρώτο: ότι αυτά που έγιναν στο παρελθόν καθορίζουν το μέλλον, δεύτερο: ότι η σοφία του παρελθόντος είναι η πυξίδα του μέλλοντος.

Η αρχαία κιβωτός της γνώσεως κλείνει τα μυστικά που θα καθοδηγήσουν το μέλλον.

Αυτή η κιβωτός είναι η Μυθολογία. "Ο μύθος είναι ο κρύσταλλος της σκέψεως", λεί ένας Δάσκαλος από την Ανατολή. Ο μύθος κρυσταλλοποιεί την σκέψη.

Ο μύθος είναι συμβολισμός. Για ν' αποκαλύψει τα μυστικά του πρέπει να ερμηνευθεί. Μέσω ερμηνείας θα αποκαλυφθεί η αλήθεια. Θα λυθεί το "αίνιγμα της Σφίγγας", και η Ίσις – συμβολικό ομόλογο της Αθηνάς, θεάς της



Σοφίας – θ' αποκαλυφθεί. Μέσω ερμηνείας ο Ερμής θ' αποκαλύψει τα ερμητικά κρυμμένα μυστικά του.

Όχι μέσω οποιασδήποτε ψευδεπίγραφης και επιφανειακής ερμηνευτικής, αλλά μέσω της αληθούς βιωματικής ερμηνείας, που αναδύεται σαν αποτέλεσμα της ηθικής ανόδου στην "κλίμακα του Ιακώβ".

Ο μύθος διδάσκει ότι το νήμα της εξόδου από τον νοητικό λαβύρινθο το δίνει στον Θησέα (Θητέα, Μα-Θητέα, Μαθητή) η Αριάδνη: Αρι-άγνη: η αγνή εσωτερική διδασκαλία. Έτσι, επισημαίνεται ότι η εσωτερική διδασκαλία συνδέεται με την αγνότητα, προϋποθέτει αγνότητα. Γι' αυτό η θεά της Σοφίας, η Αθηνά, ήταν Παρθένος.

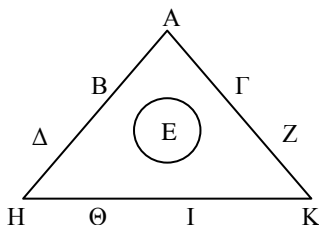
Με σύμβολα και παραβολές διδάσκει η Μυθολογία. Με παραβολές μίλησε και δίδαξε ο Χριστός, "ίνα ακούντες μη ακούωσι και βλέποντες μη βλέπωσι". Έτσι δίδεξαν όλοι οι μεγάλοι διδάσκαλοι της ανθρωπότητας, από την αρχαία Ελλάδα και την Αίγυπτο, ως την Ινδία και την Κίνα. Η εσωτερική διδασκαλία χρησιμοποίησε τά μυθολογικά σύμβολα. Η γνώση εδιδάσκετο στα "απόκρυφα" Μυστήρια.

Τα πολύτιμα πετράδια της γνώσεως δεν έπρεπε να δίνονται σε όσους δεν ήταν σε θέση να σεβασθούν τον θησαυρό και να τον χρησιμοποιήσουν σωστά. "Μη δότε το άγιον τοις κυσίν" είπε ο Χριστός: φυλάξτε τον ανεκτίμητο θησαυρό, τα άγια των αγίων της ανθρώπινης ύπαρξης.

Γι' αυτό ο θησαυρός αποκαλύπτεται σε όσους βιώνουν τις ηθικές αξίες με αγνότητα, σε όσους αξιοποιούν την εσωτερική γνώση με ενάρετη βιωματική.

Η Ομηρική "Ιθάκη" στην οποία επέστρεψε στο τέλος του ταξιδιού του ο Οδυσσέας, είναι η Ηθική: σ' αυτήν φθάνουμε στο τέλος του εσωτερικού ανοδικού μας ταξιδιού.

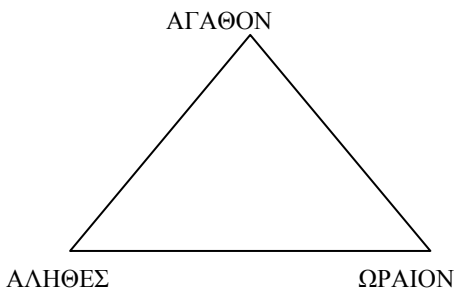
Η Ηθική είναι η βάση του Πυθαγορείου Τριγώνου, που συνδομείται από "αενάου φύσεως ριζώματα" – ρίζες αιώνιας φύσεως, φύσεως ηθικής, τις οποίες ορκίστηκαν να διαφυλάσσουν οι Πυθαγόρειοι:



### ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΕΙΟ ΤΡΙΓΩΝΟ

Βάση του Πυθαγορείου Τριγώνου είναι η Ηθική.

Το Πυθαγόρειο Τρίγωνο ισοδυναμεί με το ζωτικό τρίγωνο του Απολλωνίου Τρίποδος : Αγαθόν – Αληθές – Ωραίον.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΤΡΙΠΟΥΣ

Αγαθόν = Άγαν θοόν = αυτό που τρέχει και διαπερνά τα πάντα = το θεϊόν  
 Αληθές = το μη υποκείμενο σε λήθη  
 Ωραίον = το στην ώρα του πρόπον

Η αρχαία διδασκαλία – Μυθολογία, Ποίηση, Τραγωδία – χρησιμοποίησε μύθους και σύμβολα (Οιδίπους, Σφίγγα, Τρίστρατο, Τειρεσίας, Αθηνά και αναρίθμητα άλλα) για να διανοίξει, μέσω Σημαντικής ερμηνείας, τους αιθερικούς οφθαλμούς του ανθρώπου, ώστε αυτός να δια-βλέψει εσωτερικά την Αλήθεια. Έτσι, η Τραγωδία συνιστά τον βιο – εντροπικό μεταλλάκτη που ελευθερώνει από το αίνιγμα της "Σφίγγας" τον άνθρωπο εκείνο που Αληθώς ερμηνεύει και ξεπερνά το φοβερό σύμβολό της: τον σφίγγοντα βιο-κλοιό. Όχι απαιτηλά, όπως επιχείρησε να πράξει ο Οιδίπους.

Αποτυγχάνοντας να ερμηνεύσει Σημαντικά το φοβερό σύμβολο της Σφίγγας, ο Οιδίπους οδήγησε τον εαυτό του στην τύφλωση: αυτοτυφλώθηκε για να μη βλέπει τα φριχτά του έργα. Και μόνο τότε, όταν έχασε τους εξωτερικούς του οφθαλμούς, είδε αληθινά, δηλαδή εσωτερικά: "Νυν δε οράς ά χρή σε οράν" του είπε ο Μάντης Τειρεσίας: τώρα βλέπεις όσα χρειάζεται να δεις.

Κάθε Οιδίπους που αποτυγχάνει στην αληθινή ερμηνεία θ' αναγκασθεί να βιώσει μια τραγωδία για να μάθει αληθινά.

Έτσι, η Μυθολογία καλεί τον Οιδίποδα και κάθε οιδιπόδειο άνθρωπο να αναβλέψει εσωτερικά. Τον καλεί στο Τρίστρατο να επιλέξει την οδό του Μαθητή (Θησέα, Θητέα) και να αδράξει τον μίτο, το ερμηνευτικό νήμα της Αριάδνης, της Αριάγνης, της Αρείας αγνής διδασκαλίας, για να ξεφύγει από τον νοητικό λαβύρινθο.

Η ελληνική Αριάγνεια σκέψη καλεί τον άνθρωπο να αναβλέψει στον έναστρο ουρανό, τον ονοματοποιημένο από τα αρχέτυπα της ελληνικής

Μυθολογίας: Ανδρομέδα, Ωρίωνας, Μεγάλη Άρκτος, Πλειάδες, Λύρα, Κύκνος, Ηριδανός, Σείριος...

Η ελληνική Μυθολογία μας καλεί σ' ένα ταξίδι στην έναστρη απειροσύνη, όπου οι εν πνεύματι Έλληνες θα συναντηθούν μέσα στο φωτεινό στερέωμα του Μύθου και των Ιδεών, που οδοδεικτούν και φωτίζουν το Απειρόκαλλον Εν.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Πηγές:  
Ενοδών, "Σημαντική", Εκδόσεις Τρισήλιον.  
Μαρία Παπαευσταθίου, "Η Ευδαιμονία να είσαι Έλληνας" (Μονογραφία).

Darejan Kacharava (Tbilisi)

### A RICH GRAVE FROM THE VANI SITE

In 2003 a rich grave was excavated at Vani (western Georgia).<sup>1</sup> The grave (No 22) was found on the upper terrace of the site (plots 213-214), where some more graves were revealed during the previous campaigns.

Luckily, the grave No. 22 was not disturbed. It consisted of two parts: a platform and a pit. Both parts were cut in the rocky ground.

The platform was cut at the depth of 0,20-0,25 m from the modern surface. It measured 1,20 m x 1,30 m. The platform had east-west orientation. On the platform a horse and a human were buried. Of the human skeleton (no. 1) only teeth and parts of the lower extremities were preserved. According to the teeth the head of the buried was put in the east. The fragments of extremities show that the knees were bent. Near the teeth, i.e. in the head area, there were found two eye-beads of blue glass, two gold ear-rings, three torques made of silver, bronze, and iron. The iron bracelets (in two piles) were located between the fragments of lower extremities and the teeth, i.e. in the area of the wrists. The horse skeleton was stretched across the platform, on the south-east – north-west axis, with the bent extremities. The human and horse skeletons laid on the 0,10-0,15 m thick layer of crushed sandstone.

The grave pit was cut to the north of the platform. It is rectangular in shape. The eastern wall of the grave pit is 3,80 m long, the southern wall – 4 m long, the length of the western wall is 3,84 m, that of the northern wall is 4 m. The corners of the pit are rounded. Along the walls there was a 0,50-0,70 m wide band composed of sandstone clods. The pit filling consisted of big pebbles. The pebbles were mixed with a compact clayish black layer. During the cleaning of the heap a few pottery sherds were found. Noteworthy is a

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<sup>1</sup> In 2003 archaeological investigations of the Vani site were grant-supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, as in the previous year. I am taking an opportunity to express the most hearty gratitude to the Foundation, on behalf of the whole staff.

neck of the red-figured squat aryballos, the body of which was found on the floor of the grave.

Along the band of sandstone clods big iron nails were uncovered, testifying to the existence of a wooden construction in the pit (a couch, a coffin or a sarcophagus), though the construction itself has not preserved. The deceased were laid on this wooden construction. It is supposed that in the pit five or six persons were buried (deceased Nos. 2-7). Of the skeletons of four of them (Nos. 2-5) mostly only teeth were preserved. They were found at the eastern wall of the pit, in the distance of 0,30-0,45 m from one another. Thus, we can imagine that the deceased were buried with their heads to the east.

Of the skeleton No.2, besides teeth, a badly damaged fragment of the lower extremities was preserved. To this deceased belong two groups of inventory. One of them was found in the head area. It consisted of a golden temple-ring with the open-work globule, 2 beads made of gold, a silver fibula, glass, cornelian, and amber beads, minute beads made of Egyptian faience, 4 Colchian silver coins – triobols of the common type. Two more groups of inventory might belong to the deceased in question. These are groups of iron and silver bracelets.

To the north of the deceased No.2, individual No.3 was buried. Of the skeleton only teeth and a fragment of the tubular bone were preserved. Under the teeth a group of personal ornaments was cleaned, composed of a pair of golden ear-rings with the grooved globule, gold crescent-shaped pendants, beads made of glass and Egyptian faience, as well as an iron torque. To this individual belongs the group of grave gifts consisting of iron and silver bracelets, a golden temple-ring with the open-work globule, a blue glass eye-bead, beads of glass, amber, cornelian, and gold; bracelets made of silver and iron. According to the disposition of bracelets, one hand was near the face, the other – a little below. The deceased might be laid in crouched position.

The deceased No.4 was laid in some 0,43 m from the above-discussed one. (This is the distance between two groups of teeth.) To this individual belong three groups of inventory – personal ornaments in the neck area, a fragment of leather (?) band, two groups of bracelets. The distance between the bracelet-containing groups is 0,48 m. Of the skeleton only teeth are preserved. According to the disposition of teeth and groups of bracelets the position of the deceased seems to be as follows: with the head to the east, in the supine position, with hands stretched along the body. In the neck area several personal ornaments were cleaned: silver and iron torques, a pair of gold penannular ear-rings, 19 eye-beads. In the wrist areas iron bracelets were found.

The deceased No.5 was laid in 0.35 m from the individual No.4. Only teeth and a part of the badly damaged mandible were preserved of the skeleton. The disposition of the teeth testifies to the upright position (not sideways)

of the head. To this individual might be connected a group of inventory in the neck area and two gold ear-rings. The cleaning of the neck area revealed a silver torque, another torque made of iron, eye-beads, a silver penannular ring, and a silver lunula-shaped pendant. In 0,20 m to the east of this group a gold ear-ring was found, in 0,25 m to the west – another ear-ring. Both ear-rings are of simple shape – penannular ones with flattened terminals. Analogous ear-rings were found among the gifts connected with the deceased No.1 and 4.

Besides these four deceased, laid in the eastern part of the pit, with heads to the east, it seems that the grave contained one (or two) more individual(s), buried in the western part of the grave-pit. If so, the deceased might be laid in the crouched position, since there is not enough space.

The area between skeletal remains was occupied by groups of inventory or separate artefacts (Fig. 1). In the corners of the pit stood amphorae – one amphora in each corner. In the north-eastern and south-eastern corners Mendean amphorae were found, while Chian amphorae with the cup-like toes were uncovered in the south-western corner and near the south-eastern one.

A long cylindrical toe drastically widened at the bottom is a typical feature of the Mendean amphorae. In the middle of the bottom there is an indentation, while the rest of its surface is convexed and concave. These very features gave rise to the identification of this group of amphorae by Iraida Zeest in the 1950s.<sup>2</sup> She called them "the amphorae with the cup-like toes". The production centre of these amphorae was defined later. At first, at least one part of these amphorae were attributed to the island of Thasos or north Aegean centres related with it.<sup>3</sup> Later Iosif B. Brashinskii, who firstly shared the opinion about the Thasian provenance, changed his mind and ascribed amphorae with the cup-like toes to the island of Mende.<sup>4</sup> This opinion was

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<sup>2</sup> Zeest I.B., *Keramicheskaya tara Bospora* [Pottery containers of Bosporos], *Materialy i issledovaniya po Arkeologii Bospora* [Materials and Researches in the Archaeology of Bosporos], 83, Moscow, 1953, p. 88 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> Shelov D.B., *Keramicheskiye kleima iz raskopok Fanagorii* [Pottery stamps from the excavations of Phanagoria], – *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkeologii Bospora* [Materials and Researches in the Archaeology of Bosporos], 53, Moscow, 1956, p. 151 (in Russian); Shelov D.B., *Kleima na amforakh i cherepitsakh, naidennykh pri raskopkakh Pantikapeya v 1945-1949 gg.* [Amphora- and tile stamps found at the excavations of Pantikapaion], – *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkeologii Bospora* [Materials and Researches in the Archaeology of Bosporos], 56, Moscow, 1957, p. 221 (in Russian); Bon A.-M., Bon A., *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos, – Études thasiennes*, IV, Paris, 1957, Nos. 2184-2210; Brashinskii I.B., *Uspekhi keramicheskoi epigraphiki* [The progress in the pottery epigraphics], – *Sovetskaya arkhologia* [Soviet Archaeology], 1961, 2, p. 296 (in Russian).

<sup>4</sup> Brashinskii I. B., *Amfory Mendy (O lokalizatsii gruppy amfor s "ryumkoobraznymi nozhkami")* [Mendean amphorae (On the localization of the group of amphorae with the cup-like

voiced by C.-J. Eiseman, as well.<sup>5</sup> Now amphorae of the type in question are unanimously ascribed to Mende.<sup>6</sup> The amphorae from Vani belong to the so-called Portichello type. This type of Mendean amphorae is dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>-360s BC. Mendean amphorae of the type under discussion are wide spread in the Black Sea area. Their import in the area ceased from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Amphorae with the cap-like toes represent the only containers produced by the island of Chios in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Amphorae of this type appear already in the beginning of the century, though during the first 20 years the cap was not yet shaped. That's why the amphorae of the early stage are called "amphorae with proto-cap-like toe". A series with a real "cap" appears from 370s BC. At the last stage (the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century) the "cap" is again weakly defined. It takes gradually the shape of a cone; the handles are attached low under the rim. Both amphorae found in the grave belong to the fully developed series. So, it could be dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. Chian amphorae of the type in question are wide spread in the Black Sea area. At the Vani site such amphorae have already been found in previous years.<sup>7</sup>

Near the north-eastern corner of the pit there was found a red-figure squat lekythos. On the vase there are depicted two heads facing one another. It has already been noted that the neck of this very lekythos was found in the pebble filling. Squat lekythoi decorated with heads or whole figures of women proliferate in the Attic painted pottery of the so-called Late Classical I stage (i.e. the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup>-370s BC), and they persist into the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>8</sup> According to the shape the lekythos from Vani could be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, when the body takes the shape of an ovule (instead of a sphere), and the neck becomes longer.<sup>9</sup> The cone-shaped rim allows even more precise dating: rims in the shape of the inverted cone is characteristic of 400-375 BC.<sup>10</sup>

toes)], – *Khudozhestvennaya kultura i arkhologiya antičnogo mira* [Artistic Culture and Archaeology of the Classical World], Moscow, 1976, pp. 67-74 (in Russian).

<sup>5</sup> Eiseman C. J., Amphoras from the Porticello shipwreck (Calabria), – *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 2, 1 (1973), pp. 1-15, figs. 1-3.

<sup>6</sup> Monakhov S.Yu., Grecheskiye amfory v Prichernomor'ye. Kompleksy keramicheskoi tary [Greek amphorae of the Black Sea area. Ceramic contexts], Saratov, 1999, pp. 165ff. (in Russian).

<sup>7</sup> Vani, vol. VII, Tbilisi, 1983, pp. 9-10, 16-17, Nos. 9-12 (in Georgian).

<sup>8</sup> Boardman J., Athenian red figure vases. The Classical period, London, 1989, p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Peredolskaya A. A., Atticheskiy lekif iz VII Semibratnego kurgana [An Athenian lekythos from the seventh kurgan of the Seven Brothers], – *Pamyatniki antičnogo prikladnogo iskusstva* [Monuments of the Classical Applied Art], Leningrad, 1973, pp. 62-70 (in Russian).

<sup>10</sup> Schefold K., Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen, Berlin-Leipzig, 1934.

To the north of the individual No.5, between the group of personal ornaments and the Mendean amphora in the north-eastern corner a silver vase and a glass unguentarium were found. The silver vase is damaged, though it is possible to reconstruct its shape. The vase has a concave neck; its oval body is channeled. There is a band of ornament at the junction of the neck and the body. The bottom is decorated with the tongue pattern.

It has already been mentioned that associated with the grave goods is a vessel made of opaque black glass. It has a square elongated body, a very small flattened base, a broad and short neck, very narrow shoulders. The rim is thick and rounded, formed by bichrome twists. There are knobs on each of the four corners of the shoulder. The Vani vessel is decorated by a monochrome chevron pattern in whitish-green. This thread decoration covers the entire body of the vessel and terminates a short distance above the base. There are yellowish-brown bands above and below the chevrons. The light-brown bands along the four vertical edges are added after the chevrons and horizontal bands. The inner space of the vessel is cylindrical, tapering slightly toward the base.

Core-formed glass vessels of this type are identified as receptacles for the black substance used to darken the edges of the eye-lids. The black cosmetic paint is called kohl. Hence the designation of such receptacles as kohl-tubes. By the way, the glass vessel from Vani still contained a portion of the black powdery substance.<sup>11</sup>

The Vani specimen belongs to the IB group of Barag's classification. The kohl-tubes of this type are thought to be of the Iranian provenance; they are mainly dated from the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, possibly even from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>12</sup> The Vani specimen finds analogies in the collection of L. Oppenlaender.<sup>13</sup>

To the west of the above discussed kohl-tube and silver vase, two bronze vessels were cleaned. These are: a phiale mesomphalos and an oinochoe. The upper handle attachment of the oinochoe is decorated with a female head, while on the lower attachment a Silenos (?) head is depicted.

The group of grave goods yielded near the eastern edge of the grave contained many items. These are: a silver funerary band or belt, silver and bronze bells, two bronze buckles with gold-plated discs, various beads made of glass, Egyptian faience, and amber, and tube-shaped and conical decorations made

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<sup>11</sup> Though the analysis of this material has not yet been made, one can suppose that this is remains of kohl.

<sup>12</sup> Barag D.P., Rod-formed kohl-tubes of the mid-first millennium B.C., *Journal of Glass Studies*, vol. XVII, 1975, pp. 23-36.

<sup>13</sup> Oppenlaender Collection, Waiblingen, 2145.



of silver, an iron horse-bit. Of great interest is the silver belt. It is cut from sheet silver and decorated with simple patterns (triangles, swastikas) and figures (birds?) executed in the dot repoussé technique. There are small pin-holes both at the top and the bottom along the length of the band. These perforations suggest that the belt was originally attached to some fabric or leather. The arrangement of silver and bronze bells along the edges of the belt allows us to suppose that some of the holes were meant to attach bells to the belt. Belts are rarely found in the graves both in western and eastern Georgia in the Classical period. The only belt of this period is a golden one from the so-called Akhlagori hoard.<sup>14</sup> Belts or funerary bands are quite rare in the Greek world as well, to my knowledge. A belt housed in the British Museum is said to be from the Dardanelles. It is completely undecorated. The Dardanelle belt is dated to 350-300 BC.<sup>15</sup> Parts of the other object of this form from the Santa Eufemia treasure (in Italy, Calabria) is housed in the same museum. These are two sections of corrugated gold sheet.<sup>16</sup> There is a thin silver belt in the British Museum, and what seems to be two particularly elaborated belts in the Stathatos collection.<sup>17</sup> Two gold ornaments from Carpenisi (?) are decorated with massed floral ornament with plentiful use of filigree, granulation and inlays.<sup>18</sup> They are dated to the Hellenistic period.

Golden jewellery pieces were found near the south-western edge of the pit. First of all there was found a triangular pendant of the necklace. It is composed of hollow globular beads soldered to one another. Globular beads are made in two halves, which are soldered. This type of pendants finds *comparanda* in the so-called Akhlagori hoard and the Sairkhe necropolis. The Akhlagori hoard was recently dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>19</sup> As for Sairkhe, necklaces consisting of such elements were found in three graves: graves No.1, 8, and 10. The grave No.1 contained three triangular pendants, the grave No.8 yielded twenty ones, while the grave No.1 testified that triangular pendants represented parts of a necklace. The mentioned graves are dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (grave No.10), mid-4<sup>th</sup> century (grave No.8) and the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (grave No. 1).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Smirnov Ya., Akhlagoriiskii klad [The Akhlagori hoard], Tiflis, 19334, p. 52, pl. V (in Russian).

<sup>15</sup> Williams D., Ogden J., Greek gold. Jewellery of the Classical world. 1994, p. 107, No. 61.

<sup>16</sup> Williams D., Ogden J., Greek gold. Jewellery of the Classical world. 1994, p. 209, No. 141.

<sup>17</sup> Amandry P., Collection Hélène Stathatos, Les bijoux antiques, Strassbourg, 1953, nos. 265-266.

<sup>18</sup> Higgins R., Greek and Roman jewellery, Second Edition, 1980, p. 168.

<sup>19</sup> Lordkipanidze O., The Akhlagori hoard (An attempt at dating and historical interpretation), – *Archäologische Mittelungen aus Iran und Turan*, 33, 2001, pp. 143-190.

<sup>20</sup> Nadiradze K., Sairkhe – the ancient town of Colchis, Tbilisi, 1990, pp. 51, 95, pl. XXXIV, 2 (in Georgian).

In some 20 cm from the necklace pendant, some more golden jewellery pieces were cleaned: a plain globular bead, a golden button with three holes for sewing on the fabric; a group of inventory in the central part of the grave contained 7 golden jewellery pieces and 1 iron item. The golden jewellery comprises a temple-ring with the open-work globule, a melon-shaped bead, a pendant with the chain, a globular bead, 2 tubular beads, one of which is grooved, two buttons. As for the iron item, it represents a fragment of the bracelet. Of interest is the melon-shaped bead (Fig. 9). Its segments are separated vertically by single lines of granulations. At either end around the central perforation there are leaf patterns and a ring of granules. By both its size and shape it is unique for the Colchian jewellery. The closest analogy was found among the Lydian gold – the segmented melon-shaped bead found in the tomb of Sardis dated to 575-540 BC.<sup>21</sup>

In the central part of the grave-pit three clay vessels were found. Two of them represent two-handled pitharia, while the third one is a jug. They find parallels among the pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup>-first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Elongated proportions of the vessels in question give us grounds to ascribe them to the later stage of the pre-Hellenistic Colchian pottery.

