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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	3
Medea Abulashvili (Tbilisi) On Two Unusual Rituals	9
Nino Chikladze (Kutaisi) Euripides's Principles of Representing Contrariety in Medea's Character	16
Ann Chikovani (Tbilisi) The Interpretation of the Asia Minor Disaster in The Story of One Captive by Stratis Doukas	21
Irine Darchia (Tbilisi) Colour Perception in Plato's <i>Phaedo</i> and Democritus' Treatise <i>About Colours</i>	35
Freddy Decreus (Gand) Antiquité et temps modernes, ou les changements dans les conditions du savoir	39
Nino Dolidze (Tbilisi) Interpretation of the Concepts of ΦΥΣΙΣ and ΝΟΜΟΣ in Sophists' Teaching	66
Tedo Dundua (Tbilisi) The Tale of Two Sebastoses and the Orthodox Alliance. David the King of Georgia and Theodoros Gabras	71
Nino Dvalidze (Tbilisi) A Symbiosis of Antiquity and Modernity in <i>The Double Book</i> by Dimitris Khadzis	90
Iamze Gagua (Tbilisi) The Myth of Acteon and the Reason for Ovidius' Exile	97

Tea Gamrekeleli (Tbilisi) The Principle of Circular Arrangement of Elements in Konstantinos Cavafis' Poems	100
Tea Gaprindashvili (Tbilisi) The Problem of Alienation in <i>The Double Book</i> by D. Khadzis	112
Rismag Gordesiani (Tbilisi) Spätantike als Periode der Kulturgeschichte	120
Maka Kamushadze (Tbilisi) Image of Woman in Kariotakis' Works	131
Tinatin Kauchtschischwili (Tbilisi) Neuentdeckte Gegenstände mit griechischen Inschriften aus Mzcheta	136
Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi) Etruscans in <i>Aeneid</i>	143
Neli Makharadze (Tbilisi) The Arabisms of Greek-Georgian Transcriptional Manuscript from Lebanon	153
Medea Metreveli (Tbilisi) The Function of the Mythological Female Images in <i>The Big Chimaera</i> – a Novel by M. Karaghatsis	161
Tamar Mirianashvili (Tbilisi) A Concept of <i>New Song</i> in <i>The Exhortation to the Greeks</i> of Clemens of Alexandria	167
Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi) Women in the Law of Democratic Athens	175
Diether Roderich Reinsch (Berlin) Der Tod byzantinischer Kaiser in Historiographie und Sage	187
Rusudan Tsanova (Tbilisi) Marrying a King's Daughter	207
Zurab Vacheishvili (Tbilisi) For Cognition of God in <i>Asceticism</i> by N. Kazandzakis	214
Jürgen Werner (Berlin) “Ich bin als Griechin geboren ...”	222
Jürgen Werner (Berlin) Mein Jannis Ritsos	225

Contents	7
Friedmar Kühnert †	240
Otar Lordkipanidze †	243
Books in Georgian	246
Short Versions	246
Ekaterina Gamkrelidze. Der Lateinische Lehnwortschatz. Sprachliche Kontakte in Altitalien, Logos, Tbilissi 2002, 305 S.	246
Sophie Shamanidi. Classical Tradition in Modern Greek Poetry and George Seferis, Logos, Tbilisi 1999, 230 p.	261
Notices of Books	297
Rismag Gordesiani. Griechische Literatur. Bd. I, Epos, Lyrik, Drama der hellenischen Epoche, Tbilisi, Logos 2002, 568 S. (in georgischer Sprache) (<i>Maia Danelia</i>).	297
Rismag Gordesiani, Irine Darchia, Sofie Shamanidi. Altgriechisch und Neugriechisch (Vergleichende Grammatik), Tbilisi, Logos 2001, 260 S. (in georgischer Sprache) (<i>Maia Danelia</i>).	299

Medea Abulashvili (Tbilisi)

ON TWO UNUSUAL RITUALS

Happiness and sorrow, torture and consolation, hope and despair, life and death are companions in all epochs and centuries, in the history of a country or a life of an individual. None of the greatest creators and architects has interpreted this logical, consistent and inevitable coexistence the way it is reflected in folklore and ritual traditions. We should not exaggerate if we said that Greek folk songs acquire a peculiar place in this respect as they express the above mentioned coexistence in a double way, which is determined by two basic factors:

1. Their performance is evidenced throughout the long history of the Greek people and therefore, along with conveying the ages-old wisdom and experience, they imply convergence of mythology, history and contemporaneity.
2. Since they are directly related to ritual customs, they acquire a comprehensive character and are equally interesting to folklorists, ethnographers, anthropologists and literary critics.

Close links between folk songs and diverse rituals related to the human existence is a natural fact. However, Greek folk songs are particularly remarkable due to two facts mentioned below:

1. The bridal ritual incorporates mourning elements.
2. The funereal ritual includes ceremonies characteristic of a wedding.

Before considering each of the two cases separately, we should mention that the content, symbols, vocabulary, character and ritual functions of the two types of songs are so similar that it is difficult to discern the initial correspondence between the songs and the rituals – i.e. whether the songs were initially composed for funerals or a wedding. Scholars also admit that some

purely bridal lyrics were later pertained to or transformed into the ritual of mourning.¹

Elements of Mourning in the Bridal Ritual

Mournful content of many of bridal songs would not appear strange if the latter were performed at the wedding arranged regardless of the couple's desire and consent, or if the couple suddenly met an accident. However, the songs are free from such a content, while their number gives no grounds for pertaining them to a specific case.

It would be in the least surprising if love songs included tragic tones and lamentations caused by love-related suffering. However, Greek love songs are very cheerful and merry. Against such a background, the mournful character of a big number of bridal songs is rather unexpected, the more so as they usually follow the songs to be performed during the eight day preparations to the wedding – the songs that are full of joy, blessings and hopes.

In the course of the long history, the bridal songs have acquired the earnestness and respectfulness, hopefulness and gaiety – the properties of the Greek bridal ceremony. Every song illustrates the people's respect for each mystical element of this significant event. The songs likewise convey happiness and diligence on the part of the couple's relatives and friends throughout the long preparatory ceremony preceding the wedding. The universal cheerfulness and excitement, buoyant and merry tunes and lyrics suddenly give place to a heavy and grave melody and the content full of despair and sorrow. Nature, environment and home are pictured the way as in funereal songs:

Σήμερ μαύρος ουρανός, σήμερ μαύρη μέρα

.....
Φεύγεις κι ο ουρανός βρόντα και η γης ούλη ταράσσει
κι ο τόπος όπου καθόσουν κλαίει και ανασεδιάζει²

Οι καρδιές λυγίζουν, τα μάτια όλων βούρκαναν³

An ordinary reader would find it difficult to guess that the lyrics pertain to the group of bridal songs. Many of them even exceed the usual mourning songs by their grievous character. According to G. Saunier, by their vocabulary, they resemble *The Lamentations of the Virgin* and *The Mourning over Dygaenis*.

¹ Saunier G., Ο γάμος και ο θάνατος. Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια, Αθήνα, 2001, 503.

² βλαστός Π., Ο γάμος εν Κρήτη, Αθήνα, 1853, 74.

³ Παπάς Ι.Α., Με αφορμή τα δημοτικά μας τραγούδια, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2001, 275.

In some songs, the bride mourns and invites death the same way as a sister grieves over her dead brother in funeral songs:

Και γω να μείνω και ας χαθώ
ας μείνω και ας πεθάνω⁴

Moreover, the bride leaves a will to her mother asking her to water her flowers with dew in the evening and with tears in the morning:

Μάνα μου τα λουλούδια μου
συχνά να τα ποτίζεις
το βράδυ βράδυ με δροσιά
και το πρωί με δάκρυα⁵

The mother mourns as well and promises to never smile again:

μισευγείς θυγατέρα μου και
πλιό δε θα γελάσω⁶

Similar to the funeral songs, the bridal lyrics also have the bride asking her mother to keep away from a "stranger" (ξένος – "a stranger", "a foreigner"), who wishes to kidnap her daughter:

Τους ξένους μην τους μπάζεις
και μης τους κουβεντιάζεις⁷

τους ξένους μην τους δέχεσαι,
τραπέζι μην τους κάνεις⁸

Remarkably, in bridal lyrics, a "stranger" refers to the bridegroom, while in funeral songs the word is applied to Death, Charon.

Κρύψε με μάνα, κρύψε με να μην με πάρει ο Χάρος⁹

Presumably, the old, initial version of the above song belonged to the bridal songs group and sounded as follows:

Κρύψε εμένα, κρύψε με ο ξένος μη με πάρει¹⁰

⁴ Saunier G. Η κρίση του γάμου.Θρήνος και τελετουργία. Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια, Αθήνα, 2001, 413.

⁵ Πετρόπουλος Δ. (ed.), Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια, τομ.Β, Αθήνα, 119, 1'.

⁶ Βλάστος Π., 75.

⁷ Saunier G., Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια, Τα μοιρολόγια, Αθήνα, 1999, 427.

⁸ Op. cit., 427.

⁹ Saunier G., 2001, 503.

¹⁰ Πετρόπουλος Δ., 117.

It would take us long to consider common symbolic images of wedding and funereal songs (e.g. killed or kidnapped hind). Our immediate concern is to trace down the reason which determined inclusion of such grievous songs in the bridal ceremony – the songs which are so mournful that some of them were later performed only at funerals. We can easily find an answer if we consider the phase of the ceremony, when the songs are performed.

Parcels of the bride's dowry are all packed during several days of preparation and are already taken to the bridegroom's house. Close relatives of the bride are in the yard, while the bride herself is waiting by a white horse, which is to take her from her father's home. The young lady is not only leaving her habitual, native environment, but is starting a new life, which does not prove easy. (Here we should also bear in mind that the songs were composed in the epoch when marriages were arranged in accordance with fathers' will irrespective of their daughters' opinion, which was common in Greece.) The sorrow is mutual – the bride was parting from her home and parents are letting a strange man to take their daughter. Everyone and everything is petrified at the moment:

Στέκουν τα άλογα στρωμένα
 στέκει η νύφη αρματωμένη
 Στέκονται κι'οι συμπεθερεί
 στο κοντάκι ακουμπισμένοι
 Να κινήσει δε κινάει
 να καθήσει δε καθέται
 δεν μπορεί ν'αποχωρήσει
 απο μάννα και πατέρα¹¹

The bride awaits encouragement from her parents, her father in particular, to help her decide to leave or force her to do so. This is the moment when the bride performs a purely funereal song:

Φεύγω κλαίοντας
 φεύγω παραπονιώντας¹²

The above is followed by mother's responsive part. Usually, in Greek ceremonies, mothers are allowed to a greater extent to express their emotions. It is difficult to make out by her words whether she is seeing off her daughter – the bride, or is mourning over her dead child:

Άνοιξαν οι εφτά ουρανοί, τα δώδεκα
 βαγγέλια

¹¹ Saunier G., 2001, 412.

¹² Παππάς I.A., 275.

και πήραν το παιδάκι μου από τα δύο μου χέρια

.....
 μισευγείς θυγατέρα μου και πλίο δε θα γελάσω.¹³
 Φεύγεις κι ο ουρανός βροντά κι η γης ουλή τεράσσει
 κι ο τόπος όπου κάθουσουν κλείει κι αναστενάζει¹⁴

Mournful character dominates among the songs performed at the moment when the bride parts from her father's home, while the post-bridal ceremony lacks grievous tones. This can be explained in the following way: the mourning bears a symbolic and ritual sense and allows the bride to "give herself airs" and "look effected" for a while. Her parents emphasize that they are losing and the bridegroom is acquiring their treasure in the person of their daughter. Another reason which puts an end to lamentations is the fact that the bride enters the bridegroom's family from that moment and at once assumes a new role. Correspondingly, the rituals emphasize the significance of marriage and responsibilities of the couple as well as of their close relatives and friends.

Mourning over the bride's departure is an intrinsic part of the ritual lyrics, while no such songs are performed by the bridegroom and his household. This may be explained by the fact that a traditional Greek family does not part with their son after his marriage, as the latter either stays in his father's family, or settles nearby.

Mournful lyrics become less and less characteristic of the bridal songs of later period as the bride's lot is much eased and her opinion upon her own marriage is considered. Consequently, the funereal mystery gradually loses its emotional component, which results in the transfer of bridal lamentations to the ceremonies of funeral and parting.

Investigation of evidence of mourning elements in other peoples' bridal rituals lies beyond our immediate goal. At the present stage, we may only assert that unlike Georgian tradition, the above mentioned phenomenon exists in the Hellenic world, and is present in the Greek bridal folk songs.

The Bridal Ceremony at the Funereal Ritual

The opposite phenomenon, the bridal ceremony at funerals does not pertain to the Greek world alone. However, according to the sources at our disposal, other peoples' folklore has preserved fewer materials in this regard, while Greek sources convey rich and invaluable information about this con-

¹³ Πετρόπουλος Δ., 118

¹⁴ Βλάτσοις Π., 74

troversial phenomenon. Among the bridal lyrics performed at funerals two types are distinguished:

1. Songs composed specially for the ritual.
2. Songs that transferred from the bridal ritual to funerals.

In parallel cases, type 2 songs were only slightly altered. The less significant is the difference, the more tragic is the mourning emotion. In such cases, people usually perform the bridal songs that express the tragedy of parting and fear of the "stranger", as mentioned above.

Numerous funereal songs picture a situation typical of a wedding. Only, the symbol of a bride, whom a youth is going to marry, refers to the earth. Here we usually come across the following epithets:

νύφη πικρή νύφη κακή
μαύρη γης νυφούλα¹⁵

As commonly acknowledged, the Greek mystery of mythical marriage was related to the early death of young men who went to the nether land unmarried. Remarkably, if a betrothed young man or girl died, the imitation of the bridal ceremony was performed at the funerals. (Some songs say that Charon takes away the bridegroom and leaves the bride. In other cases the mourners lament that bridal crown and one candle are left lonely.)

Φέρνουν το στέφανο μόνο και τη λαμπάδα μία³

Often, mourners remark that the wedding lacks gayety and laughter:

Στον Άδη και στην μαύρη γη
δεν είναι γλέντια και χοροί¹⁶

The above makes it clear that the songs considered were composed specifically for funereal rituals, like the lyrics which say that the wedding will take place in Hades.

Στον ουρανό χορεύουνε
στον Άδη γάμο κάνουν
Ο χάρος κάνει μια χαρά
παντρεύει τον ιγιό του¹⁷

¹⁵ Saunier G., 1999, 288

¹⁶ Op.cit. 289

¹⁷ Op.cit. 290

According to the songs in this category, people are invited to the wedding party either by Charon, or a widow, or any of the dead person's parent. This occurs when the latter is also dead and welcomes his/ her child in the nether land.

Most surprising are the songs in which Charon or the deceased speaks in the first person. This undoubtedly indicates that the mourners used to play the part of Charon or the deceased, which aimed at overcoming fear of death and the dead.

The ritual, which was compulsory to perform, evidently, helped the mourners express their grief in all its intensity, assert existence of the nether world and eased their sorrow.

The unique rituals considered above vividly picture links between death and marriage. The funereal mystery at the bridal ceremony and elements of bridal ritual at funerals are the phenomena which will always attract scholars' particular interest.

Nino Chikladze (Kutaisi)

EURIPIDES' PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTING CONTRARIETY IN MEDEA'S CHARACTER

Underlined contrariety of Medea's character in the tragedy of Euripides has caused considerable interest among scholars. The most typical and popular example is the scene where Medea kills her children. In this scene Euripides reveals the opposition in the protagonist – a loving mother / an unmerciful avenger.

It is considered that in the tragedy two opposite beginnings – emotion and rationality are contrasted with each other and are personified by Medea and Jason.¹ It's also noted that the opposition is a defining factor of the action of this drama. It's emerged on different levels: a man and a woman, heroic – archaic and enlightening – new thinking, barbarity and Hellenism, Eros (feeling) and Sophia (thinking, wisdom).² Medea personifies the first member of the opposition Mowerer, I think that the contrast between emotion and sharp reason (which can be stimulated by emotion) is emphasized in Medea's character as well.

The contrast in Medea's character is one of the most important properties of Euripides' heroine. It conforms to the natural principle and the whole tragedy. The circumstance that at the beginning of the tragedy Medea, horrified by his husband's betrayal at the end of the tragedy is transformed into a person who is elevated above earthy deeds and empty of emotions, takes her vengeance and in fact, devastates Jason's rationalism, is clear-cut exposure of this contrast.

¹ For the interpretation of Euripide' *Medea* cf. A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1971³, 301 ff.

² Nickel R. *Lexikon der Antiken Literatur*, Düsseldorf, Zürich 1999, 551 ff.

Analysis of the drama shows that in Medea's character two spiritual conditions constantly succeed each other: emotional state and illusory tranquility.

Euripides achieves the effect by using incessant scenes, where the protagonist gives proof of her ability to make analytic decisions after outburst of strong emotions.³

From this point of view it's possible to distinguish three pairs of scenes, which essentially create the basis of the play. The first pair includes 96-357 lines and consists of the following scenes: 1. Medea's reaction on learning her husband's betrayal. 2. Medea's meeting with Creon. In the first scene Medea's sharp reaction is shown her words before her appearing on the stage draws our attention: "O hopes I! O miseries heaped on mine head! Ah me! would God I were dead!"(96-7). Insulted by her husband's betrayal, Medea is unable to control her feelings. She sobs and begs immortal god to take mercy and curse her husband, his bride and the whole court. She even doesn't spare herself. The whole extract can be called Medea's lamentation. It manifests that Medea prefers death to such a bad luck.

After appearing on the stage, the protagonist gradually begins to realize an inconsolable lot of wife and woman generally. It is demonstrated by Medea's well-known words addressed to Corinthian women in order to gain their disposition as she realized that she had sacrificed her life to the man who turned out to be the worst among the men. Medea generalizes her life. She tries to show to the Corinthian women that a woman is the poorest and feeblest creature in the world because of a despotic and cruel husband. Women are not even allowed to divorce such husbands and have to conform to new customs, habits, alien atmosphere and keep their eyes on their cruel husbands. They find death preferable to living under such conditions. If a woman is in her motherland, she is supported by her friends and so she is protected. But if she is lonely, without any relatives, has no sanctuary and is outraged by her husband, her lot is very hard. Women quail at every peril, faint-hearted to face the fray and look on steel, but when in wedlock – rights she suffers wrong, no spirit more bloodthirsty shall be found (213-66).

The first seeds of vengeance are planted in Medea's lamentation and then in her speech to Corinthian women about her own tragedy. But her striving to change the existing situation is an emotional yell and is not sensible.

After Medea's analysis of the lack of woman's rights and the inequality with man, she received sympathy from Corinthian woman and their permission on getting vengeance for adultery and humiliation of dignity that resulted from it.

³ See also J. Latacz, *Einführung in die griechische Tragödie*, Göttingen 1993, 280 ff.

In the scene of Medea's meeting with Creon, Medea judges more sensibly rather than emotionally. Creon doesn't intend to compromise Medea. He demands firmly that she should leave with her children immediately. "Homeward go into again, ere from the land's bounds I hare cast thee forth" (271-6).

Medea's whole conversation with Creon includes several points: 1. To make Creon feel sorry for her 2. To give convincing reasons why she can not leave the town at once, which is followed by 3. Her request to permit her to stay only one more day in the town. In this scene Medea contrasts her own rationalism to Creon's strict, but emotional sentence. It's apparent, when she accepts Creon's demands and finds some arguments by which she makes Creon change his demand and let her stay in the town one more day. These arguments were: "Of some my wisdom with my jealousy, lest I work thee harm. Not such am I – dread not me that against princes I should dare transgress. How hast wronged me? Thou hast given thy child to whom so pleads thee. But I hate my husband; So doubtless, this in prudence hast thou done. I grudge not thy prosperity. . . Suffer me yet to farry this one dye, and somewhat for our exile to take thought, and find my babies a refuge, since their sire cares naught to make provision for his sons. Compassionate these – father too art thou of children" (277-89).

At the end of the scene after Creon's exit Medea throws off the mask of a "submissive" and "poor" woman and shows that everything she had told Creon had been planned beforehand by her reason to achieve her aim. Her words demonstrate her attitude: "To such height of folly hath he come, that, when he might forestall mine every plot. By banishment this dye of grace he grants me to stay, wherein three foes will I lay Dead the father, and the daughter, and mine husband" (365-70).

The next stage in the graduation of the contrast in Medea's character is represented by the following pair of scenes – Jason and Medea's two meetings. It is noteworthy that at their first meeting Jason is self-confident. His sophistic arguments make Medea lose her temper. Jason's arguments are based on sophistry and can be formed in this way: Medea could have lived a peaceful life if she had obeyed the king. Her infuriation is hard to understand. The most important thing for parents is their children's happiness. By means of marrying the King's daughter Jason can achieve the status which would guarantee their son's good luck. From this point of view Jason is right when he is going to leave Medea and marry the King's daughter, and she should have been satisfied with her husband's decision (449-64).

Medea reacts sharply, emotionally without self-control to Jason's arguments pronounced quietly. Medea tries to explain to Jason why she is different from ordinary, mortal people: she strictly punishes all who attempts to disguise injustice by eloquence and tries to justify his unmerciful betrayal by

speaking eloquently, who represents villainy as deliberate kindness (579-87). In fact Medea opposes bitterly not only Jason but sophistry as well. Threat is obvious here but it's emotional again: "Away! – impatience for the bride new – trapped consumes thee loitering from her bower afar! Wed: for perchance – and God shall speed the word – thine shall be bridal thou wouldst Fain renounce" (623-6).

The next meeting with Jason is preceded by a short interlude – the scene with Egeus (663-755). It's function is to make Medea acknowledge once more what a son means for will do, she can find a shelter as on her own initiative and rationally as it was in plan how to take vengeance. This makes the contrast between what she thinks and what she says more obvious. In this case, Medea uses the instrument which was used by Jason in the preceding scene. She tries to persuade her husband to accept to play the role of the woman who regained consciousness due to Jason's eloquence. She copes with it so skillfully that Medea manages to convince Jason by his own arguments that she obeys her lot and admits: she can not be against her well-wishers who take care of her children. They need to be taken care of, as she has neither motherland nor devoted friends. Medea should have supported Jason to get merry again (869-905).

Culmination of the tragedy lies in the next pair of scenes – from appearance of a messenger till the murder of the children and the final scene in which Medea is already empty of emotions and elevated above the earthly being existence.

The first scene (1120-250) is full of protagonist's emotions caused by the messenger's description of a terrible fact which happened in Creon's castle. This is followed by Medea's joyous emotions and then by her rage that resulted in her killing of her own children, which is the best example of a person overwhelmed with two opposite emotions. On the one hand the author shows sufferings of a mother who is worried about her children's fate and emotions of an insulted woman who demands her husband's punishment. The former's arguments are: "What need to wring their father's heart with ills of these, to gain myself ills twice so many?" (1047-7). The latter's arguments are: "Would I earn derision, letting my foes slip from mine hand unpunished?" (1048-50). In the scene Medea is filled with rage. She is out of mind with passions. This passions makes her forget her own children's love. She loves and she slaughters. An emotional strife goes on. Medea is guilty – she murdered children, but she is a winner at the same time – she enjoys making Jason unhappy. Medea beholds the misfortune of her rivals and thus she compensates for her own tragedy.

Medea is again without emotions in the final scene (1246-419), but it is accompanied here by apotheosis. In this scene Medea and Jason change their

roles: Jason's wit and eloquence are converted into spontaneous emotional outbursts. And horrified, furious Medea is transformed into an elevated person who contrasts her rationalism and nihilism with Jason's subbing. At the beginning of the scene Jason appears with his aggressive emotionalism. He is seeking for his bride's murderer who will not avoid punishment even if she creeps into the hall or fly up in the sky with her sorcery. Jason expresses his fear that bloodletting Corinthian would take revenge on the children (1294-1305). But Medea leaves no hope for him – she murdered his own children with her own hands. Jason's emotionalism is like lamentations. He curses his bad luck and the day when his children were born (1405-14). As for Medea, she celebrates, especially in the second half of the final scene, where she is standing on the coach with her dead children. In spite of it, she is happy as she took vengeance on her husband, his bride, the king and the whole society who are unable tell the truth from the false.