One of the two-handled pitharia contained golden jewellery, a silver phiale and 5 silver coins – half-drachmae of the common type. The gold jewellery was composed of several temple-rings, a loop-in-loop chain, a signet-ring, various beads and spacer beads, pendants, buttons, and plaques. All types of the temple-rings – with rays, with a granulated globule, with an open-work globule, boat-shaped, Sairkhe-type – are characteristic of the Colchian jewellery of the pre-Hellenistic period (6<sup>th</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Figs. 2-6). Beads are of various types – spherical and channeled, plain and spherical, oval, tubular, and doubled. One of the beads is noteworthy, namely – a big spherical bead decorated with channeling. Of interest are spacer beads. They are of two types – one of them is swastika-shaped (Fig. 7), while the other is rectangular (Fig. 8). Some pendants consist of beads and plain discs. Buttons are stamped. They have three attachment holes (for sewing on fabric). On the oval bezel of the ring a love-scene is engraved (Fig. 11). The hoop is hammered from the same piece of gold as the bezel. Plaques with the representation of a sphinx are made of gold sheet. The appliqués are die-formed or punched from the back.

To the north of the pitharion with golden jewellery a group of silver jewellery and two groups of silver coins were revealed. The group of silver

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<sup>21</sup> Waldbaum J., *Metalwork from Sardis: the finds through 1974*, Cambridge-London, 1983, p. 126, cat. No. 760, pl. 46; Waldbaum J., *Metalwork and metalworking at Sardis, – Sardis, Twenty-seven Years of Discovery*, ed. by Eleanor Guralnick, Chicago, 1987, pp. 38-39, fig. 20.

artefacts is badly damaged. Identified were some conical ornaments, spherical and tubular beads. Together with the silver jewellery, some minute beads made of Egyptian faience were revealed. On the silver jewellery a golden tubular ornament, richly decorated with the finest granulation was uncovered (Fig. 10). Jewellery of this type is already known from Sairkhe.

It is worthy to note that almost all pieces of golden jewellery show definite signs of wear, indicating that they were not made solely for the funeral.

The above mentioned groups of silver coins consisted of one and the same types of coins – Colchian triobols of the common type. One of the groups contained 41 coins, while the other counted 40 pieces.

Judging by the inventory, especially imported pottery, the grave No. 22 might be dated preliminarily to the first half – middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

It looks like that the grave was damaged during the digging of the complex composed of a channel and rectangular cuttings. The function of the complex is yet unclear.



Fig. 1 – General view of the grave.



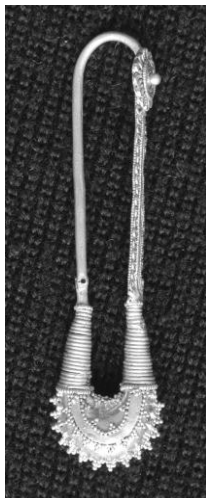
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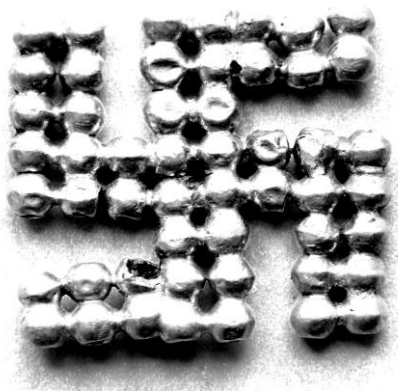


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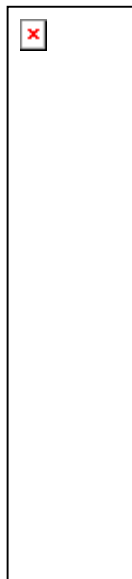


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Figs. 2-6 – Gold temple-rings.



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Figs. 7-8 – Gold spacer beads.



Fig. 9 – A gold bead.

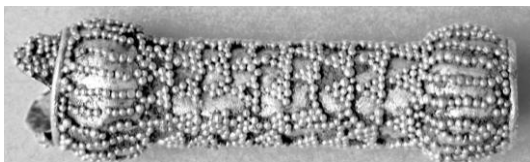


Fig. 10 – A gold tubular jewellery.



Fig. 11 – A gold finger-ring: bezel with a love-scene.

A. Apakidze, G. Kipiani and V. Nikolaishvili (Tbilisi)

### **A RICH BURIAL FROM MTSKHETA (CAUCASIAN IBERIA)**

Mtskheta is situated not far from Tbilisi at the confluence of the Mtkvari (Kura) and Aragvi rivers (Fig. 1). From the early 3rd century BC, when the (Caucasian) Iberian kingdom was created, until the 5th century AD it was the capital. Hellenistic and Roman remains have been found, both in the modern town of Mtskheta and in surrounding areas (Greater Mtskheta). The most remarkable are Bagineti (Armaztsikhe) and Armaziskhevi, the latter the residence and burial place of high ranking officials (*pitiakshes*) of the Iberian kings. Large-scale archaeological investigation has continued since 1937. In 1994, on the foundations laid by the Mtskheta Archaeological Expedition of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Mtskheta Archaeological Institute was created.

Tomb No. 14 was uncovered in August 2001 in the north-eastern wall of Svetitskhoveli cathedral, 330 cm from the socle and 670 cm from the northern corner, at a depth of 170 cm below the modern surface. The tomb was built of rough, sandstone slabs set into a yellowish-pale blue clay soil and oriented west-east. The roof of the burial was flat. It consisted of three sandstone slabs resting upon the north and south walls. The joins between the slabs were reinforced with a thick (10-15 cm) lime-wash paste. The roof slabs (263 x 148 cm; 20 cm thick) overlapped the cist. Four solid stone slabs formed the walls of the burial, and the long walls had vertical slots 11-18 cm wide. All the slabs were well dressed, especially the inner surfaces, bearing traces of a chisel. An iron pin was attached to the south-western corner of the rim of the cist for hanging a thick, square bronze plaque (a mirror? – see below, No. 18). The outer dimensions of the burial are 211-213 cm x 120-130 cm; inner, 209 x 96 cm; height 96 cm. The tomb was not robbed, indeed it was so well sealed that no earth had penetrated within (Figs. 2, 4).

The floor of the tomb was paved at the west end by three and a half brick plinths (Fig. 3). One bears the imprint of the paws of an animal. The plinths measure respectively 58 x 28 cm, 58 x 59 cm and 59 x 58 cm; each was 5 x 3-

3.5 cm thick. The body was laid flat on its back, the head to the west and turned to the right. The hands were placed over the pelvis, and the legs were bent slightly at the knee and were apart. Although the skeleton as a whole was in very poor condition, it was possible to determine its sex, female, and age, 40-50.

There were some 24 pieces of gold, silver, bronze, iron, glass, etc., in the burial.

1. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1611) (Fig. 5). A gold signet-ring with a carnelian gem-intaglio, found near the left hand of the body. The bezel is ovoid and figured. A pair of cast gold panthers is welded to the hoop, holding in their teeth and paws a hammered bezel of gold sheet. A reddish carnelian intaglio represents the left profile of a female bust encircled with a Greek inscription ΒΑCΙΑΙCΑ/OYΛΠΠΙΑΝΑΞΙΑ. Height of ring – 19 mm; width – 17 mm. Length of gem – 20 mm; width – 17 mm. Total weight – 9.89 g. This is the first such ring to be found in Georgia.

2. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1612) (Fig. 6). A cylindrical gold ink pot consisting of two pieces – a pot covered with a heptagonal lid pierced in the centre and covered with a movable plate attached by a pair of bosses also pierced at the edge. The sides of the heptagon are unequal and they are ornamented with ovals and stylised lotus leaves. It has been damaged by compression. The body of the ink pot is reinforced by four hoops. Found to the left of the pelvis. Height – 120 mm; diameter of base – 43 mm; diameter of body – 47 mm; diameter of hole – 8 mm; total weight – 95.55 g. It is the fifth ink pot found at Mtskheta, all in burials from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

3. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1613) (Fig. 7). A gold sheet forming the cover for a desk set (see No. 17). It is square, open-work, decorated with a floral design and with a terminal mounting; the frame is decorated with scratched, irregular dashes. There is a two-line Greek inscription within the frame: ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC/OYCTAMOY | TOYKAIEYTENIOY. There are two pairs of holes at the corner of the sheet. In the upper corner there is a pin resembling an eight-petalled rose. Found near the pelvis. Length – 97 mm; width – 9 mm; thickness – 1 mm; height of side – 10 mm; weight – 52.95 g.

4. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1614) (Fig. 8). A two-tanged gold pendant case for an amulet, in the shape of an open box curving inwards. A pair of grooved tangs is soldered onto the edges of the underside. Found at the waist. Length – 27 mm; width – 17 mm; height – 10 mm; weight – 1.79 g. A similar amulet case was found in another female burial – No. 2 in the Armaziskhevi elite cemetery.

5. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1615) (Fig. 9). A pendant made of a pair of gold running spirals soldered on a round-headed tang. Found at the waist. Length – 26



mm; width – 16 mm; weight – 4.91 g. No such pendant has hitherto been found in Mtskheta.

6. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1616) (Fig. 10). A gold pendant. An ovoid brooch is set with a chalcedony relief bust of a lady wearing a gold necklace. She is dressed in a chiton(?). Her carnelian coiffure is flattened on the back of her head. She has a straight, prominent nose, thick lips and a chin jutting out a little. Found near the pelvis. Height – 27 mm; width – 16 mm; diameter of brooch – 15-16 mm. A similar pendant, but with a male bust, was found at Mtskheta Baiatkhevi cemetery, in tile burial No. 35, dated to the 3rd century AD.

7. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1617) (Fig. 11). A gold pendant. An ovoid brooch of false-ropé design with a tang, set into which is a carnelian bust of a boy wearing a gold necklace. The forehead recedes, the nose a little snub, the lips thick and the cheeks plump, the chin juts out a little, and the boy's hair, divided into five parts, is plaited. Found near the pelvis. Height – 12 mm; width – 12 mm; weight – 1.68 g. The bust is a fine piece of perfectly sculpted relief work. A similar gem, but set in a finger-ring, has been found at Mtskheta, Samtavro burial No. 905.

8. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1618) (Fig. 12). A gold pendant, similar to No. 7. Its rear surface is slightly damaged. The boy is adorned with an impressed, criss-cross garland around the neck. The bust is encircled by a pair of grooves. Height – 12 mm; width – 12 mm; weight – 1.70 g.

9. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1619) (Fig. 13). A gold pendant with a tang, with a three-layered agate intaglio in the shape of a high, truncated cone, representing a seated Zeus, holding a sceptre in his right hand and a bolt of lightning in his left; his eagle before him. Found near the pelvis. Height with tang – 25 mm; width – 17 mm; height of gem – 7 mm; width – 8 mm. Similar pieces were found at Mtskheta, Samtavro and Ertsoianeti.

10. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1620) (Fig. 14). A false-roped, tanged gold pendant, set with an almond-shaped, light violet, transparent amethyst, slightly ridged on the back. Found in the central part of the south wall. Height – 26 mm; width – 16 mm; weight – 3.68 g. An amethyst of a similar form was found elsewhere at Mtskheta, in tomb No. 25, set into a gold finger-ring of the second half of the 3rd century.

11. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1621) (Fig. 15.1). A gold pendant, with a pair of transverse rods soldered onto two fish-shaped verticals. On the lower rod an octagonal sky-blue glass bead is mounted. Two grooved tangs are soldered on to the pair of fish. Found in the central part of the south wall. Height with tang – 17 mm; width – 12 mm; thickness – 7 mm; length of bead – 18 mm.

12. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1622) (Fig. 15.2). A gold pendant similar to No. 11. Height – 22 mm; width – 21 mm; weight – 5.455 g.

13. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1623) (Fig. 16). An agate balsamarium. It is pear-shaped, with a cylindrical neck and a gold lid. A gold ring, with three gold chains terminating in flat gold plates, is linked to another gold chain, which is attached to the lid by means of a tang. The three gold chains may easily be attached to three equidistant holes in the body of the balsamarium. A hole in the underside of the balsamarium is set with a gold-framed garnet. Height – 33 mm; diameter – 27 mm; weight – 13.80 g. A similar balsamarium, but gold and with a rough surface, was found in sarcophagus No. 7 at Armaziskhevi cemetery.

14. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1624) (Fig. 17.1-2). A tanged gold coin pendant. Obv. – a draped bust of Faustina II, left profile, encircled with the inscription FAVSTINA AVGVSTA and a circle of dots. Rev. – a draped, full-face image of Venus holding an apple in her right hand; inscription VE..NVS. Found near the pelvis. Height with tang – 17 mm; diameter – 13-14 mm; thickness – 1.5 mm; weight – 3.865 g.

15. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1625) (Fig. 18.1-2). A tanged gold coin pendant, similar in form to the previous example, but the coin is a gold denarius minted in Rome. Obv. – a draped bust of Lucilla (164-169 or 183 AD), right profile; bust encircled with the inscription, LVCILLAE AVGVSTAE, and a half loop of dotted line. Rev. – Pietas, a full-face, draped image; right hand raised over a burning altar; left hand holding a box; inscription around the image PIE..TAS, with part of a circle of dots. Found near the pelvis. Height with tang – 16 mm; diameter – 15 mm; weight – 3.75 g.

16. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1626) (Fig. 19). An ovoid earring made of gold wire, with open ends; soldered onto it a gold rod with a coral bead on it and a flattened end. Found in the middle of the south wall. Height – 20 mm; diameter – 12 mm; weight – 1.37 g.

This type is quite common in Georgia (Mtskheta, Urbnisi, Ertso) but the great majority of them have been found in Greater Mtskheta in sites dated to the 3rd-4th centuries (Armaziskhevi, Samtavro).

17. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1627) (Figs. 20-24). A silver desk set and pencil-box, damaged and with a patina. The box was found near the pelvis of the deceased.

The box is formed of two parts. The first is the rear of a boat-shaped item consisting of two silver sheets with a corrugated lid attached (see detailed description below). The space between the sheets is divided by three tetrahedral rods – one transverse, the other two running along the sides – with the empty spaces between them filled with some plaster.

The lid also is in two parts. One piece is of corrugated silver, terminating in a raised, triangular case (8 x 7 cm) for holding an ink-pot. It is decorated in high relief. The device on the case is bordered by three arches supported by

spiral columns. The arches are inscribed respectively MENAN ... (damaged; some letters missing), ΟΜΗΡΟΣ and ΔΗΜΟΚΡΕΝΗΣ – the names of the three male figures (Menander, Homer and Demosthenes) enclosed by them. The second part is an open-work gold cover (see No. 3).

The second piece of the box, mainly its rear surface, forms a device divided into three bands each of three figures, crowned with a cordon of *astragaloi*. Over each of the upper row of figures is an arch supported by spiral columns. The height of figures varies (see below). Below each row Greek inscriptions, engraved in so-called *tabulae clipeatae*, contain the names of the muses. The letters are burnished and incrustated. The inscriptions are framed in gold; the figures of the nine muses are gilded.

The figures in the upper row (left to right), dressed in long chitons, are the muses of history, lyric poetry and comedy; their names: ΚΛΙΩ, ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ, ΘΑΛΙΑ. Clio holds a slate pencil in her right hand and a book in her left. Euterpe holds a trumpet in her right hand and some wind instrument in her left. There is an altar between Clio and Euterpe. Thalia holds a comic mask in her left hand and a ploughshare in her right.

The middle row contains the muses of tragedy, dance and love poetry, with their names: ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ, ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ, ΕΡΑΤΩ. Melpomene holds a tragic mask in her left hand with her right arm akimbo. Terpsichore has a lyre in her left hand and a plectrum (?) in her right. Erato has a flanged lyre in her left hand and some enigmatic object in her right.

The lower row houses the muses of singing, sacred dance and mime, of astronomy and of epic poetry, with their names: ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ, ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ, ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ. Polyhymnia holds a scroll in her right hand and a mask in her left. Urania holds a pointed slate pencil in her right hand and a globe at her waist in the left. Calliope has a scroll in her left hand and her right hand pressed to her breast.

Length of box – 34.6 cm; width of top – 9.1 cm; of bottom – 6.6 cm; height of sides – 2.5 cm, 2.5 cm, 3 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm.

Length of other sheet – 30.2 cm; width of top – 8.5 cm; of bottom – 6 cm. Ink-pot case – 8 x 7 cm at top of lid.

Upper row figures (right to left) – 69 mm, 74 mm, 73.5 mm.

Middle row (right to left) – 62.5 mm, 64 mm, 67 mm.

Lower row (right to left) – 62 mm, 61 mm, 63.5 mm.

External dimensions of inscription frames (top to bottom) – 49.5 x 24.5 mm, 44.5 x 23 mm, 45 x 20.5 mm.

Internal dimensions of the frames (top to bottom) – 41 x 18 mm, 38 x 17.5 mm, 39 x 13 mm.

The rest of the desk set consists of three writing implements – one-piece pens with nibs. One of the pens has an iron plug driven into the top. All three are made of silver sheets (12 mm wide; 1 mm thick), the joints between which are soldered from top to nib. They were placed within a special case made of two silver sheets. Length of pen and nib – 23.3 cm; diameter – 7-8 mm; diameter of body – 10 mm; length of nib – 3.7 cm; width of nib – 1.5 mm (2 mm for the one with the plug). This is the first desk set to be found in Georgia.

18. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1628). A square bronze plaque (mirror?), broken into six pieces, coated with a malignant patina; with the remains of a wooden frame. Next to it was a bronze handle, again with wooden remains adhering to it (used for hanging the mirror?). Found at the south-western corner of the burial. Height – 31.3 cm; width – 27 cm; thickness – 3-4 cm.

19. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1629) (Fig. 25). An ovoid, shallow agate saucer, probably the base of some larger vessel. The underside edges are chipped. Found in the middle part of the south wall. Length – 9.75 cm; width – 7.4 cm; height of sides – 7 mm (outer), 6 mm (inner); thickness – 6 mm.

20. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1630) (Fig. 26). A decorated agate drinking vessel with straight sides. The body is cylindrical, tapering slightly at the bottom. The base is flat and everted. The body is ornamented with a pair of relief cordons between which are eight rhomboid reliefs with a ninth, larger one in the centre. Found near the right thigh bone. Matt white veins run through the glass itself. Height – 8.3 cm; diameter of body – 6.4 cm; diameter of rim – 5.6 cm; diameter of base – 3.5 cm.

21. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1631). Pieces of a clear glass vessel. Found in the middle part of the south wall.

22. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1632). Pieces of a clear glass vessel. Found in the north-east section of the burial.

23. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1633) (Fig. 27). An iron pin, round in section, with a ball-shaped head; one piece, hammered, rusted and broken into four pieces. Found near the lady's breast.

24. (Inv. No. 01-6-X-1634). An iron pin, round in section, rusted and broken into three pieces. Similar to No. 23. Length – 12 cm.

The great majority of the grave-goods found in tomb No. 14 belong to the 3rd century or to the first half of the 4th century AD. Thus, the tomb most probably dates to the late 3rd or early 4th century. Various of the finds, particularly the desk set, together with bronze and silver ink-pots and styli discovered previously, point to a high level of literacy among the elite in the period when Mtskheta served as capital of Caucasian Iberia. Some pieces from the tomb seem to have been made in foreign workshops – further evidence of quite close trading contacts with Rome, Iran, etc.

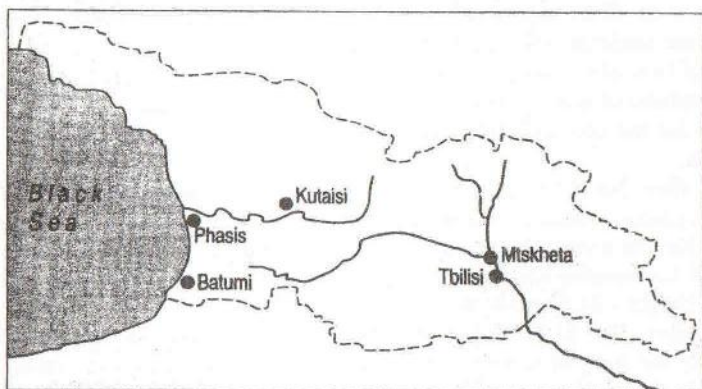


Fig. 1. Map of Georgia showing location of Mtskheta (adapted from Apakidze and Nikolaishvili 1994, 17, fig. 1).



Fig. 2. Tomb No. 14.

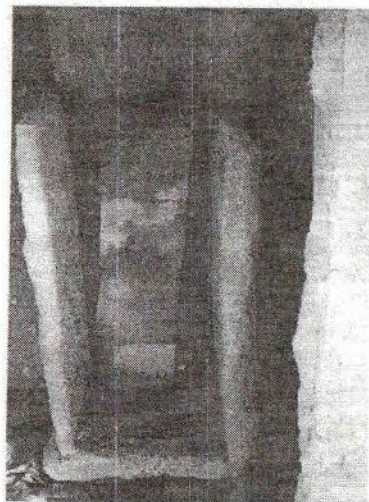


Fig. 3. Tomb No. 14 after removal of skeleton and grave-goods.

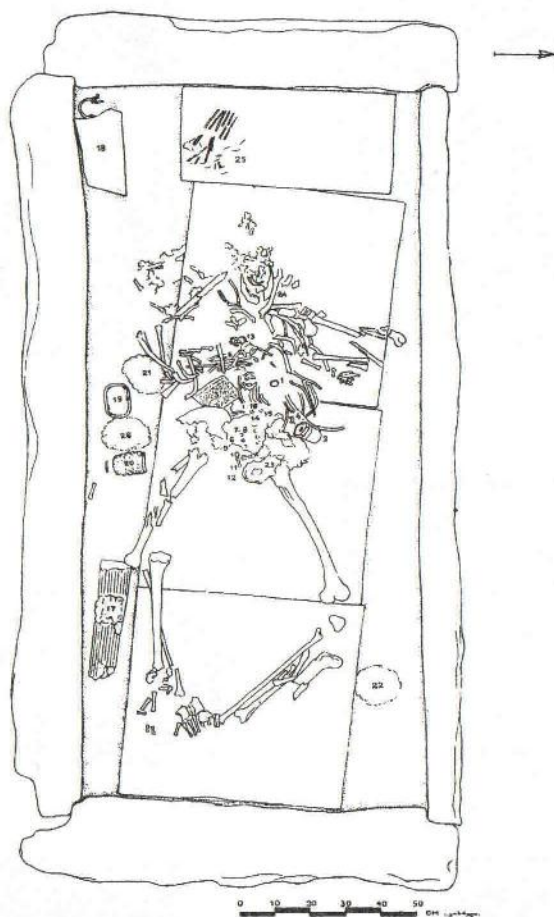


Fig. 4. Drawing of tomb. 1 – gold signet-ring; 2 – a cylindrical gold ink pot (part of desk set and pencil-box); 3 – a gold sheet (part of desk set and pencil-box); 4-12 – gold pendants; 13 – agate balsamarium; 14-15 – gold coin pendants; 16 – gold earring; 17 – silver desk set and pencil-box; 18 – bronze plaque (mirror?); 19 – agate saucer; 20 – glass drinking vessel; 21-22 – fragments of glass vessels; 23-24 – iron pins; 25 – fragments of wood; 26 – fragments of glass vessel.



Fig. 5. A gold signet-ring with carnelian gem-intaglio.



Fig. 6. A cylindrical gold ink pot.



Fig. 7. A gold sheet forming the cover for the desk set.



Fig. 8. A two-tanged gold pendant case.



Fig. 9. A gold pendant.



Fig. 10. A gold pendant.



Fig. 11. A gold pendant.



Fig. 12. A gold pendant.



Fig. 13. A gold pendant.

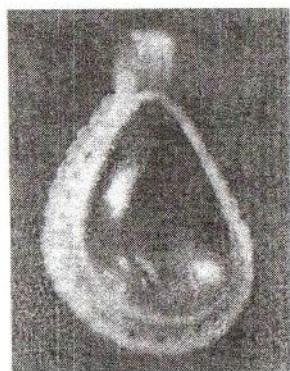


Fig. 14. A gold pendant.

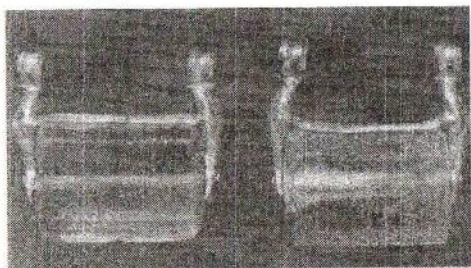


Fig. 15. 1-2. Gold pendants.



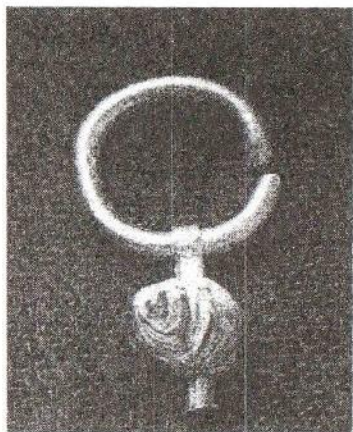


Fig. 19. Gold earring.



Fig. 20. A silver desk set and pencil-box.



Fig. 21. A silver desk set and pencil-box.



Fig. 22. A silver desk set and pencil-box.



Fig. 23. A silver desk set and pencil-box.

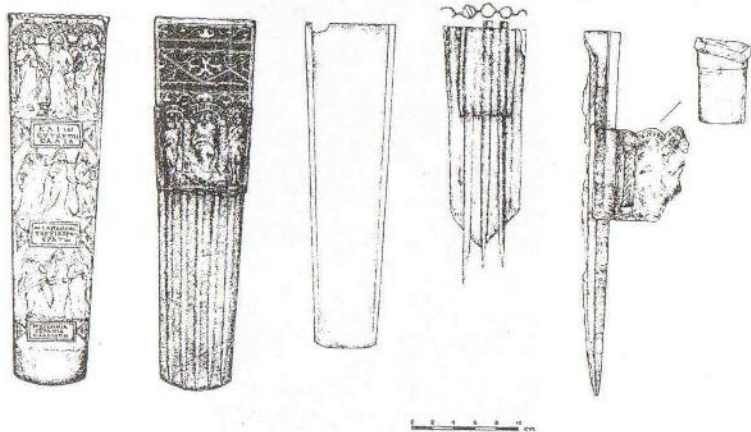


Fig. 24. A silver desk set and pencil-box.

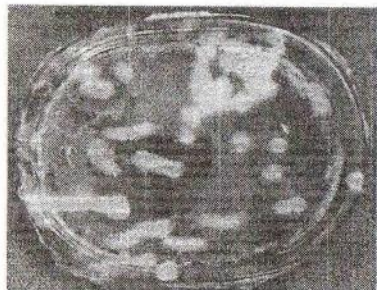


Fig. 25. Shallow agate saucer.

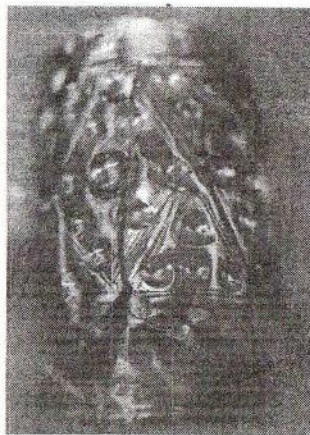


Fig. 26. Agate drinking vessel.

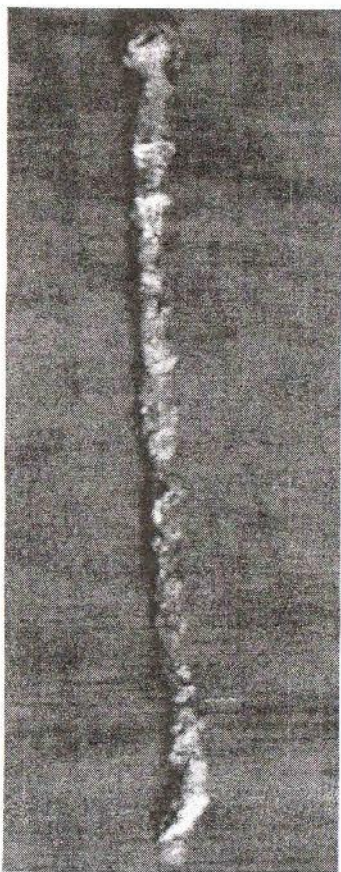


Fig. 27. Iron pin.

Freddy Decreus (Ghent)

## A SERIES OF PAPERS ON THE HELLENIC DRAMA AND CONTEMPORANEITY

### THE ORESTEIA, OR THE MYTH OF THE WESTERN METROPOLIS BETWEEN HABERMAS AND FOUCAULT

#### I. Cheerful Apollo and Athena

For some time, the following two passages, situated halfway the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, have attracted the attention of both philologists and stage directors. They deal with the curious ways in which, in the opinion of two gods, the conception of the human takes place. Trying to convince the Furies to respect the will of Zeus, the supreme male and father, Apollo and Athena, in the vs. 658-664 and 734-740, are lecturing them about some biological aspects of the conception. A man is able to produce life all by himself, a woman is merely a temporary vessel who carries the semen:

*She who is called the child's mother is not  
Its begetter, but the nurse of the newly sown conception.  
The begetter is the male, and she as a stranger for a stranger 660  
Preserves the offspring, if no god blights its birth;  
And I shall offer you a proof of what I say.  
There can be a father without a mother; near at hand  
Is the witness, the child of Olympian Zeus.*

The second notorious extract is uttered by Athena and contains a complete rejection of her sex:

*It is now my office to give final judgment;  
And I shall give my vote to Orestes.* 735  
*For there is no mother who bore me;  
And I approve the male in all things, short of accepting marriage,  
With all my heart, and I belong altogether to my father.  
Therefore I shall not give greater weight to the death of a woman,  
One who slew her husband, the watcher of the house<sup>1</sup>* 740

In a recent Belgian production, *Le Sang des Atrides*, a newly written adaptation of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, staged by "Le Théâtre en Liberté" (Brussels, 1996), Athena could not refrain from giggling during those two passages. Daniel Scahaise, the director, who himself rewrote the whole trilogy in French, added at the end of the Exodos the following stage directions: "Laughs from Athena and Apollo", an order which both deities carried out in an extremely cheerful way. End of the most famous classical trilogy, two gods bursting into laughter!

In antiquity, philosophical, medical, biological and mythical arguments about the inferior nature of women circulated widely.<sup>2</sup> The Hippocratic corpus, Aristotle, Galen and Soranus, all "specialists" of the female body, considered the female as a "failed male". In one of his many works which tried to prove the weaker and imperfect nature of women, Aristotle cites the view put forward by Anaxagoras concerning the origin of the sex-differences, a passage which is highly reminiscent of the words of Apollo in the *Eumenides*: "the semen comes into being from the male, while the female provides the space for it".<sup>3</sup> In the eyes of Aristotle, the female blood, coming from a weaker creature, is colder and not so pure at all, while the male semen, a residue of male blood, is hotter, and hence better concocted and better compacted: "and the more compacted semen is, the more fertile it is".<sup>4</sup> On top of the oppositions male/female, hot/cold, strong/weak, able to concoct/disable to concoct, male semen is said to dispose of something more divine, in the sense

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Aeschylus. Oresteia. Translated with notes*, London, 1979 (2), Duckworth.

<sup>2</sup> D. J. Conacher, *Aeschylus' Oresteia. A Literary Commentary*, Toronto, 1987, University of Toronto Press, p. 161 and note 58, p.185-186.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium* IV, 1, 763 b; see Aristoteles, *De Historia Animalium*, VIII, 608a -b; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*, VII, 64-66; XXVIII 77-81.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, IV, 1, 765b 2-7. See G.E.R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology. Studies in the Life Sciences in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, 1983, Cambridge University Press, p. 95: Nevertheless females are defined by their incapacity – as males by their capacity to concoct the blood, and he (sc. Aristotle) calls the female sex a "natural deformity" (p. 95).

that it contains "the principle of movement for generated things, while the female serves as their matter".<sup>5</sup> Therefore, Froma I. Zeitlin, in a very illuminating article "The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in Aeschylus's *Oresteia*", is totally justified when she says: "The hypothesis is that semen is transmitted from the brain and the spinal column through the genitals to the womb. There is more: the major component of semen is *pneuma*, a foamlike airy substance that contains the seed of the divine. Originating in the brain, semen is responsible for endowing the offspring with the distinctive human capacity for reason, for *logos*. Seed of generation, of intellectual ability, and of the divine element in the human species, semen confirms the innate superiority of male over female".<sup>6</sup>

Medical science, as one of the many channels to ensure the patriarchal and thus ideological vision of man, serves here as an argument, nearly at the end of the trilogy, to justify a number of transitions which would mark the *Oresteia* forever as one of the most important turning points of Greek history: Western civilisation is finally realized by means of a triple victory: on a divine level the chthonic gives way to the Olympic, on a cultural level the barbaric to the Greek, on a social level the female to the male.<sup>7</sup> Anthropology (Bachofen), marxism (Marx, Engels) and feminism (Millett, Cixous, Zeitlin) all considered the *Oresteia* as a witness to some major socio-historical events. But even apart from these kinds of interpretations, the trilogy itself proved to be one of the most important works of art ever produced by Greek consciousness. As Simon Goldhill has said: "It was a landmark from its first performance, recognized as the greatest work of a playwright who was recognized as the figurehead of the flourishing of tragedy in classical Athens. He still is. The *Oresteia* was, first of all, for the Greeks themselves simply the most influential play ever written."<sup>8</sup>

Against the background of this strong appreciation, the attitude of the Belgian director, Daniel Scahaise, reveals itself as rather blasphemous. How-

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<sup>5</sup> Mary Harlow, *In the name of the father: procreation, paternity and patriarchy*, in: Lin Foxhall and John Salmon (Ed.), *Thinking men. Masculinity and its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition*, London and New York, 1998, Routledge, p. 158-159.

<sup>6</sup> Froma I. Zeitlin, *The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in Aeschylus's Oresteia*, in: *Playing the Other. Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature*, Chicago and London, 1996, The University of Chicago Press, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Froma I. Zeitlin, o. c., p. 87; her conclusion is: "But the male-female conflict subsumes the other two by providing the central metaphor that "sexualizes" the other issues and attracts them into its magnetic field".

<sup>8</sup> Susan Harris Smith, *Twentieth-Century Plays Using Classical Myths. A Checklist*, in: *Modern Drama XXIX*, 1986, 1, p. 125-126, collected 92 important translations and adaptations between 1892 (Claudiel's first version of the *Agamemnon*) and 1980 (John Eaton's opera, *The Cry of Clytemnestra*).

ever, as it will appear, he is not the only one to have worked out such artistic options, since a growing number of philologists, philosophers and directors ask a number of questions dealing with the deconstruction of Western knowledge in general and with the *Oresteia* in particular. This attitude is not a postmodern way of showing disrespect for the tradition, on the contrary, it can be considered as a necessary operation leading to useful knowledge for present-day generations. As the *Oresteia* is conceived as the Athenian version of the foundation of the Greek (metro)polis, it must be seen as a mental construction which, for 2,500 years, has functioned in the most various ways to create and protect large areas of Western identity. Nevertheless, it is good to remember that it is only a piece of construction and that, as such, it went through a lot of metamorphoses. To put it in an extreme form, as Camille Paglia did, one could say that Aeschylus, in order to glorify the city of Athens, transplanted a Homeric myth into his own city, which in the epic world of the *Ilias*, was just a hamlet and, in doing this, he resembled a modern American poet who would situate the legend of the Nights of the Round Table in New York.<sup>9</sup>

In the eyes of the great public, undermining the sacrosanct image of the greatest of all tragedies, certainly provokes a shock effect. On the other hand, this gesture is a deliberate artistic statement and one can always compare it to former ones, which in their days also seemed incomprehensible at first sight, like Marcel Duchamp's remake of the Mona Lisa (*LHOOQ*, 1919) or James Joyce's rewriting of the *Ulysses* (1922). Before discussing the value of Daniel Scahaïse's interpretation, let us first have a look at the remarkable career of the *Oresteia*.

## II. Approval and disapproval

Our age likes to consider Aeschylus (and Shakespeare) as our contemporary.<sup>10</sup> A great number of editions, translations and performances of his dramatic works testify to this preference. The last twenty years, no less than six really outstanding productions of the *Oresteia*, among a dozen others, could be seen all over Europe.

The television production made by Kenneth McLeish in 1979, called *The Serpent Son*, featuring Diana Rigg as Clytemnestra, had a worldwide success and proved that an Aeschylean topic still could fascinate the great public.

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<sup>9</sup> Camille Paglia, *Sexual Personae. Art and Decadence from Nefertite to Emily Dickinson*, London, 1990, Penguin Books.

<sup>10</sup> Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, 1961; for some striking parallels between *The Oresteia* and *Macbeth*, see: Adrian Poole, *Tragedy. Shakespeare and the Greek Example*, Oxford, 1987, Basil Blackwell, Chapter 2. "The Initiate fear": Aeschylus, Shakespeare, p. 15-53.



In 1980, Peter Stein staged his version of the *Oresteia* in the Berliner Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer with the magnificent Edith Clever as Clytemnestra. Stein paid particular attention to the Greek text (he staged a prose version of it, unaccompanied by music) and chose a diachronic design concept, which gave him the opportunity to commingle a number of styles and registers. Some slight political allusions pointed at the German socio-political situation of the moment.

The version made by Karolos Koun (1980-1) shared the preoccupations of Stein concerning the text. Koun was very interested in the original text and tried to revive it using the chorus as a prime means of expression. Masks and primitive costumes, as well as the very expressive acting of Melina Mercouri as Clytemnestra, helped to create a primaeval world, loaded with nightmares and threatening, a wonderful spectacle as it was staged in the open air theatre of Epidauros.<sup>11</sup>

In the summer of 1982, Peter Hall presented the version he made with the London National Theatre (1981) in Epidauros. Once again, language stood at the centre of attention, since the poet Tony Harrison had written a very peculiar translation, based upon alliteration and assonance, and referring to the old-English way of speaking. The staccato rhythm and the overwhelming force of the diction made it a very strong esthetic experience, though not really interesting in an emotional and existential way.<sup>12</sup>

In the interpretation of his *Klytāimnestra* (1983), the Japanese director Tadashi Suzuki stressed the importance of body language, masks and choreography in order to liberate the emotions. The old traditions of No and Kabuki theatre were used to realize the transition to the old mythic past, heroic in the eyes of the East and the West, a time when humans still felt the need for living together. Theatre for Suzuki meant in the first place the occasion for the actor to express himself and his body in a creative way, not the obligation to impersonate a given text. Relying on timeless motions, his theatre focused upon the emptiness of life of the modern Clytemnestra, who gradually lost grip on her family and its ancient values.

Concern for other cultures also characterized the production *Les Atrides* by Ariane Mnouchkine (1990-1993). Consciousness of a multicultural world, loss of the kind of realism which turned up in so many European productions, a special care for movement and music and a new sensitivity to the position of

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<sup>11</sup> John Chioles, *The Oresteia and the Avant-garde. Three Decades of Discourse*, in: *Performing Arts Journal* XLV, 1993, 3, p. 24-25.

<sup>12</sup> John Chioles, o. c., p. 16-22; Jan Maarten Bremer, *Drie opvoeringen van Aeschylus' Oresteia kritisch beschouwd*, in: *Lampas* XVI, 1983, 3, p. 131-154.

women in tragedy made this production one of the highlights of twentieth century adaptation of the Greek classics.

This number of really superb productions of the *Oresteia* gave the trilogy a place among the most important artistic and cultural manifestations of the end of the twentieth century. Our society clearly recognizes itself in a number of aspects in this trilogy which, in the meantime, has reached the respectable age of 2,500 years. Nevertheless, the esteem that it enjoys today can never obliterate the lack of appreciation it had to endure for more than 2000 years. To be sure, in Antiquity, the tragedies of Aeschylus knew an important and successful career, but during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, he clearly was not held in high respect. The first translations of his dramatic works were not published before the end of the 18th century. Since his theatre did not at all respect the rules made by Aristotle, it was rejected in a society which cared more for the rules of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance* than for real emotions and which could not appreciate the grandiose lifestyle and diction of his characters. Even for Voltaire, Aeschylus was a barbarian.<sup>13</sup> He was the last of the Greek tragedians to be recognized in the 19th century, the period in which romanticism<sup>14</sup> stimulated the search for the distant past. He was not even staged during the German Neohellenism, when (some version of romantic) Greece captured the German imagination and so deeply influenced the education system. His *Oresteia* was only discovered in the midst of the nineteenth century (1847) by Richard Wagner who used it as a source of inspiration for *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (1853-74).

This outline of extreme approval and disapproval should make us attentive to the ideological deep structures that seem to govern some periods. In order to have a clear vision about the reasons which incited Apollo and Athena to laugh A. D. 1996, we have to situate the play in the whole of the twentieth century, remembering the great epistemological shifts we have passed through. As Thomas Kuhn, a philosopher of science, made us realize, each of them assumes the character of a "paradigm", a selection of problems and presuppositions which enable us to look at things, but which, on the other hand, make us deliberately blind concerning other things which do not match our prime interest.<sup>15</sup> Three paradigmatic schemes which commanded the production of the *Oresteia* in the 19th and 20th centuries are now briefly analysed.

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<sup>13</sup> Siegfried Melchinger, Aischylos auf der Bühne der Neuzeit, in: Hildebrecht Hommel (Hrsg.), Wege zu Aischylos, Darmstadt, 1974, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, I, p. 443-475.

<sup>14</sup> Melchinger, o. c., p. 449 mentions the adaptation by Diderot (1757) and its translation by Lessing (1769) as the first signs of a positive reception.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago, 1962, The University of Chicago.

### III. Romanticism, Neoclassicism, Modernism

#### Romanticism

Looking back at the history of the classics in the 19th centuries, one has to realize that classical art and literature were estimated in totally different ways. First of all, classics became part of that all embracing hypothesis, called romanticism. Nearly all the "classical" authors were analysed in their use of romantic themes and the three great tragedians did not escape this kind of mental investigation.<sup>16</sup>

An outstanding adept of German Romanticism, Richard Wagner (1813-1883) created with his *Ring* a "Gesamtkunstwerk", which had to testify to the tragic spirit and had to deal with the history of gods, heroes and men. In his autobiography, he wrote: "I could see the *Oresteia* with my mind's eye, as though it were actually being performed and its effect on me was indescribable. Nothing could equal the sublime emotion with which the *Agamemnon* inspired me, and to the last word of the *Eumenides*, I remained in an atmosphere so far removed from the present day that I have never since been really able to reconcile myself with modern literature. My ideas about the whole significance of drama and the theatre were no doubt moulded by these impressions".<sup>17</sup> Nowadays, of course, we can easily say that Wagner's aim to dedicate his "Gesamtkunstwerk" to the whole population and to give it a function in the special cultic atmosphere of the Bayreuth festival, clearly is a nineteenth century nostalgic souvenir of the distant past, but, as Simon Goldhill remarks, Schlegel too shared this almost blind admiration for Aeschylus, saying that "in his almost superhuman greatness he is likely to remain unexcelled".<sup>18</sup>

The many influences which constituted the German Philhellenic nineteenth century are not easy to disentangle. A great number of philosophers

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<sup>16</sup> M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, London, 1953; W. J. Bate, *From Classic to Romantic*, Cambridge, 1946. In classical philology, interest in the romantic nature of some classical authors revealed itself throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Cf. B. Ogle Marbury, *Romantic Movements in Antiquity*, in: *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXIV, 1943, p. 1-18; p. 3: "To this sentimental attitude toward nature, Gilbert Murray has added the sentimental attitude towards women and has made these two elements the chief ingredients in what he describes as "that something which in a large sense may be called the Romantic Movement". It is somewhat confusing, however, to find Aeschylus called "The Romantic Aeschylus" because his plays are awe-inspiring, picturesque, spectacular, vigorous, to find both him and Sophocles described as "romantic" as concerns the heroic saga in contrast to Euripides who is the apostle of enlightenment, and to read a refutation of this last view on the ground that the characters in Euripides' plays are "romantic" because he portrays men as "they ought to be". Cf. N. I. Herescu, *Catulle et le Romantisme*, in: *Latomus* XVI, 1957, p. 433-445.

<sup>17</sup> Simon Goldhill, *Aeschylus. The Oresteia*, Cambridge, 1992, Cambridge University Press, p. 96.

<sup>18</sup> Simon Goldhill, *Aeschylus*, o. c., p. 97.

who affected the intellectual life profoundly (Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche) wrote about the tragic experience in a way which made romanticism end in philosophical idealism. Most of them founded their theory on the principle of dialectics which continuously sought a way to unite the concrete (work of art) with the abstract (Unity, Transcendence, der Geist). In their eyes, the history of mankind can be seen as a permanent transition towards the new, a gradual process of becoming der Geist. Since this entails a dynamic system of opposites wanting to destroy each other, human action on the ethic level was interpreted as an opposition between the Law of Nature and the Law of the City, and thus in terms of an opposition between the Male and the Female. In the opinion of Hegel, man incorporated the order of the city, woman the order of nature or family. Since in tragedy, man constantly tried to triumph over his limitations, every one of his actions was finally meant to change his situation. German Romanticism and Idealism thus created a particular atmosphere, in which the male and female, the Apollonian and Dionysian, the tragic and the untragic, acquired totally new meanings which never were present in fifth century Athens. As a consequence, Antigone and Creon, Athena and the Furies, were interpreted in terms of philosophical categories which would influence all later productions. From this moment on, every regular twentieth century interpretation was touched by the idea that, in every Greek tragedy, oppositional values should result in some kind of synthesis (which can only be said of a third of all tragedies, thus turning the others into non-tragedies). The *Eumenides*, already characterized by the inferior position of woman since the patriarchal fifth century, saw this inferiority doubled through the impact of German idealistic philosophy.<sup>19</sup>

### Neoclassicism

The beginning of the twentieth century was important, because it saw the translations of Ulrich von Wilamowitz, Gilbert Murray and Paul Mazon, masterpieces of precision and scholarship, which could be read and understood by a large public.<sup>20</sup> The main event in the career of the *Oresteia* has been its staging in 1900, based on the translation of Ulrich von Wilamowitz. The year 1900 is to be situated in the period in which the "Wiener Sezession",<sup>21</sup> Puvis de Chavannes or Ferdinand Khnopff presented their classicistic paintings

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<sup>19</sup> Not only literature and philosophy were influenced by romanticism, also anthropology and historiography shared this hypothesis. The revolutionary book by Bachofen on matriarchy, deeply marked by romantic feelings (*Das Mutterrecht*, 1861) was countered by Wilamowitz, who based his researches on historical positivism.

<sup>20</sup> S. Melchinger, o. c., p. 461.

<sup>21</sup> Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, New York, 1961, Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. Chapter V

pervaded by aspects of romanticism, idealism, utopianism and symbolism, works of art which clearly rejected the classical realist tradition. In less than one decade, between 1890 and 1898, Gustav Klimt produced three images of Athena, the female warrior who seemed to deny the very kinds of femininity which his age was so fond of.<sup>22</sup> Though neoclassicism in architecture, painting and sculpture dominated the 18th century and was beyond its apogee around 1900, and though painters around this date developed a more subjective and irrational desire for the female through mythological motives, the staging of Greek tragedies knew a revival in exactly the same years in the ancient style and in classical Greek pronunciation. The Oxford production of the *Agamemnon* in 1880 was the first attempt at staging a Greek tragedy in the original language in England. Soon afterwards, others followed this kind of neoclassicist style (Cambridge, 1882, Sophocles' *Ajax*, in the original Greek; Sydney, *Agamemnon* in 1886), and, as Fiona Macintosh specifies, "(t)he early Cambridge productions were closely associated with the study of classical archaeology, and so extreme care and attention were devoted to the construction of the sets".<sup>23</sup>

The staging in 1900 of the *Oresteia* by the "Akademische Verein für Kunst und Literatur" in Berlin was neoclassicist in a number of ways. As was the case for the staging of the early Cambridge productions, a great number of external sets like costumes and weapons, as well as the overall scenic design (Doric doors, even with a couple of lions worked into one of them) were submitted to the critical judgment of classical philologists. However, the 1900 production was of a pseudo-archeological solidity and of a flat realism, without much poetic and religious depth, but with impressively large choruses and grandiose movements. Wilamowitz, who knew too well that Aeschylus was really unknown as an artist, and who realized that the work itself could not raise great expectations, really wanted to inspire new life to Greek tragedy. Still, the result of Hans Oberländer's direction could not satisfy him completely. Anyhow, it is important to see that at that time philologists and directors worked closely together to adapt a Greek tragedy to the needs of a new period<sup>24</sup>. In a society where positivism was the main source for the development of the human sciences, theatre had to go through a phase of philological faithfulness and historicising realism.

<sup>22</sup> Gustav Klimt: *Athena*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1890-1891; *Theseus*, Poster for the first Exhibition of the Sezession, with Athena; *Pallas Athena*, 1898.

<sup>23</sup> Fiona Macintosh, Tragedy in performance: nineteenth- and twentieth-century productions, in: P. E. Easterling, *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1997, Cambridge University Press, p. 292.

<sup>24</sup> Hellmut Flashar, *Inszenierung der Antike. Das griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit 1585-1990*, München, 1991, p. 340 note 6; p. 111-123.

The staging of the *Oresteia* by Max Reinhardt<sup>25</sup> in 1911 took place on a scene with cyclopic walls which suggested Mycenaean times. His choruses were conducted by 27 soloists and stuffed with masses of more than 500 walk-on actors. In order to realize the old dream of maximum participation by the public, Reinhardt installed a huge stage in the middle of a circus,<sup>26</sup> but the monumentality of the scene reduced the actors to insignificant dwarfs.