The above brief consideration aims to maintain the following idea: some scholars' speculations that Jason and Creon personify rationalism and Medea – emotionalism requires certain corrections. Rationalism plays a very significant role in Medea's actions. Some scholars qualify her rationalism as "a cleverly planned action".⁴ Moreover, as we have seen, Medea's character is emotionally involved as well.

⁴ J. Latacz, 106.

Ann Chikovani (Tbilisi)

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ASIA MINOR DISASTER IN THE STORY OF ONE CAPTIVE BY STRATIS DOUKAS

The fatal peculiarity of the Asia Minor Disaster and other tragedies developed on ethnic and religious grounds in general consists in both sides claiming rightfulness of their own positions and believing themselves to be the defenders of justice. The opposite sides usually blame each other in the conflict and consider each other worthy of punishment. More often such a disposition of the confronting nations deepens the abyss of conflict and intensifies strife. This is best demonstrated in the XX century historical events in Greece, namely the Asia Minor Disaster. The present paper attempts to consider its literary version as presented in a work by a XX century Greek writer. The mentioned event may find its reflection in fiction through several approaches:

1. Ultrapatriotic approach – when a writer regards the opposite side as guilty and negative.
2. The other extremity – when a writer justifies the opposite side, i.e. when a Greek writer blames solely the Greek side and vice versa.
3. A realistic approach – when both sides are equally blamed for inspiring the conflict.

Literary works by Greek writers are especially interesting in this respect. We shall dwell on *The Story of One Captive* by Stratis Doukas. To our mind, the author is very realistic in his appreciation of the Asia Minor Disaster and the subsequent events.

We shall attempt to reveal the tendencies and the literary approach which the author applies to picture the historical cataclysms. We are also interested in the dialogue of cultures and elements of mutual understanding between the

Greek and Turkish sides, which is relevant nowadays as well.¹ The question acquires even more significance against the background of intensifying confrontation and increasing number of conflicts in the world.

The first part of the story presents a more rapid development of events as compared to the second part, as Doukas did not record the event from its very beginning; he rebuilt the first half of the story after a narrative. The second part gives a detailed story of the hero based on the writer's own records. Doukas started recording the story after it attracted his interest.

The first part of the work describes transportation of war captives from one settlement to another and pictures the hardship that accompanied the process. The captives were not locked up at night and the protagonist managed to escape together with a friend. Here starts the second half of the story richer in details and tension. For several months the fugitives took a shelter in a cave and used to break into neighboring mills to get some food. At last, tortured with hunger, they decided to go apart, disguise as Turks and wait for a suitable time to escape. So the protagonist dressed in Turkish clothes headed for nearby villages to find a job. He started to work as a shepherd for a well-to-do and kind-hearted Turkish master Khadzimemed. However, when the latter made up his mind to marry him to his niece, the disguised Greek fugitive decided to leave the place at once pretending to be going to visit his sister whom he had not seen for two years and promising to return soon. The master helped him get an identity card, which he said to have lost under the Greek domination. So the Greek fugitive boarded an Arabian ship bound for Constantinople. The ship harbored near Lesbos Island on its way. The disguised Greek revealed his true identity to the captain and disembarked on the island thus rescuing himself.

On reading the story, one is under no impression of the author's bias to any of the conflicting sides, neither does the writer seem to present the opposition of positive and negative sides. The impression is that he is distanced from the historical events.

¹ According to Angela Kastρινakis' article *1922 and Literary Reconsiderations*, literary works that deal with the Asia Minor Disaster, including *The Story of One Captive* by Stratis Doukas, reveal the following tendency: Along with every new edition, the images of Greek characters appear more and more free from the barbarian features, while Turkish images get richer in kindness and consideration. Here we should add that to our mind, despite the mentioned conception, the images and events described in the literary work of our present concern are rendered either "darkened" or "light". Anyway, it is beyond any doubt that even its first versions demonstrate humane relations between Turks and Greeks. (Αγγέλα Καστρινάκη, «Το 1922 και οι λογοτεχνικές αναθεωρήσεις» Πρακτικά του Α' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Βερολίνο, 2-4 Οκτωβρίου, 1998. *Ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση. (1453-1961)*, Εκδόσεις Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 165-174.)

Considering Doukas' story with respect to the Asia Minor Disaster we may distinguish several levels of composition. They serve to describe events significant and painful to the entire Greek people and reveal the author's attitude to them.

We may assert that the author's own interpretation maintains the balance between the positive and negative functions of Greeks and Turks at all levels. To illustrate the above, we have distinguished the following levels:

1. The level of characters
2. The level of events
3. The level of appreciations
4. The level implying the author's opinion (this level is presented in a more subtle way, in the Epilogue only)

Now allow us consider each level separately.

I. The level of characters. Taking into account its volume (68 pages), the story abounds in characters, who appear in the story one after another like in a kaleidoscope. The protagonist is constantly in motion: in the first part, he is being transported to another settlement together with other captives. While on the way, he constantly meets and parts from various peoples. The same occurs in the second part – while seeking a job, the protagonist disguised as a Turk meets and parts from various peoples. The picture changes when the fugitive captive starts working as a shepherd for a Turk called Khadzimemed and settles in one place.

Besides the main hero there are two other characters, who frequently appear in the story. They are the protagonist's friend, the other fugitive (whose name is not mentioned) and Khadzimemed, the Turkish master. There are other characters as well who appear in a few episodes only. They are the protagonist's brother (in the beginning of the story), also a khoja (who at first denied water to captives, but a week later lavishly gave away bread and water) and Khasan (another shepherd working for Khadzimemed together with the protagonist).

Along with the above mentioned, there are typically episodic characters as well, however, it would take us long to mention them all.

A remarkable tendency is distinguished in the story: the author avoids using proper names. Only 9 characters are mentioned by name. The protagonist's name is given only at the end of the basic part of the story – through the author's words: "When he (the protagonist) finished the story, I said to him: put down your signature, and he wrote down: Nickolas Kozakoglou". And before that, on page 40, we find out that when disguised as a Turk, the protagonist called himself a Turkish name Bekhtez.

At the level of characters *The Story of One Captive* presents the following picture of ethnicity: characters are chiefly Greeks and Turks (main characters)

while in episodes appear French sailors (who were amused at the misery of captured Greeks, at whom Turks were throwing glasses, tables, chairs), Armenians, Jews and an English captain.

The story reveals the following tendency as concerns proper names: names of Jews, Armenians, Frenchmen and the English are not mentioned at all. Greek characters are rarely introduced by name. The story does not give the names of the protagonist's brother and friend. Even his own real name becomes known only at the end of the story when he put down his signature. Another character mentioned by name is the owner of a hotel on Lesbos Island. He happened to come from the same country as the protagonist and testified before the jailer to the Greek fugitive's true origin. Among the rest of the mentioned names are the Turkish name of the protagonist and those of other characters chiefly Turks. It is also remarkable that if the writer avoids mentioning proper names, he scrupulously gives all toponymies where the main character happened to pass or stay.

Ethical and moral properties of the characters are described in detail below where the level appreciations is considered. Here we shall confine ourselves to the statement that the protagonist was honest to the end towards his master save that he concealed his true identity and introduced himself as a Turk. Throughout his service for Khadzimemed, Nickolas perfectly performed his duty. He did his job with affection and the master's Turkish nationality not in the least compelled him to harm or deceive him. Nickolas always described Khadzimemed as a person of positive qualities. The only unpleasant emotion that gripped him in his regard to the Turkish master was fear which accompanied him throughout the adventure. However if he never tricked Khadzimemed (save his secret identity), while boarding a ship to Constantinople, he pretended to be a poor and miserable person with a very little money who was afraid of being left off board and wasting all he possessed, although the story makes it clear that he used to earn quite a decent amount of money.

Another remarkable point to mention is the fact that the basic part of the story almost lacks descriptions of appearance. The only instance of a physical portrait is given in the prologue – that of the main hero Nickolas. He is described as a "middle sized, broad-shouldered, blond, blue-eyed ... a modest resident of the East, who sits in a corner and never speaks ...".² The author says nothing about the other characters' appearances save the protagonist's remark upon seeing Khadzimemed: "By midday I saw Khadzimemed riding

² Δούκας Σπράτης. *Ιστορία ενός Αιχμαλώτου*, εκδόσεις Κέδρος, 2002, 65-66.

his horse in solitude. By the way he sat in the saddle I understood he was a rich man".³

The protagonist's words about Khadzimemed come into contrast with his description of the latter's kindness, taking in view the common belief that a Greek captive is most likely to feel hatred towards a Turkish master, especially if the latter is well-to-do. The protagonist's only negative emotion, as stated above, was his fear of revealing his nationality, and if we dwell our attention on the emotions of the characters, the fair will appear the first thing to mention as it runs throughout the whole story. The protagonist was constantly tortured by doubts whether his documents were all in order or not. "Why do not you trust me?" worried Khadzimemed asked him. "I am known and respected in whole Thyra, and now you go and will never return".⁴ Khadzimemed felt he would never see his shepherd again. Anyway he wished him good luck and deeply appreciated the shepherd's attitude to him. It seems that the Turk was either aware or suspected the shepherd's Greek origin, but made no comments in this regard. However, this may be just a reader's impression.

At the level of characters it is reasonable to consider the characters' religious belief or their attitude to religion, as along with ethnic difference, the Asia Minor Disaster and conflict between Greeks and Turks in the region was also motivated by religious differences.

Doukas' work does not give a one-sided, biased appreciation of any religion, and though in the story Turks call Greeks "guyours" i.e. infidels, which appears synonymous to "enemies", religious creed does not determine positive and negative properties of the characters. Even at the religious level, confrontation between Christians and Muslims is always balanced. There is no evidence of religious fanaticism. Greek captives asked Turkish warders for some water for the sake of Allah, as they knew Allah was the Turkish god and the act by no means made the Greeks feel disgraced. To our mind, the following episode is very interesting in this regard. When the former captives broke into a mill, they came across a dozen of candles in a niche and took them along with some food. The fact once again emphasizes unity between Greeks and Turks, Christians and Muslims of the region. Mutual tolerance to each other's customs, religions and shrines was fostered throughout ages of common life. But for this, how could Christian candles appear in a Muslim's mill? Likewise remarkable is that the protagonist was not in the list surprised at finding the candles in the mill; he mentioned it as a mere fact. This reveals the

³ Ibid. 39.

⁴ Ibid. 53.

extent to which the two religions and nations were close to each other in Asia Minor, the region, which linked Asia to Europe. On the approach of a Muslim holiday, the fugitive Greek noticed that Muslims shaved their whole bodies. He also observed the tradition and shaved his chest. Here are his words: "My Lord forgive me, I said, and tears filled my eyes. This year all would fast to have guyaurs gone".⁵

The episode implies that although the main character observed a non-Christian rite reluctantly, at that moment his survival was more important to him than his religious creed, and he acted accordingly without much hesitation. Nickolas was a Christian; however he found no way out of a difficult situation in Christianity. Once, as the two fugitives were wandering around and robbing mills, they came across a church. The protagonist tells: "We went in to kneel down and pray for the revelation of some saint to open our hearts to. We saw nothing, just blank walls and boards. We returned to our night shelter burdened with thoughts."⁶ The narration does not imply a negative attitude to the Muslim religion. Nickolas and Khasan, the other shepherd, went to Thyra to celebrate Bairam. Here is how Nickolas described the celebration: "All around was nicely decorated. In front of the commander's office a light breeze was waving flags. Coffeehouses were full of small drums and zurnas. Their sound made my hair stand on end. I remembered our grand holidays and tears filled my eyes. Their cheerfulness and my sorrow mixed together. I lost carriage ...".⁷ The Muslim holiday did not irritate the fugitive; it only reminded him of his own native holidays full of joy and happiness cast in no remote a past. The episode is free of negative emotions on the part of the protagonist.

II. Level of events. This level is marked with the following tendency: confrontation between Greeks and Turks is presented not as a bloody strife of two fighting nations, but as reflected in human relations where confrontation, mutual appeal, negative and positive attitudes change one another. This way, unbiased approach is maintained throughout the whole story.

Remarkably, at the very beginning of the story, Doukas describes a scene in which a Turkish secretary attempts to help Greek captives. After the fall of Smyrna, Nickolas was captured together with others. Night warders started beating the captives. They chose several Greeks and took them away to shoot them loudly swearing at the men. Panic fell among the rest of the captives. A Turkish secretary whose table stood near the cell heard their lamentations,

⁵ Ibid. 46.

⁶ Ibid. 27.

⁷ Ibid. 48.

pitied them and advised to keep deep inside the cell when the warders would return. He also asked the captives to keep his advice in secret.⁸

The episode is among the first scenes in the story and marks it with the idea of mutual understanding and reconciliation. Events develop further and the following episode pictures the misery of thirsty captives.

Greek captives were not given water unless they paid for it. According to the story, Turks were merciful to the captives if the latter paid or otherwise deserved their warders' sympathy. This fact maintains balance between the positive and negative functions of Greeks and Turks. Interestingly, a character who showed a negative attitude toward the representative of the opposite side in one episode later may reveal a positive disposition. In the first part of the story, on seeing misery of thirsty Greek captives, the khoja said with satisfaction: "This is what I wish – to watch you writhing like snakes"⁹ and walked away. However, a week later the same khoja came again and calmly responded to the captives' shouts: "Keep silent or I shall go away. I have come to your rescue."¹⁰ As soon as he uttered the words, Turks came in with water vessels and their laps full of bread. What attracts our attention about this episode is that if in other cases the balance is maintained by actions of different characters, here both positive and negative functions are carried by the same hero.

The author's unbiased stand is illustrated by the episode, which demonstrates the Turkish master's kind attitude to the protagonist. Nickolas took the master's sheep to pastures. Khadzimemed immediately noticed that the shepherd had taken a good care of his sheep and said: "Now the sheep look different from what they were when I left. They seem to have pastured well,"¹¹ – he said. Khadzimemed's kindness is best shown in the episode when he set a payment for Bekhtez. Although Nickolas was in a sheer misery, which would compel him to take any terms no matter how small a pay the master would offer, he still chose to bargain. This is how Khadzimemed responded: "All right, all right, five notes will make me neither rich nor poor. I agree to increase your pay, besides, I shall provide you with food and clothes and you will be able to go to town any time you wish."

The story has another episode that constitutes the level of relations among characters of confronting nations.

While seeking a job Nickolas met a Turkish shepherd. When the latter found out that the passenger was going to Thyra, he invited him to his village

⁸ Ibid. 11.

⁹ Ibid. 15.

¹⁰ Ibid. 15.

¹¹ Ibid. 39.

to stay overnight, as it was already late and the passenger would be caught by night on his way to the town. The episode demonstrates a positive attitude and kindness of a Turk. Contrary to the above, the following episode seems to imply a negative emotion. Another Turk closed a door in the very face of the passenger in the rainy day; however in the end the positive implication seems to prevail (the passenger found a piece of cheese in a parcel with some bread given to him to have on the way).

Khadzimemed's image is more distinctly outlined in the following episode: The Turkish master observed family traditions and customs of the East and respected elders. When he made up his mind to hire a shepherd, he did not decide the matter alone but called his uncle, his father's brother to find out his opinion on the shepherd's payment.

At the level of action, the story considered in our paper implies no controversies between two cultures, traditions and ways of thinking. On the contrary, according to the story, the two cultures are more characterized with tolerance and mutual understanding than confrontation and hostility.

III. The level of appreciations. Greeks' and Turks' apprehension of the Asia Minor Disaster and their relations are outlined as well at the level of appreciations of the story.

At the present level, we may distinguish an unbiased appreciation of oneself and one's own nation. Here we mean the fact that the protagonist, Greek by nationality, admits that Greeks are also guilty of the tragedy. After a Turkish captain had chosen among the captives bakers, kneaders, carpenters, and masons, he said to them: "What you have destroyed you are to reconstruct." The protagonist left the statement without any comments. He seemed to have agreed to the idea that Greeks did not suffer undeservedly; they were due to punishment for the destruction they had committed. The author's unbiased attitude is expressed towards events as well. When Nickolas decided to leave Khadzimemed, under the pretext of seeing his sister, the Turkish master went to Thyra and found a new shepherd called Kadyr as a replacement for Bekhtez. Kadyr had been released from Greek captivity not long before that. He told the protagonist some unpleasant stories; however, it is not specified whether they concerned oppression of Turkish captives by Greeks or hardships of the war.

Likewise remarkable are the episodes in which a person appreciates the nation other than his own. Every word uttered by Khadzimemed is full of affection. He was very fond of his shepherd (Nickolas), and what he appreciated most was the shepherd's likeness to Greeks regarding his skills: "Greeks used to be here. You stand among them with your skills and knowledge of

work. You know your job the way they do".¹² Here, the word "Greek" bears a positive sense. However, later we learn that Khadzimemed was fasting. He had sworn to fast for three years for the sake of ousting Greeks from the region. He was glad to tell Bekhtez that a Greek fellow disguised as a Turk was captured in Aydin. He had entered a mosque, and what gave him away was his unawareness of the Muslim rite of washing feet. The Greek fellow was hanged in the downtown on the plane tree. These episodes demonstrate that the Turk's personal attitude to Greeks was negative, however, he admitted Greeks' positive properties as well.

As to Nickolas' attitude to his Turkish master, it gradually grew from liking to a deep appreciation. Nickolas says: "As time passed, the master would treat me better and better ...".¹³ Khadzimemed would consult him in house-keeping. Moreover, he decided to make Nickolas his family member by marrying him to his late brother's daughter.

Interestingly, Nickolas and Khadzimemed used the same words to bid each other farewell. Nickolas was the first to say to the whole family: "Thank you very much You have been so kind to me". And later, as the train started, Khadzimemed addressed Nickolas with the following words: Have a good journey You have been so kind to me".¹⁴

Along with the above, investigation of the level of appreciations reveals as well one's negative attitude to a person of the other nationality. Nickolas negatively referred to Turks; however this occurred at rare occasions. He called a Turkish tax collector, Sali effendi "a dog". He saw him as he was walking in the town and said: "He used to know us. We too had sheep and he used to come to us".¹⁵ On seeing the man, Nickolas took a sudden turn and the rest of the day he was haunted by a feeling that Sali effendi was following him.

The same word "dog" is often used by Turks to refer to Greeks. In the beginning of the story, the protagonist came up to the supervisor to ask for some water. "What do you say, you a dog, I am not going to give you even a dram,"¹⁶ said the Turk. The Greek responded in a sweet Eastern way: "Dear Soldier, it would be so merciful of you; and here is some money". The Turk took the money at once and told him to drink secretly the water which was another person's portion.

¹² Ibid. 42.

¹³ Ibid. 49-50.

¹⁴ Ibid. 52.

¹⁵ Ibid. 49.

¹⁶ dram – unit of weight, 3,2 grammes.

Lexical elements "dog" and "infidel" bear the most negative sense in *The Story of One Captive*. "Dog" is equally used by Greek and Turk characters to refer to one another.

Another interesting episode to consider is a dialogue between Turks and Jews, which Nickolas overheard while on the train on his way to Smyrna. Here are Nickolas' words: "I got on the train and adjusted myself in the corner. Opposite, there were two Jews and a Cretan Turk. They were talking about Greeks under the Greek domination (katokh).

"Panayotis had committed this and that, the dog, and now he is said to be in Padermus", said the Jew blaming the Greek "I took a corner and listened to the story of Panayotis.

"We Jews, keep writing complaints to have them hanged, but people in Thyra are against.

During the conversation, the Turk noticed that one of the Jews had a revolver in his pocket.

"Oh, you a meager Jew", he said and rose from his seat. "Why do you say so? What were you doing when we were fighting against Greeks? And now you go around with a gun, while we have none the like". Upon saying this, he attacked the Jew to take the gun away.

"So you think I am that sort of a Jew", the man with the gun said and they started fighting.

"Look here", the Jew said. "I am a man of a family, and you will see what will happen to you".

I listened to them and got amused. They quarrel gradually grew into joking and they calmed down".¹⁷

The conversation illustrates the relations between peoples in Asia Minor, where friendship and hostility, kindness and evil are interchangeable.

Here we find it suitable to cite a Greek writer from Asia Minor, Fotis Kandoghlu: "All born in the East are blessed, no matter Greek or Turk",¹⁸ "By nature Turks are kind and considerate ... War is like a disease – it equally infects the good and the evil, and turns them into beasts".¹⁹

The main hero of Stratis Doukas' story is well aware of Greek and Turkish characters, their behavior, abilities and psychology. This is illustrated in the following episode: on his way looking for a job, Nickolas saw a flock of sheep and came up to it. At the shepherd's question, "What are you looking for?", he answered: "A job", and regretted at once. "By his talk I understood

¹⁷ Δούκας Στράτης. 54.

¹⁸ Κόντογλου Φώτης. Έργα Α'. Το Αιβαλί η Πατρίδα μου, εκδοτικός οίκος Αστήρ, Αθήνα 1962. 87.

¹⁹ Ibid. 239.

that he was Arvanian,²⁰ and I did not want to live with them for they were smart. I wished to live with Turks as I knew them".²¹ This drives us to the conclusion that Greeks from Asia Minor knew Turkish character and customs so well that they preferred to live with them rather than with Greeks of Arvanian origin. Besides, Greeks spoke Turkish so fluently that Turks could hardly discover their real nationality. The only sphere that they were uncertain as regards rites and traditions, was religion.²² Especially difficult was to behave the right way at the Islamic holidays, when each Muslim was to read an appropriate surah at the service in a mosque. Of course, Nickolas was not in the least ready for the ordeal: "The Bairam holiday was approaching, and I trembled, as I did not know how to enter a mosque. I knew how to behave outside but had no idea what was happening inside, in the mosque".²³

There is one more parameter to be emphasized at the level of appreciations. This is one's attitude to manslaughter as illustrated in the following episode. The fugitives exhausted with hunger kept watching the mill in order to break into it and get some food as soon as the miller was gone. However, the latter did not seem to be going. In these circumstances, Nickolas told the other fugitive: "Dear friend, I can endure no more, let us kill the miller." The friend answered: "Stop it, never lose your soul. Soon wheat and peas will ripe and we shall have some food to eat again".²⁴ The episode makes it clear that although the fugitives had been captured by Turks and had undergone all kinds of hardship, Turkish people were not so hateful to them as to kill for no serious reason. The Greek identified murder of a Turkish miller with losing of

²⁰ Arvanian – a Greek of the remote Albanian origin. Arvanians inhabit various regions of Greece. Their history is closely related to the history of Hellenism. They fought against Turks and other invaders in the liberation war. Arvamians have inhabited Greece since 14-15cc. They completely merged with Greeks in terms of ethnicity, culture and social life. The only evidence of their remote origin is their language – the Arvanian language, an Albanian dialect. Πάπυρος Larousse Britannica, vol.10, 315-316.

²¹ Δούκας Στράτης. 38.

²² In this respect, we may draw the following parallel: A book by Mikhail Valvazaki *How I Myself Experienced the Smyrna Catastrophe* published under the heading of a historical document, gives the following episode: A Greek soldier escaped from Turks and headed for Salikhsha village to warn Greeks about the Turkish siege and the pondering attack. The Greek guard trusted neither his words nor his fluent speech. In order to identify the newcomer, the guard took him aside and told him to say the prayer "Our Father ...". Only the soldier's knowledge of the prayer persuaded him that the stranger was truly Greek. This is another proof to the fact that the only feature to distinguish a Turk from a Greek in Asia Minor was the religion while they knew each other's language and customs so well that these could not serve to identify their true nationality; cf: Βαλβαζάνης Μ. Πώς έζησα την καταστροφή της Σμύρνης, εκδόσεις Κωστόγιαννος, 1998, 198.

²³ Δούκας Στράτης. 46.

²⁴ Ibid. 30.

one's soul. At the first thought, this is the way it should be. There seems nothing special about the fact. But we should bear in mind that the scene proceeds against the background of war, which makes it remarkable. Later in the same episode Nickolas suggested to his friend that they had better surrender. The other fugitive responded that he would never have himself surrendered to Turks.

Level IV. The writer's opinion as presented in the epilogue. The epilogue is basically informative and meagerly expresses the writer's opinion. However, we may discern implied appreciations of the author. In the epilogue, Stratis Doukas gives a brief story of how the literary work was created. He heard of the real story during his first trip to the settlement of refugees near Ekaterini city in September-December 1928. This is the place where Nickolas Kazakoglou lived. He had survived by pretending to be a Turk. Stratis Doukas persuaded Nickolas to tell him the story of his captivity and escape. The writer used his notes to compose a literary version of the story, which he dictated to his cousin Andreas Khadzimitrius and had it thus recorded so as to preserve the style of oral narration. Therefore, it is difficult to discern the author's speech from the character's.

As stated above, it is in the epilogue that the author first gives a physical portrait of the main character. Along with his appearance, he describes his voice as well through comparing it to a tune played by a violin. "A modest resident of the East, who sits in a corner and never speaks. Soon some ouzo and talking warmed him up and he started telling his story. An Eastern narrator, although Turkish-speaking like them all. It seemed to me that a violin was playing solo ...".²⁵ This is the first instance that the author gives a physical portrait of a character in the story.

In the epilogue we also come across the protagonist's real name Nickolas Kazakoglou, which he signed down at the end of the story. However, Doukas altered his last name into "Kozakoglou", which appeared to him more impressive. This illustrates the interrelation between the authentic and imaginative at the level of nomination. While altering the name, the author believes to follow the principle of euphony.

Doukas also states in the epilogue that he asked Nickolas to write a letter to Khadzimemed and appreciates it as "unique, wonderful for its folk courtesy". This is the author's positive appreciation of the narrator's actions and politeness.

After revealing to Khadzimemed his true nationality and his present dwelling in his motherland, Nickolas wrote that he was grateful to his Turkish

²⁵ Ibid. 65-66.

master for all he had done for him. The letter finished as follows: "He who is aware of universal affairs knows that all comes from God"²⁶ – God, who is Christ for Nickolas and Allah for Khadzimemed, but is universal to both. To our mind, here prevails the conception that although different civilizations have different religions, they all lead to God.

The author states that the structure of the story has change in its third edition. Doukas divided the story into four chapters. He also writes that he used in the story the classical principle of controversies and dramatic climax. In the epilogue, he gives a structural appreciation of the book.

At the level of the characters' individuality, the positive and negative are also balanced. The Greek character is by no means a stranger to the Turk and vice versa. There appears to be no gap between their ways of thinking and world vision. On the contrary, the epithet "Eastern" is applied to Greek as well as to Turk characters provided they are positively pictured. This drives us to the conclusion that the balance of unbiased attitude is maintained by means of a very significant point: Greek and Turkish characters may be considered as two opposite arguments; however, neither of them bears a pure positive or negative functions. Both are characterized with positive as well as negative properties.

To sum up, we are giving below an account of characteristics pertaining to above considered levels:

I. The level of characters:

- 1) Ethnicity of the characters (multinational);
- 2) Named and nameless characters (Turks prevail among the named).
- 3) Topographic names (abound in the story);
- 4) Ethical and moral properties of the characters (there is a counterbalance of honesty and deception);
- 5) Emotions (fear prevails);
- 6) Appearance of characters (ignored);
- 7) Characters' attitude to religion (no evidence of religious fanaticism or idolization of one's own religion).

II. Level of events:

- 1) opposition (interchange of negative and positive attitudes);
- 2) Negative attitude (of a Turk to a Greek and vice versa – the balance is maintained).
- 3) Positive attitude (of a Turk to a Greek and vice versa – the balance is maintained).

²⁶ Ibid. 66.

- 4) Respect for elders (implied).

III. Level of appreciations:

- 1) Unbiased appreciation of oneself and one's own religion (implied);
- 2) Representatives of various nations appreciate one another (balance between the positive and negative appreciations maintained);
- 3) Unbiased appreciation of events (implied);
- 4) Appreciation of manslaughter (negative);
- 5) Unawareness of the religious rites of the "opposite" nation (implied).
- 6) Balance at the language level (implied).

We shall not give a detailed account of the level IV, as it is represented only in the epilogue, which is of informative character, and since we have considered it above, we shall not return to it.

Conceptions and details brought forward in the present paper enables us to conclude that *The Story of One Captive* is unbiased at picturing the Asia Minor Disaster. It belongs to the genre of adventures and is among the literary pieces which reveal common features of two opposite sides rather than confrontation. Events described in the story are interesting and commonly acceptable as the author renders them in an unbiased manner and by no means ignores kindness no matter which side it comes from.

Ages-old region of Asia Minor has numerously witnessed wars and confrontations among its resident nations resulting in death and displacement of peaceful population. Despite the strife, the inhabitants of the region have a lot in common – the most significant property of the nations in Asia Minor is a psychological congruence fostered by centuries-old coexistence in the common territorial area. Mutual influence resulted in the development of common cultural characteristics despite the differences in religion, ethnicity and history.

Throughout centuries, common values mentioned above have coined the culture widely known as the culture of peoples of Asia Minor. Along with other peoples, Greeks and Turks participated in the formation of this phenomenon. That is why the dialogue of cultures between these two peoples was and maintains to be such a significant question.

The present paper aimed to reveal the tendencies that underlie *The Story of One Captive* by Stratis Doukas with regard to the Asia Minor Disaster. The story is small in volume by rather honest in presenting the life of a man who undergoes hardships due to adverse historical events. Even in the hardest times, the author and the character regard the "other" primarily as a personality, while ethnical origin and religious creed come second.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

COLOUR PERCEPTION IN PLATO'S *PHAEDO* AND DEMOCRITUS' TREATISE ABOUT COLOURS

Our conception of *Phaedo*'s artistic world will not be perfect if we do not take into consideration the understanding of colours in the work according to the colour perception in antiquity. Here we need to appeal to Democritus' treatise about colours, which is described in detail (and criticized at the same time) by Aristotle's disciple Theophrastus.

Democritus marked out four original, simple colours. They are white, black, red, and yellowish green. The rest of colors were considered as various combinations of the four elements.

As A. Losev explains, "According to Democritus' Treatise colour is a touchable subject having suitable features and at the same time it consists of physical atoms that can be palpated. The method of making the resemblance between subjects and colours creates the picture of coexistence and interaction of physically touchable atoms".¹

As experts note, the consequent implementation of the atomism principle resulted in some striking peculiarities of approaching to colors. It was well revealed in Plato's *Timaeus*.² In our opinion, ancient, and namely Democritus' understanding of colors is clearly seen in *Phaedo* as well.

This work of Democritus is evaluated quite critically but the logical shortcomings of the doctrine and the wrong interpretation of colour phenomenon by Democritus is not so much relevant to us, as it is not the subject of our research. We shall simply bring Democritus' treatise as the evidence of the

¹ Лосев А. Ф., Принципы античного цветоведения. История античной эстетики, М. 1963, 488.

² op. cit. 488.

subject perception of colours because, to our mind, there is its analogy in *Phaedo*.

When Socrates describes the true earth he notes the variety of colours existing here but mentions only three of them: λευκή αἰούρη, crusoeidh (*Phaedo*, 110 c 3-4).

"λευκή" is usually translated as "white". It is quite a conditional translation because as early as Homer times, with the word Greeks expressed everything that was clear, distinct, transparent, or simply something that is calm, healthy, pleasant.³ Democritus associated the white colour with "radiance" and "transparency." Theophrastus criticized Democritus for confusing these two notions with the white colour. As to Losev, he thinks that this difference is not clearly perceived in antiquity either by Democritus or by Plato.

It is worth mentioning that "radiance," "splendor" was something divine for Democritus. The philosopher saw it in all colours – in golden, purple, and even in black.

As regards to the word αἰούρη, it can be translated as purple, rich red. In Democritus' treatise another word (πορφύρου-) is used to denote the given colour but it does not bear much importance.

According to Democritus purple most of all contains red, has less white and very little black... The radiance and the transparency of the given colour shows the presence of white in it.

Democritus thinks that crusoeidh or golden consists of red and white. The latter gives some radiance to the golden colour though the red colour is more essential for the given one.

Plato notes: ἡ καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε λίθια εἶηαι ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ μὲν ἡ σαρδία τε καὶ ἰάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα... τὴν δὲ γῆν αὐτὴν κεκοσμησάκει τούτοις τε ἀπ᾿ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς κρυσταλλῆς καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις (it is from these [true earth] that the little stones we value, sardian stones, jaspers, emeralds, and all such, are pieces... But the true earth is adorned with all these things, and with gold and silver also, and with the other things of that kind as well) (*Phaedo*, 110 d 7-e 1; 110 e 6-111 a 1).⁴

It is worth mentioning that sardian stone, jasper and emerald give rich range of colours. Sardian stone is red or orange, emerald is green, and jasper is a collective name of certain minerals that are characterized by their hardness and variety of colours. Describing various gems Plato shows us a highly coloured general picture but mentions only three colours. According to De-

³ op. cit. 488-489.

⁴ We use the English translation of *Phaedo* made by D. Gallop (see: Plato, *Phaedo*, Translated with notes by David Gallop, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975).

Democritus' Treatise these colours themselves are broken in white, red and partially black colours (The white colour especially dominates as it is a constituent element of both purple and golden).

Let us remember the description of the earth. Though Plato mentions that on the earth there are the colours similar to the true earth, he never names them directly. He does not give their straightforward picture but describes them in relation with the range of colours and stresses the preference and perfection of the true earth. He is true to his ideas even when choosing the palette of colours (range of expressions); he doesn't refuse his concept that the earth is the dim reflection or copy of the true earth.⁵ The earth is described as *shragge- de; kai; aīmo- kai; phlo- ajmhcano- kai; borboroi* (eroded rocks and sand and unimaginable mud and mire) (*Phaedo*, 110 a 5-6). Although the concrete colours are not mentioned here, the reader sees the picture painted by black and white gradation and the gray colour gravitating towards black dominates here. If we imagine it visually, the earth is a black and white, hazy, dim copy, negative of the true earth.

As we have seen, in the description of the true earth the white colour dominates and in the picture of the earth the black one prevails. Let us remember how they are perceived in the antiquity. The white colour is associated with brightness, light, obtuseness, transparency, and the black one with duskiness, ruggedness and roughness.⁶

This kind of interpretation of black and white is distinctly reflected in the description of the true earth and the earth in *Phaedo*. The characteristics of white colour are ascribed to the Heaven and the features of the black one are ascribed to the Hell (To the Heaven are ascribed the characteristics of white colour and to the Hell – of black one).

While giving us the picture of the true earth, Plato notes:

...kai; au| ta; ofh wsauntw- kai; tou- liqou- ecein aja; ton aujton logon thn te leiothta kai; thn diafaneian kai; ta; crwmata kalliw... ekeinoi oil liqoi eijsi; kaqaroi; kai; ouj katedhdesmenoi oupe; diefqarmenoi wšper oil eñqade upo; shpedono- kai; a|mh- upo; twñ deuro sunerruhkotwn... wšte ekeinou- ajnosou- eihai... kai; ton ge h|ion kai; selhnhn kai; aštra orašqai up jautwn... (...the mountains contain stones likewise, whose smoothness, transparency, and beauty of colour are in the same proportion... the stones there are pure, and not corroded or corrupted, like those here, by mildew and brine due to the elements that have flowed together... [men] are free from sickness... the sun

⁵ We can see that kind of interrelation of the earth and the true earth in the mythological parts of *Phaedo*.

⁶ Лосев А. Ф., op. cit. 489

Freddy Decreus (Gand)

ANTIQUITÉ ET TEMPS MODERNES, OU LES CHANGEMENTS DANS LES CONDITIONS DU SAVOIR

Incroyable, mais vrai. Des cultures qui continuent à se faire valoir et qui influencent d'autres pendant plus de 2500 ans. La culture gréco-romaine a survécu des centaines d'(e) (r)évolutions de nature politique, économique, pédagogique et culturelle, et n'a pas cessé de les animer, aussi diverses qu'elles soient, de son souffle et de son inspiration 'classique'. Pourtant, de nos jours, nous avons le sentiment que cette culture gréco-romaine ne fonctionne plus comme avant: on nous dit qu'elle a idéalisé trop longtemps le passé, qu'elle a produit une vision trop romantique et eurocentriste, et qu'elle n'a pas toujours été 'political correct' envers plusieurs 'groupes minoritaires'. Voilà ce que Hanson et Heath ont intitulé 'The Beast', l'agresseur anonyme qui résume bien toutes les accusations récentes: 'The Beast – the sexism, chauvinism, slavery, and exploitation inherent in Western culture – was born, as we all know, in ancient Greece. And today's academic ideologues are content merely to flop him over and poke at his purportedly foul and scaly underbelly'.¹

¹ 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, 98; cf. 82: 'The entire package was viewed as part of the reactionary "establishment". It had to be jettisoned. Classics was ancient, it was dominated by "old" (i.e., thirty and over) white males, it was time-consuming and difficult. So much page-turning, so many "no's", "don'ts," and "stopt-its". Absolutes, standards, memorization, and traditional values had no place on a campus where modernity, relevance, and ideology were the new mantras; to say as much publicly brought self-affirmation and a sense of revolutionary commitment'. Un livre plus récent, édité cette fois par Victor Davis Hanson, John Heath & Bruce S. Thornton, *Bonfire of the Humanities. Rescuing the Classics in an Impoverished Age*, Wilmington, Delaware, 2001, ISI Books, reprend les mêmes arguments.

Heureusement, Hanson et Heath ne sont pas les seuls à s'inquiéter, la position occupée par l'Anglais dans le monde de l'éducation suscite un même type de réflexions: 'No one needs to be told that English as a field of study in in turmoil. Intense debates over what ought to take place in the English classrooms of colleges and schools, as well as what should be the objects and methods of scholarly research and graduate work, are a current fixture of academic life. These disciplinary disputes, furthermore, are not restricted to the professional membership. Rarely has the ideological role of English studies in the ongoing political life of the nation been more apparent in the popular press and media. Both *Time* and *Newsweek*, for example, have recently reported departmental disagreements over the literary canon in long pieces on "political correctness".²

Qu'ils le veuillent ou non, les philologues classiques se trouvent aujourd'hui dans un monde en pleine transition, une période de transitions qui concernent tant la nature du savoir, que celle des formes, des présuppositions et des méthodes. Aujourd'hui, il est clair que (l'écran de) l'ordinateur remplace la page imprimée, le hypertexte le texte écrit, le contenu digitalisé (offline et online) le contenu traditionnel, les réseaux électroniques les bibliothèques et les collections de textes.³ Les conséquences de cette digitalisation de la connaissance sont énormes et par leur caractère officiel et contraignant elles sautent vraiment aux yeux. En plus, ces transitions fondamentales cachent bien d'autres, moins visibles peut-être, mais qui concernent les conditions mêmes du savoir, notamment notre vision habituelle du monde, nos préjugés et nos choix intellectuels et artistiques. En effet, tout comme les collègues des autres disciplines de Lettres, les philologues classiques se rendent compte aujourd'hui que les méthodes de lecture et de compréhension de textes ont foncièrement changé depuis le début du XXe siècle. Depuis cette époque, la théorie littéraire et la science de l'histoire ont créé toute une série d'approches, parfois hétérogènes et contradictoires, un vrai éventail de méthodes qui ont demandé notre attention pour des aspects de l'Antiquité qui sont restés inaperçus, oubliés, masqués, considérés comme pas (trop) importants, désapprouvés. Bien sûr, il y a toujours eu des adaptations et des déformations qui ont remodelé l'Antiquité à chaque instant de l'histoire occidentale, mais jusqu'à la période du Romantisme l'esprit d' *aemulatio* et d' *imita-*

² James Berlin & Michael Vivion, *Introduction. A Provisional Definition*, in: James A. Berlin & Michael J. Vivion (Eds.), *Cultural Studies in the English Classroom*, Portsmouth, 1992, Boynton/Cook Publishers, VII.

³ Ronald Soetaert, Luc Top & Guy van Belle, *Creating a New Borderland on the Screen*, in: Educational Media International. The Official Quarterly Journal of the International Council for Educational Media, 32, 1995, 2, 62-68.

tio avait su garantir l'idée d'une autorité monolithique et d'une continuation historique. Telle est l'idée directrice qui détermine des études comme Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman influences on Western Literature* (1949),⁴ et qui dans les yeux de Maria Wyke et Michael Biddiss, éditeurs du livre *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity* (1999) est à considérer comme une 'sacred process of transmission,..., to be handed down to a present which was itself construed as the passive and grateful recipient of an exemplary Greco-Roman past'.⁵

Ce procès de transmission, interchangeable et unidirectionnel, a d'ailleurs toujours été visualisé par l'image d'un bassin de fontaine dont l'eau découle en plate-formes successives et qui a fait croire, par son flux incessant et venant du même point de référence, à une existence immuable d'un centre et d'un fondement qui recyclent les mêmes idées, dès lors considérées comme principes universels. Les différentes périodes de renaissance (carolingienne, ottonienne, humaniste) et le retour des ères classicistes et néo-classicistes suggèrent ainsi les différents bassins d'eaux, qui reçoivent ce sacré jet d'eau et en préparent toujours d'autres. Pourtant, de nos jours, on ferait mieux ne plus utiliser cette image; en effet, le bassin le plus bas qui dénote la période la plus récente, ne figure en aucun cas comme plate-forme ayant la plus grande radiation. De plus, le message des temps contemporains est clair: l'Antiquité classique ne joue plus, et déjà depuis pas mal de temps, un rôle de prime importance pour organiser et motiver la culture actuelle. Pourtant, son apport reste considérable, seulement les critères ont changé.

1. Les 'classiques' dans le débat culturel contemporain

La réception de l'Antiquité dans l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Europe est une chose qui a émerveillé les gens pendant des siècles.⁶ C'est un mystère qui continue à se faire valoir,⁷ un mythe qui s'est créé dès le début, une nostalgie d'un pays spirituel occidental, comme fut l'Arcadie pour Virgile et Poussin,⁸

⁴ Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*, London, Oxford & New York, 1949, Oxford University Press; Michael Greenhalgh, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, New York, 1978, Harper & Row Publishers.

⁵ Maria Wyke & Michael Biddiss, *Introduction: using and abusing antiquity*, in: Id., *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity*, Bern, 1999, Peter Lang, 13.

⁶ Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern, 1948, A. Francke Verlag.

⁷ Walther Ludwig (Hrsg.), *Die Antike in der europäischen Gegenwart*, Göttingen, 1993.

⁸ Manfred Fuhrmann, *Der europäische Bildungskanon des bürgerlichen Zeitalters*, Frankfurt am Main, 2000, Insel Verlag. Cf. Bernhard Zeller, *Auch ich in Arcadien – Kunstreisen nach Italien 1600-1900*, Stuttgart, 1966(2); Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, London, 1987; Karen Bassi, *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece*, Ann Arbor, 1998, The University of Michigan Press (cf. 12: 'the critic's desire to inhabit the position of

une incitation ininterrompue à quêter les racines communes et universelles.⁹ Karen Bassi, dans son livre *Acting Like Men. Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece* (1998), ne dit-elle pas explicitement: ‘Within scholarly disciplines and practices, the ancient past is constructed out of the desire for universal essences embodied in a universal subject. Whether we view the Greek theater through the lens of Aristophanes’ comic wit, Freud’s Oedipal dream, or the history of Classical scholarship, all the lenses attest to the force of that desire’.¹⁰

Pourtant, l’histoire de (la réception de) l’Antiquité nous a fait connaître ses représentants comme des protagonistes toujours changeants et elle nous indique clairement que ‘les classiques’ ne se retrouvent jamais à l’état pur, mais qu’ils dépendent toujours de certaines (re)constructions épistémologiques, historiques, idéologiques. Beard et Henderson, dans leur introduction récente au domaine des ‘Classics’ ne disent donc pas sans raison: ‘Classics is a subject that exists in that gap between us and the world of the Greeks and Romans. The questions raised by *Classics* are the questions raised by our distance from "their" world, and at the same time by our closeness to it, and by its familiarity to us’.¹¹ Parmi les images trop naïves et sentimentales figure celle que nous avons reçue de Johann Joachim Winckelmann, le grand philologue allemand qui considérait la culture grecque comme issue de « edle Einfalt und stille Grösse », sans jamais avoir vu la Grèce personnellement, ce qui ne l’empêchait pas de créer sa mythologie personnelle de la Grèce classique, stimulant ainsi l’enthousiasme de milliers d’admirateurs et créant les conditions d’une vague néo-hellénistique.¹² Dans les mêmes catégories de gens qui n’avaient jamais vu la Grèce mais qui furent portés par l’enthousiasme pour une Idée, entrent un John Keats (cf. son *Ode on a Grecian Urn*) ou un Hölderlin (son besoin de Diotima). Ce dernier se situait d’ailleurs consciemment dans cette lutte perdue une fois pour toutes en se souvenant un Empédocle se jetant dans l’Étné et voulant à tout prix rejoindre

the masculine subject of antiquity and the persistence of that desire in the critical history of Greek and European drama’).

⁹ Robert R. Bolgar (Hrsg.), *Classical Influences on Western Thought, A.D. 1500-1700*, Cambridge, 1976; id., *Classical Influences on Western Thought, A.D. 1650-1870*, Cambridge, 1979.

¹⁰ Karen Bassi, o.c., 247.

¹¹ Mary Beard & John Henderson, *Classics. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 1995, Oxford University Press, 6.

¹² H.B. Nisbet (Ed.), *German aesthetic and literary criticism. Winckelmann, Lessing, Hamann, Herder, Schiller and Goethe*, Cambridge, 1985; L. Uhlig (Hrsg.), *Griechenland als Ideal. Winckelmann und seine Rezeption in Deutschland*, Tübingen, 1988; J. Schmidt, *Griechenland als Ideal und Utopie bei Winckelmann, Goethe und Hölderlin*, in: Hölderlin-Jahrbuch 28, 1992-1993, 94-110.

les grands principes immuables et spirituels de la nature (*Der Tod des Empe-dokles*, 1797-1800).

Le besoin vital éprouvé tant par Hitler¹³ que par Mussolini¹⁴ d'associer l'idéologie fasciste à l'image idéalisée de l'Antiquité nous avertit encore aujourd'hui à ne pas prendre à la légère la force de la nouvelle mythologie qui s'annonce partout.¹⁵ Dennis J. Schmidt, de son côté, en étudiant l'influence de la philosophie idéaliste allemande du XIX^e siècle sur la tragédie classique, nous parle en termes clairs de cette fascination, en choisissant comme titre de son livre *On Germans and Other Greeks* (2001).¹⁶

Fascination donc, mais une fascination toujours accompagnée par des projections (et donc des protections) mythologiques, créations qui risquent parfois de figer et de déterminer pour longtemps les préjugés de l'époque. Tessa Rajak, dans sa différentiation entre Juifs et Grecs, remarque, à juste titre, qu'une invention systématique au cours du XIX^e siècle des différences entre ces deux peuples a résulté très vite dans la construction d'un champ imaginaire, qui a déterminé dès lors la 'nature' des deux peuples: 'My concern is with how stereotypes are influenced by the sense of a radical opposition. The Greeks are understood as being what the Hebrews are understood as not being.... I would like to be able to suggest that a sense of the other substantially influenced the moulding of each construct at key moments, and in particular that the well-known idealizations of ancient Greece are indebted to this antithesis'.¹⁷

Retenons donc, d'une part, que tout ce qui a été reçu et ressenti comme 'classique' est issu d'un long processus de sélection et d'organisation, et que d'autre part, 'le classique' n'a jamais existé comme tel, au contraire, il est

¹³ Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, New York, 1970, Macmillan Company; O. Thomae, *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie: Bildende Kunst und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Dritten Reich*, Berlin, 1978, Gebr. Mann Verlag; Leon Krier, *Albert Speer. Architecture*, Bruxelles, 1985, AAM Editions; J. Petropoulos, *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany*, London, 2000, Penguin Press.