Still, the two stagings of the *Oresteia* in which Max Reinhardt had a part (in the 1900 production as an actor, in the next one as a director) meant a great progression compared to the purely classicist performances. The one made by Sergei Ivanovich Tanayev in 1887-94, was of a "lucid and harmonically conservative idiom, in beautifully controlled and accomplished lyrical tableaux". As Burian says: "The result was a kind of dramatic pageant, statuesque in its mythic impersonality, a reassertion of classical measure in the face of late romantic excess".<sup>27</sup>

### Modernism

During the 20th century, the staging of classical tragedies was influenced by other sensibilities. In general terms, it depended on the reaction of the fully individualized subject which lost touch with the framework of philosophical and religious reference. Hence a psychological reading of the literary canon and a translation of the general and the abstract into the concrete and the individual. General politics was reduced into the fortunes of the lonely man, mythical leaders of the past hidden under twentieth century common names. As a philosophical and existential category outside and beyond Christianity,<sup>28</sup> classical tragedy helped modern man to look for his roots in the pagan tradition, and this search for hidden symbols and truths resulted in a century full of ritual performances.

One of the possibilities for modernism to rewrite the history of man was psychoanalysis. Eugene O'Neill, in his *Mourning becomes Electra* (1931) used the classical framework of the *Oresteia* to criticise the puritan morality of American society after the Civil War; in this secularized world, there was no place for a classicist image of Athena and the Furies, and Lavinia turned out to be her own Fury and judge. T. S. Eliot, in his verse drama *The Family*

<sup>25</sup> J. Chioles, The *Oresteia* and the Avant-Garde. Three Decades of Discourse, in: *Performing Arts Journal* XLV, 1993, 3, p. 2; S. Melchinger, o. c., p. 447.

<sup>26</sup> Staged in 1911 without the *Eumenides*.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Burian, Tragedy adapted for stages and screens: the Renaissance to the present, in: P. E. Easterling (Ed.), o. c., p. 267.

<sup>28</sup> What to think of the Christianized version by Paul Claudel (1891-92), in which Athena appeared as the Immaculate Conception, Apollo as the Guardian Angel of God, and the Areopagus as the New Holy Church, see Melchinger, o. c., p. 464, note 50.

*Reunion* (1939), explicitly singled out the motive of the Furies, but finally used them to translate neuroses into the history of a personal and Christianlike saving. In Sartre's *Les Mouches* (1943), staged during the occupation of Paris, analysis of the family ties was abandoned for a philosophical discussion of the way modern man could dispose of a personal freedom.<sup>29</sup>

A number of interpretations was clearly political. Lothar Mützel (1936) directed the Nazi production in 1936 during the Olympic Games in Berlin; in his version, the final discussion in the *Eumenides* dealt with the struggle between Aryans and Untermenschen<sup>30</sup>. In the Berlin production of 1962 (held at the Berlin Volksbühne) by Erwin Piscator, a disciple of Max Reinhardt, the destruction of Dresden and the military madness of the war served as modern parallels. Piscator was the first to stage the cycle of the four tragedies written by Gerhart Hauptmann between 1940-1944 in one and the same production.<sup>31</sup>

The best known ritual performance is certainly the one made by Luca Ronconi in 1972. His trilogy was staged in three different styles, ranging from the archaic to the modern, and dealt with the question how far rituals were definitely lost in a modern society. In Hauptmann's *Atriden-Tetralogie*,<sup>32</sup> archaic ritual was present to testify to the massacres of the two world wars: it struck him that people apparently never learn and always try to cover up their foolishness through the making of stories about civilisation. In 1955, Louis Barrault used masks and led his actors to a situation of total depersonalisation.<sup>33</sup> Gordon Craig, the English counterpart of Max Reinhardt, in his version of the *Oresteia*, introduced a sophisticated choreography by dancers of the "Ballets Russes"; he was the first director to combine the effects of timeless masks and highly stylised movements.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Peter Burian, Tragedy adapted for stages and screens: the Renaissance to the present, in: P. E. Easterling (Ed.), o. c., discusses O'Neill, Eliot and Sartre (Orestes and Electra in the Twentieth Century, p. 254-261).

<sup>30</sup> Fiona Macintosh, Tragedy in performance: nineteenth- and twentieth-century productions, in: P. E. Easterling (Ed.), o. c., p. 308.

<sup>31</sup> S. Melchinger, o. c., p. 468.

<sup>32</sup> Hauptmann wrote his *Atriden-Tetralogie* between 1940-1944. Their opening performances took place as follows: *Iphigenie in Aulis*, 1943, Wiener Burgtheater, *Agamemnon's Tod* and *Elektra*, 1947, am Deutschen Theater, Berlin; *Iphigenie in Delphi*, 1941, Staatlichen Schauspielhaus, Berlin. Cf. Georg Hensel, Spielplan. Der Schauspielführer von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Band II, München, 1992, Südwest Verlag, p. 752: "Hauptmanns Entsetzen vor dem Grauen der Hitlerdiktatur und des Krieges ist Gewiss in seine Tetralogie eingegangen (...). Hauptmanns archaische Gestalten handeln unter dem Zwang eines undurchschaubaren Schicksals; sie sind für ihre Taten, einschliesslich ihrer Greuel, im Sinne einer modernen politischen Ethik nicht verantwortlich".

<sup>33</sup> S. Melchinger, o. c., p. 472.

<sup>34</sup> Macintosh, o. c., p. 305; Melchinger, o. c., p. 465.

To conclude, one could say that a great number of intellectual and scenic presuppositions changed thoroughly in each of the three great paradigms. In staging the *Oresteia*, directors were largely determined in their choices of text and image, sound and movement by some deep-seated factors which reflected problems ruling the society of that moment. In the 1920's it is not only too soon, but theoretically impossible to find intercultural stagings, feminist readings or attempts at deconstruction. The history of the production of the *Oresteia* reveals changing attitudes towards Greek tragedy in general and towards this trilogy in particular.

#### **IV. Deconstruction, Feminism and Postmodernism**

Modernist interpretations of the *Oresteia*, no matter how different individual stagings may be, never changed the basic outlines of the story. Ronconi and Piscator, O'Neill and Barrault interpreted in a personal way political backgrounds or mythical and archaic deep structures, but did not question the validity of it as a founding story. Neither did the productions made by Karlos Koun, Peter Hall or Peter Stein, which upheld very much the value of the original text. The *Oresteia* staged by Peter Hall has been called "perfectly executed British theatre".<sup>35</sup> Peter Stein was considered "one of the masters in didactic theatre".<sup>36</sup> All these productions had in common a respect for the text and for the kind of imagination it presents, irrespective of how different the national interpretations may have been.

Still, the last decades also saw the birth of another kind of criticism, which dealt as well with ideological and hermeneutic aspects of the *Oresteia* itself as with the changed socio-political and spiritual conditions of Western civilisation. Symptomatic of this changed methodological awareness are studies like the one by J. J. Winkler *The Constraints of Desire. The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (1990) or the two studies by Lin Foxhall and John Salmon, *Thinking Men. Masculinity and its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition* (1998) and *When Men were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (1998).

#### **Eurocentrism**

A first kind of criticism concerns questions dealing with universalism and Eurocentrism. When we consider the reception met by the Peter Stein version in Moscow, we are getting to the core of the problem: the Russian public got the idea of being slightly provoked and could not fail to notice a certain kind

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<sup>35</sup> Chioles, o. c., p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> Chioles, o. c., p. 21-23.



of Western pride in selling the Western version of the birth of democracy to a former communist state. In his *Notes for an African Oresteia* (*Appunti per un Orestide africano*, 1969) Pier Paolo Pasolini had already formulated other remarks concerning the Eurocentric approach in this trilogy. He doubted for instance whether Greek drama as a typically Western invention was really made of universal themes. Other cultures, he suggested, knew the same or comparable rituals and themes in their artistic productions, such as filial piety, revenge and the effects of fate.

In general, one can say that questions about interculturalism gradually became more important from the beginning of the twentieth century and that all over the world many directors, for different reasons, staged multiculturalist or interculturalist productions. Since the end of World War II, there has been a strong Japanese interest in Greek tragedies, and vice versa, Western directors turned to the East in search of new models of wisdom and artistic inspiration (Artaud, Brook, Grotowski).

Modernism was the artistic expression of the shaken confidence of a whole continent in its processes of signifying. It also made people aware of their own mental habits of thinking and interpreting. Only gradually, Western artists became acquainted with other cultures (André Breton, Max Ernst) and other artistic concepts (cf. the fascination of Antonin Artaud with the Cambodian dance spectacle in 1922, held in front of the reconstructed Angkor temple in Marseille, and also with the Balinese Dance at the Colonial Exposition of Paris in 1931) and could accept the logocentric limitations of Western theatre.

In his article *Dear Sir Peter...: An Open Letter to Peter Hall*, David Wiles explicitly mentions this awareness: "Hall subscribes to a formalism that is Eurocentric and ideologically laden, eliminating politics and religion from a production that purports to be universal". Comparing Hall to major continental directors like Stein, Mnouchkine and Purcarete, Wiles suggested that Hall's logocentricity is distinctively British, a product of the Shakespeare inheritance.<sup>37</sup>

Especially in the last decades of this century, a number of disciplines have faced the question of Eurocentrism in classical Greek tragedy more directly: the science of literature, anthropology and cultural poetics examine now to what extent tragedy both as a philosophical concept and as an artistic construction express European thought. Only now, the study of universalism and

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<sup>37</sup> David Wiles, *Dear Sir Peter...: An Open Letter to Sir Peter Hall*. Paper presented at the International Theatre Conference, Thessaloniki, 1997, (Dis) Placing Classical Greek Theatre.

particularism, nationalism and transculturalism seems to have liberated itself from older romantic categories.<sup>38</sup>

Thanks to a great number of international festivals, we know the stagings of the Spanish director Tavola, the Japanese interpretations of Tadashi Suzuki and Yukia Ninagawa, the American ones of Peter Sellars and Lee Breuer, the experiences of Spiros Vrachotitis in India,<sup>39</sup> the Yoruba interpretations by Wole Soyinka and Ola Rotimi,<sup>40</sup> etc.

Often we see that interculturalism means or implies a settlement of old accounts. Marianne McDonald, in her very stimulating book *Ancient Sun, Modern Light. Greek Drama on the Modern Stage*, gives an overview of Suzuki's plays and says: "In *The Trojan Women* we see the devastation that America has visited on Japan. (...) In *The Bacchae* we see Japan in the form of Dionysus exacting vengeance on America in the guise of Pentheus".<sup>41</sup> The *Ajax* of Peter Sellars contained severe criticism of the political leaders in his country; his staging of the *Persians*, how superficial it may be, warned them again of too much arrogance. However, criticism of national and international leaders is a strategy as old as tragedy itself; it is one of the major themes to analyse human behaviour and identity in swiftly changing times.<sup>42</sup>

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Western Europe was still convinced of the uniqueness of its identity and genius. Retracing the intellectual history of the West, Martin Bernal, in his notorious book *Black Athena* says: "At the core of *Altertumswissenschaft* was the image of the divine Greek, both artistic and philosophical. Greeks also had – like the idealized image of the Germans themselves – to be integrated with their native soil, and pure". For a number of Europeans, the idea that Egyptians and Semites could have been the birthplace of Greek culture, was an unbearable hypothesis. It was

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<sup>38</sup> Dave Williams, *Greek Drama: The View from Taiwan* (with a discussion of the Oresteia presented in Taipei in October 1996 by the Contemporary Legend Theater), Paper presented in Thessaloniki at the International Theatre Conference (Dis)Placing Classical Greek Theatre, 1997.

<sup>39</sup> Spiros Vrachotitis, *My Experiences in India*, in: *Second International Symposium on Ancient Greek Drama. Tradition and Innovation*, Nicosia, 1992, p. 39-43.

<sup>40</sup> Femi Folorunso, *Displacement and Relocation. Classical Greek Drama in Yoruba Culture*, Paper presented at the International Theatre Conference, Thessaloniki, 1997.

<sup>41</sup> Marianne McDonald, *Ancient Sun, Modern Light. Greek Drama on the Modern Stage*, New York, 1992, Columbia University Press, p. 14-15.

<sup>42</sup> See the clear consciousness and bitterness in the adaptation by Gerhart Hauptmann, *Die Atriden-Tetralogie* (1940-1944). Cfr. Heiko Postma, *Griechenland – ein deutsches Drama? Über Dieter Reibles Inszenierung von Gerhart Hauptmanns 'Atriden'* in Bielefeld, in: *Theater Heute*, 6, 1989, p. 27-28.

relieved in the middle of the nineteenth century by another one, the rise of the Aryan model.<sup>43</sup>

The nineteenth century, with its exaltation of the classical values in Victorian England and Neohellenist Germany, often proved to be a highly ideological and plainly racist construction, a conclusion which did not lose anything of its truth during and after the great world wars. Put in paradigmatic terms, people are not always aware of the blind spots (selection of problems as well as the lack of selection) they cherish during certain historical periods. Did not Sally Goetsch say: "Victorian and post-Victorian scholars – male scholars – denied the possibility that their great Greek heroes mistreated women, and denied equally the possibility that their own culture was less than enlightened in its attitude toward women. Our early authorities approached Greek texts with an enormous blind spot and a patriarchal agenda which may have been so familiar a part of their lives as to be invisible to them. The Greeks suffered from the same blind spot and spent a good deal of time convincing themselves that women did not suffer from the restrictions imposed on them"<sup>44</sup>.

So far, a first line of criticism had to do with "mental colonialism", with the problem of Eurocentrism and with the pride of selling the *Oresteia* as a typically Western solution.

### Progress

A second line of thought concerns the legitimation of the idea of progress founded by Apollo. Did not Malcolm Heath say that the *Oresteia* was "a confident, self-congratulatory celebration of the city, its institutions and cults, its prosperity and security"<sup>45</sup>? The traditional view of the *Oresteia* considers the process of civilisation as the ultimate synthesis on a religious, cultural and social level. In the 1960 production of the *Oresteia* by Vittorio Gassman, the public was invited to participate in the last scenes of the *Eumenides* and to dance exuberantly, in order to celebrate the birth of democracy.<sup>46</sup> In terms of Hegelian philosophy, these last scenes not only represent the necessary synthesis of the many oppositional values, but it also meant a gigantic step towards the realisation of "der Geist".

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<sup>43</sup> Martin Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume I. The Fabrication of Ancient Greece*, London, 1991, Vintage (1987), p. 317 and 282; see the discussion in Arethusa, *The Challenge of Black Athena. Special Issue*, Fall 1989 and *Arethusa* XXV, 1992, 1 (Molly Levine, *Multiculturalism and the Classics*, p. 215-221).

<sup>44</sup> Sally Goetsch, *Playing Against the Text. Les Atrides and the History of Reading Aeschylus*, in: *The Drama Review* 38, 1994, 3, p. 89.

<sup>45</sup> Malcolm Heath, *The Poetics of Greek Tragedy*, London, 1987, Gerald Duckworth & Co, p. 69.

<sup>46</sup> Hellmut Flashar, *Antikes Drama auf der Bühne Europas*, in: *Gymnasium* 100, 1993, p. 197.

In recent times, the *Oresteia* has been contested as representing a kind of thinking that came into being during the Enlightenment. The *Oresteia* is said to have delivered the mythical model for the kind of progress that since the eighteenth century has motivated socio-political well-being in the West. Formulated in a postmodern terminology, one could say that the *Oresteia* functioned as a Masterstory that has established the foundations for the Western concepts of order, truth, rationality and justice. However, after Auschwitz, as they say, only few things are left of all the noble thoughts that resulted from the "Age of Reason". All founding stories of the Western idea of truth and reason have become suspect.

Since Apollo and Athena, as the most recent representatives of the Olympian world, clearly stand for law and order based on rationality and patriarchal rights, they are evidently questioned for the kind of identity that they assumed.

Nowadays, it is fashionable to wonder why Orestes is acquitted in vs. 752, at a moment that the tragedy still has some 300 verses to go, a third of the tragedy. Meanwhile, the Furies have to be convinced that they have to accommodate themselves to the verdict of the Areopagus. But even before this could happen, some questions arise about the voting behaviour of the jury itself: does the intervention of Athena mean that the twelve members of the jury voted six in favor and six against the proposition and that the voice of Athena was a supplementary voice for Orestes, or that the jury consisted of only eleven human members with Athena as the twelfth divine part? In the latter case, more Athenian citizens would have voted against Orestes and Apollo. However, in both cases, it is Athena who decides and it is her art of persuasion and not the legal settlement which determines the events.

In Aeschylus' drama, Persuasion (cf. Peitho, vs. 885) is present everywhere. In the first tragedy, Clytemnestra, as a clear proof of it, succeeds in convincing the chorus, which in the beginning is hostile to her, of the things that happened in the Trojan war. It is Clytemnestra again, who in a masterly piece of manipulation, convinces her husband to walk upon the purple clothes and to enter the palace. She is the key figure in the first two tragedies which realise, in a cunning way and not through the use of power, all her wishes. When Clytemnestra, in the fifth act of the *Agamemnon*, leaves the palace, triumphing over the corpses of Agamemnon and Cassandra, holding the sword in her hands, she says: (vs. 1372 sqq.):

*Before I said much to suit the time,  
but I shall feel no shame to say the opposite.*

Apparently, many words of the queen have a hidden meaning. As she is trying, continuously, to deceive her adversaries, not disposing of male power

and authority, she resorts to a kind of words which are ambiguous and cheating. Acting this way, she anticipates on Athena who wants the Furies to be on her side and uses both the promises and the threatening presence of her father Zeus to this end. Apparently, the *Oresteia* testifies to an important historical transformation. Blood feud becomes a system of legal jurisdiction, the creation of the polis with her judicial institutions puts an end to an endless series of revenge and retaliation. But some important questions remain: what kind of *dike* and whose *dike* did triumph? Everybody is claiming *dike* to be on his or her side: Zeus brings *dike* (*Aga.* 525-6), Agamemnon brings *dike* (*Aga.* 813), Clytemnestra claims *dike* by killing her husband (*Aga.* 1432), Orestes brings *dike* (*Cho.* 641), the Furies want to be respected on the altar of their *dike* (*Eum.* 539) and Athena too wants *dike* for the town (*Eum.* 993-4). The realization of all those different kinds of *dike* results in a difficult and heterogeneous corpus of judicial thoughts which can not be disentangled so easily. In fact, tensions on different levels are not at all dissolved, everybody's choice is caught in a double bind situation. What looks like a social and moral order is only a temporary balance, extremely precarious and continuously ambiguous. Words escape from the control of the community and point at varying engagements and arrangements. The words of both Clytemnestra and Athena mean at the same time more and less and create uncertainties which lead to a climate of fear. Simon Goldhill, in his study of the semantic field of *dike* in the *Oresteia*, says: "Moreover, the message of ambiguity is stressed in the very process of the dramatic exchange of language, as the different characters" rhetorical strategies appropriate the language of *dike* to their own causes. This play dramatizes the "strife of warring words"; and such a challenging critique of man's ability to know "fairness", "equal rights" as more than mere names is echoed throughout the course of Greek tragedy".<sup>47</sup>

The rhetorical way in which Aeschylus structured his great tragical drama (and especially the arguing role of Apollo and Athena) evokes today a number of reflections about the part he himself played in the "Enlightenment" of fifth century Athens. The *Oresteia*, with all the attention it devotes to human and divine *dike*, certainly contains a restriction of cosmic religiosity in favor of a human rationality and a secularized form of justice.

Apart from the desire for a democratic order, the trilogy also acknowledges the existence of a number of destabilizing factors. On the one hand, it introduces a process of law and order, through which an "enlightened" society

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<sup>47</sup> Simon Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1986, Cambridge University Press, p. 47; cfr. Alan H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus. Eumenides*, o. c., p. 19: "Perhaps the most ubiquitous thematic idea in the *Oresteia* is that of justice (*dike*) – justice as righteousness and justice as punishment; and in questions of justice, the poet at every stage involves the gods".

promises itself the ideals of progress, democracy and truth, a typical illustration of Habermas' position. On the other hand, the voice of contestation, transgression and manipulation seems to represent an equal part. Studying the impact of Athenian political thought on the dilemmas of modernity, Christopher Rocco says: "Consensus of a kind is achieved, but by a manipulative rhetoric, which the trilogy seeks to overcome, and through a sexually ambivalent figure who transgresses the very norms of gender she seeks to establish".<sup>48</sup>

Considering a number of recent productions, one can not deny that some severe doubts about progress and enlightenment struck the minds of theatre directors too. Did not "Theater Heute"<sup>49</sup> write about the Moscow production of the *Oresteia* by Peter Stein in 1994, ten years after the first German staging: "Stein denunziert diese Demokratieinstrument als Farce". Apparently, the *Eumenides*, in this version, was "noch stärker kabarettistisch verjuxt".

In a recent American production, made at the American Repertory Theatre and staged by the Swiss director François Rochaix, one has the impression that "the trial of Orestes becomes a travesty of justice and of the Olympian gods who preside over it". The actress playing Athena, looks dressed up "for Halloween". Rochaix says: "I am totally sensitive to the Mafia relationship between Athena and Apollo, who says not one intelligent thing in the whole trial. All he says to the jury is "I am the son of Zeus, so pay attention, because Zeus is more important than your vote". This is terrible. Today, we have grown a little, and perhaps we don't buy this. Perhaps we listen more to what the Furies say and understand that they also have something to defend".<sup>50</sup>

The Italian director Romeo Castellucci, who set up the Societas Raffaello Sanzio and who is considered to be one of the most radical representatives of the "new Italian theatre", was also rather harsh in his judgment: "I refused to take for granted the cultural conclusion of the "Oresteia": the establishment of the Areopagus, the absolution of Orestes (with the tied vote) and the definitive institution of a patriarchal and spiritual system to overcome the *ius naturale* (carrier of violence of life<sup>51</sup>, of matter, of darkness of the consternation of ephemeral bodies) because if it is true that the "Eumenides" achieve this spiri-

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<sup>48</sup> Christopher Rocco, *Tragedy and Enlightenment. Athenian Political Thought and the Dilemmas of Modernity*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1997, University of California Press, p. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Michael Skasa, *Unterwältigend! Michael Skasa über Peter Steins Moskauer ORESTEIA*, in: *Theater Heute* 3, 1994, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup> Scott T. Cummings, *Blood Relations. The primordial family drama unfolds in a boldly reconceived 'Oresteia' at American REP*, in: *American Theatre*, February 1995, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Violence was preeminently present in the danced version of the *Oresteia*, Neuschnee in Troja, staged by the choreographer Joachim Schlömer in Ulm, see Christoph Müller, *Poesie im Raum: Zwischen Wort und Sinn*, in: *Theater Heute* 2, 1994, p. 19-22.

tual overcoming it is also true that the entire "Oresteia" is made up of those very elements to be overcome. (...). It was like reading the inverted view of the original order, the matriarchal order, as it gives way and surrenders. In short, my sympathy lies with Clytemnestra".<sup>52</sup>

### **Feminism**

A third line of discussion investigates the gendered reality which dominates the trilogy. At the end of the *Eumenides*, a sociological consensus is reached at the cost of a number of elements which are considered to confuse order and reason. Hence, the exclusion of the female as the preliminary condition to settle norms and values in the area of ancient biology, sexuality and politics. For Camille Paglia, Athena is anything but a value-free goddess. She is an armed and armoured creature, a female warrior without chthonic necessity, who locks forever the womb of nature and who realizes progress in history at the cost of abolishing the power of the female.<sup>53</sup> On the one hand, this radical attack on one of the main figures of classical mythology may seem implausible, but as long as one cherishes the many forms of Western European classicism, patriarchal points of view are never conspicuous. On the other hand, what one is asked to believe is quite spectacular: the genesis of democracy, one of the cultural highlights in Western history, took place by the efforts of a goddess who originated from the head of her father, without ever having known a mother.

Of course, we know now that categories which, for centuries, appeared to be neutral, like male / female, father / mother, do not have a universal meaning, and that they, on the contrary, change over time and culture. Formulated in the terminology of Mircea Eliade, the conceptual framework of gender depends on the "Gründungsmythos" which, from the very start, determines a politics of gender and social behaviour. Since connotations of inferiority characterize the position of the female in foundation myths like the ones of Adam and Eve in Christianity, and Pandora or Hera in Greek mythology, the supreme and first female lends this kind of negative image to all subsequent females.

Feminists have reacted in a threefold way against the inferior position of women in Western European civilisation.

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<sup>52</sup> Romeo Castellucci, The "Oresteia" through the Looking-glass, in: *Theaterschrift* 11, 1997, The Return of the Classics?, p. 197.

<sup>53</sup> Camille Paglia, *Sexual Personae. Art and Decadence from Nefertite to Emily Dickinson*, London, 1990, Penguin Books. See also the criticism formulated by Kate Millet in her *Sexual Politics*, London, 1969, Sphere Books.