¹⁴ F. Liffra, *Rome 1920-1945. Le modèle fasciste, son Duce, sa mythologie*, Paris, 1991, Autrement; M. Affron & M. Antliff, *Fascist Visions. Art and Ideology in France and Italy*, Princeton, 1997, Princeton University Press; J. Petersen, *Mussolini. Wirklichkeit und Mythos eines Diktators*, in: Karl Heinz Bohrer (Hrsg.), *Mythos und Moderne*, Frankfurt a.M., 1983, Suhrkamp, 242-260.

¹⁵ Cf. G. P. Marchal, *Mythos im 20. Jahrhundert. Der Wille zum Mythos oder die Versuchung des 'neuen Mythos' in einer säkularisierten Welt*, in: F. Graf (ed.), *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms*, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1993, 207.

Cf. aussi Rollo May, *The Cry for Myth*, New York, 1991, W.W. Norton & Company.

¹⁶ Dennis J. Schmidt, *On Germans and Other Greeks. Tragedy and Ethical Life*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2001, Indiana University Press.

¹⁷ Tessa Rajak, *Jews and Greeks: the invention and exploitation of polarities in the nineteenth century*, in: Wyke & Biddiss, o.c., 60.

toujours sorti d'un processus d'interprétation et a donc toujours eu besoin d'une distance et d'un cadre herméneutiques. De nos jours, ce grand débat qui examine les diverses façons de se présenter la distance historique est plus vif que jamais. L'interprétation de la notion même d'histoire' (cf. Nouvelle Histoire,¹⁸ Metahistory,¹⁹ New Historicism²⁰) est ressentie dans un grand nombre de disciplines comme extrêmement difficile et importante: l'histoire totale se dresse contre l'histoire événementielle, la narrativité de l'histoire rencontre l'historicité de la narration, et de disputes pareilles ont mené directement à un certain éclatement de l'histoire, ou au moins, à la perte de l'ancienne perspective unitaire.²¹

Bien sûr, nous apprécions, dans un premier temps, ceux qui ont interprété l'Antiquité selon des modes les plus positifs, et ce selon des pistes monolithiques. Nous aimons surtout ceux qui considèrent 'les classiques' comme un bienfait culturel indiscutable, utiles en premier lieu au monde occidental,²² ou au moins à certaines classes et sociétés qui en constituent le cœur.²³ Certains croient aussi que les grandes lignes de cette civilisation se découvrent dans presque chaque manifestation culturelle grecque. C'est pourquoi que, Hanson et Heath, dans leur livre *Who killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom* (1998), détectent les sept principes suivants, vraies pièces d'identité de la culture grecque, en ne feuilletant n'importe quelle page de l'*Antigone* de Sophocle :

- 'Science, research, and the acquisition of knowledge itself are to remain apart from both religious and political authority ;
- Military power operates under and is checked by civilian control;
- Constitutional and consensual government is a Western idea;

¹⁸ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, London & New York, 1984; H. Coutau-Bégarie, *Le phénomène Nouvelle Histoire. Grandeur et décadence de l'école des Annales*, Paris, 1989 (2).

¹⁹ Hayden White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore, 1973, J. Hopkins University Press.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited*, London, 1981, Routledge & Kegan Paul; Frank Ankersmit, *History and Tropology. The Rise and Fall of the Metaphor*, Berkeley, 1994, University of California Press.

²² Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, Cambridge, 1987, Polity Press.

²³ Donald L. Hill (Ed.), *Walter Pater. The Renaissance. Studies in Art and Poetry*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1980, University of California Press.

- Religion is separate from and subordinate to political authority;
- Trusting neither the rich nor the poor, the Greeks of the polis have great faith in the average citizen (the spiritual forerunner of our own confidence in the middle class);
- Private property and free economic activity are immune from government coercion and interference;
- The notion of dissent and open criticism of government, religion, and the military is inherent among the polis Greeks'.²⁴

A l'encontre de cette image confiante, pierre de touche de la continuité de la tradition, affirmation évidente d'une identité culturelle, il y a bien sûr le contre-courant qui demande notre attention pour les métamorphoses subies par la culture classique.²⁵ L'évolution de l'art, à chaque page de sa riche histoire, nous présente les archétypes classiques chaque fois sous bien d'autres traits. Depuis le modernisme européen, les visages des héros classiques ont fort changé: l'interprétation baroque de Bernini et de Rubens est assez éloignée de la *pittura metafisica* de De Chirico ou du style de l'après-guerre d'Anselm Kiefer. L'héritage nietzschéen nous a appris à distinguer à côté d'Apollon, le lumineux, Dionysos, le perturbateur; la cruauté existentielle détectée par Antonin Artaud nous a averti à ne pas trop vite oublier la pulsion chaotique et féroce qui anime les grands mythes; le postmodernisme nous a incité à nous servir librement du côté cliché et figé de chaque œuvre d'art d'origine classique.²⁶

En plus, l'histoire de la réception (depuis Mukarovsky, Iser et Jauss) a enrichi l'étude traditionnelle des textes d'une perspective qui a mis en valeur la position du lecteur et du rôle joué par des audiences très hétérogènes (position théorique déjà présente dans *La Poétique* d'Horace). Le livre publié par Ann Morris Micheline, *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition* (1987) indique clairement comment les derniers siècles ont vu défiler devant eux des images toujours changeantes de ce grand tragédien. Cette ambiguïté se faisait déjà connaître dans une succession d'études comme celles de A.W. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist* (1895) et de E.R. Dodds, *Euripides the Irrationalist* (1929), ou

²⁴ Hanson & Heath, *o.c.*, 28-35.

²⁵ Thomas M. Falkner, Nancy Felson & David Konstan (Eds.), *Contextualizing Classics. Ideology, Performance*, Dialogue, Lanham, 1999, Rowman & Littlefield Publ.; Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism*, Cambridge, 2002, Cambridge University Press.

²⁶ B.-A. Kruse, *Apollinisch-Dionysisch. Moderne Melancholie und Unio Mystica*, Frankfurt, 1987; Ruth Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy. Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness*, Princeton, 1995, Princeton University Press; James I. Porter, *The Invention of Dionysos. An Essay on The Birth of Tragedy*, Stanford, 2000, Stanford University Press.

dans celle où Euripide figurait successivement comme le contemporain de Ibsen, des auteurs nihilistes, des existentialistes et puis des absurdistes, et finalement comme le champion du féminisme.²⁷

De nos jours, de tels rebondissements dans l'interprétation appartiennent pleinement à l'étude 'paradigmatique' de la littérature. A partir de l'œuvre de Thomas Kuhn²⁸ (à partir donc du post-empiricisme), la philosophie de la science s'est rendue compte que des 'révolutions' caractérisent aussi l'épanouissement de la science, ce qui a justifié, dans le fonctionnement de chaque discipline, l'étude des (pré)suppositions, des préjugés méthodologiques et des instruments spécifiques. Après la parution de ce livre, dans un bon nombre de recherches, on a voulu détecter les périodes de science normale, leur développement depuis une période préparadigmatique et les crises dans les modèles en vigueur menant à une période postparadigmatique, ainsi que les processus qui déterminent le choix des problèmes et la création d'instruments privilégiés. Bien sûr, l'histoire et l'analyse de la littérature se différencient nettement des autres champs de recherche, mais l'intrusion de modèles généraux issus de la science de la littérature a changé foncièrement l'études des textes classiques à partir des années 1960, ou disons 1968, pour rendre hommage à Charles P. Segal et à son article *Ancient Texts and Modern Criticism. Some Recent Trends in Classical Literary Studies*, qui ouvrit le premier numéro de la revue Américaine *Arethusa* en 1968.²⁹

Entretemps, nous ne sommes devenus ni plus riches, ni plus pauvres, seulement radicalement autres. Nous avons perdu l'image d'une antiquité romantique, victorienne et antiquisante, moralisatrice et fondatrice, idéalisée de la façon dont Neckermann nous veut toujours vendre la Grèce. Nous avons découvert beaucoup d'aspects qui, jusqu'aujourd'hui, ont été caché, peu étudié, peu valorisé, rejeté, consciemment et inconsciemment, signalons par exemple la sexualité, la position de la femme et du dionysiaque, le racisme et

²⁷ Ann Morris Michelini, *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*, Madison & London, 1987, The University of Wisconsin Press; cf. E.R. Dodds, *Euripides the Irrationalist*, repr. in: *The Ancient Concept of Progress and other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief*, Oxford, 1973 (1); 1998 (2), Clarendon Press, 78: 'Verrall used the term "rationalist" in the Victorian sense: I propose to use it in the seventeenth-century sense. When the Victorians talked about "rationalists", they generally meant anti-clericals; what Verrall wished to emphasize, and I am not convinced to deny, was the anti-clericalism of Euripides'.

²⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago, 1970, University of Chicago Press; Paul Horwich, *World Changes. Thomas Kuhn and the Nature of Science*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1993, MIT Press.

²⁹ Trente ans plus tard, Charles P. Segal renvoie à cette publication, en écrivant son article 'Introduction: Retrospect on Classical Literary Criticism', paru dans Falkner, Felson & Konstan, *Contextualizing Classics*, o.c., 1.

le jugement de l'Orient. Cette nouvelle conscience méthodologique a élargi notre appréciation de l'Antiquité, tout en la rendant plus complexe. Le siècle dernier a remplacé la position de l'Autre, notre semblable, par l'image de l'Autre, cet inconnu. Dès lors, la culture gréco-romaine n'a pas été conçue comme une culture contemporaine, mais comme une période radicalement Autre, non plus formulée en termes de voisinage, mais en termes de différence. C'est dans ce sens que, à partir des années soixante, un peu partout en Europe, les curricula et les théories didactiques, ont privilégié, dans les manuels scolaires, les images qui dénotent la différence culturelle et intellectuelle, ce qui a finalement signifié la fin des notions moralisantes qui voyaient partout dans les Grecs et les Romains, des exemples à suivre et à imiter.

En général, l'époque postmoderne ne croit plus aux mythes fondateurs et aux grands métarécits monolithiques (Lyotard); elle nous a introduit dans un monde qui favorise plutôt la pluralité et l'hétérogénéité. Au lieu de l'Histoire surgit maintenant un nombre d'histoires, au lieu d'une seule piste idéologique s'annoncent des écritures diverses qui traitent des aspects particuliers et qui hésitent à rédiger la grande synthèse.³⁰ Des réécritures créatives, à la façon de Christa Wolf et de Heiner Müller, lancent le défi à l'imagination figée, ce qui nous oblige, après tant de siècles, à repenser ce que nous avons toujours vu comme versions définitives.

Voilà des réactions qui traduisent une attitude propre au vingtième siècle: nous sommes devenus des êtres très critiques vis-à-vis de nous mêmes et de toutes nos activités signifiantes. Apparemment nous voulons surtout examiner à fond la façon dont la littérature et l'histoire ont été construites dans le passé, comment donc ce sujet européen a constitué (et a été constitué par) ses présuppositions intellectuelles. Cette attitude critique nous a transformé pleinement en sujets historiés, en sujets qui ne se déterminent qu'en créant une 'certaine' perspective vis-à-vis de l'histoire, et qui questionnent la notion de l'histoire même et l'histoire de l'Occident en particulier.

Il est donc vrai que le vingtième siècle a développé une attitude très critique et ouverte envers sa légitimité et ses objectifs. Cette mentalité épistémologique probablement fait que nous sommes devenus d'une part les générations les mieux équipées techniquement, mais de l'autre accablées d'une conscience extrêmement critique envers nous-mêmes et des multiples constructions mentales que nous avons créées. Mais, comme le disent actuellement les 'Cultural Studies', la vraie culture est peut-être celle qui fonctionne

³⁰ Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari, *Mille plateaux. Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2*, Paris, 1980, Editions de Minuit.

comme champ de bataille, comme 'conflicted field in which different representations and lived experiences are constantly competing for hegemony'.³¹

Concluons donc cette première partie qui nous a servi d'introduction à une problématique tant générale que fondamentale et constatons que les dernières décennies du XX^e siècle ont questionné la validité épistémologique de toutes nos méthodes et de nos prises de positions intellectuelles. A l'instant même, l'implémentation des accords de Bologne concernant les curricula universitaires nous oblige, une fois de plus, à bien examiner la place des langues et des cultures classiques dans un monde qui change tout le temps.³²

2. Deux réponses différentes

Un nombre d'intellectuels Américains et Européens déprimés ont participé depuis les années '70-'80 à ce qu'on peut appeler «une culture de plaintes».³³ Les titres de certains livres en disent assez: *Classics. A Discipline and Profession in Crisis?* (1989),³⁴ /'Who killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom (1998),³⁵ ou encore par les mêmes auteurs: /'Bonfire of the Humanities. Rescuing the Classics in an Impoverished Age'/ (2001).³⁶ Les apologies, elles aussi, de nouveau à la mode, on ne lira que Martha Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity. A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* (1997) et Tracy Lee Simmons, /'Climbing Parnassus. A New Apologia for Greek and Latin'/ (2002).³⁷ Les auteurs de ces livres ont répété que :

-les jeunes ne lisent pas assez, et qu'ils ne lisent plus ce qu'ils doivent lire, à savoir des livres qui font partie de la culture traditionnelle;

-que la culture générale est en déclin;³⁸

³¹ James Berlin & Michael Vivion, o.c., IX.

³² Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York, 1992, Free Press.

³³ Cf. Robert Hughes, *Culture of Complaint, The Fraying of America*, Oxford, 1993, Oxford University Press.

³⁴ Phyllis Culham & Lowell Edmunds (Eds.), *Classics. A Discipline and Profession in Crisis?*, Lanham, New York & London, 1989, University of America.

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ Victor Davis Hanson, John Heath & Bruce S. Thornton, *Bonfire of the Humanities. Rescuing the Classics in an impoverished age*, Wilmington, Delaware, 2001, ISI Books.

³⁷ Tracy Lee Simmons, *Climbing Parnassus. A New Apologia for Greek and Latin*, Wilmington, 2002 ISI Books; cf. John Heath, More quarrelling in the Muses' Birdcage, in: Hanson, Heath & Thornton, o.c., 55-92, discute les livres de Alvin Kernan (Ed.), *What's Happened to the Humanities* (1997) et John M. Ellis, *Literature Lost. Social Agendas and the Corruption of the Humanities* (1997)

³⁸ E.D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy. What every American needs to know. Includes 5000 essential names, phrases, dates, and concepts*, New York, 1988, Vintage Books, p.6 cite les observa-

-que le nombre d'étudiants en littératures gréco-latines un peu partout dans le monde est en baisse;³⁹

-que les philologues classiques publient trop d'articles qui ne sont ni intéressants ni lus et qui traitent des sujets mineurs que moins de cinq de leurs collègues vont lire...

Bien sûr, la situation américaine n'est pas la nôtre, mais beaucoup de questions sont valables pour nous aussi. Elles nous font penser à toute une série de prises de position rétrogrades, souvent pessimistes, comme celles de Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918-1922) ou celles de Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992), des études qui décrivent le déclin ou la fin de la période culturelle actuelle.⁴⁰

Afin de situer des questions pareilles dans un contexte plus général, nous devons nous réaliser tout d'abord qu'une telle discussion a eu lieu depuis le XVII^e siècle. En effet, la fameuse 'Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes' a éclaté vers la fin de la vie de Rubens (1640) et comme le disait déjà Gilbert Highet en 1949: 'The battle waged in France and England at the turn of the seventeenth century was only one conflict in a great war which has been going on for 2000 years and is still raging. It is the war between tradition and modernism; between originality and authority'.⁴¹ A partir de ce moment, les mêmes arguments ont été de vigueur au sujet de:

- la valeur de la tradition
- l'importance du canon littéraire
- la valeur de la notion de centre
- la signification exacte du progrès
- la position de la philologie elle-même

Sommairement, deux attitudes générales sont à signaler:

tions faites par son propre fils qui enseigne le latin: 'Another day my son asked his Latin class if they knew the name of an epic poem by Homer. One pupil shot up his hand and eagerly said, "The Alamo!". Was it just a slip for *The Iliad*? No, he didn't know what the Alamo was, either'.

³⁹ Victor Davis Hanson & John Heath, o.c., Prologue XV: 'So many Ph.D's in Classics, so little employment. So little teaching of the Greeks, so much writing about them to so few. So many new approaches, so many new theories, so many cleverly entitled talks, books, articles, and panels; and still almost no jobs – because there are almost no students – because there is really no interest in the Greeks in or out of the university'.

⁴⁰ Alain Finkielkraut, *L'Humanité perdue. Essai sur le XX^e siècle*, Paris, 1998, Editions Seuil. Collection Points.

⁴¹ Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*, London, Oxford & New York, 1967 (1949), XIV. The Battle of the Books, 261-288; 261.

-la première est défensive et conservatrice, d'ordre statique, de nature essentialiste;

-la seconde étudie les processus d'adaptation et d'intégration, et se comprend comme procès dynamique.

Puisque nous ne pouvons pas échapper au traitement de la question des accords de Bologne dans les années qui suivent, nous devons développer, une fois de plus, une nouvelle synthèse qui se situe pleinement dans la vie intellectuelle actuelle. Aujourd'hui il est clair que la réception de l'héritage classique n'est pas la seule question qui se pose dans la grande discussion sur la légitimité de la connaissance. Le problème de la continuité ou de la discontinuité de la culture se discute dans toutes les sciences, y compris les mathématiques, la physique, les sciences naturelles,.... Bien d'autres domaines ont reconnu, et ce à partir de l'ère romantique, la nécessité de discuter jour après jour la valeur de la culture nationale et les relations avec les contextes internationaux. Puisque le nouveau paysage intellectuel de l'Europe se dessinera dans la période qui va suivre, il est indiqué de se demander dans quelle mesure la culture classique y constituera un part entier et selon quelles modalités (défensives ou offensives) la tradition classique y trouvera une place.

A. Les derniers temps, un certain nombre de philologues et d'intellectuels se sont prononcés pour une réaction défensive. Tout ce qui a été jugé bon dans le passé, doit être sauvegardé dans le présent.

Pensons par exemple aux trois publications suivantes:

-Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind. How Higher Education has failed Democracy and impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (1987);

-E.D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy. What every American needs to know* (1988);

-Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon. The Books and School of the Ages* (1994).

Allan Bloom renvoie à une certaine mentalité de fin de siècle, à une fin de civilisation qui déplore la perte d'une culture commune, à savoir la culture traditionnelle, la haute culture, et donc la perte du bon goût et des bonnes habitudes, qui ressemblent bien sûr totalement aux siennes. A ses yeux, la vie est devenue assez banale, superficielle même, puisqu'on a perdu les principes qui soutiennent l'histoire humaine. Bien sûr, une telle appréciation de ce qui se passe actuellement dans le domaine de la culture reflète bien cette pensée spenglerienne qui a décidé que nous sommes arrivés à cette dernière période. Notons aussi les processus de création et de détection de certains ennemis, responsables de la crise: comme l'a déjà dit Marilyn B. Skinner en 1989, dans

un article fort connu depuis lors, *‘Expecting the barbarians: feminism, nostalgia, and the «epistemic shift» in classical studies*’: ‘Allan Bloom’s best-selling polemic, *The Closing of the American Mind*, the most egregious example of such nostalgic homilies, blames a collapse of educational standards during the sixties for the alleged rootlessness and malaise of the eighties and targets feminism as « the latest enemy of the vitality of classic text ».⁴²

N’oublions pourtant pas que la défense d’une certaine pureté américaine a toujours été conçue comme mesure protectrice à l’encontre des influences malfaisantes européennes dont le poststructuralisme et les Cultural Studies sont les derniers venus. Bien sûr, une politique pareille est aussi bien connue dans d’autres pays: l’Académie Française n’a-t-elle pas, en 1994, en défense de la langue et la culture françaises, conjuré le vocabulaire étranger hors des discours officiels et augmenté, dans l’enseignement secondaire, l’apport des classiques nationaux? Ajoutons aussi que l’Europe elle-même, par dessus toutes ces mesures défensives régionales et nationales, a stimulé la construction d’un canon européen, suggérant que le développement d’une supériorité européenne nécessitait la création d’une nouvelle identité européenne, ce qui a conduit surtout à stimuler une certaine formation mythique, voire idéologique, conçue en face des nouveaux ennemis, chinois ou américains, russes ou basques, rédigée à l’encontre de l’économie japonaise et de la religion islamitique. A l’instant même nous sommes les témoins privilégiés de la création de nouvelles identités collectives qui ne sont, en fin de compte, rien d’autres que des ‘constructions’, ange-gardiens d’un certain message idéologique. Comme le disent Soetaert, Top et van Belle, ‘if nothing else, these developments make clear that nations are constructions, and that literature and literary education are considered to play an important part in the creation of these “imagined communities”’.⁴³

Pour combler et bien préciser un certain vide culturel, déjà en 1988, E.H. Hirsch a proposé une liste de livres qui reflètent la connaissance des gens cultivés et qui contiennent une prescription à préserver et reconnaître la bonne culture littéraire. Puisque la plupart d’entre eux appartiennent à la littérature américaine, ce choix a été considéré, dès le début, comme une mesure patriotique.⁴⁴ La remède de Hirsch était donc de revenir en arrière et de remonter aux faits culturels et traditionnels qui proposent un fondement logique et né-

⁴² Marilyn B. Skinner, *Expecting the barbarians: feminism, nostalgia, and the «epistemic shift» in classical studies*, in: Culham & Edmunds, o.c., 200.

⁴³ Ronald Soetaert, Luc Top & Guy van Belle, o.c., 2.

⁴⁴ E.D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy. What Every American Needs to Know*, New York, 1988, Vintage Books. Cf. les pages 146-215: E.D. Hirsch, Joseph Kett & James Trefil, *What Literate Americans Know: A Preliminary List*.

cessaire à chaque culture sérieuse, une connaissance partagée donc, un mouvement qui ramènerait les jeunes aux connaissances élémentaires et fondamentales, ce qui est une définition du mouvement bien connu 'Back to Basics'.

Ce mouvement inauguré dans la période conservatrice de Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), a été une tentative culturelle intéressante, mais elle a suivi un parcours assez malheureux. Les auteurs qui ont suivi un tel parcours traitent surtout des formes de connaissance datée, déjà mise à l'épreuve. De livres pareils ne se posent pas des questions quant au contexte de fonctionnement, quant à la dimension pragmatique, quant aux frontières dans lesquelles cette discussion se situe. Bien sûr, ils affirment avec raison que le canon traditionnel est un instrument de travail toujours valable, mais ils oublient d'y ajouter dans quelles contextes et structures historiques et idéologiques cette culture a pris forme. Entretemps le monde a changé, le savoir est devenu plus complexe, les nouveaux défis sont incontournables.

Harold Bloom, dans *The Western Canon. The Books and School of the Ages* (1994) se situe dans un même climat de défense, de réaction émotionnelle à une crise qu'on doit, à tout prix, éviter. L'auteur y étudie 26 auteurs 'with a certain nostalgia', sachant très bien que 'things have however fallen apart, the center has not hold, and mere anarchy is in the process of being unleashed upon what used to be called « the learned world ». Il se rend compte que, de nos jours, un débat important a vu le jour, entre les 'right-wing defenders of the Canon, who wish to preserve it for its supposed (and nonexistent) moral values' et d'autre part une certaine pratique académique qu'il appelle 'the School of Resentment' et qui se propose 'to overthrow the Canon in order to advance their supposed (and nonexistent) programs for social change' (p.3-4).

Plus tard, les années 1990 ont vu l'éclosion de la pensée postmoderne et celle-ci s'est définie comme réflexion sur une autre forme de discontinuité: en effet, la discussion entre Habermas et Foucault concernait e.a. la légitimation de la notion de progrès, telle qu'elle a été réalisée et conçue dans l'Age des Lumières, un beau rêve, qui a voulu réunir tous les hommes dans une même perspective de justice, de fraternité et d'égalité. Néanmoins, après Auschwitz, l'humanité occidentale s'est brusquement réveillée, découvrant qu'un bon nombre de projets et d'aspirations ne sont pas encore réalisés, et ne le seront probablement jamais.

Une autre forme de culpabilité a été développée par Hanson et Heath, qui, dans leur livre *Who killed Homer?*, discutent largement la faillite de l'enseignement des classiques en Amérique et, formule assez originale, à

leurs yeux, les coupables sont les philologues classiques eux-mêmes.⁴⁵ Les raisons en sont simples:

-en créant un langage plein d'arcanes et de subtilités, bourré de détails, ils ont oublié à entamer la vraie discussion avec la société;

-en voulant sauvegarder leur position professionnelle, ils se sont attachés aux méthodologies les plus récentes (féminisme, multiculturalisme, poststructuralisme) et ont délivré ainsi les études classiques à leurs ennemis qui ont su prouver que les études classiques étaient racistes et impérialistes;

-entretiens, les philologues classiques ont oublié de se servir des arguments les plus convaincants pour propager la culture grecque.

Les auteurs que nous venons de citer ont tendance à concevoir l'antiquité en termes d'un seul et unique temple sacré. «The Best of the West» doit être conçu comme une collection de livres et de textes que les élèves doivent mémoriser, afin de devenir des bons citoyens, une collection qui a été délimitée une fois pour toutes, ce qui trahit une préoccupation avec les fondateurs et les origines. Les jeunes gens doivent lire un nombre de livres de première qualité qui leur permettront de développer les vertus nécessaires à l'intégration dans les classes de société les plus hautes. Dans cette suite d'idées ce sont les professeurs qui détiennent la vérité, qui connaissent tout ce qui est à connaître, qui sont les défenseurs de la vérité. Notons aussi qu'une telle politique moralisante et protectrice repose largement sur un apprentissage de contenus et de livres, et non pas sur une application variée de méthodes de travail et une formation d'attitudes scientifiques. D'un point de vue didactique, une telle politique met en évidence la qualité pédagogique du professeur qui donne l'exemple et qui, dans le pire des cas, n'accorde pas beaucoup d'attention à l'activité de l'élève, qui est considéré comme un être passif, non interactif. Par contre, la didactique actuelle, à partir des années 1970, accorde beaucoup d'importance à l'acquisition de différentes stratégies de lecture et d'interprétation et valorise donc aussi la position de l'étudiant, sa motivation et les buts qu'il se pose.

Cette réaction, ouvertement politique, qui consiste à blâmer les collègues qui ont introduit la théorie et le multiculturalisme dans nos disciplines ou qui ont voulu trop 'profiter' de leur profession, se rend bien compte que, le siècle dernier, les grands principes de la culture grecque ont été perdus de vue. Se limitant à un monde restreint d'universités et de départements américains où règne certainement une animosité entre collègues, options et visions académi-

⁴⁵ John Heath, *Self-Promotion and the "Crisis" in Classics*, in: Hanson, Heath & Thornton, o.c., 195-237.

ques, des auteurs comme Hanson et Heath oublient trop souvent que le monde est nettement plus grand. Ils oublient de se situer dans une perspective socio-culturelle plus large, et donc mondiale; ils ferment les yeux devant ce capitalisme américain agressif qui porte en soi et exporte donc les germes de la destruction de chaque humanité et de chaque vraie culture; ils ignorent totalement la philosophie et la culture européennes qui sont nettement plus complexes et riches que les pauvres abrégés qu'ils en donnent. En somme, ils défendent souvent le caractère restreint et artificiel de l'Antiquité que leurs 'founding fathers' ont importé de l'Europe.

Pourtant on doit leur donner raison, quand ils demandent notre attention pour ce qui distingue la culture grecque des autres cultures: 'Greek wisdom is not Mediterranean but anti-mediterranean; Hellenic culture is not just different from, but entirely antithetical to, any civilization of its own time or space. Connected to this proposition is our contention that the central institutions that derive from an underlying Hellenic core of values have shaped the modern West. We must therefore examine them if we are to understand, manage, and correct our own lives... Like the Greeks themselves, classicists must never pretend *that all cultures are equal*. They know better than to speak the untruth that there is a *Phaedo* in Egypt, an *Oresteia* in Persia, or an *Iliad* in Assyria, much less democracy among the contemporary Germans or universities in fourth-century B.C. Gaul. ... While Cleisthenes and his successors were reorganizing Athens into a consensual democracy built upon assemblies, councils, and officials elected by citizens and lot, hereditary princes and priests were running the show for the Celts, Persians (whose "Great" king could "do as he willed"), Scythians, Jews, and Egyptians. There was no God-On-This-Earth Themistocles, no Lord Solon'.⁴⁶

B. De l'autre côté, dans cette grande discussion au sujet de nos racines et de notre identité culturelle, il y a ce désir d'intégration et de synthèse qui tient compte des grands changements dans le climat politique et intellectuel et qui n'a pas peur de toutes les transformations qui ont pu se produire les derniers temps. Cette seconde piste accepte que depuis au moins le Romantisme en Europe la continuité dans le système culturel et littéraire a été perturbée par l'apparition des littératures nationales qui s'opposaient à l'idée qu'une source unique devrait sauvegarder et motiver l'humanité. Le vingtième siècle a refusé l'existence de la Littérature au profit d'un certain nombre de littératures, la Majuscule a été remplacée par un nombre de minuscules, reflétant ainsi l'idée qu'en Europe, il y a un grand nombre de nations, de cultures et de littératures. En effet, le vingtième siècle a découvert l'existence de plusieurs

⁴⁶ Hanson, Heath & Thornton, o.c., p.254-259; Hanson & Heath, o.c., 86-98.

littératures: régionales, nationales et internationales, coloniales et postcoloniales, populaires et non-verbales, occidentales et orientales, stimulant ainsi des processus d'intégration sociale et politique. Afin de stimuler des nouvelles pistes aptes à construire 'notre' identité, nous devrions nous demander qui se trouve concerné lorsqu'on parle d'un NOUS, ou comme Gerald Graff l'a formulé: 'What should we be teaching when there is no longer « we »?' (1988).⁴⁷

Se ranger parmi ceux qui favorisent le modèle d'intégration nous oblige aussi à prendre en considération sérieusement, à côté des systèmes écrits, l'étude des messages électroniques qui commence à remplacer le texte écrit et la page imprimée. En effet, de nos jours il n'y a plus seulement le texte des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide, mais il y a aussi ce monde présenté et rédigé en hypertext, médiatisé et électronique qui présente des textes parallèles, des peintures, des bandes sonores et visuelles, une possibilité illimitée de se créer une histoire de la réception très stimulante. Dans cette perspective chaque texte se situe dans un nombre de réseaux littéraires, mais participe aussi dans un framework culturel nettement plus large, et dès lors on pourrait définir la compétence culturelle de l'individu en termes d'une capacité de se servir de ce réseau intertextuel. La nouvelle génération d'étudiants et d'intellectuels se définit particulièrement par leur capacité de naviger à travers toutes sortes de systèmes, de codes et de réseaux, non seulement littéraires, mais aussi culturels, sociaux, politiques, ..., ce qui nécessitera tôt ou tard la création d'autres types de 'manuels' (scolaires), qui seront forcément d'une nature nettement plus ouverte, sans soucis de frontières protégées, flexibles de nature, et invitant les lecteurs à faire des choix personnels.⁴⁸

Décidément, l'époque des premières éditions imprimées par Gutenberg (1440) et par Christophe Plantin (1520-1589) est loin derrière nous et la digitalisation oblige chaque processus didactique à s'orienter de nouveau, à prendre de nouvelles positions. Heureusement, et nous le savons très bien, l'arrivée de la technologie n'est pas le premier, ni le dernier changement survenu à nos études en occident: nous avons connu les mêmes transitions fondamentales grâce aux premiers livres imprimés qui, eux aussi, à l'époque, ont causé une vraie révolution. Finalement, tant le livre imprimé, que l'ordinateur, ne sont que des instruments dont nous devons nous servir pour réaliser des buts culturels et didactiques. Tant les philologues classiques que

⁴⁷ Gerald Graff, What should we be teaching – when there is no "we"? in: The Yale Journal of Criticism 1/2, 1988, 189-211.

⁴⁸ Soetaert, Top & van Belle, o.c.

les professeurs du secondaire en général se demandent donc actuellement comment cette transformation technologique influence leur existence, leur façon de travailler et d'enseigner. Ils sont invités depuis pas mal de temps à reconsidérer globalement leur position didactique et à se réaliser, comme le disait Marshall McLuhan dans son livre remarquable *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) que les technologies ne sont pas uniquement des innovations mises à la disposition de certaines personnes, mais qu'elles sont aussi les moyens par lesquelles ces personnes seront ré-inventés eux-mêmes.

En guise de conclusion, on constate que ni la défense de la tradition en soi, ni la propagation de l'attitude réceptive et active de l'élève doivent conduire à des positions extrêmes. La réaction émotionnelle et affective de l'élève doit toujours reposer sur des contenus culturels valables, déjà mis à l'épreuve. D'autre part, le professeur a pu fonctionner trop longtemps comme un facteur gênant le développement émotionnel de l'élève, aussi longtemps que les contenus trop/purement rationnels figuraient comme unique but de l'éducation. Une didactique actuelle se situera donc entre ces deux pratiques, invitant les uns et les autres à explorer un monde en plein changement, à examiner critiquement les nouvelles méthodologies et à forger de nouveaux instruments, si besoin il y a.

3. 'Multiculturalisme' et 'Cultural Studies'

L'arrivée du *www* a annoncé que le monde a changé profondément⁴⁹ et que notre position culturelle ne dépend plus uniquement de l'Europe occidentale. Les dernières décennies, la globalisation de la culture est devenue un fait incontournable, elle nous parle d'autres continents, d'autres littératures, d'autres systèmes sémiotiques. L'attention accordée aux prix Nobel de la littérature, tels Gabriel Marcia Marquez, Wole Soyinka, Naguib Mahfouz, ou Gao Xingjian, et à toute cette littérature dite post-coloniale exige d'être prise au sérieux. En plus, il devient clair que le 'classique' ne se définit et ne se conçoit pas uniquement en termes gréco-romains, mais comme le précisent Gail Holst-Warhaft & David R. McCann dans leur livre *The Classical Moment. Views from Seven Literatures* (1999), le même piste peut se concevoir en ce qui concerne la littérature de l'Inde, la Chine, la Corée, le Japon, le Vietnam et la Mésopotamie. Dans leur introduction, les auteurs s'excusent encore de leur audace, mais annoncent fermement que, dans un temps probablement sans précédents dans sa volonté de questionner ses propres biais de légitimation, de ses préjugés et de ses canons, l'idée d'un seul moment classique qui définit LA culture doit être réexaminé. Bien sûr, ils se

⁴⁹ Dennis J. Schmidt, *On Germans and Other Greeks*, o.c., 5: 'This is an age calling for essential alterations in the ways we speak and think about ourselves and our world'.

rendent compte qu'on a souvent essayé d'élargir les curricula, de présenter des cours multidisciplinaires et d'accueillir les sociétés multiculturelles, mais ils constatent aussi que personne n'a voulu examiner le «moment classique» dans d'autres langues et cultures, afin de découvrir si ses effets et de ses présuppositions sont les mêmes.

À l'heure actuelle, l'effet de globalisation est visible dans le monde entier, toutes les cultures sont littéralement à notre disposition. Les «cultural studies», une des branches les plus récentes à ce grand arbre des sciences humaines dans nos facultés de lettres, ainsi que les cours d'anthropologie et de mythologie, nous montrent les résultats d'une recherche initiée depuis peu, mais vraiment interculturelle.⁵⁰ Edward Saïd, dans tout ce qu'il a écrit, nous demande d'ouvrir les yeux pour détecter les clichés qui, jusqu'à présent, ont déterminé et gouverné nos habitudes de regarder et de juger les peuples de l'Orient. Bien sûr, la «mission civilisatrice» que l'Occident s'est attribuée, touche à sa fin, ainsi que toutes les aspirations à coloniser perpétuellement, tant sur un niveau géographique que mental. Le vingtième siècle a très bien compris qu'il y a d'autres centres culturels importants dans le monde; en effet, nous ne vivons plus dans ce XIXe siècle qui a cru que le victorianisme ou l'esprit de Weimar suffisaient à connaître ou à se représenter le monde. Aujourd'hui, aimant bien cet opéra magnifique qui est l'*Aida* de Verdi (1871), nous critiquons aussi le compositeur à cause de la façon ignoble dont il parlait de l'Égypte et de ses habitants.⁵¹

Un siècle plus tard, les deux tomes publiés par Martin Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (1987 et 1996), dans lesquels il posait un nombre de questions quant à la naissance du miracle grec, ont suscité des réactions stupéfiants et ont fait du sinologue un homme aussi chéri que détesté. Bernal se demandait plus particulièrement quand et pourquoi l'ancienne hypothèse qui reconnaissait l'apport de l'Orient dans la naissance de la Grèce antique a pu être modifiée en faveur de l'hypothèse arienne, qui soutenait que les dettes des Grecs étaient envers les Indo-Européens. Ce que Martin Bernal voulait retracer, les origines du peuple grec, se chargeait graduellement de tant de prises de positions idéologiques que

⁵⁰ James A. Berlin & Michael J. Vivion (Eds.), *Cultural Studies in the English Classroom*, Portsmouth, 1992, Heinemann-Boynton / Cook; Seth L. Schein, *Cultural Studies and Classics: Contrasts and Opportunities*, in: Thomas M. Falkner, Nancy Felson & David Konstan (Eds.), *Contextualizing Classics. Ideology, Performance, Dialogue. Essays in Honor of John J. Peradotto*, Lanham, 1999, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 285-299.

⁵¹ Edward Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, 1993, Alfred A. Knopf; cf. déjà Edward Saïd, *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, 1978, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

même maintenant, après presque 15 ans, livre après livre ont été publiés témoignant d'une lutte de principes politiques, raciales et idéologiques.⁵²

Il est important de noter que, dans cette succession de livres et d'articles, l'histoire de l'Antiquité n'est pas si neutre que ça, mais, au contraire, qu'elle dépend en large mesure de constructions établies durant les XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, tel le néo-hellénisme romantique, le victorianisme anglais et l'idéalisme allemand.⁵³ Aujourd'hui même, des philologues classiques sont divisés dans une lutte de principes qui oppose une certaine gauche à une certaine droite, des traditionalistes aux progressistes.

Dès lors, il est clair que, depuis plusieurs années, tant la philologie en général que la philologie classique en particulier, ont perdu leur anciens droits. Elles n'occupent plus la position de Mère et Source Unique de toutes les autres disciplines, mais démontrent qu'elles ont subi, depuis pas mal d'années, des évolutions épistémologiques sérieuses. D'autres sciences les ont enrichi de solutions partielles, mais valables, les ont enrichies, les ont développées, pensons à la linguistique structurale du début du XX^e siècle (De Saussure, Hjelmslev), le structuralisme en général depuis les années soixante (Jakobson, Lévi-Strauss), la sémiotique (Barthes, Eco, Lotman), la théorie de la focalisation (Bal, De Jong).

Des discussions intéressantes se sont aussi présentées autour de la notion d'humanisme. Bien sûr, nous connaissons tous l'importance historique des *umanisti* qui ont (re)découvert les auteurs classiques aux 15^e et 16^e siècles.⁵⁴ Nous oublions peut-être trop vite que, depuis lors, d'autres notions de provenance allemande s'y sont ajoutées, celle de *Humanismus*, et puis celles du deuxième et troisième Humanismus, ce qui a certainement compliqué et aggravé la discussion de sa valeur universelle. En effet, un nombre restreint de

⁵² 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. la réaction de certains de ses adversaires dans Mary R. Lefkowitz & Guy Maclean Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, Chapel Hill & London, 1996, The University of North Carolina Press. On trouvera des arguments en faveur de Bernal dans: Jacques Berlinerblau, *Heresy in the University: the Black Athena Controversy and the Responsibilities of American Intellectuals*, London/New Brunswick, 1999, Rutgers University Press. Cf. aussi la réponse de Bernal lui-même à certaines critiques: David Chioni Moore (Ed.), *Black Athena Writes Back. Martin Bernal responds to his critics*, Durham & London, 2001, Duke University Press.

⁵³ Robert Palter, *Eighteenth-Century Historiography in Black Athena*, in: *Black Athena Revisited*, o.c., 349-402; Robert E. Norton, *The Tyranny of Germany over Greece?: Bernal, Herder, and the German Appropriation of Greece*, in: *Black Athena Revisited*, o.c., 403-410.

⁵⁴ Alan Bullock, *The Humanist Tradition in the West*, New York, 1985; Tony Davies, *Humanism*, London & New York, 1997, Routledge.

personnes a défini cet humanisme comme l'essence même de l'humanité, comme des caractéristiques essentielles qui définissent la culture classique et qui doivent donc s'appliquer, tôt ou tard, à chaque nation. Dans la définition de Descartes au XVII^e siècle, la raison et les facultés rationnelles ont défini l'homme en général, mais dans maintes œuvres l'homme commence à remplacer Dieu, grâce à ses facultés rationnelles qui l'autorisent à proclamer: « Cogito, ergo sum ». Après lui, l'analyse économique de Marx et la perspective psychoanalytique de Freud et de Lacan ont continué à réduire cet humanisme trop idéalisé. Les grands désastres causés par les guerres mondiales ont ensuite suscité dans le champ des philosophes, la mort de l'homme (Athusser, Foucault), la mort de l'histoire (Fukuyama), la mort de cette réalité que nous croyons connaître si bien (Baudrillard, Deleuze). Dès lors, il est clair que toutes les opinions naïves concernant un humanisme proclamé d'un ton victorieux, élitiste⁵⁵ et moralisant, doivent être revues. On ne s'étonne donc pas si Richard Schechner publie des études sur *The End of Humanism* (1982) et si Neil Badmington parle du *Posthumanism* (2000).

On ne s'étonne non plus de lire des attaques sévères vis-à-vis la construction méthodologique de ce monde humaniste et classique, considéré comme un domaine autonome et immuable de connaissance. Comme le dit encore Seth L. Schein en 1999, '(the) main reference tool in classical studies remains a *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* that was begun in 1894 and completed in 1983. As far as methodology goes, the latest articles are often indistinguishable from those in the earliest volumes'. Voilà pourquoi il conclut: 'Partly as a result of these old-fashioned emphases, Classics, as a scholarly discipline (and an educational tradition), seems to me somewhat outmoded and marginalized both within the university and in society in general'.⁵⁶

4. Vers une nouvelle synthèse... ?

Constatons donc que les termes dans lesquels la tradition gréco-romaine s'est présentée à nous depuis des siècles ont rempli des multiples fonctions, témoignant ainsi des points d'intérêt les plus hétérogènes. Reconnaissons aussi que les défenseurs de la tradition ont souvent voulu arrêter le temps, ce qui a figé cet héritage culturel et en a gelé les arguments et les discussions. Pourtant, presque toujours, la guerre ne s'est pas faite au sujet de l'Antiquité elle-même, mais entre défenseurs et attaquants bien piégés dans une position intel-

⁵⁵ Seth L. Schein, *Cultural Studies and Classics*, o.c., 290: 'l' auteur renvoie à plusieurs reprises à S.H. Jed, *Chaste Thinking. The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989.

⁵⁶ Seth L. Schein, *Cultural Studies and Classics*, o.c., 287.

lectuelle: la lutte socio-culturelle s'est toujours située dans le champ de l'interprétation elle-même. Comme le disaient Maria Wyke et Michael Biddiss: 'it is not «the past itself» so much as our constructed images thereof which do most to mould our cultural consciousness'.⁵⁷

A partir du moment que deviennent apparents le message idéologique véhiculé par les statues de Bernini, la déformation des images antiques par l'art Baroque (pensons au scandale survenu en 1575, lors de l'inauguration de la première église baroque *Il Gesù* à Rome, une construction tout à fait nouvelle qui 'détruisait' le 'vrai' style classique), la 'normalisation' des styles classicistes et néoclassicistes qui par une copie trop idéale et donc stérile ont bloqué l'imagination pendant des siècles... on devrait se sentir libéré de cette création ininterrompue d'images et de filtres, de toute cette série de 'constructions' historiques qui ne sont que des créations de deuxième ordre servant à interpréter les matériaux 'primaires'.⁵⁸

Une fois reconnus les investissements idéologiques, esthétiques, stylistiques, socio-culturels qui ne sont que des miroirs dans lesquels l'antiquité gréco-latine n'a pas manqué de se refléter, toujours d'une façon imparfaite, toujours à la recherche d'une interprétation locale, nationale et contemporaine... il est grand temps de se demander quels sont les miroirs actuels, quelles sont les lacunes existentielles et les manques philosophiques qui nous inspirent aujourd'hui à renouveler l'étude des textes antiques.

Un exemple suffira. Les temps postmodernes ont redécouvert l'importance de la tragédie antique pour y situer beaucoup de nos problèmes contemporains. Le vingtième siècle a connu plus de représentations tragiques que tous les autres siècles réunis.⁵⁹ D'une part la tragédie s'est profondément rajeunie et se sert des techniques les plus modernes, d'autre part elle risque des interprétations les plus inquiétantes qui visiblement intéressent et provoquent le public. On parle de l'«inquiétante modernité» de la tragédie et du frisson tragique qui continuent de nous rappeler que nous sommes des êtres limités, toujours à la recherche de notre identité. Les questions les plus troublantes qui ont pris au vif les grecs anciens sont de retour: qui suis-je, quelles sont les limites de ma connaissance, quelle est ma position ontologique dans un monde qui manque visiblement de fondement définitif? Un retour aux textes grecs ainsi qu'une étude des différentes périodes qui ont connu le sentiment tragique (ou qui l'on considéré comme superflu) ont déblayé le sol pour une nouvelle aventure spirituelle. Les temps postmodernes, qui ont eu le senti-

⁵⁷ Maria Wyke & Michael Biddiss, *Introduction: Using and Abusing Antiquity*, o.c., 16.

⁵⁸ Jan Gorak, *The Making of the Modern Canon*, London, 1991

⁵⁹ Freddy Decreus, «Le bruit court que nous n'en avons pas fini avec les Grecs». *Le visage troublant de Dionysos dans le théâtre actuel*, in: *Etudes Théâtrales* 21, 2001, 13-28.

ment qu'aucun métarécit traditionnel ne fonctionne encore comme il le faut, ont découvert que, en ce qui concerne le théâtre des Grecs, nous sommes nettement plus Grecs que nous voulons le reconnaître. Voilà pourquoi nous découvrons aujourd'hui que le tragique grecque peut bel et bien figurer comme le partenaire intellectuel dont nous avons besoin actuellement et qui nous expliquera sans gêne ni délai que nous sommes des êtres humains aussi imparfaits que nos précurseurs grecs. Peut-être un peu plus décentrés, un peu plus multiculturels, mais pas du tout certains d'avoir réalisé beaucoup de progrès. Une étude approfondie d'*Œdipe Roi* nous montre 'that the tragedy of Oedipus is a tragedy of enlightenment, dramatizing the triumphs and failures attending the heroic attempts of enlightened reason to fix the identity of the rational, autonomous, emancipated, and fully self-constituted subject'.⁶⁰

Dans les temps où l'étude positiviste (souvent appelé 'Old Historicism') détenait la clef de chaque interprétation, les choses étaient nettement plus simples: la littérature reflétait l'histoire d'une façon directe, la vie et les temps suffisaient à expliquer le style. L'art était considérée comme manifestation intemporelle, la tragédie comme une construction close et autonome, l'expression mature d'une seule intention artistique qui reconciliait toutes les tensions et ambiguïtés. La construction de la tragédie était donc conçue, dans la terminologie de Bachtin, comme une voix monologique. Don Fowler en donne une très bonne illustration, lorsqu'il cite l'interprétation suivante de R.M. Adams qui écrivit en 1950: 'the play is a self-contained unit; there is nothing within it which calls attention to or criticises its aesthetic existence; there is no unresolved or discordant element to disturb its conclusion; in its psychological effects it is a unified and harmonious whole that passes the audience through a clear, easily defined and complete emotional cycle to a distinct logical and emotional conclusion'.⁶¹

L'exemple de l'*Orestie* montre que cette trilogie fut considérée comme un document qui favorisait des solutions finales et unitaires: cette trilogie 'recon-

⁶⁰ Christopher Rocco, *Tragedy and Enlightenment. Athenian Political Thought and the Dilemmas of Modernity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1997, University of California Press, 34.