First of all, the so called "theoreticians of equality" wanted to create equal chances for both sexes and struggled to make women visible in all cultural activities. Women did not have to remain "le deuxième sexe"<sup>54</sup> (De Beauvoir, 1949) and they were encouraged to tell their own stories (to have *A Room Of One's Own*<sup>55</sup>), so they could be integrated in a new literary canon. They had to (re)invent mythical stories which focused both on the dominant part played from the beginning by women and on their religious power. The Goddess Movement, stressing the necessity of a female supreme being, urged women to elaborate new versions of a Gründungsmythos. In the case of *Oresteia*, the Goddess has been reinvented by Christa Wolf and Marion Bradley in their novels on the Trojan war and on the adventures of Cassandra.<sup>56</sup> This new kind of imagination certainly has stimulated a number of directors who inserted fragments of Wolf in the classical texts or made some postmodern collages out of them. One of the first directors to have told the story of Clytemnestra from a female point of view was Martha Graham in 1958. As a dancer and choreographer, she focused on the fortune and misfortune of this strong queen and called her three-act ballet *Clytemnestra*. The solution she proposed looked like a redemption in a Christian sense, since, in the Underworld, she embraced and forgave her son Orestes, the murderer. Maternal love grew stronger than political reason, personal forgiveness replaced the public court.<sup>57</sup>

In a recent American production staged in the Guthrie Theater (1993), Isabelle Monk, a black actress, explicitly asked to play the part of Clytemnestra. The artistic director Garland Wright brought together three original Greek tragedies into a new triptych "Euripides's *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, the play of the child-killer; Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, the play of the husband-killer; and Sophocles's *Electra*, the play of the mother-killer". In his opinion, "these plays provide extraordinary roles for women. Although they are the artifacts of a society that denied women respect and the most basic freedoms – where to be a woman was to be "nothing" – the authors of three Clytemnestra plays each created women of energy and purpose who face whatever circumstance puts before them, act decisively and as Monk says, "take responsibility for their actions". They are women who – regardless of their crimes and the

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<sup>54</sup> Simone De Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe*, Paris, 1949, Editions Gallimard.

<sup>55</sup> Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (1928), Harmondsworth, 1973, Penguin; Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of their own. British Women Novelists from Brönte to Lessing*, Princeton, 1977, Princeton UP; Marilyn French, *The Women's Room*, London, 1979, Sphere Books.

<sup>56</sup> Katherina Glau, *Christa Wolfs "Kassandra" und Aischylos' "Orestie"*. Zur Rezeption der griechischen Tragödie in der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart, Heidelberg, 1996, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, p. 386.

<sup>57</sup> John Chioles, o. c., p. 5-13.



moral judgments a modern audience may place upon them – demand respect".<sup>58</sup>

Imagining strong women and introducing them into the curricula and repertoires may have filled up an historical absence; however, most of the time, this feminist strategy of making up did not lead to cultural criticism and political consciousness.

Feminists, arguing in the line of the so called "theoreticians of difference", form a second way of handling problems. Feminists like Cixous, Irigaray, or Kristeva<sup>59</sup> created a new language which expressed and liberated feminine feelings and emotions, not in an identical way to men, but rather idiosyncratically. This new approach never existed before and would radically consolidate the existence of two sexes. As man wrote to and for man, women had to write to women, and as women. In order to describe the way in which meaning (and in particular meaning attributed to mythical and symbolic stories) functions in a number of disciplines, its processes have been described and analyzed on a structural basis. Since the beginning of the century, structural linguistics and anthropology (as practiced by Lévi-Strauss) showed the way to analyse myths and literary texts in oppositional pairs. Ever since, structuralists and semioticians like to show how ideological texts organize the opposition man/woman, day/night, objectivity/subjectivity, sun/moon. Froma Zeitlin studied a series of linked semantic oppositions in the *Oresteia*, like father/mother, center/limit, order/chaos, head/belly, phallus/womb, reason/unreason, clarity/obscurity<sup>60</sup> and concluded that in this text too a hidden hierarchy always lends priority to the first term.<sup>61</sup>

Since men have for centuries impregnated the symbolical order in language with their categories and their experiences, rewriting their stories as a woman, even in a reversed or new order, does not change a lot. Hélène Cixous, who worked together closely with Ariane Mnouchkine, is one of the most famous "theoreticians of difference", who started up a process of associative and physical writing, "l'écriture féminine", or, "writing as a woman".

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<sup>58</sup> Laurence Shyer, Clytemnestra Front and Center, in: *American Theatre*, January 1993, p. 44.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Abel (Ed.), *Writing and Sexual Difference*, Brighton, 1982, Harvester; Gayle Greene & Kanhn Coppélia (Eds.), *Making a Difference: Feminist Literary Criticism*, London, 1985, Methuen; Toril Moi, *Sexual / Textual Politics. Feminist Literary Theory*, London, 1985, Methuen.

<sup>60</sup> Froma I. Zeitlin, *The Dynamics of Misogyny. Myth and Mythmaking in Aeschylus's Oresteia*, in: Froma I. Zeitlin, *Playing the Other. Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature*, Chicago and London, 1996, The University of Chicago Press, p. 181-182.

<sup>61</sup> Eileen Gregory, H. D. and Hellenism. *Classic Lines*. Cambridge, 1997, Cambridge University Press, p. 23: "The field of play belonging to such opposition is the universe of tragedy, depicting a problematic social and psychic reality. Indeed, the *Oresteia* might be seen as an implicit model in the classicist's imagination of modern crisis".

Apparently, Mnouchkine did not work out her project, *Les Atrides*, in this way, since she staged four "patriarchal" tragedies, adding as an introduction the Euripidean play *Iphigeneia in Aulis*<sup>62</sup> to the Aeschylean *Oresteia*. However, starting to focus on the maternal feelings of Clytemnestra and the loss of Iphigeneia, changed the perspectives abruptly and called attention to the vulnerability of the queen. Playing against the text of Aeschylus and the image of a fierce and dominant Clytemnestra, Mnouchkine staged a weak and sympathetic woman. The chorus of Furies was not represented as frightening creatures, their number being strongly reduced, and the goddess Athena could easily triumph upon them, since both parties, right from the start, understood their mutual rights and position<sup>63</sup>. As Sally Goetsch said: "Mnouchkine rendered the end of the scene touchingly sentimental. Athena gave the converts motherly hugs before sending them within the hill" (p. 87). Adding Oriental dress and movements, kathakali-inspired make-up and an exotic music to a Western text, as well as introducing a non-naturalistic theatrical style instead of the well known classical register, made of *Les Atrides* a spectacle with a second level of meaning. The apparent patriarchal structures, the well known gender categories and all the semantic deep structures were rendered ambiguous, disturbed. Male and female, light and darkness, rationality and irrationality lost the evidence of the Western signifying processes and "as-sign-ment", since signs themselves have been broken loose of their referential basis.

A third feminist approach relies on the "theory of deconstruction"<sup>64</sup>. It questions traditional answers and schemes in a hermeneutic, often destabilizing and ironic way<sup>65</sup>. "Woman" as a sign has been used in ever changing economic and sociocultural conditions and the sexual difference never served the same purpose. Presenting heterogeneous images of women on the scene illustrated the various perspectives from which the female has been seen. Athena and Apollo laughing at the end of the *Eumenides* illustrates the will to change codes and references. Athena, as the female protagonist, refuses an identifica-

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<sup>62</sup> Jean-Michel Gliksohn, *Iphigénie. De la Grèce antique à l'Europe des Lumières*, Paris, 1985, PUF.

<sup>63</sup> David Williams, *Collaborative Theatre. The Théâtre du Soleil. Sourcebook*, London & New York, 1999, Routledge (Chapter V. Myth and the contemporary: *Les Atrides* (1990-1992), p. 177-223).

<sup>64</sup> Cfr. Patrice Pavis, *The Classical Heritage of Modern Drama: The Case of Postmodern Theatre*, in: *Modern Drama* XXIX, 1986, 1 (Special Issue. *The Classical Heritage of Modern Drama*), p. 1-22.

<sup>65</sup> Annette Kuhn, *Women's Pictures. Feminism and Cinema*, London, 1982, Routledge & Kegan; Sue-Ellen Case (Ed.), *Feminism and Theatre*, London, 1988, The Macmillan Press; Lynda Hart (Ed.), *Making a Spectacle. Feminist Essays on Contemporary Women's Theatre*, Ann Arbor, 1989, The University of Michigan Press.

tion with the traditional male gaze and causes the foundation story to be burrowed under suspicion: the Masterstory is questioned.

This is also the context in which Foucault worked. His analysis of the structures of power in Western European thought indicated that the process of Enlightenment continuously created conditions of suppression as well. His "genealogical" criticism asked questions about the exclusion of some voices and, in the case of the *Oresteia*, would call our attention to the various kinds of suppressive language. A rhetoric of the concealed and suppressed word and of the withheld gender category testifies to the power that allowed and created suppressions and exclusions in the dominant Classical Discourse. For about 2,500 years, the idea of the enlightened subject dominated the interpretation of the *Oresteia*. For the moment, the genealogical criticism of Foucault and his attention to paradoxes disturbing the dominant truth, has become an important platform of discussion. Democracy, yes, but for whom, on whose terms, at which price?

Playing the *Oresteia* during the summer of 1991 in the old Machine Workshop in Katajanokka, The Raging Roses, a group of 33 Finnish actresses, stressed the complicated and often contradictory motivations in the hearts of the women: three actresses played the part of Cassandra, five actresses that of Clytemnestra. At the end, they questioned ironically the doom of Orestes by the jury and the gods, Athene and Apollo. Dispersion of the traditional parts of a tragedy, questioning of the structure of the trilogy, disbelief in the unified and autonomous human subject, disentanglement of femininity from specific female identities: these four characteristics connected deconstructivism to postmodernism and feminism.<sup>66</sup>

## Conclusion

The triple problem that we discussed dealt with Eurocentrism, the foundation of democracy and the position of women. Today, each of the three topics is seriously questioned by a large number of philologists and artists. They are all interested in topics dealing with aspects of deconstructivism and they wonder whether modernism and postmodernism are the right alternatives to the Enlightenment. Looking back at a number of foundation stories (texts, myths, practices, rituals, symbols), they analyse their historical evolution and actual legitimacy. As one of the oldest and most important touchstones in the consti-

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<sup>66</sup> Pirjo Helena Vaittinen, *The Oresteia of the Roses: beyond Time and Order* (Paper presented at the Thessaloniki International Theatre Conference, 1997).

tution of Western democracy, the *Oresteia* is subjected to a serious questioning of its ideological premises.<sup>67</sup>

The Aeschylean idea of the total subordination of the female to the male, because of her lust and unbridledness, is only one of the obvious postulates that encounter serious opposition today. Less obvious, but no less important, are the questions which have revealed themselves since Enlightenment about progress and transculturation.

Therefore, classics no longer appear as the place and the moment of having it right, of a dogmatic admiration, but of a discussion with a partner who, 2,500 years ago, also had to deal with a lot of tensions and who had to find temporary balances for all unresolved problems. More than ever, classics are to be conceived in terms of meeting like-minded people, who are persuaded both of the importance and of the relativity of things, as well of the nobledness of the human mind as of its constant need to suppress others. Classicistic reverence for texts and monuments needs to yield in an open discussion, not directed against texts, but against interpretations of texts. The interpretation of the *Oresteia* is an open process, a never ending story, that testifies to the richness of this work of art and that teaches us at the same time who we are and where we have come from.

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<sup>67</sup> In her article *The hero of our time: classic heroes and post-classical drama*, Felicity Rosslyn analyzed some important plays by O'Neill, Miller, Strindberg and Ibsen and found "a surprising unanimity, for all their differences"; "There is a striking amount of agreement in our plays", she said, "between modern definitions of tragic masculinity and ancient ones. The details differ, of course, and so do the vocabularies and symbolism; but when we look beneath the surface we can hardly avoid concluding that the answer to our opening question – has drama ever shown the truly heroic? – is no. What our dramas return to again and again is how heroic the male would be, were it not for the female – female values, female seduction, and the primary female power of the mother", in: Lin Foxhall and John Salmon (Ed.), *Thinking men. Masculinity and its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition*, London & New York, 1998, Routledge, p. 194-196.

## SOME ASPECTS OF METHODOLOGICAL BLINDNESS IN INTERPRETING SOPHOCLES' OEDIPUS

In this paper<sup>1</sup> it will briefly be examined how some forms of conscious and unconscious blindness<sup>2</sup> have guided our interpretations of Greek tragedy. We will take a brief look at the reception history of two of the most important Greek tragedies, the *Oedipus Rex (OR)* and *Oedipus Coloneus (OC)* by Sophocles, and ask what kind of blind spots may be detected in the history of their interpretation and performance.<sup>3</sup>

First of all, this kind of investigation must be situated in terms of the dual<sup>4</sup> character of each tragedy, be it a Shakespearean or a Greek one. Indeed, it must be acknowledged that a tragedy is always written both in an aesthetic (literary) language and in an existential one. The literary history of the West is characterized by a long chain of literary and aesthetic products called tragedies, which commented on man's existential, political, philosophical and economic situation during important moments of (r)evolution.<sup>5</sup> As can be

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<sup>1</sup> Paper presented at the Sixth International Symposium on Ancient Greek Drama organized by Nicos Shiafkalis, Droushia (Paphos), 2-5 September 2000 (Theme: Hybris and blindness in Greek Tragedy).

<sup>2</sup> See Karl R. Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, New York, 1968 (1959), Harper & Row; Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago, 1962, Chicago University Press.

<sup>3</sup> For a history of Euripidean interpretation, cf. Ann Norris Michelini, *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*, Madison, 1987, The University of Wisconsin Press. In his article *Retrospection on Classical Literary Criticism* (in: Thomas M. Falkner, Nancy Felson & David Konstan, *Contextualizing Classics. Ideology, Performance, Dialogue*, Lanham, Boulder, New York & Oxford, 1999, Rowman & Littlefield Publ., pp. 1-15), Charles P. Segal discusses the paradigmatic changes in classical criticism, using Greek tragedy as an example.

A good survey of all Portuguese representations of *OR* and *OC* from 1975-1997 is given by Maria de Fátima Sousa e Silva (Coord.), *Representações de Teatro Clássico no Portugal Contemporâneo*, Lisboa, 1998, Ed. Colibri, pp. 71-82. Cf. also Hellmut Flashar, *Inszenierung der Antike. Das griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit 1585-1990*, München, 1991, Verlag C. H. Beck; Karelisa V. Hartigan, *Greek Tragedy on the American Stage. Ancient Drama in the Commercial Theater, 1882-1994*, London, 1995, Greenwood Press.

<sup>4</sup> William Storm, *After Dionysus. A Theory of the Tragic*, Ithaca & London, 1998, Cornell University Press.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford Leech, *Tragedy*, London & New York, 1969, Routledge; Volkmar Sander (Hrsg.), *Tragik und Tragödie*, Darmstadt, 1971, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft; H. A. Mason, *The Tragic Plane*, Oxford, 1985, Clarendon Press; Richard Kuhns, *Tragedy. Contradiction and Repression*, Chicago & London, 1991, The University of Chicago Press; Rudolf Boehm, *'Tragik'. Von Oidipus bis Faust*, Würzburg, 2001, Königshausen & Neumann.

seen in the following enumeration, a great number of historical periods used tragedy as a vehicle of confrontation, transformation, interpretation.

Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, <i>Oedipus Rex</i> , 1584	Renaissance
Pierre Corneille, <i>Œdipe</i> , 1659	French Classicism
Voltaire, <i>Œdipe</i> , 1718	Enlightenment
Percy B. Shelley, <i>Oedipus</i> , 1820	Romanticism
Jean Cocteau, <i>La machine infernale</i> , 1934	Modernism
Robert Wilson, <i>Oedipus Rex</i> , 1996	Postmodernism

However, not all of these periods can be called real tragic periods. William Storm only accepts four eras: "The truism persists that tragedy has truly flourished in only four historical epochs: the fifth century B. C. in Greece; the Renaissance, particularly in Britain; France in the late seventeenth century; and Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These periods, in and of themselves, have become the instruments of measurement and comparison".<sup>6</sup>

In general, one can say that during all historical periods mortal human beings continued to experience both their finite state of being and the divisive forces that make them truly human. Having been born as humans, they were obliged to undertake actions, to make mistakes and to face the consequences. Especially (only?) in the West, this experience has led them to recognize the tragic sense in life, a basic feeling which has been socially allowed and artistically developed since Greek mythology. Other continents and cultures generated other basic visions and imaginations about man, without recurring in the first place to dismembering, oppositional and clashing forces, or without developing a free, independent and ontological human Self.<sup>7</sup>

As a limited construction that flourished only during a small number of historical eras, Western tragedy also displayed a tragic sense of very varying quality. Some tragedies tended to privilege the binding factors in life (reintroducing transcendence, cf. Baroque tragedy), others affirmed the complete lack of consolidation in people's lives. The tragic sense was fully experienced by Oedipus at the end of a long and stubborn quest, which characterized him as the man who wanted to know his identity at all costs, searching in an extreme way to know who he really was.

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<sup>6</sup> W. Storm, *After Dionysos*, o. c., p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> For the difference between some basic aspects of Eastern and Western mythic imagination, see: D. T. Suzuki, Erich Fromm & Richard de Martino, *Bouddhisme Zen et psychanalyse*, Paris, 1998, PUF (1971). See the staging of *The Death of Oedipus* by Qu Xiaosong (1993-1994), a production which was fundamentally based upon the *OC* by Sophocles, but which tried nevertheless to combine the Greek tragic feeling with Buddhist resignation and acceptance of fate.

Surveying the reception history of *Oedipus Rex* and *Oedipus Coloneus* in a very superficial way, one could say that the next four thematic fields, among others, have been developed in a number of tragedies.

### 1. A longing for salvation and redemption: the vertical axis

All texts and productions listed next share a definite longing for salvation and redemption which was already present at the end of *OC* (Oedipus suddenly disappeared: was he saved, did he reach heaven, was he completely spiritualized, why can he figure as the ultimate protection for Athens?). In general, Oedipus' ability to function as a divine king and saviour was recognized, and from the Middle Ages on (cf. the *vitae* of Judas, Gregorius, Albanus),<sup>8</sup> he played a part in a christianizing context (see also Vondel, *Koning Edipus*, 1660). In Corneille's *Oedipe* (1659) the ontological dimension that leads to an escape from tragic seriousness and abyss was replaced by political reasoning: the neoclassic criteria of *gloire*, *rationality* (even leading to an artificial kind of Stoicism), *bienséance* and *vraisemblance* never allowed chaos to take over and the Divine King to be ruled out.<sup>9</sup>

These qualities were still present after the First World War, when Oedipus represented the hope of a better future.<sup>10</sup> The drama written by Saint-Georges de Bouhélier (*Oedipe, roi de Thèbes*, 1919) reflects the idealistic and prophetic visions he wants his tragedy and tragedy in general to convey. In the poetry written by Pierre Jean Jouve *Sueur de sang* (1933), Oedipus is just another name for Christ who assumes human pain, Colonus just another name for Golgotha.<sup>11</sup> In his neo-classical opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex* (1926-1927), Igor Stravinsky wanted the French libretto written by Jean Cocteau to be translated into Latin by Jean Daniélou. Ritualistic staging, based upon liturgical incantation and tragic distancing, turned this production into a strange combination of epic impersonality and terrifying grandeur, not an illustration of a human(istic) search for understanding, but rather a dark longing for sacralisa-

<sup>8</sup> A. H. Krappe, *La légende d'Oedipe est-elle un conte bleu*, in: Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 34, 1933, p.11-22; P. Schreiner, *Oedipusstoff und Oedipusmotive in der deutschen Literatur*, Wien, 1964; W. Puchner, *Europäische Oedipusüberlieferung und Griechisches Schicksalsmärchen*, in: W. Siegmund (Hrsg.), *Antiker Mythos in unseren Märchen*, Kassel, 1984, p. 52-63.

<sup>9</sup> Charles P. Segal, *Oedipus Rex. Tragic Heroism and Sacral Kingship in five Oedipus Plays and Hamlet*, in: *Helios* 5, 1977, 1, p. 6, reminds us that the King's blood, as it is dripping out of Oedipus' eyes and touches the floor, has magical powers and is able, as "a Christ-like miracle", to cure three young men dying in the palace; cf. P.A. Ogundele, *The Oedipus Story in the Hands of Sophocles, Seneca and Corneille*, in: *Nigeria and the Classics* 12, 1970, pp. 31-51.

<sup>10</sup> Françoise Dury, *Oedipe dans la littérature française de l'entre-deux-guerres*, in: *Les Etudes Classiques* LIV, 1986, 1, p. 59-79.

<sup>11</sup> Pierre Jean Jouve, *Les Noces suivi de Sueur de Sang*, Paris, 1964, Gallimard (cf. Jean Starobinski, Préface, p. 24, mentions "l'élaboration du paysage spirituel").

tion.<sup>12</sup> Especially the period between the two world wars seems to have used the myth of Oedipus to question old religious solutions: the radical disbelief of André Gide (*Oedipe*, 1931) even provoked a statement of radical belief by Henri Ghéon (*Oedipe ou le crépuscule des dieux*, 1938), since, in his opinion, the myth of Oedipus was intended to prepare a tribute to a new god of Love who would put an end to all suffering.

Of course, this tragedy lost a great deal of its tragic substance from the moment it was considered from a transcendent and an eschatological point of view. Every time the tragic sense and its ontological position were questioned by christianity (and its soteriological intentions)<sup>13</sup> or by ritual theatre (Robert Wilson, 1996, staging Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *OR*; Harry Mulisch, *Oidipus Oidipus*, 1972, replacing linear time by cyclical time, creating events which are subjected to an eternal repetition of the same),<sup>14</sup> tragedy was challenged in its tragic seriousness. Since the tradition in the West has been largely dominated by Christian civilization, many tragedies were staged in a climate of pseudo-tragic reality. Lately, no other reworking was so profoundly christian as Lee Breuer's production, *The Gospel at Colonus* (1983) where the resurrection of Oedipus as a new Christ turned Colonus into the affirmation of man's immortality.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> In the introduction to Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* by Esa-Pekka Salonen (Swedish Radio Symphony Orchestra, 1991), Wolfgang Dömling discusses the creation of the *OR*: "At a somewhat later date Stravinsky intimated that religious experiences had been the principal motivation behind his decision to set to work on the piece. In September 1925 he had appeared as soloist at a concert given by the International Society for New Music as part of Venice Festival and "had prayed in a little church, before an old miraculous icon", as an apparent result of which an abscess on his finger was miraculously healed. On returning to Nice, he bought a "book about St. Francis and decided after reading it to use the language that is also the language of the Western Church, and shortly after that I chose the archetypal drama of purification", in other words, the Oedipus legend" (p. 7).

<sup>13</sup> See the longing for salvation and for spiritual victory in the words of Hegel describing the arrival of Oedipus at Colonus: "Oedipus in Kolonos spielt an die Versöhnung und näher an die christliche Vorstellung der Versöhnung an: Oedipus wird von den Göttern zu Gnaden angenommen, die Götter berufen ihn zu sich" (*Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, II, Frankfurt am Main, 1991, Suhrkamp, p. 135).

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Primavesi, *Ritual and Formalization. Approaches to Greek Tragedy and Myth in the Work of Robert Wilson*, in: Savas Patsalidis & Elizabeth Sakellaridou (Eds.), (Dis)Placing Classical Greek Theatre, Thessaloniki, 1999, University Studio Press, p. 281: "And the end of the oratorio offers a solution in an almost Christian sense of mercy – the struggle of the hero is transformed into an example of suffering and redemption, similar also to the mysterious end of Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus".

<sup>15</sup> Marianne McDonald, *Mapping Dionysus in New Global Spaces. Multiculturalism and Ancient Greek Tragedy*, in: Savas Patsalidis & Elizabeth Sakellaridou (Eds.), (Dis)Placing, o. c., p. 161-163. Her conclusions were: "This Christian musical meditation is a tour de force. It features not only brilliant and inspiring music from the African-American tradition, but merges it with one of the greatest classical texts of antiquity. Sometimes the fit is uncomfortable, but as Christian-



Add to this religious climate the radical and unquestionable presence of the capitalistic gods called Shopping and Profiting, and you easily understand why, in the last century, to the great annoyance of Antonin Artaud, Samuel Beckett, Howard Barker, Edward Bond, or Sarah Kane, no real discussion about the meaning of life was carried out in tragic theatre.

## 2. The tragic vision of man's solitude (the horizontal axis)

The next series of texts and performances explores the feeling of being left alone. From the moment that (modern) man realized that he might be alone in the cosmos, the gods disappeared and they relegated him to a world which offered none of the traditional possibilities of transcendence, and therefore, as a new version of Ahasverus, he wandered about like a "sans papier". Modernism explored a vision of the world in which man started to become the centre of everything, while losing connection with the traditional final answers and experiencing problems with established notions like fate and destiny (Cocteau, *Oedipe-Roi*, 1928). Therefore man started to interpret the ancient tragic worldview in a radically new way, "secular" from the Renaissance on, "enlightened" from the Age of Reason on (Voltaire, *Oedipe*, 1718), always mediating the gap between man and god, reducing the frightening force of the unknown (Hugo Claus, *Oedipus*, 1971; *Blindeman*, 1985).