⁶¹ Dans son article *Postmodernism, Romantic Irony, and Classical Closure*, Don Fowler se moque clairement du monologisme: "Closure" in all its senses has often been seen as a distinguishing characteristic of classicism. The classic work is a rounded organic whole, *simplex et unum*: it ends in resolution, "all passion spent". Antiquity is a closed system, providing a canon of texts whose perfection is beyond time: criticism of those texts is an eternal return, the rediscovery of the timeless verities that they contain. The Classical Tradition is a golden chain which enables us to "take our journey back", as Edwin Muir puts it. And at the end of all our journeying are those same everlasting Forms of Beauty that have always been there and always will be. No one, of course, has ever really believed this nonsense' (Don Fowler, *Roman Constructions. Readings in Postmodern Latin*, Oxford, 2000, Oxford University Press, 5).

ciles conflict with harmony, the chthonic with the Olympian divinities, female with male, old with new, clan-based blood vengeance with civic justice... The rational and creative male principle ... triumphs over what is female, inherited from the past, natural, and local'⁶². Eschyle fut donc le prophète par excellence de la démocratie et de la raison. Voilà pourquoi sa trilogie donnait avant tout la preuve que la polis démocratique ne manquait pas de fondement et pourquoi aussi elle pouvait représenter les débuts d'une civilisation libre en Occident, une interprétation qui plaisait beaucoup aux générations qui ont vécu les terribles guerres mondiales.

Afin de parler une langue qui entre dans cette nouvelle synthèse contemporaine, considérons maintenant comment les 'New Historicists'⁶³ traitent ce même sujet. Notons d'abord qu'ils sont convaincus que le passé ne se trouve pas dans les archives, mais qu'il doit être considéré comme une 'construction' faite de multiples traces de textualité assemblés dans diverses configurations. Au lieu de privilégier une lecture homogène qui réunit tous les fils interprétatifs, les nouvelles générations d'historiens et de philologues étudient la façon dont une certaine réalité culturelle a généré une formation discursive (Foucault) et comment elle y participe, non comme imitation directe d'une réalité historique que nous estimons connue, mais comme un des multiples moyens à participer dans la constitution de la réalité. De nos jours Eschyle n'est donc plus étudié comme auteur monolithique. Ses tragédies nous donnent une idée comment la culture grecque a été modélée et questionnée. Ses textes ne sont pas compris comme des messages transparents, au contraire, on a l'idée maintenant, qu'à côté d'une tendance unitaire qui engendre une certaine solution à la fin de l'œuvre, partout dans la trilogie, le langage est en flux, les images sont parsémés d'essais de fraude, de manipulation rhétorique et de communication (délibérément) manquée.

Une telle interprétation de la tragédie qui ébranle tout jugement, accuse chaque confiance en soi proclamée trop immaturement, et qui pose des questions inquiétantes quant au fonctionnement du pouvoir public, mène à une interprétation de *l'Orestie* qui structure et décompose, qui constitue et inverse

⁶² Rocco, o.c., 143-4.

⁶³ Roland Barthes, *Essais Critiques*, Paris, 1964, Seuil; Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, 1975, Gallimard; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago & London, 1980, The University of Chicago Press; Aram Veesser, *The New Historicism*, London & New York, 1989, Routledge; Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore & London, 1978, The John Hopkins University Press.

les rôles sociaux et politiques, qui neutralise l'ancienne violence mythique et prévoit en même temps de nouveaux désordres.⁶⁴

Une telle vision partage la position barthienne concernant le statut du texte littéraire, s'inscrit dans les formations discursives de Foucault, se situe dans la sémiotique culturelle de Lotman, parle la langue de *l'Opera Aperta* de Eco, questionne le fallogocentrisme comme il a été décrit par Irigaray et appliquée par Zeitlin, étudie méticuleusement la composition rhétorique de chaque texte littéraire (Greenblatt),...et nous montre qu'une nouvelle synthèse de méthodes se construit sous nos yeux. Probablement, cette insistance sur la nature toujours inachevée de la connaissance humaine, sur les exclusions et les frontières opérées par tout système de pouvoir (Foucault), sur les conséquences malheureuses de l'époque des Lumières, ratée ou pas encore achevée (Habermas), sur notre émancipation mal comprise de la nature, sur la manque de réussite à réaliser le Progrès définitif, sur l'acceptation de l'homme comme énigme et mystère, sur la volonté humaine à devenir Dieu et son échec, sur la reconnaissance de notre plus ignorance profonde, ..., a fait que nous nous sentons plus que jamais des Grecs tragiques.

En guise de conclusion provisoire, on pourrait avancer que la recherche de cette nouvelle synthèse a donné corps à ce qu'on a déjà appelé le 'New Philology' (Michelle Gellrich)⁶⁵ et le 'New Latin School' (Don Fowler).⁶⁶

5. Les dix commandements

Finissons donc en beauté et tâchons de rédiger dix commandements qui traduisent la nouvelle synthèse en termes concrets.

1. Finissons-en de blâmer et d'attaquer d'abord les autres, commençons toujours par évaluer nos propres activités. Ne participons donc pas à cette culture de plaintes et gardons-nous d'attaquer le mauvais système scolaire, les mauvais professeurs, les mauvais curricula, les mauvais livres scolaires, les mauvais étudiants.
2. Nous, les philologues classiques, devons apprendre à interpréter le passé en fonction du présent en de l'avenir. Il est donc dangereux de nous lim-

⁶⁴ Rocco, o.c., 146-147, qui renvoie à Ch. Segal, *Greek Tragedy and Society: A Structural Perspective*, in: id., *Interpreting Greek Tragedy: Myth, Poetry, Text*, Ithaca, 1986, Cornell University Press. Cf. Simon Goldhill, *The Oresteia*, Cambridge, 1992, Cambridge University Press; id., *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1986, Cambridge University Press. Cf. aussi: Efrossini Spentzou & Don Fowler (Eds.), *Cultivating the Muse. Struggles for Power and Inspiration in Classical Literature*, Oxford, 2002, Oxford University Press.

⁶⁵ 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, 38- 58.

⁶⁶ Don Fowler, *Roman Constructions. Readings in Postmodern Latin*, o.c.

iter uniquement aux réflexions qui ont déjà servi, au cours des siècles précédents, à la défense et à l'interprétation des textes classiques. La philosophie « back-to-basics » est donc insuffisante à elle seule à sauver l'héritage des classiques.

3. En tant que philologues classiques nous devons participer plus intensément à la vie intellectuelle et culturelle et prendre position dans le débat public. En devenant des membres actifs qui participent à notre culture et qui traduisent ce qui nous semble intéressant et nécessaire quant aux aspects de notre auto-interprétation, nous traduisons dans une perspective sociologique des questions essentielles qui ont toujours appartenu à la culture « classique ».
4. Puisque « les classiques » s'adressent aux personnes de 7 à 77, nous devons leur parler dans une langue qu'ils comprennent et qu'ils estiment, au lieu de nous perdre dans des communications et des publications trop spécialisées. Adressons-nous donc aussi au grand public, de façon qu'ils puissent nous comprendre et nous apprécier.
5. Dans ces temps de mondialisation et de globalisation, nous devons comprendre que les autres continents et les cultures non-occidentales ont produit et continuent à le faire des littératures de haute qualité, sachant bien qu'une telle disposition rend la définition de la culture gréco-latine encore plus difficile. Evitons donc de juger les cultures gréco-latines comme seules dépositaires des valeurs classiques.
6. Afin de nous sentir à l'aise parmi toutes ces nouvelles méthodologies, nous devons d'abord les étudier, les approfondir pour en tirer profit, pas les condamner d'avance et nous en éloigner. Si nous voulons être respectés dans les futures réformes universitaires, nous devons prouver que nous osons mettre en discussion ce qui, jusqu'à présent, a été le plus cher pour nous, e.a. la définition du canon, du centre, de la tradition, de la philologie « classiques ».
7. Puisque les priorités dans l'organisation des facultés universitaires ont changé beaucoup ces derniers temps, les philologues classiques doivent prouver, plus que jamais, que nous avons toujours quelque chose à dire. Il est donc nécessaire que les philologues classiques partagent du moins des connaissances et des méthodologies de base que tout autre collègue dans le domaine de la littérature et de l'histoire. Il faut donc participer aux grands débats intellectuels et épistémologiques de notre temps et s'inscrire dans les mêmes metalangages.
8. Afin de ne pas être minorisés ou refusés dans les mesures de restructuration universitaire qui suivent, les philologues classiques doivent se réaliser que des alliances entre toutes les disciplines et les départements seront souhaitables et qu'elles doivent reposer surtout sur les grandes ques-

tions intellectuelles de nos disciplines. Un retour aux problèmes fondamentaux de nos disciplines est donc nécessaire et souhaitable. Revenons donc à l'essentiel, pensons surtout aux questions de formation et de culture générale, pensons aux grandes questions de signification qui permettent d'organiser la totalité d'une vie.

9. Jusqu'à présent, nos disciplines nous ont ébloui par la présentation des grands moments de l'antiquité, en nous alléchant par les siècles d'or, les textes éternels, les grands gestes, ce qui a résulté dans la création d'une essence classique, d'un public élitiste, qu'un grand nombre de siècles ont ensuite interprété selon des pistes moralisantes. La confrontation avec les littératures nationales ou celles des minorités nous obligent à poursuivre cette discussion et à définir de nouveau la dimension axiomatique et les positions élitistes. Montrons donc au grand public les luttes continuelles que les anciens ont dû mener pour arriver à ce que nous considérons comme classique. Montrons donc que la dimension classique de l'Antiquité est le résultat d'une série de luttes et de tensions, pas le résultat d'une exemplarité innée ou statique.
10. Vu que la nature du texte a changé en faveur d'un hypertexte électronique, vu que les paradigmes de lecture et d'interprétation ont changé considérablement, vu que la relation entre les professeurs et les étudiants a changé en faveur des derniers, vu que la position académique des classiques a beaucoup changé et dans un nombre de cas risque d'être supprimé, il est clair que les langues classiques, depuis pas mal de temps, ont commencé à se ré-orienter et qu'elles ne ressemblent en rien à l'enseignement de la période Weimar ou victorienne, ni même à cette philologie d'entre les deux guerres mondiales.

Nino Dolidze (Tbilisi)

INTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPTS OF ΦΥΣΙΣ AND NOMOS IN SOPHISTS' TEACHING

The dichotomy "νόμος-φύσις", as one of the central problems in Greek dialectics, is being formed in Socrates' contemporary philosophy as the issue of crucial significance. Although, because of its wide and multifarious character it often varies depending on the school or philosophical movement it developed within. The dichotomy is also presented in Sophists' teaching and in Plato's dialogues, concerning origin of language or state organization.

How controversial and mutually exclusive are the two parts of the dichotomy, how separated are φύσις and νόμος from each other? According to traditionally accepted explanation, φύσις is regarded as a natural principle, true and "divine" element, while νόμος is considered as the law artificially established by human beings that lacks natural grounds and is based on pure convention.

Nevertheless we suggest, that the concept of νόμος embraced much more than simply the "human law". Just like many other terms, it gained different meanings in different fields of human activity, although did not lose its original sense that could be found in the teachings of ancient Greek philosophers.

Any νόμος implies convention, although not necessarily among human beings. Νόμος is the very force that brings order in φύσις and withdraws it from chaos with the efforts of νομοθέτης (i.e. lawmaker). Although, any kind of order implies two parties of convention – the νομοθέτης, who sets the laws and a human being, who becomes a subject of the laws and executes them. Such explanation clearly indicates that νομοθέτης, by its essence should be a superhuman force, Zeus, as the Lord of Gods and humans, or λόγος, philosophical reflection of creative force.

Νόμος necessarily considers system of rules and rituals that could be set both by divine principle, *nomotevthō* or a human being. The rules become

obligatory for the society that accepts them and consequently, lose their artificial conditional essence and turn into a natural order, *cosmos*, which, in fact, creates new reality beyond the *φύσις*. Such conventional reality becomes a basis for myth, ritual, game. The mentioned game is the very phenomenon, where the dichotomy *φύσις-νόμος* loses its contradictive character and the two elements transform from mutually exclusive into interdependent and correlative ones – the God, *φύσις*, like a child, playing with stones (Heraclitus, DK, B2), creates the world without rules and laws, but from the very moment of creation it acquires definiteness, establishes its own norms and frames, its own rules of logical development. In fact, new, determined reality emerges – the only form of living, which is perceivable for human being. The phenomenon of game is not alien or artificially implanted in Greek philosophy. But in the period of Sophists and Socrates it gains a special importance. Not to mention the method of philosophical inquiry usually used by Socrates, when he hooks his victim in meshes with complicated play on words, the artistic and dramatic form of dialogue presented by Plato, necessarily implies such a game, such conventional reality – we may say that Plato's dialogues represent works of dramatic art, and drama itself is nothing else but a play, performance, which substitutes extraneous and unacceptable reality by familiar, mutually agreed images.

Regarding the Sophists, thanks to the mentioned method of play on words they had reached heights of rhetoric art. No doubt, it would be unreasonable to argue, that Greeks did not understand significance of the rhetoric before – it is used already by Homer; But Sophists contributed to the practice by creating a theory of literature and speech, so-called *ὀρθόεπεια*.

This was the very angle they considered the language as well – they were interested not only in grammatical analysis or description, but also in attempts to enhance it and reveal the rules of its development¹ (1, p. 68), in other words they included rhetoric and literature within the frames of their fame – linguistic game.

It is not accidental, that for their oratorical exercises Sophists often referred to mythological plots and heroes (see for example, Gorgias, Encomium of Helen and Defence of Palamedes). The myth, that in the epoch of since it is familiar and acceptable for every Greek – fiction, so close to the thinking of each ordinary person, that can easily substitute the reality. Gorgias operates with this "fairy reality", thus creating frames of new, "as if real" world – destroys traditional flow of the plot and presents his own myth. Unlike Hesiodus, who considers mythology to be a serious source of informa-

¹ Kerferd G.B. *The Sophistic Movement*. Cambridge University Press. 1981. 68.

tion (moreover, Hesiod would have never dared to produce his own, free interpretation of myth, which for him consists of holy, sacred reality), Gorgias a priori suggests, that everything is just a game and joke. After admitting such a new reality, comes the most spectacular, most dramatic part of the performance – the apology itself.

Language is the best means to establish this conditional reality, although, at first sight it is only a tool to describe the world, but in fact, fails to express it, just like *λόγος* that fails to substitute the objects of reality – as far as the objects have their own existence, while the *λόγος* exists in itself, as a separate object. The only thing that can be expressed through speech, is the *λόγος* itself, as one of the objects existing in the reality (these issues are discussed in Gorgias's treatise *On nature or What is Not*). There is an insuperable verge between *λόγος* and other objects, thus any attempt to express them through *λόγος* will already imply falsification, *ἀπατή*. But this cannot be regarded as a simple delusion, because when a person deliberately admits the deceptions, he immediately becomes involved in a convention between him as the addressee and his interlocutor, the deliverer, regarding the issue of an insuperable gulf between *λόγος* and objects, language and the reality and considering them as mutually substitutable items.

If we try to define the teaching of Sophists and especially the 5th century Sophists in one word, the most appropriate term would be "conventionality". On the one hand it is strange, but on the other it seems quite logical that in the 5th century Athens, the heirs of Hesiod and Aeschylus were such skeptics. Although we have to mention, that skepticism does not imply one specific teaching or static philosophical system, this is a movement in Greek philosophy, originated in the 5th century and covering the period up to Hellenistic epoch².

Citing Kerferd, development of Sophistic doctrine was determined by social and political situation in their contemporary Athens: "There are no facts and no truth, only ideologies and conceptual models and the choice between these in an individual matter, perhaps dependent on personal needs and preferences or perhaps to be influenced by the thinking of social groups"³.

Knowledge, which should derive from experience of the world perception, implies objective information about the external reality, but condition of consciousness, that characterizes a human being, is not a pure knowledge, but impression, idea, opinion; knowledge, as an objective datum, is incommen-

² Sedley D. *The Motivation of Greek Skepticism. The Skeptical Tradition*. Edited by Myles Burnyeat.. University of California Press 1983, 10.

³ Kerferd, 78.

surable with consciousness, which is subjective in its essence. This subjectivity creates an impression that it overrides λόγος, controls it and makes it a descriptive tool of reality⁴. Recalling the other meanings of λόγος (besides the "word", Heraclitus uses it mainly in the meaning of "cosmos, order"), we'll derive to the "theory of ludis". Λόγος sets up the rules and margins of new, conditional reality (and at the same time it is the very rule and margin), where not objective, but subjective being, impression, independent from the existence of a human being, perfect, absolute and objectified, starts functioning.

What are the basic meanings of λόγος? In linguistic sphere it may be linguistic formulation, speech, discussion, description, statement, argument, mental process, thinking, explanation; or it might be defined in a broader sense as cosmic principle, structural principle, formulation, natural law⁵.

It is worth to mention, that the above separation of meanings became completely defined in the teaching of Skeptics, especially in Epictetus (*Dissertationes*, I, 9,6). Epictetus distinguishes "internal λόγος" (λόγος ἐνδιάθητος), which, as a demon, divine principle or essence existing in each individual, occurs as emanation of divine mind and "expressed λόγος" (λόγος προφορικός), which is a symbolic reflection of the first one. Epictetus names λόγος ὀρθός, as well, the "sacred word" or the "sacred mind" (*recta ratio*), which is the way for human being to communicate, assimilate and be equated with God⁶.

Sophists generally do not separate so distinctly the meanings of λόγος, but we suggest, that is to say the semantic variety of the term leads us to the relativism, which is one of the fundamental features and achievements of sophistic philosophy.

Already in the ancient sources Protagoras is named as initiator of "double λόγος" theory (Diogenes Laertios, DK, 80A1, Seneca Ep., 89, 43). A famous aphorism is ascribed to him, that "Man is a measure of all things" (Plato, *Theatetus*, 16c, Sextus Empiricus, DK 80A1). Despite various interpretations of the passage, it is commonly considered as unclear and insensible. Some scholars think, that this passage contains a key to explain the whole sophistic movement of the 5th century⁷.

⁴ Kerferd, 81.

⁵ Kerferd, 83.

⁶ Н.С.Трубейской, *Учение о Логосе.*, М., 1906, 297.

⁷ Kerferd, 85-86.

Regarding the above mentioned, we can consider λόγος as essence, that perceives φύσις, sets the rules of conditional reality, acceptable for human beings, referred by Plato as νόμος φύσεως (Plato, Gorgias, 483 e3). In this case the νόμος-φύσις dichotomy itself gains a slightly different tone: φύσις is not only a nature, but the source of the objects, that have not started there existence in reality, have not been included in any conventional system and have no characterizing features yet. Φύσις is a transitional condition of object, the process of its growth from the very moment of origin until it acquires any function (see Aristotle Metaphysics, 1015 a 13-15), while νόμος is a convention, the system which has not descriptive, but rather normative purpose⁸. It shows direction to human beings and determines their behavior and activity.

Interpretation of λόγος that derives from the teaching of Sophists has greatly influenced further development of philosophy of language. Considering λόγος as a coordinative tool between human beings, conventionality, that converts an incognizable internal world of each individual into objective, cognizable, understandable and acceptable for another individual, we may suggest, that Sophists were first to raise an issue that became one of the core problems of Descartes' philosophy and was further developed by Wittgenstein and Saussure – namely what is correlation between a real object and an image occurring in mind, as well as correlation between subjective perceptions of two individuals. Sophists correctly groped for the merge that exists in both cases. Protagoras gave answer to the question by his formula "Man is a measure of all things", thus establishing relativism and extreme subjectivism, while Gorgias addressed the question by his treatise *On Nature or What is Not*, which is one of the most outstanding works in rhetoric, as well as in philosophy.

⁸ Kerferd, 112.

Tedo Dundua (Tbilisi)

**THE TALE OF TWO SEBASTOSES AND THE
ORTHODOX ALLIANCE.
DAVID THE KING OF GEORGIA AND THEODOROS
GABRAS**

The Empire of Trapezus is thought to be of a Georgian design as a permanent threat to the Sultanate of Rum. Queen Tamar (1184-1210) engineered everything. Still she had had a certain pattern.

The family of Gabras (Gavras) seems to be involved in the story.

Theodoros Gabras of Chaldia was a brave soldier and a man of a noble birth, but he had never been trusted in the Capital. Alexios I was just happy to get rid of him at a good pretext – victorious over the Turks and thus allotted with a rank of the dux of recaptured Trapezus, Theodoros found himself far away in province. Still, this solution turned out to be less effective. Anna Comnena claims that he considered Trapezus as his possession.¹

Gregorios, son of Theodoros, had been suggested as the prospective bridegroom for a member of Comneni family. Yet, there was one more failure. Young Gabras found himself in hostile Constantinople as a hostage. Father freed him by sea-borne expedition. Alexios was furious and he did his best to get him back. Poor Gregorios had nothing to do but to plot against the Emperor. He was isolated in Philippopolis.²

We do not know much what was Gabras' real power in Trapezus; or how he ran the administration. He is killed³ while campaigning against the Seljuks, being still a dux.⁴

¹ Jürgen Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210). München. 1974, 22.

² Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.* 22-23.

³ Theodoros, σεβαστός και δοῦξ Χαλδίας, besides a martyr, died in 1098. v. Werner Seibt. Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. Wien. 1978, 290.

Theodoros was substituted by certain Dabatenos. By the autumn 1103 Gregorios Taronites, either a son of Theodoros Gabras, or a nephew of Alexios' courtier John Taronites, is a dux of Trapezus. Gregorios seems to be related to the family of Gabras.⁵

In 1105/1106 Gregorios was first defeated near colonea, then – imprisoned by John Taronites for obvious disobedience. Still he proved to be hopelessly restive. Released in 1107, residing in Trapezus in 1117, Gregorios started his dangerous participation in Seljuks' matter. First jail, and then huge ransom was his punishment.⁶

The next dux, illustrious general Constantine Gabras⁷ feels himself like an independent toparch⁸ for several years starting from 1123.⁹ After John's glorious campaign in 1139, the Empire controlled the whole southern coast of the Black Sea – Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus. At last Constantine¹⁰ becomes a real dux, without legislature.¹¹ In 1163/64 Manuel Comnenus sent him as an ambassador to sultan Kilij-Arslan II.¹²

⁴ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit, 23.

⁵ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 23-24.

⁶ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 24.

⁷ Who is he, a nephew of Theodoros Gabras?! In 1118 John Comnenus was proclaimed basileus. Very soon afterwards Constantine became δούξ Χαλδίας. v. Werner Seibt. op. cit., 290.

⁸ For more information about toparch v. Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 148 n. 53.

⁹ Especially from 1126. Werner Seibt. op. cit., 290.

¹⁰ He is πρωτονωβελίσσιμος by 1118, and πρωτοσεβαστός or πανσέβαστος σεβαστός later. The former title occurs on his lead seal (picture 1).

Obv. Full-length figure of St. George, facing. The Saint wears armour and chlamys; holds spear in his right hand and long sword – in his left.

Legend – Θ	Γ
.	Ι
E	Ο
.	С
.	

Rev. +KĒR, Θ,

KW+NANO

REAICIMO

TOΓARP

A

τὸ Γαβρ-

ᾶ

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(σῆ)θ(ει)

Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νο-

βελίσσιμο

v. Werner Seibt. op. cit., 289-290, №154.

¹¹ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 24-25.

¹² Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 25.