As André Gide puts it in his *Oedipe* (1931), the most important pass word preventing people from being torn apart by the sphinx, is the conscious and repeated use of the statement "c'est l'Homme".<sup>16</sup> In *La machine infernale* (1934) Jean Cocteau continued his attack against all transcendence: in his opinion the position of mankind was the strongest pitfall ever conceived by the gods. The one who was forced to assume the part of Oedipus in a cruel experiment staged in a Nazi concentration camp described by Alberto Moravia in his play *Il Dio Kurt* (1968) also felt that the world was clearly and totally removed from any divine order. Oedipus could no longer pretend that he testified to Girard's cultural anthropology, playing the part of the pharmakos, the sacred and royal victim. Rather, he was reduced to assuming the part of no more than the victim. Or, as Charles Segal said: "Although there is no reach-

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ity accepts all-comers, so this opera/service takes the classical text as affirming God and man's salvation. Past merges with present and promises a glorious future, with all believers glory-bound to paradise. Not just one single Oedipus is the hero now; all mankind shares in the divine promise".

<sup>16</sup> The clash between horizontal and vertical axes becomes visible right after the failure of Tiresias: he could not free the city with the help of the gods of the sphinx, knowing very well that "le seul mot de passe pour n'être pas dévoré par le sphinx, c'est l'homme".

ing of God, his last act can at least destroy the pretences of those who would play God".<sup>17</sup>

The reworking of the Oedipus story in *Les Gommés (The Erasers)* by Alain Robbe-Grillet (1953) affected many categories which have been at the heart of the Western humanist world.<sup>18</sup> In this "nouveau roman", one could not hold the gods or Fate responsible for the situation of mankind, since the world was, in the eyes of the author, not at all charged with signification and thus meaningful, nor, on the other hand, principally absurd. The world was just there, totally split off from men and their need for meaning, because the world is chaotic and indifferent by definition. Therefore in *Les Gommés*, the author intentionally undermined the clichéd construction of a detective story which looked only vaguely like a modern version of Oedipus; therefore, he erased all empathizing psychology and added long accurate descriptions (for instance of a piece of tomato) which were bound to reveal a completely non functional world.<sup>19</sup> People, as was indicated by the title of another "nouveau roman", are constantly living *Dans le labyrinthe* (1959). In general, Robbe-Grillet wants to stress the fact that the category of the tragic is only a human construction and invention, maybe a necessary one in a given kind of situation, but all things considered, only one of the many ways of getting even with reality.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Charles P. Segal, *Tragic Heroism and Sacral Kingship*, o. c., p. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> Bruce Morrissette, *Les Romans de Robbe-Grillet*, Paris, 1963, Editions de Minuit.

<sup>19</sup> B. G. Garnham, *Robbe-Grillet. Les Gommés and Le Voyeur*, London, 1982, Grant & Cutler Ltd, p. 25-26: "Such descriptions as these emphasise the view that the only quality of the external world is its presence. It hides beneath its surface no meaning, no life, and above all it enters into no communion with man: "Or le monde n'est ni signifiant ni absurde. Il est tout simplement". It is part of the new novel's role to "decondition" the reader, to enable him to see the world about him with new eyes and to undo the work of what Robbe-Grillet calls "des franges de culture (psychologie, morale, métaphysique etc.)" which have deformed objects, making them more familiar and reassuring by tainting them with human emotions and meanings. ... The new novel should reinstate the world in its true condition, existing independently of man: "Cf. Manfred Nowak, *Die Romane Alain Robbe-Grillet. Von "Les Gommés" bis "Projet pour une révolution à New York". Struktur und Genese des Erzählwerks*, Heidelberg, 1982, Carl Winter, pp. 26-35: "Der Roman als Superposition von Gattungsstrukturen – der Oedipusstoff".

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Alain Robbe-Grillet, *Nature, humanisme, tragédie* (1958), in: Pour un nouveau roman, Paris, 1963, Les Editions de Minuit, Collection Idées, p. 66: "Et cette absence de signification, l'homme d'aujourd'hui (ou de demain...) ne l'éprouve plus comme un manque, ni comme un déchirement. Devant un tel vide, il ne ressent désormais nul vertige. Son cœur n'a plus besoin d'un gouffre où se loger".

### 3. Freudian readings: the individual explained

Conceived as a discipline belonging to the human sciences, Freudian psychoanalysis explained and rationalized human behaviour.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the psychological development of the male child was sanctified and proclaimed as perennial example. Therefore, a lot of activities of the Vienna circles of art, medicine and psychoanalysis of the 1900s pointed the way for many decades of considering the female as a hysterical, irrational and pathological case.<sup>22</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, working as a contemporary of Freud's, was deeply engaged in the study of perversion and incest (cf. Richard Strauss, *Salome*, 1905, *Elektra*, 1909). Symbolism had already alerted the West to the deeper layers of the female personality (Gustave Moreau, *Oedipus et le Sphinx*, 1864; Ferdinand Khnopff, *Les Caresses*, 1896), painters and writers belonging to the Vienna Sezession did just the same (Gustave Klimt, Oskar Kokoschka). After some notorious failures with female patients (Ida Bauer as Dora; Bertha Poppenheim as Anna O.<sup>23</sup>), Freud admitted that he could not arrive at an adequate interpretation of female sexuality and psychology. He who considered himself an improved version of Oedipus could not interpret his Antigone. Generally speaking, in his opinion, the psychic and sexual development of the little girl was to be conceived in strict analogy to the development of the boy, and this reduction provided her with a completely secondary identity. On the other hand, this theory of biological determinism was also meant to prove the so-called natural superiority of men.

In André Gide's *Oedipe* (1931) the psychic and sexual development of the sons Eteocles and Polynices leads them to fall in love with their sisters and to want a very explicit kind of incest with them, under the veil of developing their own personality and obeying their urge for freedom.

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<sup>21</sup> Driek van der Sterren, *Oedipus. Nach den Tragödien des Sophokles. Eine psychoanalytische Studie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1986 (1948), Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag; Didier Anzieu, *Oedipe avant le complexe ou de l'interprétation psychanalytique des mythes*, in: *Les temps modernes* XXII, 1966, 245, p. 675-715 (severely criticized by Jean-Pierre Vernant, "Oedipe" sans complexe, in: Jean-Pierre Vernant & Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1972, Maspero, pp. 75-98).

<sup>22</sup> O. Weininger, *Sexe et caractère*, Lausanne, 1975, (1903); S. Žizek, *The Metastases of Enjoyment. Six Essays on Woman and Causality*, London, 1994.

<sup>23</sup> L. Martens (Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, in: *German Quarterly*, 60, 1987, pp. 38-51) argues that Hofmannsthal actually read the work of Freud and Breuer before composing his *Elektra*; moreover, in his opinion, Anna O. (ps. for Bertha Pappenheim, also a patient of Breuer's) can be seen as a model for his *Elektra*. Cf. M. Worbs, *Nervenkunst. Literatur und Psychoanalyse im Wien der Jahrhundertwende*, 1983, Frankfurt am Main; Ph. M. Ward, *Hofmannsthal, Elektra and the representation of women's behaviour through myth*, in: *German Life and Letters*, 53, 2000, pp. 37-55. Cf. Sigmund Freud & Jozef Breuer, *Studien über Hysterie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1970 (1895), Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

Fascinated as he was during the twenties and thirties by the myth of Oedipus (*Opera*, 1927, *Oedipus Rex*, 1927, *Oedipe-Roi*, 1928), Jean Cocteau flirted the most with Freudian references in *La Machine Infernale* (1934). In the first act the maternal feelings of Jocaste take frightening and even surrealist proportions and result in a nearly ironic rereading of Freud. In a discussion with Tiresias, the rather lustful priest she constantly calls Zizi, Jocaste even says: "Les petits garçons disent tous: "Je veux devenir un homme pour me marier avec maman".<sup>24</sup>

In his film *Edipo Re* (1967), Paolo Pasolini presented some scenes from his own youth before turning to the real Greek tragedy; he explicitly denounced both the bond he had with his mother and the absence of his father. In *Affabulazione. Orgia* (1977-1979) the father killed his son out of jealousy (after having met the ghost of Sophocles). He realised that his son now represents the symbolic position of fertility, which pushes him into the position of the child. In *Teorema* (1968) the father discovered that it was the son who really was in charge of the richness of fatherhood.

In a lot of works by Hugo Claus the Freudian Oedipus complex holds the key to the imagination. Both in *Oedipus* (1971) and *Het huis van Labdakos* (1977) Jocaste consciously marries her son and testifies to her hate towards Laius, who incorporates both the hated father image and that of the power-mad dictator. On the other hand the "Electracomplex" (Antigone privileges the love for her father) and the "Jocastacomplex" (projected onto Creon's wife, Eurydice) constitute new psychological relations which were not developed in the ancient myth.

Harry Mulisch's reworking *Oidipus Oidipus* (1972) was a remarkable attempt to do away with a number of "improbabilities" of the Sophoclean text, which led the author to propose 13 corrections. Amongst them was the idea that at Colonus Oedipus metamorphosed into Teiresias, who for the rest of the play acts as an Oedipus who knows it all. The creation of Teiresias who in his blindness is aware of the cyclical repetition of life, also implies that the seer is sure that Jocaste has recognized her child and knows that she has kept silent about it. That is why he feels obliged to kill her, knowing too well that a mother's love for her son is much stronger than her feelings for her husband. Exacerbating the Oedipus complex out of (what are probably) biographical reasons, Mulisch even states that many men don't care much for their fathers and have been dreaming of killing them.

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<sup>24</sup> Jean Cocteau, *La Machine Infernale*, Paris, 1993 (1943), p. 62, Bernard Grasset.

#### 4. Feminism: new ways of constructing vertical and horizontal axes

The stories of Voltaire, von Hofmannsthal and Teirlinck, although rooted in a strong patriarchal tradition, were among the first to pay attention to the inner life of Iocasta and to add some critical notes about the social functioning of her feelings. What were her opinions, her wishes, her secret thoughts? Even the postmodern versions of Frans Strijaards (1986) and Robert Wilson (1996) do not affect this patriarchal basis. Herman Teirlinck, in his *Jokaste tegen God* (1961), staged a Jokaste who didn't want to play her traditional part, because an authentic Jokaste would love her husband and child in a much deeper way and would interfere in a much more active way, she said.

In Steven Berkoff's drama *Greek* (1980) the story is situated in a suburb of London during the eighties, the (in)famous Thatcher period. In one of the poor quarters of the East End, Eddy (Oedipus) struggles to find his place in life. Part of his solution is to marry his mother, in order to experience a love that is true and sincere, a remedy which seems more appropriate than sinking down into the swamps of the suburb. That is reason enough to refuse to cut out his eyes and expressly want to return to the womb. In Steven Berkoff's opinion, this kind of regeneration certainly cannot solve all problems, but the positive forces Oedipus discovers in love might help him to cure himself. A distant echo of the final words pronounced by Jocaste in Jean Cocteau's *La Machine Infernale* (Acte IV), where as a primal mother she reappears and tries to comfort her suffering son?

The most detailed rewriting of the part played by Iocasta has been presented by Hélène Cixous in *The name of Oidipus. Song of the forbidden body* (1977). This tragedy conveys a totally different vision of the world and is set up through a profound and elaborate rethinking of all major presuppositions.<sup>25</sup> Roughly speaking, one could say that the classical tragedy is "de-constructed" and that another interpretation of the *libido* is introduced to question the traditional mythological patterns. Many deep structures belonging to the levels of language and the text (for instance, processes like focalizing, causality and Episiering) and to the construction of space and time are deeply affected. Since Cixous constructs a radically new semantic universe that reflects the choices and the values of Iocaste, the wife of Oedipus, she elaborates a totally different way of constructing identity and sexuality, not based upon the Freudian interpretation of the castration complex.<sup>26</sup> Her text consists of a prologue and twelve lyric songs, small lyric scenes, monologues and (dream)scenes,

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mieke Kolk, *Spoken om het leven. Vrouwelijke subjectiviteit in het postmoderne theater*, Amsterdam, 1995, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Marianne Hirsch, *The Mother / Daughter Plot. Narrative, Psychoanalysis, Feminism*, Bloomington, 1989, Indiana University Press.

memories from a distant past leading without transition to a dramatic present. As a mother, who knows everything that ever happened, Iocasta asks Oedipus to trust her and to believe in her love for him.<sup>27</sup>

Elaborating a new myth in a radical way also means reconsidering Aristotelian poetics with their well-known compositional schemes. Cixous questions the long lasting emphasis put upon unity and its linear construction and breaks into the linguistic and scenic reality of the text. Just as Brecht, the other great "dis-organizer" of text and scene, she uses all possible epic and lyric means to dislocate that well-known (male) tragic climax. It was Camille Paglia who, in her *Sexual Personae* (1990), emphasized the relation between the male genre of tragedy and the male will to work slowly but surely towards one decisive end.

Therefore Cixous also needs to re-define the basic categories and the semantic fields which shape the new mythical heroine.<sup>28</sup> Iocasta constantly stimulates her son not to be afraid of the mother and she invites him to explore the depths of a mother's love. Once Oedipus will succeed in recognizing the value of this maternal love, all fear of castration will come to an end as would the terrifying mechanisms which inspire fear of the generalized Female and which urge him to exhibit strong macho behaviour.

But this Oedipus is not ready for the new mythological parts he has to play and cannot forget his feelings of guilt; it is only when Iocasta dies because of this failure that he disposes of his earlier cultural programming and discovers his new name and identity. Only after her death, does he discover that he can freely explore his subconsciousness and get in touch with the female principle in his inner Self, without fear of the regulations (the Law) which have turned him into a Western man. Not the threat of a castrating father, but the acceptance of the complete female nature, gets the child out of the primary narcissistic stage.

Deconstruction of the Greek myth leads to a great number of questions, dealing with the tragic as an ontological and aesthetic category and provoking a type of cultural history which was meant by men for men. Therefore, femi-

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<sup>27</sup> A comparable kind of begging for understanding and peace can be found at the end of *Oedipe, roi de Thèbe*, by Saint-Georges de Bouhélier (1919), when Jocaste starts to dance in the middle of crying masses.

<sup>28</sup> In her book *Hélène Cixous. Authorship. Autobiography and Love*, Cambridge, 1996, Polity Press, p. 59, Susan Sellers mentions the female longing for remembering as fundamentally different from the male will to know: "This capacity to remember what might otherwise be effaced is an important component of Cixous' vision of *écriture féminine* and is evoked in other texts written at this time. In *Le nom d'Oedipe* ("The Name of Oedipus"), remembering is linked to the mystery of origin. Woman's intimate knowledge of the origin is contrasted with Oedipus' desire which perversely involves renouncing life: "my whole life for the answer".

nism refused to consider the Oedipus complex as a universal law, but rather saw it as a historical phase in the formation of a patriarchal culture.<sup>29</sup> Hence the science of literature itself, according to Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (*The Madwoman in the Attic*, 1979), can be seen as a continual oedipal struggle between established male authors and their revolting sons.<sup>30</sup> Anyway, in a society where the prevailing order is "phallogocentric", no real female identity can be constructed since it always has to be considered as a form of deficiency or absence.<sup>31</sup>

Deconstruction of the patriarchal Greek myth in terms of a new feminist reading leads to a number of questions, which were not asked for more than 2000 years. They concern the construction of our cultural history, the forging of methodological instruments and the creation of gender-determined stories. Do women conceive the tragic universe differently from men? Are they more interested in cyclical than in linear structures? The latest Eurydice refuses to accompany Orpheus when he comes to free her in the Underworld. No, thank you, the Earth is more my element, I don't want to be your slave again up there, your source of inspiration, your secretary, your mama.<sup>32</sup>

## 5. Some afterthoughts

5.1. The socio-cultural history of the West noticed that, often enough, artists wanted to escape from the tragic condition, creating gods, patterns of salvation, stories meant to generate a personal or a collective redemption. From Aristotle on, tragedies have been staged in all kinds of non-tragic ways.

5.2. The world of the "nouveau roman", of modernism and postmodernism intensified ontological doubts and left people alone in this world, in its horizontal axis. The twentieth century taught him not to blame the outside world for being chaotic and indifferent, but, on the contrary, to assume full responsibility for a newly-won life. Although traditional tragedy (in an Aristotelian sense) may have left us, the novel and the "infra-tragedy" of Beckett and Ionesco brought back the tragic sense on a large scale; the recent reappraisal of the Dionysiac force and the reintroduction of polytheism, nomadism and an intensive way of living made people aware of the tragic condition in a postmodern worldview.

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<sup>29</sup> Juliet Mitchell, *Feminism and Psychoanalysis*, London, 1974, Allen Lane.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence. Theory of Poetry*, New York, 1973, Oxford University Press.

<sup>31</sup> Luce Irigaray, *Ce sexe qui n'en est pas un*, Paris, 1977, Minuit.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Segal, *Orpheus. The Myth of the Poet*, Baltimore & London, 1989, The John Hopkins University Press, pp.155-198: Chapter 7. Orpheus from Antiquity to Today. Retrospect and Prospect.

5.3. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, human sciences in general and Freudian psychoanalysis in particular, have done their best to understand (and rationalize) all the ways of becoming a subject. The example of *OR* clearly helped them to prove that women are to be considered second-hand creatures and pathological cases.

5.4. Feminism created new ways of dealing with language and the text, the construction of heroes and mythology in general. For more than 2500 years, women didn't write tragedies and didn't favor the tragic condition as much as men did, and since they have started to do so in the sixties, their handling of the tragic topoi and the tragic experience has revealed a totally different imagination.

5.5. *Oedipus* remains the myth of a male truth.



## THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL AND THE ORESTEIA BETWEEN "BACK TO BASICS" AND CULTURAL STUDIES, BETWEEN OLD AND NEW HISTORICISM

### 1. Introduction and warning

It is the general opinion of our history books that the creation of Athenian democracy has to be considered one of the greatest achievements in the history of the West. It clearly belongs to the "best of the West". And, indeed, "democracy ... (as) the right held universally by all citizens to have a share of political power, that is, the right of all citizens to vote and participate in politics"<sup>1</sup> is one of the landmarks of Western civilization, one of the great cultural creations which liberated men both from the constraints of nature and from oppressive systems like oligarchy and tyranny.

Surely, we are also entitled to say that the birth of Greek tragedy during the same historical period represents a second major historical and cultural event, another creation of Greek genius that has survived the ages and spread its influence throughout the world. Especially after the victory of Salamis, nothing could stop the Athenians from developing what has been called ever since the first "golden age" in Western civilization.<sup>2</sup>

But before we go any further, let us first distinguish between the two lines of approach which will be used in discussing the birth of democracy and tragedy. First, there is the purely political perspective which says that ever since the political reforms of Solon – and in spite of many pitfalls – there has been a pronounced will to engage the middle and lower classes and to achieve more equality with the nobility, a longing that illustrated their firm decision to become politically involved. After 480, an increased sense of responsibility for the city united those two classes in a new demand for solidarity. Christian Meier called it a "significant transformation in anthropological terms", a step which "created a new identity".<sup>3</sup> Globally, one can say that the central idea which guided this (r)evolution was based upon *isonomia*, a view which no longer respected birth alone as a reason for holding political positions. From then on, every Athenian citizen stepped into a new sociological and mythical construction and became part of an artificial order which was qualified by

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, London, 1992, Penguin Books, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Murray, *Aeschylus. The Creator of Tragedy*, Oxford, 1940; Robert Holmes Beck, *Aeschylus: Playwright Educator*, The Hague, 1975, Nijhoff.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Meier, *The Political Art of Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1993, Polity Press (1988), pp. 9-43.

equality before the law. Ever since the fifth century, historians and political scientists have studied processes like these as part of both the birth of "classical" Athens and the beginning of the history of the West.<sup>4</sup> Often enough, the *Oresteia* (458 BC) has been studied, in a very direct and one to one way, as a documentary text which allowed interesting views on historical events.<sup>5</sup> Of course, this trilogy is really packed with allusions to contemporary politics and even military campaigns, and the last decades of the twentieth century did not tire of mentioning every possible reference to the internal and external life of the city.

Secondly, there is the idea that political processes can only enter the trilogy in an indirect way, as elements of the global artistic creation. As Christopher Rocco mentions, most of the appealing details were inventions of the poet, "the acquittal of Orestes, the reconciliation of the Erinyes, their acceptance in Athens, and their transformation into the new cult of the Eumenides sprang of his very rich imagination". Especially during the twentieth century, this trilogy which deals both with democracy and tragedy, and therefore addresses politics and aesthetics, two completely different "zones" as Stephen Greenblatt would say,<sup>6</sup> served as one of the first "master narratives" of the West (*les métarécits* de Lyotard), one of the founding stories of Western democracy and progress.

Mostly, people connect art and politics in an unreflective way and this combination of perspectives makes me feel a bit uncomfortable. Therefore, at first glance, a title like *The democratic ideal as portrayed in ancient Greek drama and its relevance to today's world* frightens me and obliges me first to discuss a number of naïve and dangerous presuppositions which would serve contemporary programs of extreme right politicians very well. Indeed, since

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<sup>4</sup> George Thompson, *Aeschylus and Athens. A Study in the Social Origins of Drama*, London, 1966, Lawrence & Wishart (1941); W. G. Forrest, *The Emergence of Greek Democracy*, London, 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Political allusions in the *Oresteia* have been studied by E. R. Dodds, *Morals and Politics in the Oresteia* (1960), in: E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress and other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief*, Oxford, 1998, Clarendon Press, p. 45-63. Cf. G. Thompson, *Aeschylus and Athens*, London, 1941; id., *Aeschylus: the Oresteia*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1966.

A. Podlecki, *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy*, Michigan, 1966; M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of Athenian Democracy*, Oxford, 1969. A. Lebeck, *The Oresteia*, Washington, 1971; Christopher Rocco, *Tragedy and Enlightenment. Athenian Political Thought and the Dilemmas of Modernity*, Berkeley, 1997, University of California Press, p. 138. For "other striking innovations" by Aeschylus, see: *The Oresteia*, Edited and translated by Michael Ewans, London, 2000, Everyman (1995), p. XXVIII-XXIX.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations. The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, Berkeley, 1988, University of California Press; id., *Culture*, in: Frank Lentricchia & Thomas McLaughlin, *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, Chicago & London, 1990, University of Chicago Press, p. 225-232.

the beginning of the twentieth century, the Western world has to face several implosions of its traditional value system, and for many intellectuals and artists it became tempting, in order to take a fresh breath and to start up a process of cultural regeneration, to blame this continent and to look for solutions in older periods of Western history or to address other nations and countries. One remembers Antonin Artaud's search for ritual theater, his visit to Mexico, his fascination for the temple of Emesa in Syria, his amazement caused by the Balinese theatrical performance in Paris in 1931.<sup>7</sup> One also recalls Peter Brook's production *Orghast* staged in Persepolis (1971) and his *Mahābhārata* (1985),<sup>8</sup> as well as the attraction exerted by No and Kabuki techniques used in the performances of Tadashi Suzuki (cf. his *Klytaemnestra*, 1983).<sup>9</sup> The East was the only pure continent in the eyes of Pasolini, not yet polluted by Western capitalism (see his *Medea*, 1969 and *Appunti per un'Orestide africana*, 1970),<sup>10</sup> and in the opinion of a number of frustrated Western Europeans, becoming a Buddhist monk, leading the life of a Zen disciple or developing a totally new "alchemy of the eye", was much more appealing than pursuing the boring career of the Western business man.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, this article asks our attention for a very specific and interesting question: why *today* should *we* be interested in Athenian politics and drama which lie 2500 years in the past? Are we searching for good old examples and new oxygen for a new morality? Do we aim to recover and discover ancient roots? Are we longing for a socio-political restoration, or, indeed, a new kind of conservatism? The latest discussion about *Black Athena* made us aware of the political and cultural "construction" that was the "Classics" and informed us about the lack of objectivity and neutrality in the historiography of "Clas-

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<sup>7</sup> A. Virmaux, *Antonin Artaud et le théâtre*, Paris, 1970 ; H. Gouhier, *Antonin Artaud et l'essence du théâtre*, Paris, 1974; Monique Borie, *Antonin Artaud, le théâtre et le retour aux sources*, Paris, 1989, Gallimard.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Helfer & Glenn Loney (Eds.), *Peter Brook. Oxford to Orghast*, Amsterdam, 1998, Harwood Academic Publishers; Albert Hunt & Geoffrey Reeves, *Peter Brook*, Cambridge, 1995, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Marianne McDonald, *Ancient Sun, Modern Light*, New York, 1992, Columbia University Press, pp. 21-73.

<sup>10</sup> Anthony R. Guneratne, *Notes for an African Oresteia. Postmodernism and Postcolonialism in Pier Paolo Pasolini's Challenge to Documentary*, in: Savas Patsalidis & Elizabeth Sakellaridou (Eds.), (Dis)Placing Classical Greek Theatre, Thessaloniki, 1999, University Studio Press, pp. 441-455.