In 1175 during the siege of Amaseia, Manuel met next Gabras, Michael, leader of the Trapezuntine contingent. Married to Comnena, Michael had taken part also in Hungarian campaign.¹³

Gabrid's political affiliations were even more complicated. Some of them served the Seljuks; and one was especially unlucky. After their victory over the Turks in 1146, the Byzantines executed Gabras, who had been brought up among the Turks and fought for them.¹⁴

One more Gabras was a big man, and a courtier of Kilij-Arslan II. He is Muslim for sure, because of his name – Ikhtiyar ad-din Hasan ben Gabras. We are aware of his diplomatic missions to Manuel during the siege of Amaseia, and after the battle at Myriocephalum, also – to Salah ed-Din after the fall of Jerusalem.¹⁵ Hasan ben Gavras is thought to be son of the man killed in 1146. Hasan was on good terms with sultan, but not for a long time. The prince intrigued against him. Hasan started for his domain, located southwards from Trapezus. On the way home he was assassinated by the Turks (1189).¹⁶ According to another version, Hasan ben Gavras was charged with poisoning the sultan (1192).¹⁷

John Gabras is already a Christian, but he too serves sultan. Keikubad delegated him to pope in 1235. It is not probable for him to be descended from Hasan.¹⁸ Maybe John belongs to the principal line, that of Trapezuntine toparchs?! Then, how did they find their way to Melitene, a dwelling place for Michael Gabras, a physician, in 1256?! The only explanation do exist – the Chaldian domains are lost together with the power to Comneni family. Some consider Nicephorus Palaeologus as the last dux of Trapezus.¹⁹

Comneni cared much also about their Paphlagonian domains. Alexius stayed in Trapezus, while his brother David hasardously marched on westwards. Maybe he even intended to restore Comneni rule over Constantinople?! We shall never know. Nicaeans, Latins and Seljuks calmed him down finally. He is killed near Sinope.²⁰

¹³ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 26. The Hungarian campaign took place in 1161-1167. v. John Julius Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*. Printed in England by Claus Ltd., St. Ives plc. Published in Penguin Books. 1998, 286-287; История Византии. т. 2. М. 1967, 326.

¹⁴ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 25.

¹⁵ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 26; Manuel lost the battle of Myriocephalum in 1176, and Jerusalem fell in 1187. John Julius Norwich. op. cit., 289, 295.

¹⁶ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 26-27.

¹⁷ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 27.

¹⁸ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 27.

¹⁹ Ф. И. Успенский. *Очерки из Истории Трапезунтской Империи*. Л. 1929, 31.

²⁰ Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 72-76. Comneni Imperial ambitions fit properly the schedule of the Fourth Crusade – on 8 November 1202 the army of the Fourth Crusade set sail from Venice.

*Family Tree*The duxes

Theodoros Gabras, contemporary
of Alexios, + 1098

Constantine Gabras (1118(?)/1123-1163/64)

Michael Gabras (1167-1175)

| (?)

John Gabras, delegated to pope 1235

| (?)

Michael, a physician from Melitene

Those from Rum

Gabras + 1146

|

Ikhtiyar ad-din Hasan ben
Gavras (1175-1189/92)

After many years a plenty of Gavras dwelt in Northern Black Sea coast.²¹

We all are largely indebted to Anna Comnena, John Zonaras, John Kinnamos, Michael of Syria, Niketas Choniates etc. for their works.

After Manzikert (1071) the economic system of Byzantium showed every sign of political disintegration. The result was as follows: (I) either a creation of *de jure* and *de facto* independent provincial political structures, or (II) a genesis of a border "baron", Imperial dux, with *de facto* legislature. He is a toparch. Even the Norman soldier of fortune Roussel de Bailleul tried to establish such a rule in Anatolia, opposing Michael Ducas.²² Would not it be

On 24 June 1203 the fleet dropped anchor off Constantinople. On 5 July the Crusading army crossed the Bosphorus and landed below Galata, on the north-eastern side of the Golden Horn. On 6 July the chain that barred the entrance to the Golden Horn was lowered and the fleet swept in. Soon the assault came, it was directed against the weakest point in the Byzantine defenses – the sea frontage of the Palace of Blachernae, at the extreme north-west corner of the city. Crusaders poured into the city. On 1 August 1203 Alexius IV Angelus was crowned. Crusaders, his allies, withdrew to Galata to await their promised reward. January 1204 – Alexius Ducas Murzuphlus was crowned, he refused to pay. April 9, 1204 – fall of Constantinople. v. John Julius Norwich. *op. cit.*, 300-305. The same April saw Alexius Comnenus in Trapezus. *Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta Ad Georgiam Pertinentia*. Tomus VII. *Textum graecum cum versione iberica edidit commentariisque instruxit Sim. Kauchtschischwili. Tbilisiis. MCMLXVII, 165-166*; John Julius Norwich. *op. cit.*, 307-308. Georgian chronicle puzzles us even more – She (i.e. Tamar, T. D.) sent a few of them from West Georgia, and they captured Lazica, Trapezus, Limen, Samsun, Sinope, Kerasount, Kotiora, Amastris, Herakleia and all the places of Paphlagonia and Pontus. She gave (those lands – T. D.) to her relative Alexius Comnenus... As soon as the Franks learnt about the relief expedition to assist the Greeks, the Venetians captured the city (Constantinople – T. D.). *The Life of Kartli (Kartlis Tskhovreba) /in Georg./*. edit. S. Kaukhchishvili. Tbilisi. 1959. v. II, 142.

²¹ *Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta Ad Georgiam Pertinentia. Tomus VI. Textum graecum cum versione iberica edidit commentariisque instruxit Sim. Kauchtschischwili. Tbilisiis. MCMLXVI, 111 n. 1.*

²² J. J. Norwich. *op. cit.*, 243; *История Византии*. т. 2, 289.

much easier for a local Chaldian authority, Theodoros Gabras, to do the same?!

The reason of a disintegration is as follows: Byzantine prosperity had been linked with Anatolian agriculture which could find a market in Constantinople and prosperous cities of the coast. With no constitutional estates and special privileges for agricultural section, the prices on the industrial goods were comparatively high, and money used to be invested mostly in manufacturing. I cycle of Capitalism²³ never cared much about technical improvements – only few hands were engaged in, and the steam-engines – completely ignored.²⁴ Who needs to restrict the comfort and the services, while a country is at the top, with no one being in pursue?! Eventually, the growth of population reduced amount of the industrial goods per capita and stipulated even higher prices of manufactures. The stratiots bankrupted. A strategus, who had money, snapped up every available acre while the peasant smallholders were left to survive as best they might. This military aristocracy declared war on coastal strip high class. Iconoclasm, the Anatolian rebels – the Phocas and Skleroi, provincial Emperors demonstrate the very clash. No changes took place. The moment of crisis had come. Irritated and obviously in a great despair, the Anatolians were ready even to be converted to Islam. Soon almost the whole world allied itself with them.

Byzantium, old European pattern, died hard, menacing Italy and the Balkans. New Europe, with new economic concept, thought of Eurasian alliance to force the metropolis a heavy receptio. The decline begins...

In the 6th c. Justinian fased "Barbaric" Europe and Iran acting in harmony. The result was as follows – Slavs swarmed into Imperial territory via the Danube Frontier. Byzantium lost the most important recruitment areas – Moesia and Thrace.

In the 7th c. the Empire evacuated its armies from Syria and Egypt.

In the 11th c. Byzantium found itself caught between two fires – the Crusaders and the Turks. The Empire had to be calmed finally.

The Crusaders (after 1204) and the Turks (after Manzikert, 1071) did this job properly overpopulating the country. Anatolia had been lost for the centre. Military aristocracy welcomed the Turks willingly with the natural desire to join the upper classes.²⁵ Economic complex never disintegrated, but Sultanate of Rum already offered to Constantinople comparatively high prices on food and raw materials. The metropolis had nothing to do, but to accept this new

²³ Tedo Dundua. *The Cyclic Dialectics*. Тб. 1996.

²⁴ *Словарь Античности*. Перевод с Немецкого. М. 1989, "Сила Пара".

²⁵ Steven Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge. 1996, 26-27.

unfavourable conjuncture. Towards the end of the 13th c. Byzantium is nothing but a lot of principalities with very different confessional visage (Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim). In the 11th-15th cc., with no expansions on the agenda, capitalistic complex now discussed disintegrated politically. Reception-system laid its own contribution.²⁶ As soon as Syria and Egypt were destined for the Ottoman use, they reintegrated almost the same economic system, and from this time on, Hellas has been re-established as a different economic structure.

Chaldia secession is just a part of the whole story.

New Europe emerged; Byzantium had been sacrificed, without any Georgian participation. *The different climate zones are found around the world. Climate can have a major effect on people's lives. One factor that affects climate is latitude. Lands close to the Equator have tropical climate with high temperatures and rainfall. Areas farther north or south of the Equator have temperate climates, with a warm and a cold season. Nearness to oceans also affects climate. Ocean currents carry warm or cool water in circular patterns around the world. These warm and cold currents influence the climate of nearby coastal areas. Elevation, or height above the sea level, also influences climate. The seas have helped to shape European societies since ancient times. Much of the Atlantic coast has a mild marine climate, with warm winters and springs, cool summers, and plentiful rainfall. North Mediterranean climate means even warmer winters and springs with many rainy days.*

Towards the hinterland, they do not benefit from ocean winds that carry much moisture and moderate the extremes of heat and cold. Humidity is still O.K., but much of inland Europe has a cold continental climate. Along the northern coast of Africa small areas enjoy a sort of mild Mediterranean climate, but it is as dry as that of East Mediterranean coast and hinterland towards east with hot springs. As the southern tip of Africa the climate is already mild. America and Australia are the mirror images of the scheme. Heavy vegetation for New England is due to arctic winds from Canada.

To a large degree, it is rainfall – or lack of it – that determines climate and we have Europe and Asia beyond the continental division.

New technologies are due to greater number of hands in industry. As farming and crafts improved, some villages grew into towns and cities. City dwellers relied on the surplus food that farmers raised. Cities were a key features of the civilization – that means specialized industrial skills and jobs. People developed new technologies, and they had important effects on agri-

²⁶ Tedo Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C. - 1453) Tb. 1997 /in Georg./, 18.

culture. New technologies has been developing gradually. Surplus food and skilled craftworkers, where could they appear first?

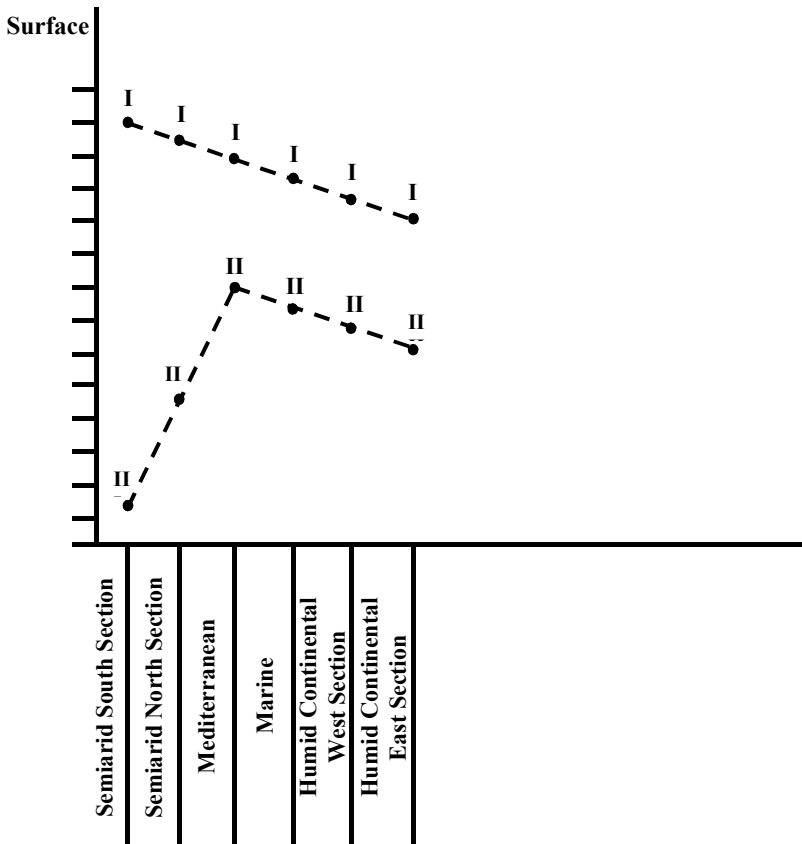
Vegetation beneath the heat while near a surface is a heavy life for a seed, but still – less heavier than the same position during the cold spring. Heat works deep, unlike cold. That means as follows: hot south emerges civilizations just to lose the top position to much cooler north. Thus, geography determines zone confrontation – "the clash of civilizations".

In semiarid areas the civilizations and social structures are already there even with a seed placed nearly on a surface. Situated a bit northwards and besides, possessing elevation, Iran faces some very cold days in mostly hot spring. Eventually, the seed had to go even deeper there. An emergence of civilization is one thing, and the best temperature for vegetation – another. And the best temperature is that produced by burning humous layers. This is achieved in Iran at lesser depth, than, perhaps, in Egypt, where the climate is hotter. Agricultural tools are shaped in the same way either in Egypt at bay, or Iran. But copper was used in the south and bronze – in the north. Agricultural characteristic of the Mediterranean with its warm spring corresponds to comparatively prominent depth of the first level, and also comparatively superficial second level. Marine and Humid Continental Europe enlarges both parameters, but the second one has never surpassed that of Asiatic. Iran contributed mostly to civilizations in Europe.

From the 8th c. B.C. Hellas and Italy had been expanding, gradually becoming the capitalistic superpowers. Marine Europe was retarded. So the Greeks and the Romans had to colonize it. Equipped with the best farming tools, they put a seed at a safe depth. Gaul and Britain chose Italy as industrial metropolis, like Thrace, Moesia, and Anatolian inland – Hellas and Ionia. Should this had been maintained, we might be facing bilingual, Graeco-Latin Europe. But it did not. Only few hands used to be engaged in production of the instruments in Athens, or maybe, in Rome without any industrial revolution. Again, the population in metropolis was on the increase, thus reducing amount of industrial goods per capita, and stipulating their high prices. Prices on food were kept under. This was followed by European tension and disintegration of the Empire.

The same happened later with Byzantine Commonwealth. New Europe focused upon industrial revolution. Technologies now have been much better than those of I cycle of capitalism.

From Alaska eastwards to Japan, from the straits of Messana northwards to the fiords, from the Black and the Caspian Seas to the Arctic Ocean Marine, Mediterranean and Humid Continental climates have always been contributing to maintenance of very special evolutions, to a specific zone of inte-



gration – Europe in a broad sense. Extreme north confronts south. And the extreme south already possesses an industrial profile.

Georgia never wished to lose strong neighbour and partner with whom she shared even the money types – universal Orthodox symbols prevail, like Cross potent, St. Virgin Blachernitissa etc.²⁷

²⁷ Tedo Dundua. Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography. *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*. XXIX. 2000. Quaderni Ticinesi, 387-396.

St. Virgin Blachernitissa.
The Byzantine Case

1. Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) – 2/3 miliaresion
2. Theodora (1055-1056) – 2/3 miliaresion
3. Michael VI Stratioticus (1056-1057). – 2/3 miliaresion
4. Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067) – 1/3 miliaresion
5. Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071) – 1/3 miliaresion
6. Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078) – 1/3 miliaresion
7. Nicephorus III Botaneiates – 2/3 miliaresion (1078-1081)²⁸
8. Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1118) tetarteron²⁹

St. Virgin Blachernitissa.
The Georgian Case

1. Bagrat IV. I emission. Tetri (2/3 miliaresion). 1055. Kutaisi (West Georgia) "... king and Nobilissimos"
2. Bagrat IV. II emission. Tetri. 1068/69. Kutaisi. "... king and Sebastos"
3. Giorgi II. I emission. Tetri. 1073. Kutaisi. "... king and Nobilissimos"
4. Giorgi II. II emission. Tetri. 1074. Kutaisi. "... king and Sebastos"
5. Giorgi II. III emission. Tetri and half tetri (1/3 miliaresion). 1075-1089. Kutaisi. "... king and Caesaros"
6. David IV. I emission. Half tetri. 1089-1099. Kutaisi. "... king and Sebastos"
7. David IV. II emission. Kutaisi. 1089-1099. "... king and ... " Cross on Rev.³⁰

It is quite clear that for Georgia Virgin type had been rather taken again and again, than –maintained.³¹ David IV of Georgia (1089-1125) copies Alex-

²⁸ Philip Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whitmore Collection. Volume Three. Part 2. Washington. 1973, 747, 753, 758, 773, 795, 817, 831.

²⁹ Michael Hendy. Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261. Washington. 1969, 88. Alexios never intended to issue good silver. v. Philip Grierson. Byzantine Coinage. Washington. 1982, 11.

³⁰ T. Dundua. Review...., 389-391.

³¹ Still the Georgian and Greek legends of the 10th -11th cc. differ. Greek legends are mostly as follows:

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι – Basil II and Constantine VIII

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τὰς βασίλισσας Ζώνη καὶ Θεωδώραν – Zoe and Theodora

ios I in his issues.³² But whom he copies while placing cross on reverse? Again Theodoros Gabras appears with his coins as a prototype³³; i.e. any of the Byzantine "rudiments" seems to be allied with Georgia.

Georgia had been in touch with Trapezus and suburbs from the very ancient times, and the Mingrelian (West Georgian) language had been once spoken mostly along the southern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea. Colchis (West Georgia) could find a market of its agricultural products in the prosperous cities of Pontus. During the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator Pontus and Colchis were bound together by the most special bonds. And the starting point for the Roman *Limes Ponticus* was also Trapezus. Mithras from Trapezus had been worshiped thoroughly in Colchis. Within the Byzantine Commonwealth the city was the nearest Roman site. Gabrids from Chaldia, first, and then Comneni of Trapezus allied themselves to Georgians. Genoa organized silk and spice supply of Europe via the North Caspian regions and the Northern Caucasus to Crimea (Caffa). And the rest of the route was as follows: Sebastopolis (Sukhumi, Georgia) – Trapezus – Galata – Italy. Because this route ran via both, Sebastopolis and Trapezus, common transit perception of the sites emerged. In the 17th c. boats from Trabzon were heavily loaded with the Mingrelian goods. Now Trabzon is a busy center for Georgian-Turkish commercial relations.

Θεοτόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντῖνων δεσπότη τῷ Μονομάχῳ – Constantine IX
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδώρα δέσποινη τῆ πορφυρογεννήτῳ – Theodora
 Κύριε βοήθει Ἰσαακῷ ὀρθοδοξῷ δεσπότη τῷ Κομνηνῷ – Isaak I
 Κύριε βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ δεσπότη τῷ Διογένηι – Romanus IV
 Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαὴλ δεσπότη τῷ Δούκα – Michael VII
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ δεσπότη τῷ Βοταναίατε – Nikephorus III
 Σταυρὲ φύλαττε Νικηφόρον δεσπότην.
 Philip Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins ..., 875, 877, 881-882.

i.e. "God, do assist...."

"Holy Virgin, do assist... "

"Cross, protect...."

And we have another pious formula on Georgian money: ქრისტე შეიწყალებო... ქრისტე აღიბე...

"Christ, forgive..., "Christ exalt..."

v. Tedo Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural ..., 138 №23, 142 №№24-25, 148 №№26-28, pp. 149-150 №№29-30.

³² T. Dundua. Review of the Georgian Coins..., 391.

³³ The author is largely indebted to information from Vaso Penas (Athens). And for a distinctive group of hyperpyrons issued in the name of Alexios there does exist a certain attribution to the mint of Trapezus. And for Michael Henty that is unlikely. v. Michael Henty. op. cit., 93-94.

Gabras is Byzantine and he speaks Greek. But even now some folk in Trabzon speak Mingrelian while at home. Maybe, Gabrids from Chaldia³⁴ were also bilinguals?!³⁵ We shall never know.

Appendix I

Anatolian upper classes allied themselves with the Turks. This story has been already told. But still there were some men ready to retreat westwards in spite of losing their lands, Skleroi among them. The seals and narrative provide few information (v. Werner Seibt. *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*. Wien. 1976).

At least, two of Skleroi kept a position of strategus in Peloponnesos in the 9th c. with the domain in Sebastea. And Antonios Skleros is στρατηγὸς Ἑλλάδος towards the closing years of the same century. Next branch provided the akritai, border barons, sometimes even being subjugated to the Arabs.

Celebrated Bardas seems to be very busy in administration. He had been holding several offices, like μάγιστρος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς; commander-in-chief; δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας. Towards the end of the 10th c. Bardas is in the western provinces. His son, Romanus, married a Muslim girl; and his grandson Basil wished to see himself as a strategus of Bucellarian.

Skleroi enjoyed their domains in Anatolikon under Monomachus' reign.

But then the Turks started to march, and Leon Skleros had to move westwards – to Opsikion and Bucellarian.

The rest of Skleroi enjoyed high positions either in the Balkans or in centre, that is drungarios, senator, strategus in Peloponnesos, etc.

³⁴ This theme emerged in the 9th c. In the 10th c. 16 themes are mentioned in Asia, including Chaldia. George Ostrogorsky. *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated from German by Yaan Hussey. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick. New Jersey. 1957, 184, 219.

³⁵ Some want to see them Georgians. v. *Georgica* VI, 111, n. 1. Many of the Georgians from Georgia properly took service in the imperial structures, and many of them became celebrities. But we do not know much about Constantine Iberopulos, a contemporary of David IV of Georgia and Theodoros Gabras.

Description of his lead seal is as follows (picture 2):

Obv.	+K̅E̅R̅O	+K(ύρι)ε βο-
	HΘ, K̅W̅+H̅	ἡθ(ετ) Κων(σταντίνω)
	ΔVCV	δυσσ-
	ΠAT	πάτ(ω)
Rev.	TWI	τῶ ἱ-
	REPO	βερο-
	ΠOAW	πούλλ(ω).

Werner Seibt. op. cit, 239-240 №110.

In 1308 certain Michael Gabras sent a letter to Skleros who dwelt in the city.

Appendix II

General chronology of the Crusades and Eurasian confrontation is given here. For the world history dates v. Rodney Castleden. The Concise Encyclopedia of World History. London 1998.

- 1080 Rudolf of Swabia (anti-king) is defeated and killed, ending the civil war in the German states. Henry IV, having regained his position, is once again deposed and excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand), but this time the Pope is deposed by a synod which attempts to install a new Pope. Turks devastate Georgia. King Giorgi II can not deal with them.
- 1081 The Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus III abdicates, Alexius I Comnenus succeeds. The German king Henry IV invades Italy; he accepts the Lombard crown at Pavia and sets up a council to recognize the archbishop of Ravenna as Pope Clement III.
- 1082 The German king Henry IV besieges Rome and finally gains entry. Romans agree to call a synod to rule on the dispute between Henry and Gregory. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, with his Norman knights defeats the Byzantine forces of Alexius I Comnenus and takes Durazzo.
- 1083 A synod meets in Rome to resolve the quarrel between Pope Gregory and the German king Henry IV. Giorgi II of Georgia promises the Seljuk sultan to pay tribute.
- 1084 The synod of Rome declares Pope Gregory deposed and recognizes the anti-pope Clement III. Clement crowns Henry. The newly recognized Emperor attacks fortresses still in Gregory's control but withdraws across the Alps as Robert Guiscard's Norman forces advance from Southern Italy. Normans sack Rome. Pope Gregory is unable to remain in Rome; he leaves for Salerno.
- 1085 Alfonso VI king of Castile takes Toledo; the centre of Arab science and learning falls into Christian hands. Pope Gregory VII dies at Salerno; Henry IV extends the "Peace of God" over the Holy Roman Empire. Robert Guiscard dies of fever; the duke is succeeded by his brother Roger, who has conquered Sicily.