<sup>11</sup> Theodore Shank, *American Alternative Theater*, New York, 1982, Grove Press; Tadashi Suzuki, *The Way of Acting. The Theatre Writings of Tadashi Suzuki* (Translated by J. Thomas Rimer), New York, 1986, Theatre Communications Group; William W. Demastes, *Theatre of Chaos. Beyond Absurdism, into Orderly Disorder*, Cambridge, 1998, Cambridge University Press; Arthur Holmberg, *The Theatre of Robert Wilson*, Cambridge, 1996, Cambridge University Press (3. Alchemy of the eye, pp. 76-120).

sics".<sup>12</sup> A question like this leads us very quickly into the heart of contemporary discussions about the nature of history (Metahistory, New Historicism, ...) <sup>13</sup> and science (empiricism, post-empiricism), about the neo-mythic need for identity and roots, about the way we have been trained to look, to judge and to construct knowledge, Western knowledge of course.

Twenty five centuries after the first performance of the *Oresteia*, the West has lost many of the great expectations created by the birth of democracy. The twentieth century as a whole turned into the most cruel of all historical periods; after Auschwitz no overall belief was left in the civilized and enlightened vision the West had once developed. Moreover, the postmodern era professed a deep disbelief in all master narratives, which in the past, as a large umbrella, provided the main answers, like Christianity, Marxism, Socialism, and the Enlightenment itself. Postmodernism led us into a world full of questions and fragments, revisions and rewritings of the past. As a typical aspect of the twentieth-century critical awareness of ourselves, we became very conscious of the way everything has been constructed in the past.<sup>14</sup> And, of course, this criticism even led us to doubt the West in a fundamental way,<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Martin Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume I. The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, London, 1987, Vintage; Martin Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume II. The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1991, Rutgers University Press. Cf. Mary R. Lefkowitz & Guy Maclean Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, Chapel Hill & London, 1996, The University of North Carolina Press; Jacques Berlinerblau, *Heresy in the University: the Black Athena Controversy and the Responsibilities of American Intellectuals*, London/ New Brunswick, 1999, Rutgers University Press. Cf. some answers by Bernal himself: David Chioni Moore (Ed.), *Black Athena Writes Back. Martin Bernal responds to his critics*, Durham & London, 2001, Duke University Press.

<sup>13</sup> J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, London & New York, 1984; Hayden White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore, 1973, J. Hopkins University Press. Claire Colebrook, *New Literary Histories. New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism*, Manchester & New York, 1997, Manchester University Press; Jürgen Pieters, *Moments of Negotiation. The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt*, Amsterdam, 2001, Amsterdam University Press. Cf. Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History. How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past*, New York, 1996.

<sup>14</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York, 1992, Free Press; id., *Our Posthuman Future*, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, München, 1923; R. Aron, *Plaidoyer pour l'Europe décadente*, Paris, 1977; Gilles Lipovetsky, *L'ère du vide. Essais sur l'individualisme contemporain*, Paris, 1983; M. Gauchet, *Le désenchantement du monde. Une histoire politique de la religion*, Paris, 1985; M. Henry, *La barbarie*, Paris, 1987; S. Latouche, *L'occidentalisation du monde: essai sur la signification, la portée et les limites de l'uniformisation planétaire*, Paris, 1989; Ton Lemaire, *Twijfel aan Europa. Zijn de intellectuelen de vijanden van de Europese cultuur*; Baarn, 1990; Alain Finkielkraut, *La défaite de la pensée*, Paris, 1987; id., *L'Humanité perdue*, 1997.

generating a number of pessimistic and "fin de siècle" views, presented on the scene as the final *Endgame* (Beckett, 1958), as the ultimate *Shopping and Fucking* (Mark Ravenhill, 1997), as the last possible psychosis (*4. 48 Psychose*, Sarah Kane, 2001). Deconstruction, multiculturalism, globalism, multidisciplinary and feminism became new keywords for a new generation.

Certainly, this postmodern, posthistorical, postcolonial, poststructural and posthuman awareness of our Western identity involved the loss of a number of traditionally cherished emotional and psychological protections. It also meant the loss of old romanticizing and idealizing clichés. Today many classicists do understand that Baroque, Romanticism, Classicism and Neoclassicism are not the only possible ways of looking at Greek civilisation, moreover, they realize that they belong to the great number of historical or emotional styles or filters that gave us a new interpretation of the classics every century. Philosophy of science would call them "paradigmatic" shifts, having their own presuppositions, their own instruments for research, their own study programs.<sup>16</sup> In their analysis of "le grand tour" which obliged the European aristocracy to visit Rome and Italy, Beard and Henderson say: "And some of the most powerful representations of classical Greece, those which have formed the ways we still see and understand the classical past, were the creations of men who had never visited Greece itself, whose Greece was, quite plainly, "imaginary". John Keats, for example, whose poetry celebrated the splendour of Greek art and culture in early nineteenth-century England (most famously, perhaps, in his *Ode on a Grecian Urn*), had visited Rome; but he never ventured to make the crossing to Greece".<sup>17</sup>

Classicists, just like all other kinds of philologists, had to wait for the arrival of the many faced twentieth century human sciences, in order to learn that all new methodologies (psychoanalysis, structuralism, receptiontheory, semiotics, anthropology, poststructuralism, cultural materialism, poetics of culture...) had in common the idea that history in general and classics in particular are neither neutral nor scientific concepts, but very open constructions, characterized by a lot of presuppositions (Kuhn), power structures (Foucault), open spaces (Iser), "différences" and "différences" (Derrida), and silences (Aram Veese). On top of that, classics can not deny that their successive historical identities very often resulted in the ideology of a conservative and elitist cultural public, which, often enough, proclaimed to be the one

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<sup>16</sup> At the present day, both reception history and philosophy of science clearly show that all classical authors have been studied through shifting 'paradigmatic' interpretations. A brief look at Ann Norris Michelini's book *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition* (1987), which presents a good survey of two centuries of the interpretation of Euripides, illustrates this point sufficiently.

<sup>17</sup> Mary Beard & John Henderson, *Classics. A very short introduction*, Oxford, 1995, Oxford University Press, p. 15.

and only guardian of Western humanism. Today we discover many aspects that till now were hidden consciously and unconsciously (for instance about sexuality, racism, ideology) and which during the twentieth century resulted in a totally different look at and presentation of the classics. However, Hanson & Heath consider this approach a release of the "Beast", a catalogue of all possible misbehaviours the Classics could be accused of.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore this warning. A discussion of the value of the *democratic ideal as portrayed in ancient Greek drama and its relevance to today's world* could easily lead us into the pitfalls of old moralism, it could seduce us to listen to old nostalgic memories, it could make us think that the supremacy and the authority of the Classics might be able, after all, to dig up the "right" answers and a "proper" way of living for a new era.<sup>19</sup> In order to face twentieth-century doubts, criticism and accusations, I want to situate a number of problems from a methodological point of view, hoping to stimulate a contemporary epistemological debate about the Classics.

In the rest of this paper I would like to place the discussion about the democratic ideal and the **Oresteia** in the context of a number of recent methodological discussions about history and the classics. I refer on the one hand to the discussion between the "Back to Basics" ideology and "Cultural Studies", on the other to the debate between Old and New Historicism.

## 2. Back to Basics

Born during the government of president Reagan (1981-1989) the "Back to Basics" discussion encouraged a return to the central values of the past. Some leading intellectuals were complaining that cultural literacy was declining, that youngsters did not read enough and that, if they were reading at all, they did not read books belonging to traditional high culture. A number of classical scholars, in their wake, complained that, on the one hand, the number of students of Latin and Greek, esp. Greek, had diminished all over the world in a drastic way and, on the other, that classicists published too much, often on minor subjects that no five other colleagues would ever read.<sup>20</sup>

Best sellers written by Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) and E. D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy. What Every American Needs to*

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<sup>18</sup> Victor Davis Hanson, John Heath & Bruce S. Thornton, *Bonfire of the Humanities. Rescuing the Classics in an Impoverished Age*, Wilmington, Delaware, 2001, ISI Books.

<sup>19</sup> Freddy Decreus (Ed.), *New Classics for a New Era*, Gent, 2002, Faculty of Letters.

<sup>20</sup> The "machinery of academic production" really became overwhelming "If we are writing so much, why are all the others reading so little of it? In our identity-obsessed age, why haven't we Westerners been led by our very busy professors and scholars back to the beauty and the wisdom – and the power – of our own culture?" (Hanson & Heath, o. c., p. 2- 5).

*Know* (1988)<sup>21</sup> tried to justify faith in a continuous Western tradition rooted in classical civilization. They believed that schools "failed to fulfill their fundamental acculturative responsibility", which led to a decline in cultural literacy and a "surprising ignorance of the young", since, in the meantime, children believed that Homer wrote the "*Alamo*" instead of the *Iliad*.<sup>22</sup>

Allan Bloom is a typical example of a pessimistic fin-de-siècle, fin-de-civilisation mentality. In his book<sup>23</sup> he deplored the loss of common (sense) culture (i.e. traditional high class culture), the loss of seriousness in dealing with leisure and the loss of good taste (of course, a taste like his own). Life became cheap leisure, leisure resulted in pure entertainment. For a number of Back to Basics-thinkers, Western European culture remains the treasure-house of civilization *tout court*, and the best of the West has to be seen in terms of a collection of books that pupils have to memorize in order to become good and involved citizens. Young people have to read a number of first class books and develop the right social virtues in order to become members of the upper class. Such a protective and often moralizing politics heavily depended upon contents and books as the necessary tools to create a cultivated public, which was thought to constitute the true defenders of democracy and truth. In such a view, borders between good and bad literature were well defined, one knew which national literatures delivered the proper contents, which geographic, ethnic and historical groups helped to define the real canon.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*, New York, 1987, Simon & Schuster; E. D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy. What Every American Needs to Know. With an Updated Appendix what Literate Americans Know*, New York, 1988, Vintage Books. Some ten years ago, American classicists formulated their complaints, griefs and doubts in a book called *Classics. A Discipline and Profession in Crisis?* (Ed. by Phyllis Culham & Lowell Edmunds, Lanham, 1989, University Press of America): see p. VI: "Bloom and Bennett (sc. William Bennett, former Secretary of Education) in particular have identified feminism, politicization, affirmative action, and concern for "relevance" in education as threats to the propagation of western culture".

<sup>22</sup> E. D. Hirsch, o. c., p. 5-18. See p. 19: "We have ignored cultural literacy in thinking about education – certainly I as a researcher also ignored it until recently – precisely because it was something we have been able to take for granted. ... Only when we run into cultural illiteracy are we shocked into recognizing the importance of the information that we had unconsciously assumed".

<sup>23</sup> Victor Davis Hanson & John Heath, *Who killed Homer. The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom*, New York, 1998, The Free Press, p. XX: "Our generation of Classicists, faced with the rise of Western culture beyond the borders of the West, was challenged to explain the relevance of Greek thought and values in a critical age of electronic information and entertainment. Here they failed utterly, failed to such a degree that the Greeks now play almost no part in discussions of how the West is to evolve in the next millennium".

<sup>24</sup> Ronald Soetaert, Luc Top & Guy van Belle, *Creating a new borderland on the screen*, in: *Educational Media International* 32, 1995, 2; cf. L. A. Fiedler, *English Literature. Opening up the Canon*, Baltimore / London, 1979, The John Hopkins University Press; E. Hobsbawm & T.

Therefore, the most appropriate way to react against the "dying" culture in the eyes of the silent and conservative majority was a defensive one: let us reformulate the most important books produced by our culture, let us reconsider essential "cultural literacy". E. D. Hirsch (1988) created a special (though strongly) American list of the knowledge shared by literate people. Harold Bloom (1994) discussed twenty-six authors central to the Canon, placing Shakespeare at the center, the real "touchstone" for all writers who came before and after him. In the eyes of Hirsch, the solution was a simple one: more than ever we have to teach traditional "myths and facts" described as "the oxygen of social intercourse" (1988, p. xii). Like a number of his colleagues, he mainly dealt with shared knowledge, past forms of literacy, and never questioned the borders within which such a discussion took place. Clearly, a discussion like this involved only one kind of ideological structure, but in the meantime the world became more complex, new standards, new visions, new cultures became popular.

### Conclusion:

This first discussion reveals that, from the sixties onwards, notions like centre, tradition, humanism, canon, classical roots, "democratic ideal", etc..., have lost their traditional places and functions in education and culture. *Back to Basics* was a strong patriarchal reaction which hoped to reaffirm both the importance of written books and Western culture and democracy. A return to the years preceding the sixties was felt to be a necessary and healing operation, since this period was not yet "affected" by an immoderate individual liberty and imagination. As one of the major stories about the birth of democratic ideals, the *Oresteia* definitely belongs to the list of important books which has to be read and preserved at any cost.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. Cultural Studies

In contrast to the "Back to Basics" philosophy which has been understood as a right-wing, conservative and mainly American reaction (Harold

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Ranger (Ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983; Ch. Altieri, *An Idea and Ideal of a Literary Canon*, in: R. von Hallberg (Ed.), *Canons*, Chicago & London, 1984, p. 41-64.

<sup>25</sup> E. D. Hirsch, o. c., p. 193: In his *Appendix What Literate Americans Know the Oresteia* is only mentioned in an indirect way, as a part of an enumeration like: "... Oregon, Oregon Trail, Orestes, organic chemistry, organic molecule, organization man, Organization of American States (OAS), Orient, original sin, (The) Origin of Species...". Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon. The Books and School of the Ages*, discusses 26 writers "with a certain nostalgia", knowing very well that "things have however fallen apart, the center has not held, and mere anarchy is in the process of being unleashed upon what used to be called 'the learned world'". He mentions the *Oresteia* as part of the first of his four Ages: I. The Theocratic Age (...*Oresteia*...); II. The Aristocratic Age (Shakespeare, Center of the Canon); III. The Democratic Age. The fourth periode, our Age, is of course considered to be "The Chaotic Age".



Bloom, 1994:4), from the very start, Cultural Studies (CS), was mainly situated in Britain, was animated by Marxist ideas and focused on solutions coming from the left.<sup>26</sup> In general, it studied the effects of power in our everyday social life and especially our reactions to the whole network of structures determining our cultural position. Before analyzing this new line of approach, let us first remember what Marianne McDonald wrote about Classics in 1992. In her brilliant book *Ancient Sun, Modern Light. Greek Drama on the Modern Stage*, she warned that "(t)hroughout this century, the notion of what precisely constitutes "the classics" has more and more become a political issue".<sup>27</sup> Indeed, even for classical philologists it is not obvious anymore how to behave in a "politically correct" way in the academic world. Should we only privilege Western texts or allow non-Western and feminist ones to be present in new canonical lists? Whose culture should we promote, or in fact who are the "we" we are talking about? Whose literature do we have to read, when there is no longer a canonical "we"<sup>28</sup> nor a canonical nation,<sup>29</sup> when there is, next to "Literature", a number of literatures written with a small "l" (popular literature, colonial literature, lesbian literature, literature of minorities),<sup>30</sup> when there is next to textual studies a growing attention to media studies and cultural studies, when the class populations do no longer reflect homogeneous social and cultural strata?<sup>31</sup> In the eyes of Marianne McDonald some drastic changes have already been made recently: "scholars of previous generations were historically oriented in the sense that they tried to preserve the past; now scholars are actively reinterpreting the past to make it acceptable to the present and to assure that the future will not in the least resemble it. In literary studies this can take the form of defacing monuments: (...) Aeschylus' *Oresteia* is seen as a vehicle for the "Politics of Misogyny" (to use Froma Zeitlin's phrase)" (1992:3).

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<sup>26</sup> Seth L. Schein, *Cultural Studies and Classics: Contrasts and Opportunities*, in: Thomas M. Falkner, Nancy Felson & David Konstan (Eds.), *Contextualizing Classics. Ideology, Performance, Dialogue*, Lanham, 1999, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 285-299. Cf. S. Huddleston Edgerton, *Translating the Curriculum. Multiculturalism into Cultural Studies*, New York, 1997, Routledge; Baldwin E. A. (Eds.), *Introducing Cultural Studies*, London, 1999, Prentice Hall Europe.

<sup>27</sup> Marianne McDonald, *Ancient Sun. Modern Light. Greek Drama on the Modern Stage*, New York, 1992, Columbia University Press, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Gerald Graff, *What should we be teaching – when there is no "we"?*, in: *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 1988, 1/2, p. 189-211.

<sup>29</sup> Andy Green, *Education, Globalization and the Nation State*, Houndmills, 1997, Macmillan Press Ltd.

<sup>30</sup> Leo Lowenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture and Society*, Palo Alto (California), 1968, Political Books Publishers.

<sup>31</sup> Gerald Graff, *Beyond the Culture Wars. How Teaching the Conflicts can Revitalize American Education*, New York & London, 1992, W. W. Norton & Company.

A symposium dealing with *The democratic ideal as portrayed in ancient Greek drama and its relevance to today's world* has many aspects which appeal to the type of investigation presented as CS. Cultural Studies is no longer interested in a narrow-minded interpretation of the text, but nowadays openly asks questions, provokes reactions both in the camps of academics and practitioners, in those of students and professionals. It is worth remembering that all the symposia organized here in Cyprus by the local ITI have been calling into question the whole of the cultural field: the organization of an International Theatre Festival as well as an International Scientific Colloquium on Greek tragedy, the creation of Summer Courses as well as the staging of a local performance. The splendid isolation of classics, to be its worst enemy, the local ITI committee has fought for an integration between the university and the rehearsal room and declared a regular war on all those who were still caught in the traditional assumptions of their discipline and would still like to consider classics an elitist profession. It is clear that Greek tragedy and the discussions about democratic ideals can amount to a well chosen battlefield for contemporary and interdisciplinary discussions, obliging us to question both ourselves and our relations to the intellectual, religious and emotional worlds we are living in. Thinking critically, in all freedom, transforms our consciousness and makes us reflect upon the way we have been constructing the world around us. In the opinion of Seth Schein, one can say that: "Classics courses..., informed by approaches drawn from Cultural Studies, can help students to see the contingency, circumstantiality, and arbitrariness of their own civilization and values. Critically self-aware courses in the classical tradition, in particular, can help them to understand the genesis and constructed character of attitudes and values that otherwise might seem given and in the nature of things" (1999: 297). Various contemporary productions of the *Oresteia* testify to this will to take into account larger political contexts: Ariane Mnouchkine (*Les Atrides*, 1992) was sensitive to Hélène Cixous' feminist thinking, Daniel Scahaise & Laurent Van Wetter (*Le Sang des Atrides*, 1996, Théâtre en Liberté) laughed at the very limited Greek biological interpretation of the sexes, Luk Perceval (*Aars*, 2001, Toneelhuis) contested the ideology of progress and suggested an atmosphere of constant sexual threat in the house of the Father.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Freddy Decreus, *The Oresteia, or the Myth of the Western Metropolis between Habermas and Foucault*, in: Nicos Shafkalis, Elladios Chandriotis & Costas Hadjigeorgiou (Eds.), *Fifth International Symposium on Ancient Greek Drama*, Leucosia, 1999, pp. 286-308.

**Conclusion:**

Cultural Studies contests established male and elitist authority (including the so-called phallogocentric tradition) and is more interested in the way that a topic like the struggle for a democratic ideal is connected with a number of sociological and political decisions which are made in reading and performing the trilogy, hoping that this critical distance will free us from old fashioned cultural positions. Therefore, every question about the democratic ideal has to be situated in the large pragmatic field between an author and a public and is supposed to raise questions about the use or abuse of power, about those who are considered to take part in these discussions and those who have always been supposed to stay out of it.

**4. Old historicism**

The next two sections will discuss "Old Historicism" and "Old Philology"<sup>33</sup> in terms of an opposition to "New Historicism" and "New Philology". Older forms of historical and philological research mainly centred on authors and works and used to be interested in the lives and times of writers, in their relations to so-called historical "facts" and, from the sixties on, in the composition (structural analysis) of their texts. Indeed, the old positivistic analysis of sources often resulted in the well known big comments on the lives and works of authors, where every textual detail was explained in terms of the social and economic reality of historical times. For these older literary historians, literature mainly reflected history in a direct and one-to-one way: literature was "embedded" in social reality, or was thought to be the product of an historical moment.

Positivistic criticism of Greek tragedy often emphasized the transhistorical character of literary works (Oedipus as *the* blinded hero, Pentheus as *the* stubborn king, Clytemnestra as *the* bitch). Human beings were thought to be endowed with certain essential, immutable characteristics, a position that implied that art is timeless and that tragedy allows us to meet human essences which reveal themselves in autonomous and closed systems, art being the opposite province of social life. From the 1920's on, literary analysis was mainly interested in formalist principles (Russian Formalism) and later on, in the (hidden) harmonious unity of the work of art which was supposed to transcend the chaotically conflicting reality of all earthly matters (New Criticism). Steven Greenblatt, remembering his student years, said: "Behind these exercises was the assumption that great works of art were triumphs of resolution, that they were, in Bakhtin's term, monological – the mature expression

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<sup>33</sup> Michelle Gellrich, *Interpreting Greek Tragedy. History, Theory, and the New Philology*, in: Barbara Goff (Ed.), *History, Tragedy, Theory. Dialogues on Athenian Drama*, Austin, 1995, University of Texas Press, p. 38- 58.

of one single artistic intention".<sup>34</sup> Fundamental contradictions, which inevitably addressed the arena of political and ideological conflicts, were avoided or reduced. In the words of Marilyn Skinner: "Since the late nineteenth century, Anglo-American classical scholarship has committed itself to a positivistic belief in objective, verifiable truths. The ancient texts (or at least those texts deemed most significant) were up until recently regarded as transparent vehicles of meaning relevant to all human beings in all cultural circumstances, and the hermeneutics of literary studies and history magisterially assumed the existence of a single recoverable and demonstrable explanation, its persuasiveness stemming from its facile control of the available evidence. Readings of texts or historical data accepted as definitive were therefore accorded permanent truth-status".<sup>35</sup>

Consequently, Old Historicists (defending positivist and formalist aims) prefer to stay close to mythic truth and its tendency to construct a centre, a point of mediation. In their opinion the *Oresteia* ends in a definitive reconciliation between conflict and harmony, chthonic and Olympian divinities, female and male, old and new, clan-based blood vengeance and civic justice. Moreover, reconciliation often has been seen as the triumph of the rational and creative male principle over the female and the natural. H. D. F. Kitto, in his *Greek Tragedy. A Literary Study* (1939), illustrates these firm beliefs as follows: "The end is neither happiness nor unhappiness, but illumination, the vision of the world as we know it coming to its birth... Murder and vengeance, guilt, punishment and doubt are all forgotten as Athena herself leads the Eumenides out of the Theatre of Dionysus to pass, in imaginary procession, from the southern to the northern face of the sacred rock",<sup>36</sup> a conclusion shared by Gerald F. Else (1965): "The ray of light has finally transformed darkness itself into light, a sun of tranquillity and blessing for men".<sup>37</sup>

Simon Goldhill, seeing Kitto (1961) as a representative of the Old Historicism, synthesises the former's longing for a monological reduction as follows: "The triumph of Athene's persuasion is the triumph of Zeus and the triumph of the return to order from chaos. Dikè, as the expression of the bonds, order, maintenance of social relations, has become coextensive with the glories of the Athenian *polis*. ...It is the humanist virtues of mercy, tolera-

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse. Essays in Early Modern Culture*, New York, 1990, Routledge, p. 168.

<sup>35</sup> Marilyn B. Skinner, *Expecting the Barbarians: Feminism, Nostalgia, and the "Epistemic Shift" in Classical Studies*, in: Phyllis Culham & Lowell Edmunds (Eds.), *Classics. A Discipline and Profession in Crisis?*, Lanham, 1989, University Press of America, p. 202.

<sup>36</sup> H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy. A Literary Study*, London, 1939, Methuen & Co, p. 93-94.

<sup>37</sup> Gerald F. Else, *The Origin and Early Form of Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965, Harvard University Press, p. 98.

tion, and justice that the *Oresteia* appeals to". Therefore, he says, for critics like Kitto, Stanford, Kuhns, Podlecki and Lesky, Aeschylus' masterpiece "takes its place in a long line of political texts glorifying the city as such, the state as harmonic organization. The *Oresteia* reflects the ideals of these critics, who find in it an expression of "our hopes". And therefore Goldhill sums up: (w)hen Kitto concludes "the problem of dikē is solved, his optimism is shared by numerous readers of the *Oresteia*".<sup>38</sup> One cannot refrain here from recalling the *Oresteia* produced by Vittorio Gasman in 1960, a performance which invited the public to participate in the last scenes of the *Eumenides* and to dance exuberantly, in order to celebrate the birth of democracy.<sup>39</sup>

### Conclusion:

Old Historicists, followers of a positivist and formalist methodology, developed a special eye for patterns of underlying unity in works of art. Apparent paradoxes and structural oppositions were reduced and resolved, an activity which was legitimated by the hypothesis that every work of art had to be considered a special dimension of social life itself. Discussing some Old Historicist interpretations of Shakespeare, Jürgen Pieters qualifies their thinking as the search for "two separate, monolithic circuits that can be linked to one another on the basis of an unchanging referential one-to-one relationship". "Consequently", he says, "critics have to look for the existence of points of contact between the two circuits, either in terms of the *Zeitgeist*'s literary reflection, or alternatively, in terms of the social sources which an author has used in the production of his work. The detection of these points of contact is taken as the unmistakable proof of the central axiom that underlies the critical practice of Old Historicism; texts are grounded in their context, and their meaning is contained within it".<sup>40</sup> Therefore, in the eyes of Old Historicists, the safest way to interpret the *Oresteia* was to take the newly created order for a guaranteed solution, one single artistic intention dominating the whole conception of the trilogy (eventually in function of a marxist or feminist teleological construction of western history).<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Simon Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1986, Cambridge University Press, p. 40-1.

<sup>39</sup> Hellmut Flashar, *Antikes Drama auf der Bühne Europas*, in: *Gymnasium* 100, 1993, 3, p. 197.

<sup>40</sup> Jürgen Pieters, *Moments of Negotiation. The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt*, Amsterdam, 2001, Amsterdam University Press, p. 33.

<sup>41</sup> Simon Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1986, Cambridge University Press, pp. 50-56.

### 5. New Historicism

New Historicists consider themselves plain historical subjects, fully characterized by the specific place and moment they hold in history. In their opinion, the past cannot be disclosed and discovered in archives, but has to be made up in terms of a specific construct. As they say, literature is one of the many elements participating in a culture's representation of reality to itself and all the texts that share a given historical moment (a given "discursive formation", to borrow Foucault's term) take part in the social production of the image of the real, as it is collectively adapted by the society to which these texts belong. As Greenblatt puts it: "(T)he work of art is one of the places in which (a culture) gets shaped and transmitted and empowered and questioned as well as represented and expressed".<sup>42</sup>

As poststructuralism has been proclaiming over and over again, New Historicists probe into the distinction between literary and non-literary texts and challenge the stable difference between the fictive and the real, looking at discourse not as a transparent glass through which we glimpse reality, but as the creator of what Barthes has called the "reality-effect", which means that we should not remain blind to all the perplexities and the localized strategies in particular historical encounters. In contrast to the monological view of Old Historicism, New Historicists do not impose one schematic order or one orthodoxy on the historical real. Everything that fails to conform to this order and is likely to provoke some sociological resistance is not considered irrelevant or non-existent. Therefore, New Historicists do not refrain from analysing elements which disturb the apparent harmonising will of a work of art. In their opinion, every loose end that seems to upset a preconceived balance and threatens to interfere with a traditional view of high culture, deserves specific attention.

Aeschylus was anything but a monolithic author. His tragedies were among the many instances which shaped and transmitted Greek culture. His *Oresteia* was not simply an open window to contemporary society, but a vast excavation area where different construction blocks, styles and manners were fighting each other in order to create a certain effect of reality. Fifth-century Athens does not present itself in a specific and dominant sense; in numerous ways it was the battlefield between old and new, local and international, mythic and rational, permanent and dynamic... Over the last decades, several authors have started to study the ambiguities surrounding the notion of moral and social order (*dikè*). They have noticed how language, situated as it is within pragmatics, functioning in unreliable communicative situations, and using many rhetorical techniques, creates large zones of uncertainty and generates considerable fears and doubts. They have not failed to see how the

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<sup>42</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Introduction* (to Stephen Greenblatt) (Ed.), *Representing the English Renaissance*, London & Berkeley, 1988, University of California Press, p. VIII.

creation of exact meanings mostly escapes from a sure control and have illustrated how *dikè*, permeating the language of each and every character, kept on playing a very disturbing game. Therefore, tragedy, in their opinion, questions the self assurance which makes us believe that we hold the key notions of our human presence in our own hands, suggesting rather that the city's discourse and identity only exist in tentative ways. This latest form of criticism is thus convinced that, after the final scene of the *Oresteia*, many problems still remain, final solutions have not been reached. Instead, this criticism has identified a generalized irony aimed at expressing exactly the opposite of what has been said. Consider for instance the wholly ambiguous speeches pronounced by Clytemnestra. As Christopher Rocco has said: "Clytemnestra exploits (them) to create a discrepancy between what she says and what she means. She is adept at meaning both more and less than she says. Her purposeful deceit resides in her ability to dissociate what she means from what she says".<sup>43</sup> And what about the unmotivated departure of Apollo? In his analysis of Aeschylean techniques dating from his "Last Phase" C. J. Herington has said: "Instead of a proof of Apollo's ultimate healing and reconciling power (as which it was surely intended by its inventors) it has become, in the context of this play, a proof of Apollo's inefficacy"<sup>44</sup> But, of course, of all gods and goddesses present in Greek tragedy, it is Athena who plays the most ambiguous part in the whole of Athene's sexual economy. Both a virgin and a warrior, acting like a man and having no memory of a mother's womb, she disturbs all possible boundaries of social and sexual definition and achieves the manipulative use of language which already characterized Clytemnestra.

### Conclusion:

On the one hand, one must admit that the *Oresteia* displays a serious attempt at establishing the newly created democratic order, proving that the old social hierarchies do not function any more in an efficient way, but, on the other hand, it is also clear that the new political and social revision becomes transgressed from the very start. In order to become a firmly established series of rules and dictates, the democratic ideal, as expressed in this artistic creation, specifies from the beginning a number of new boundaries, but very soon realizes that the outcome can only be tentative, to be considered in terms of a mere ideal. Taming the shrew, in this case, the old Furies, through manipulation of language and a number of promises, reveal how imperfect the newly established peace between old and new still is.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Christopher Rocco, o. c., p. 148.

<sup>44</sup> C. J. Herington, *Aeschylus: The Last Phase*, in: Erich Segal (Ed.), *Greek Tragedy. Modern Essays in Criticism*, New York, 1983, Harper & Row, p. 127.

<sup>45</sup> Christopher Rocco, o. c., *Democracy and Discipline in Aeschylus's Oresteia*, pp. 136-170.

## 6. The democratic ideal and the tragic mask

But precisely this fundamental ambiguity and the ever incomplete nature of human knowledge have to be considered the main issues of Greek tragedy. As Charles Segal says about *Oedipus Rex*: "By utilizing a structure of opposing characters, protagonist and antagonist, tragedy focuses the myths more sharply on conflict, on opposing principles and definitions, on questions of individual choice and responsibility, on the clash between public and private good and between competitive and cooperative virtues, and on the problem of the man of exceptional greatness in an egalitarian ideology".<sup>46</sup>

And after all, is not that exactly the price that every non soteriological or ideological solution implies from the start? In every closed religious and political system the outcome is clear: you are thought to be a believer or a good citizen, because the system has established rules and regulations, most of the deviations and anomalies being sanctioned right from the start, that is detected and known in advance. The product of a growing awareness of a new political situation after Marathon and Salamis, and of a new anthropological way of aiming at *isonomia*, Athenian democracy clearly developed new rules both for voting and behaving and for delimiting personal and collective responsibility. As a new sociological reality, this view had to be delimited, elaborated and protected as accurately as possible, as a network and structure which could function independently from its inventors.

Athenian tragedy, as a heathen philosophical construction, develops a totally different kind of knowledge. As Barthes said, literature knows history only through "l'effet du réel", it does not function as a real window which gives us direct access to historical facts. This "secondary model" of the real (Lotman) departs from the real in order to create a secondary modelling vision. As one of those secondary constructions, tragedy chose the tragic feeling as the underlying philosophical and existential category for considering human nature, its limits and purpose. Tragedy deliberately undermines and distorts all human self-assurance and self-definition and explicitly questions political decision making, its only hero being Dionysus, patron of every transformation and metamorphosis, the supreme master of illusion and ambiguity. The *Oresteia* re-structures and de-structures at the same time, reverses and inverts social and sexual roles, opens up new political patterns and undermines them afterwards, calms down old mythic violence and envisages new

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Segal, *Oedipus Tyrannus. Tragic Heroism and the Limits of Knowledge*, NY, 1993, Twayne Publishers, p. 43.



trouble.<sup>47</sup> Let us not forget that after every *Oresteia* (458) comes an *Hecuba* (430-425), a moment where the old queen mother brutally takes revenge on Polymestor, the slayer of her son, and is told to turn into a she-dog afterwards, a bitch, with bloodshot eyes, an implacable avenger, a doglike creature closely associated with the Erinyes, the bloodhounds mentioned in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.<sup>48</sup>

Only recently, has Greek tragedy started to be studied from the perspective of the New Historicism, but from the very beginning it has shared its preoccupations with repressed, hidden and distanced feelings. Tragedy has never dealt with a complete reconciliation of desires and wishes as the expression of the harmonising will of high culture or religion; rather, it always dissociated, disrupted, resisted.

Studying the evolution of the *Democratic ideal as portrayed in ancient Greek drama and its relevance to today's world*, we have to realize that the only possible answers have to come from tragedy itself and its dominant tragic atmosphere. Tragedy cannot teach us how to become good citizens, its main concern being the tragic truth about human life. But maybe this is the most adequate strategy to explore important political notions like responsibility, autonomy and freedom: using the imagination of the classical past surely helps us to define and specify the ambiguities, exclusions and boundaries that a modern society has to confront.

Greek tragedy no longer reflects the values of a barbaric past; on the contrary, the West finally accepted that the tragic feeling belongs to the most central of its cultural intuitions. As a typically Western attempt at self-definition the tragic is extremely useful in stimulating its citizens to reflect about every possible ethical and political problem. In order to define the democratic ideal, it is really appropriate to pass through the tragic experience, or, put into other words, in order to become a good Western citizen, please first wear the mask of a tragic hero. Tragedy, as the literature of the impossible and the fragile, has the ability forever to measure our capacity to deal with dimensions that exceed us, with a game (called the game of life) where no rules and regulations are provided in advance. Therefore we can do no better service to democracy than study her from within the deepest depths of Greek tragedy, in the belief that the tragic feeling is a major form of education, one of the highest forms of art in the West.

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<sup>47</sup> Christopher Rocco, o. c., 146-147; cf. Ch. Segal, *Greek Tragedy and Society: A structural perspective*, in: id., *Interpreting Greek Tragedy: Myth, Poetry, Text*, Ithaca, 1986, Cornell University Press.

<sup>48</sup> Euripides, *Hecuba, Introduction, Text and Commentary*, by Justina Gregory, Atlanta, 1999; cf. Dorothea Gall, *Menschen, die zu Tieren werden: die Metamorphose in der Hekabe des Euripides*, in: *Hermes* 125, 1997, p. 396-412.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

**Tinatin Kauchtschischwili.** Korpus der griechischen Inschriften in Georgien, hrsg. v. L. Gordesiani, Zweite verarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, Logos, Tbilisi 2003, 419 S. (in georgischer Sprache).

Das Buch von Tinatin Kauchtschischwili ist zweite verarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage ihres dreibändigen Werkes, das 1999/2000 bei *Logos* erschienen ist. Der vorliegende Korpus wurde um sechs Inschriften erweitert.

Der Titel des Buches bezeichnet eine notwendige, wenn auch äusserst schwierige Aufgabe, die ganze Fülle der griechischen Inschriften in ihrer Vielfalt darzustellen. Die Verfasserin schildert und interpretiert alle griechische Inschriften, die in Georgien zu Tage gekommen sind. Es sind deren insgesamt 352, einschliesslich der komplexen Freskoinschriften.

Das Buch besteht aus dem Hauptteil (59-334), der Übersicht der griechischen Inschriften Georgiens in Georgisch (6-58) und Deutsch (335-366), dem Addenda (367-377) und der Indices (379-416).

Im Hauptteil werden griechische Inschriften Georgiens nach dem geographischen Prinzip behandelt. In jedem Abschnitt werden zuerst einzelne Inschriften graphisch dargestellt, dann wird ihre griechische Lesung vorgeschlagen, sowie die georgische Übersetzung gegeben. Der Beschreibugsteil wird vom Interpretationsteil gefolgt, wo Angaben über Entstehungszeit und -ort, Stoff und Stil, Grösse und Erhaltungszustand, sowie über vermeintliche Autoren bzw. Besteller oder Urheber eines inscribierten Gegenstandes gegeben werden.

Es wird auch versucht, die in den Inschriften genannten Personen zu identifizieren.

Als erstes werden Inschriften aus Abchasien dargestellt (59-79). Das sind Inschriften aus Candrifschi, Bitschwinta, Lichni, Achali Athoni, Museum von Suchumi.

Dem Abschnitt von Abchasien folgt die Abhandlung der Inschriften aus Svanetien (80-93). Dieser Abschnitt gilt den Inschriften aus Latali, Iena, Mu-

seum von Mestia, Kala, Iphari, Betscho, Tschumari, Inschriften aus der Literatur.

Im darauf folgenden Abschnitt sind die Inschriften aus Megrelien behandelt (94-134). Das sind die Inschriften aus Tsalenjicha, Kozcheri, Tsaischi, Chobi, Museum von Zugdidi, Museum von Photi, Sephieti, Martwili, Museum von Martwili, Nokalakewi.

Der Abschnitt über Gurien (135-140) behandelt die Inschriften aus Museum von Ozurgethi, Lichauri, Schemokmedi, Atschi und Dschumati.

Im weiteren werden Inschriften aus zwei Ortschaften in Adscharien (143) dargestellt: Museum von Batumi und Schaltha.

Der Teil über Imeretien (144-169) umfasst die Inschriften aus: Choni, Vani, Museum von Kutaisi, Gelati, Kazchi.

Der nächste Abschnitt gilt den Inschriften aus Ratscha, aus Nikorcinda (170ff). Auf der Seite 180 werden weitere Inschriften aus der Region Letchumi aus dem Dorf Nakuraleschi behandelt.

Auf den Seiten 183-193 folgen Abbildungen.

Der nächste Abschnitt ist der grösste und handelt von Inschriften aus Kartli (194 ff.). Es sind insgesamt 25 verschiedene Orte (Nabachtewi, Kinzwisi, Ateni, Bobnewi, Kabeni, Ikwi, Zinarechi, Saschori, Samtawisi, Zegwi, Zilkani, Dzalisa, Mzcheta, Zanavi, Timotesubani, Tiseli, Safara, Vardzia, Finezauri, Abulbugi, Fitareti, Lipi, Gudarechi, Ahtala, Tbilisi), wo zahlreiche griechische Inschriften gefunden wurden.

Der Abschnitt über Kachetien betrifft Inschriften aus Martkofi, Ninocinda, Muchrowani, Katsareti, Garedji, Wedjini, Schuamta, Museum von Telawi, Alawerdi, Alwani, Gremi und Nekresi (299 ff.).

*Ketewan Gurtschiani*

**N. Tonia, K. Nadareishvili.** Penelope. The Portraits of Women of the Ancient World, Logos, Tbilisi 2003, 424 pages (in Georgian).

The history of women's emancipation has been a subject of great interest for a long time. Numerous articles, books and collection of essays discussed and still continue to discuss this problem. A lot of international symposiums and conferences are dedicated to this topic as well. Archeological excavations beginning from the middle of the XIX century made clear, that mythical world of the ancient people was not the result of imagination alone. Furthermore they revealed, that in the II millennium B.C. and even earlier there existed the important and interesting civilizations in Mediterranean. Reality of the Aegean world, which clearly exposed the problem of women's social ac-

tivity became evident as well. The investigations made elicit, that ancient society inherited two types of attitude towards women: first, which to a certain extent admitted equal rights of the sexes and second, which tried to reduce women's rights in society. The ancient world, in many cases a distinguished one (namely it established its own model of interpretation – of things, events and human relationships – based on scientific principle), subordinated the question of women's emancipation to its chosen line of development.

The goal of the authors is to study the problem of women's emancipation in the ancient world. The ancient sources are abundant with the evidences concerning women. Although famous biographers (Plutarch, Suetonius and others) didn't write directly about women's lives, the material provided by Greek and Latin authors nevertheless gives opportunity to present interesting portraits of women living in the ancient world. The study makes clear the fact, that the ancient writers were especially interested in women, who were actively involved in public sphere, or were distinguished with their n creative skills. Therefore according to the thematic, the book is divided in several parts: first chapter of "Portraits" (author N. Tonia) deals with the outstanding poetesses of Greece and Rome (Sapho, Corina, Erina, Nosis, Anite, Moiro, Sulpicia), second chapter named "Women in the Public area" (author K. Nadareishvili) presents women's portraits, who participated in the political life of states (Olympias, Berenice, Sophonisba, Calpurnia, Fulvia, Livia, Octavia the Younger, Iulia the Elder, Agrippina the Elder, Messalina, Agrippina the Younger, Plotina, Sabina, Domiticia Lucilla, Faustina the Younger, Lucilla, Valeria, Zenobia, Helen, Fausta, Constantina, Gala Placidia, Honoria. The third part is about those women, who were lovers of the famous persons of the ancient world. The chapter titled "Women Being Loved" tells the stories of Aspasia, Arsinoe II, Cleopatra, Lesbia and Calpurnia (author N. Tonia).

It has to be noted, that alongside the fiction the monograph presents quite a detailed research about the issue of women's emancipation in the ancient world. The problem is discussed in the following chapters: "Women Problems from Minoan Period to Classical Era" (pp. 11-28, Author N. Tonia), "Women in Classical Epoch" (pp. 29-63, Author K. Nadareishvili), "Women in Hellenistic World and Rome" (pp. 65-83, Author N. Tonia). The monograph is provided with a large bibliography about women of the ancient world. The book is intended for scholars interested in this field, as well as for the large circle of readers.

*Maia Danelia*

## The Anthology of Modern Greek Novel, Logos, Tbilisi 2003, 366 pages (in Georgian).

Ancient Greek literature and culture are widely known in Georgia; however, the same is not true about modern Greek literature. The Anthology of Modern Greek Novel is the first attempt to translate Greek prose into Georgian language (until the present, only some of the Kazantzakis' works were known to Georgian readers).

The chief goal of the translators' team was to acquaint Georgian readers with the best samples of the Greek novel as well as to show the genre development process. For this purpose, the Anthology starts with the novels by the 19th century writers and includes the latest creations of the above mentioned genre.

The Anthology is introduced and commented by Sophie Shamanidi and Nino Dvalidze, the foreword belongs to Agori Grekou. The book includes 48 novels by 37 Greek writers. The novels were translated by the students and professors of the Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies: G. Venezis (translated by M. Eradze, E. Lortkipanidze), A. Papadiamantis (translated by M. Abulashvili), K. Khatzopoulos (translated by M. Kakashvili), D. Voutiras (translated by a. Udzilauri), S. Myrivilis (translated by N. Lukashvili), I. Skaribas (translated by M. Kakashvili), F. Kontoglou (translated by Kh. Moniava), I. Venezis (translated by L. Shekiladze), M. Axioti (translated by N. Kapitanidi), M. Karagatsis (translated by M. Metreveli), N.G. Pentzikis (translated by V. Mgeladze), S. Tsirkas (translated by K. Tsintsadze), T. Athanasiadis (translated by M. Kakashvili), D. Khadzis (translated by N. Dvalidze), S. Patatzis (translated by M. Kochlamazashvili), A. Samarakis (translated by T. Topuridze), G. Sarandi (translated by T. Gamrekelis), R. Apostolidis (translated by M. Bostoganashvili), E.Kh.Gonatas (translated by M. Mchedlishvili), K. Tsitseli (translated by Kh. Moniava), G. Ioannou (translated by S. Japaridze), K. Takhtsis (translated by A. Gogokhia), N. Kasdaglis (translated by E. Lortkipanidze), I. Papadimitrakopoulos (translated by M. Mchedlishvili), M. Khakas (translated by E. Lortkipanidze), T. Valtinos (translated by T. Cheishvili), Kh. Milionis (translated by K. Tsintsadze), K. Asimakopoulos (translated by N. Petriashvili), D. Nollas (translated by A. Chikovani), A. Sourounis (translated by M. Bostoganashvili), G. Skambardonis (translated by M. Mchedlishvili), V. Tsiambousis (translated by K. Tsintsadze), S. Dimitriou (translated by N. Tikadze), I. Kesaridis (translated by M. Kochlamazashvili), P. Tatsopoulos (translated by T. Gaprindashvili), S. Nikolaidou (translated by T. Topuridze), P. Kontoiannis (translated by N. Petriashvili). The Anthology also includes biographies of the writers.

**Rismag Gordesiani, Maia Danelia.** Einführung in die Klassische Philologie, Logos, Tbilisi 2004, 331 S. (in georgischer Sprache).

"Einführung in die Klassische Philologie" wird schon seit Jahren im Institut für klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Staatlichen Universität Tbilisi unterrichtet. Dieses Buch ist aufgrund der Vorlesungen für Studenten der Abteilung der Klassischen Philologie entstanden. Hier liegt der erste Versuch vor, in georgischer Sprache Klassische Philologie in ihrem weiten Sinne darzustellen. Beim Verfassen dieses Buches wurde umfangreiche neueste Fachliteratur berücksichtigt. Die umfassende wissenschaftliche Bibliographie, die am Ende jedes Kapitels vorhanden ist, ist nicht nur für Studenten und Fachleute dieser Abteilung geeignet, sondern auch für alle, die sich für die Antike interessieren.

Inhaltsübersicht: Das Vorwort am Anfang des Buches wird von elf Kapiteln gefolgt, die den Hauptteil bilden.

Erstes Kapitel, Definition des Faches Klassische Philologie und ihre Forschungsgeschichte, hat einen einführenden Charakter. Dann folgen Unterkapitel: Gegenstand der Klassischen Philologie. Philologie in der Antike. Byzanz und Mittelalter. Neuzeit (das letzte genannte enthält folgende Abschnitte: Periode des italienischen Humanismus und Renaissance. Französisch-niederländische Periode. Richard Bentley und seine Nachfolger d. h. "Englische" Periode. "Deutsche" Periode. Die neueste Periode. Klassische Philologie in Georgien). Am Ende dieses Kapitels steht ein Verzeichnis mit Angaben über meist bekannte Altertumswissenschaftler.

Zweites Kapitel gilt dem Thema Textkritik: Wie zitiert man antike Texte?

Drittes Kapitel: Die Kunst der schriftlichen Niederlegung. Dieses Kapitel umfasst folgende Unterkapitel: Schriftgeschichte. Ägäische Schriften. Griechische phonetische und lateinische Schriften. Schreibstoffmaterial und Edionskunst. Paläographie. Epigraphik. Papyrologie.

Viertes Kapitel: Klassische Sprachen. Dieses Kapitel hat zwei Unterkapitel: Griechische Sprache und ihre Dialekte. Lateinische Sprache.

Fünftes Kapitel: Antike Literatur. Im ersten Teil: Griechische Literatur, wird Literatur der folgenden Perioden behandelt: Periode der geometrischen Renaissance. Archaische Periode. Klassische Periode. Hellenistische Periode. Griechische Literatur der römischen Herrschaft d. h. der Kaiserzeit. Spätantike. Der zweite Teil: Römische Literatur, enthält die Darlegung der römischen Literatur in der: Epoche der Republik. Augusteische Epoche s. g. Goldene Epoche. Kaiserzeit. Spätantike. Das nächste Unterkapitel umfasst die griechisch-römische Metrik.

Sechstes Kapitel: Geschichte der antiken Welt. Hier wird die Geschichte der ägäischen Welt, Griechenlands (Hellenische Periode. Hellenistische Periode) und Roms (Epoche der Könige. Epoche der Republik. die Kaiserepoche) behandelt.

Siebtes Kapitel: Antike Kunst, besteht aus folgenden Unterkapiteln: Die ägäische Welt: (Minoische Kunst. Mykenische Kunst). Griechische Kunst: (Geometrische Periode. Archaische Epoche. Klassische Epoche. hellenistische Epoche). Römische Kunst.

Achtes Kapitel: Religion und Mythologie: Griechenland. Mythos und Religion. Rom.

Neuntes Kapitel: Philosophie und Wissenschaft: Griechische Philosophie. Römische Philosophie. Wissenschaft.

Zehntes Kapitel: Gesetzgebung und Recht.

Das letzte Kapitel: Verschiedene Aspekte der alltäglichen Lebensweise. Es enthält fünfzehn Unterkapitel: Bürgerschaft. Name. Familie. Erziehung und Bildung. Ehe und Hochzeit. Bestattung und Klage. Kriegskunst und Bewaffnung. Geld und Finanzen. Sklaverei. Veranstaltungen, Agone. Reise. Thermen und Bäder. Gastronomie, Speisen, Ernährung. Haartracht. Kleidung.

Letzter Teil des Buches stellt ein Verzeichnis der in alphabetischer Reihenfolge geordneten antiken Autoren und ihrer Werke dar (die meist bekannten Autoren und Werke sind mit Abkürzungen vorgestellt). Danach folgt eine Liste der ausgewählten wissenschaftlichen Periodik in Klassischer Philologie und der wichtigsten enzyklopädischen Literatur.

*Maia Danelia*