- 1086 The Oath of Salisbury makes English vassals directly responsible to the crown, prohibiting them from private wars. The Almoravid army in Spain defeats Alfonso VI of Castile's army at Zallaka.
- 1087 William I of England dies. Genoa and Pisa take control of the Western Mediterranean from the Arabs.
- 1089 David IV, son of Giorgi II, ascends the Georgian throne.
- 1091 Duke Roger completes his conquest of Sicily and goes on to take Malta.
- 1094 Castilian soldier Ruy Diaz de Bivar, better known as El Cid, takes Valencia after a nine-month siege. The anti-pope Clement III is deposed and Pope Urban II is installed in his place.
- 1095 The Byzantine Emperor Alexius requests aid against Seljuks. Pope Urban proclaims the crusade at the Synod of Clermont.
- 1096 Alexius Comnenus provides food and escort for the crusaders, exacting an oath of fealty from the leaders in an attempt to protect his rights over any "lost provinces" of the Greek Empire.
- 1097 Battle of Nicaea: a combined force of crusaders and Greeks take the Turks' capital.
- 1098 After a nine-month siege by Bohemund of Taranto, Antioch falls to the crusaders.
- 1099 El Cid is defeated by the Almoravids at Cuenca and dies. Jerusalem falls to the crusaders. A kingdom of Jerusalem is founded under the Norman knight Godfrey de Bouillon: he is elected king and assumes the little Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. On hearing that Jerusalem falls to Christians, David IV of Georgia refuses to pay tribute to Seljuks. He begins a war against them.
- 1100 Godfrey de Bouillon king of Jerusalem dies, and is succeeded by his brother Henry count of Flanders.
- 1102 Alfonso VI lifts the Almoravids siege of Valencia, he empties and burns the city.
- 1103 The council of the Georgian Orthodox Church, summoned by David IV, places church under king's strict control.
- 1104 Baldwin I of Jerusalem takes Acre; Raymond of Toulouse takes Byblos. Bohemund of Taranto appears at Epirus with an enormous army raised in Italy to challenge the supremacy of the Byzantine Emperor.

- 1105 The Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV is captured by his son, also called Henry, who declares that he owes his excommunicated father no allegiance. The diet at Mainz forces the Emperor to abdicate, but the conditions of the abdication are broken and the ex-Emperor is imprisoned. Battle of Ertzukhi, Georgians defeat the Asiatic Turks.
- 1106 Henry IV escapes and begins to gather an army, but soon he dies. He is succeeded by his son as Henry V.
- 1108 The Byzantine Emperor Alexius defeats Bohemund of Taranto at Durazzo.
- 1109 Crusaders take Tripoli and Beirut.
- 1110 Henry V invades Italy and concludes an agreement with Pope Paschal II. The Pope promises to crown him Emperor.
- 1111 Henry V arrives at St. Peter's, Rome, for his coronation. The Pope is unable to crown him, so Henry leaves Rome taking the Pope with him as a hostage; the Pope crowns him under duress.
- 1112 The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V is excommunicated by the Synod of Vienna.
- 1113 The knights of the Hospital of St. John resolve to fight for the defense of the Holy Land.
- 1114 Toledo withstands an attack by the Almoravids.
- 1118 The Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus dies. He is succeeded by his son, John II Comnenus. Alfonso of Aragon retakes Saragossa from the Almoravids, and makes the town his capital. King David IV of Georgia invites Cumans as settlers to form a light cavalry.
- 1121 The Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus takes south-west Anatolia back from Turks. In the battle of Didgori David IV, with his Georgians and some 200 crusaders in the army, attacks the Asiatic Seljuks more than twice as much in size; Turks are decisively defeated.
- 1122 The Emperor John II Comnenus and his Byzantine troops wipe out the Pechenegs in the Balkans. Concordat of worms ends the dispute between Holy Roman Empire and Papacy. David's army takes Tbilisi; Muslim rule is brought to end.
- 1123 The Byzantine Emperor John II defeats Serbian forces in the Balkans.
- 1124 Hungarians are defeated by Byzantine Emperor John II. David IV of Georgia invades Armenia and Shirvan to exercise Georgian rule.

- 1125 Venetian forces pillage Rhodes, occupy Chios and attack Lesbos and Samos. The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V dies. David IV, king of Georgia, dies; his son, Demetre I, ascends the Georgian throne.
- 1126 Peace treaty ends the war between the Byzantine Emperor and the Venetians and Hungarians.
- 1133 Lothair II, the German king, arrives in Rome, he is crowned by the Pope
- 1135 The Byzantine Emperor John II implores the Holy Roman Emperor Lothair II to help get rid of Roger II of Sicily.
- 1136 In response to the appeal of the Byzantine Emperor the previous year, the Emperor Lothair II invades southern Italy and takes Apulia from Roger II, king of Sicily.
- 1137 Antioch is forced to pay homage to the Byzantine Emperor John II. The Holy Roman Emperor Lothair dies.
- 1138 The house of Hohenstaufen in Swabia begins its century-long domination of the German states when Conrad is chosen German king. A struggle between "Ghibellines" (the Hohenstaufens) and "Guelphs" (Henry's family) ensues.
- 1139 Demetre I of Georgia takes Ganja in Azerbaijan.
- 1143 The Byzantine Emperor John II dies, and is succeeded by his son Manuel.
- 1144 Zangi sultan of Mosul takes Edessa after conquering Muslim northern Syria; this prompts calls for another crusade.
- 1145 Almoravid rulers lose their hold over Spain.
- 1147 The Second Crusade begins under leadership of Louis VII of France and Conrad III, but there is no overall command. The diversion of the Second Crusade enables king Roger II of Sicily to seize the Greek islands and pillage Corinth, Thebes and Athens. The war begins between Sicily and the Byzantine Empire.
- 1148 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I buys Venetian aid to resist Roger II.
- 1149 The Venetian mercenaries retake Corfu for the Byzantines.
- 1152 The Holy Roman Emperor Conrad III dies, and is succeeded by his nephew Frederick III, Duke of Swabia.

- 1153 Baldwin III king of Jerusalem takes Ascalon, the last remaining Fatimid possession in the Holy land.
- 1154 Damascus surrenders to the Sultan of Aleppo.
- 1156 King William of Sicily destroys the Byzantine fleet at Brindisi and recovers Bari from Greeks who have been encouraged to revolt by the Pope. Demetre I, king of Georgia, dies; his son, Giorgi III, ascends to throne.
- 1157 Frederick III Barbarossa's army is wiped out by plague in Rome.
- 1158 Frederick Barbarossa leaves on a second expedition to Italy, beginning a long struggle with the Pope.
- 1160 Frederick Barbarossa destroys the city of Crema, Italy. Georgians face the Asiatic Turks; Seljuks are defeated again.
- 1162 Barbarossa destroys Milan, dispersing its citizens among four villages.
- 1163 Georgia's victory over the Turks of Erzerum.
- 1165 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I forms an alliance with Venice against Frederick Barbarossa.
- 1167 Frederick Barbarossa enters Rome by force on his fourth Italian expedition. He has the anti-pope Paschal III enthroned, but a sudden outbreak of plague destroys his army and he returns to Germany.
- 1169 Salah ed-Din becomes vizier of the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo; as vizier, Salah ed-Din holds more real power than the Caliph, who is mainly a ceremonial figure.
- 1171 Salah ed-Din abolishes the Caliphate, becoming effective sovereign of Egypt.
- 1172 Georgians are victorious near the Armenian city of Dvin.
- 1173 Salah ed-Din seizes Aden. Giorgi, king of the Georgians, attacks Derbend; he is accompanied by his close friend and relative Andronicus Comnenus, future Emperor.
- 1174 Barbarossa buys Sardinia, Corsica, Spoleto and Tuscany.
- 1175 Salah ed-Din gradually welds Egypt and Syria into a single pan-Arab power, with serious implications for the Holy land in the middle; Salah ed-Din plans to take the Holy Land for himself.

- 1176 Battle of Legnano: the Lombard League defeats Frederick Barbarossa, who is severely wounded. Salah ed-Din mounts a campaign to drive Christians from the kingdom of Jerusalem.
- 1177 Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III sign the treaty of Venice, settling a six-year peace between the Lombard League and the Holy Roman Emperor. Salah ed-Din is defeated by Baldwin IV of Jerusalem at Ramleh.
- 1178 From this time on Giorgi of Georgia rules the country together with his daughter Tamar. He has no male issue.
- 1180 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus dies. He is succeeded by his son with his mother as the regent.
- 1182 Andronicus Comnenus leads a revolt against the Empress. This prompts a massacre of Italians. The emperor Alexius, now 14 years old, is forced to sign a death warrant for his mother's execution. Andronicus is proclaimed Emperor; he co-rules with Alexius.
- 1183 Alexius II Comnenus is strangled by agents of Andronicus. He now assumes sole power. The peace of Constance ends the conflict between Lombards, Pope and Barbarossa. Salah ed-Din conquers Syria, takes Aleppo and becomes Sultan.
- 1184 Giorgi III of Georgia dies; Georgians make young Tamar their queen; she raises Georgia's prestige and political power to a peak.
- 1185 The Norman army attacks the Byzantine Empire, taking Durazzo, storming Thessalonica and routing the Greeks. Isaac Angelus deposes Andronicus I, who is executed. A large-scale Bulgarian rebellion begins, many Greeks in the Balkans will be annihilated. Salah ed-Din seizes Mosul and begins his conquest of Mesopotamia.
- 1186 Barbarossa prepares for the Third Crusade.
- 1187 Salah ed-Din takes Jerusalem.
- 1188 Philip II of France imposes a Salah ed-Din tithe to raise money for the Third Crusade.
- 1189 Richard I becomes king of England.
- 1190 The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa drowns, while crossing, or bathing in the river Calycadnus in Cilicia. He is succeeded by his son Henry VI. Philip II prepares to join the crusade.

- 1191 Richard I of England embarks on the Third Crusade but spends a winter quarrelling with Philip II in Sicily. Then he leaves Messina and conquers Cyprus. Richard joins the siege of Acre and plays a major part in reducing Acre. Philip II falls ill and returns to Paris after concluding an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI against Richard. Richard meanwhile gains a victory over Salah ed-Din at Arsuf and leads the crusaders to within a few miles of Jerusalem.
- 1192 The crusaders follow unreliable and dishonest guides into the desert; famine, disease and desertion reduce their numbers. Richard I makes a truce with Salah ed-Din; under it the Christians are allowed to keep the ports they have taken and have unrestricted access to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
- 1193 Salah ed-Din, the sultan of Egypt, dies, and his empire is divided among the quarrelling relatives.
- 1194 Norman rule in Italy ends as Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI reduces Sicily with help from Genoa and Pisa. Henry is the crowned king of Sicily and plans a huge empire with its base in Italy.
- 1195 Isaac II Angelus is deposed by his brother Alexius. He captures Isaac, has his eyes put out and imprisons him. Battle of Shamkhor; Georgians are victorious, Asiatic Turks – decisively defeated.
- 1197 Henry prepares to set off on a crusade against usurper Alexius III Angelus, but soon he dies.
- 1202 Pope Innocent III offers the commands of the Fourth Crusade to Boniface III count of Montferrat. The doge of Venice Enrico Dandolo agrees to provide ships in exchange for half of all the booty and an undertaking from the crusaders that they first sack Zara on the Dalmatian coast for him. The crusaders sack Zara; in consequence, the Pope excommunicates the Fourth Crusade. Battle of Basiani; Georgians face the sultan of Rum Rukn ad-Din, Turks are defeated.



1



2



Nino Dvalidze (Tbilisi)

A SYMBIOSIS OF ANTIQUITY AND MODERNITY IN *THE DOUBLE BOOK* BY DIMITRIS KHADZIS

*The Double Book*¹ by Dimitris Khadzis is one of the works that caused heated arguments among Modern Greek literary critics of the last ten years of the past century.

The novel consists of nine chapters: four of them (1,3,5,7) describe the monotonous life of the central character (Kostas) in Germany; other four chapters (2,4,6,8) have their own protagonists (a friend or a relative of Kostas) that are set apart in different times.

In this article we would like to draw your attention to the image of Anastasia,² as we consider her to be the focal point for the concept of this novel.

In our opinion, the critics have not yet paid relevant attention to the function and symbolics of this character. They seem to have limited themselves to the description of how she is introduced in the novel, without trying to explain what Khadzis meant to say through this image. We shall try to present some opinions around this issue.

The writer presents Anastasia as a Greek woman carrying in her the secret of Eleusinian mysteries. Her features and abilities turn her into unordinary character that is surrounded with mystic soul. The writer does not only mention this in the novel, but also brings in the series of symbolic that connect Anastasia with the image of mantic woman. On the one hand she is an ordinary mortal, but at the same time she has some characteristics that are unusual for a typical mantic.

Let us focus your attention on how the writer manages to include all symbols characteristic to mantic women in the artistic structure. When describing

¹ Δ.Χατζή, Το διπλό βιβλίο, δεύτερη έκδοση ξανακοιταγμένη, KEIMENA, Αθήνα 1977.

² Anastasia is Kostas' sister. She is a main character of chapter 8 of the novel.

irrational aspect of Anastasia's character, Khadzis highlights her fortune-telling skills that can be sorted into several hierarchies.

Hair – The writer emphasizes the magic power of Anastasia's hair. Her hair carries a mystic power, therefore "I never cut my hair. My birds and my mother are in it".³ In this case Khadzis takes into account ancient symbolics. As we know, according to various traditions, hair is identified with life and is connected with an individual's soul.⁴

Eyes – Anastasia's eyes preserve the memories of Greek history.

"In these eyes I see... continuously suffering Greek generations... women in despair, deprived of honor... from Khios, Psara, Mesolongi, the Asia Minor Disaster... collective murders during the occupation, internal disturbances..."⁵

In this case, again, Khadzis repeats old symbols. As known, eyes are identified with light and the ability of spiritual vision.⁶

Tree – This mystic figure has a specific relation with outer environment and here again Khadzis uses typical symbols: ritual tree that has clearly mythopoetic receiving. Khadzis does not refer to the tree with its literally meaning. This is a distinctly mythological tree that has special significance. In order to reveal the irrational feature of Anastasia, it is important for this particular tree to exist. When Anastasia goes to Molaos she says: "I don't have a tree anymore."⁷ Evidently this does not mean that there are no trees in Molaos. This is the indication that she does not possess her tree anymore. Here Khadzis, again, takes into the consideration ancient perceptions. As we know, in different cultures some trees were considered to be holy and magic. The tree represents three kingdoms: Chthonic, earthy and divine, which forms a cosmic structure.⁸

Birds – *The Double Book* repeatedly underlines the mystic connection between birds and the tree. Illusionary birds are organically connected with the ritual tree of Anastasia. "Birds are not your property to call them whenever you may wish. You belong to them. They choose you",⁹ -Anastasia says.

As we know, the birds play a significant role in antique literature in terms of pointing to the signs of predictions. Already in the Homeric epos we see various passages confirming this perception. The most important thing is that

³ Δ.Χατζής, 169.

⁴ For more information, see: J.C.Cooper, *Lexikon Alter Symbole*, VEB E.A. Seemann Verlag Leipzig, 1986. 69-70.

⁵ Δ.Χατζής, 55-56.

⁶ For more information, see: J.C.Cooper, 15-16.

⁷ Δ.Χατζής, 180

⁸ For more information, see: J.C.Cooper, 18-23.

⁹ Δ.Χατζής, 178.

this epos describes one group of mantics that is directly called "auspices".¹⁰ Following the Homeric tradition birds carry a special importance in Greek mantics. As it was said, divine signals were sent to humans by means of birds. In addition to this, the birds were regarded to have organic connection with divine spheres. We may suppose that Aristophanes' *The Birds* partially, although humorously, shows the attitude of his contemporaries towards birds.¹¹

Archangel – The bird is the symbol of soul. In this regard the angel is the product of the developing image of bird.¹² Thus, it is not surprising that Anastasia identifies mystic birds firstly with the archangel and then with her own soul. "These birds were I, my soul as you call it".¹³ We should not conceive the usage of archangel to be an attempt of the writer to attach religious light to the novel. Astral, shining body of angels resembles the phenomenon referred to in other cultures as astral bodies. According to Asian and Indian traditions, every human being has such astral body, but only wizards and magicians are able to feel its strength.¹⁴

Mystic knowledge – As we see, the novel delineate two types of symbolics: symbols possessed by Anastasia in herself and those connecting her with surrounding environment, where she realizes the irrational abilities. These symbols are united by mystic knowledge. This is not the knowledge in its common meaning, but the knowledge that is provoked and revealed by particular situations.

The writer emphasizes a special importance of woman (mother) in the Greek family. According to Khadzis, Greek women possessed mystic knowledge that was carried from generation to generation similarly to Eleusinian mysteries.¹⁵ "Every Greek woman knew this ancient art... their Eleusinian mysteries that they used to learn from one another and pass on".¹⁶

Anastasia can feel this mystic knowledge, but she cannot use it in practice. "I could not read or write. I could not even think. I could only feel. I

¹⁰ οἰωνοπόλος, οἰωνιστέες in ancient Greek language.

¹¹ About the auspices and their role in ancient mantics see:

P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechische Religion* 1, München 1967², 166- and so forth.

¹² For more information, see: J.C.Cooper, 205-206.

¹³ Δ.Χατζή, 171.

¹⁴ For more information, see:

В.Бауер, И. Дюмотц, С. Головин, *Энциклопедия Символов*, Москва 1998, 191-195.

¹⁵ About the Eleusinian Mysteries see:

M.Giebel, *Das Geheimnis Der Mysterien, Antike Kulte in Griechenland, Rom und Agypten*, München 1993. 17-and so forth

W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Kölln, Mainz 1977, 426- and so forth

P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechische Religion* 1, München 1967², 663- and so forth

¹⁶ Δ.Χατζή, 32.

would touch subjects with fingers and see them like blind people do. I could hear like deaf people do. This is how I felt my life, our lives, and our fortune."¹⁷

Holy marriage – It is interesting whether this mystery of Anastasia is a closed system, or it is something that can be transferred to others. As we see in the novel, Anastasia is not able to share her knowledge with her brother, she is afraid of blood mixing as the knowledge can be transferred only via sexual act. We regard this to be the analogy of the "holy marriage".¹⁸

In ancient cultures the "holy marriage" used to be the symbol of unity of the earth and the sky, female and male origins, God and Goddess. Often the "holy marriage" would be executed through the sexual act between a priestess and the supreme governor. Priestess would be the image of Goddess i.e. the image of the universal female origin. In the perceptions of ancient people, this was the only way to maintain fertility and cosmic order the following year. Distinctly emphasized sexual aspect would transfer into spiritual and be regarded as a mystic reunion of God and man.¹⁹

On the verge of real and unreal – Such is the "double life of Anastasia: dream and reality at the same time".²⁰ The character is not able to couple, to consolidate the two.

Anastasia's marriage brings an end to her mysticism, spiritual life. The birds do not appear to her anymore. Archangel becomes a stranger. Even her own self becomes distant to her.²¹

In the end, through the sexual act with the writer the ritual of conveying the mystic knowledge is executed. This is confirmed by the handing of Anastasia's cut hair to the writer. "I know you came here for the final word. I do not even know how to tell you. That is why I surrendered. Because I wanted to show you, I wanted to let you see beyond my mother's mother. Where our roots begin. Where the graves of my murdered birds rest. I have nothing else."²²

All the aforementioned allow us to conclude that Anastasia is a quite thoroughly described mantic woman, who, owing to her symbolics, is entirely

¹⁷ Δ.Χαρζή, 165.

¹⁸ About the so called "Holly marriage" see:

W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1977, 176 and so forth

P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion 1*, München 1967², 121 and so forth

¹⁹ See: Ганс Бидерманн, *Энциклопедия Символов*, Издательство "Республика", Москва 1996, 236.

²⁰ Δ.Χαρζή, 171.

²¹ Δ.Χαρζή, 178.

²² Δ.Χαρζή, 180.

connected with antique perceptions. The writer retracts the characteristics of ancient mantic with almost classic order: Anastasia has *mystic knowledge* that is embodied in her *hair* together with her power of life; her *eyes* give the picture of Greek history; nearby one particular *tree* the *birds* appear to her and she never tells anyone about them; at night she walks in the sky, exchanges places with stars and this way changes the destiny of human beings; she transfers her *mystic knowledge* to the writer through a special "*ritual*".

Anastasia's identification with a mantic woman makes it clear why the writer refers to her as to a Diotima.²³ "Here, in a mystic Thessaly Socrat found his Diotima. In the same place I look for mine in Anastasia".²⁴

Diotima is one of the main figures in Plato's *Symposium*. The image of Diotima is rather obscure in Plato's work. We can regard it as a clear fiction and observe her purely symbolic nature. However, we should not exclude the possibility of Diotima's real existence.²⁵

It must be noted that the image of Diotima is rarely used in contemporary literature. Besides Khadzis, the only case of using this image known to us belongs to a German writer Friedrich Holderlin.²⁶ The main character of his work is inspired by Plato's Diotima, however, as we know, Holderlin's Diotima had a real prototype – Susana Contard, the greatest love of the writer. Holderlin called his beloved lady Diotima, since according to the writer, "she shared with the writer the greatest cosmological secret of Eros, like Mantenean priestess shared it with Socrates".²⁷ (The writer in *The Double Book* tells Anastasia, "You inspired the real meaning of my art".²⁸)

Helderlin's Diotima, like Khadzis' Anastasia, „is not born for this universe. Her image combines the great history of Greece and its future".²⁹

Anastasia – Diotima – mantic woman... this is how Anastasia's image is generalized from a concrete human being to a common Greek phenomenon. It is noteworthy that in Anastasia we see different elements of a priestess and a mantic: Anastasia must preserve her virginity. The same was true about Pythia, but Pythia could not share the divine secret with others (Anastasia shared this secret with the writer). Only a priestess like Diotima is able to do this.

²³ See: NP 3. 677.

²⁴ Δ.Χατζή, 57.

²⁵ See: NP 3. 677.

²⁶ Fridrich Holderlin, *Hyperion and selected poems*, German Library, Vol. 22

²⁷ Παναγιώτης Κανελλοπούλος, Fridrich Holderlin, *Η ζωή και το έργο του* (στο βιβλίο Φρίντριχ Χαίλντερλιν, *Υπεριων*, s.a. 242-243.

²⁸ Δ.Χατζή, 190

²⁹ Παναγιώτης Κανελλοπούλος, 242-243.

Besides, neither Pythia nor Diotima could tell fortune with the help of birds, although it is widely known that other mantic women had this skill.

Anastasia, as an individual human being – is present (Kostas' contemporary), as Diotima – she represents past, as a mantic woman – she predicts and therefore is connected with future. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that Anastasia equally unites in herself past, present and future. She oversteps time bounds and acquires the feature of eternity.

There is one more very important aspect of *The Double Book* concept connected with this character: correlation of antiquity and modernity.

As known, the problem of "inheritance" acquired special importance after the release of Greece from Turkish conquerors. The problem was in the following: "What should be the attitude of Greek civilization toward the epoch that was universally regarded as one of the most significant stages in human culture, which left contemporary Greeks in a shadow. For Europe the importance of Greek culture was limited to antique civilization. The spiritual life of contemporary Greece, of course, looked rather colorless with such background. The Greeks had to face the problem of defining the way to overcome the complex of past superiority."³⁰

Khadzis conveys an interesting interpretation of this problem in *The Double Book*. He draws parallels between the meeting of the writer with Anastasia and the meeting of Helen with Faust: "Here, in this very place, the second Faust of Goethe, young, strong and brave man found Helen for the wondrous merge of times".³¹

We believe that in this case, judging by the main concept of the work, it would not be right to compare Helen with Anastasia. In Goethe's drama the merge of antique culture (Helen) with modernity (Faust) ends with collapse (Helen disappears, Evphorion dies). Despite of the fact that Anastasia is also destined to die (in the last scene she walks among the graves) Khadzis maintains the hope of her rising.³²

Evidently, Anastasia is a quite complex character combining various aspects of *The Double Book* concept.

The fact that Khadzis uses an antique image already draws attention to his work. The critics of *The Double Book* say nothing about writer's attitude toward the antiquity. And this is understandable, as the focal pathos of the novel is the problem of alienation of the main character, caused by the de-

³⁰ S. Shamanidi, *The Classical Tradition in the Modern Greek Literature and George Seferis*, Tbilisi 1999, 68 (in Georgian).

³¹ Δ.Χαρζής, 200.

³² Δ.Χαρζής, 201.

struction of the time connection. In-depth analysis of *The Double Book* brings us to the conclusion that the problem of alienation is deeply connected to the antiquity – the main concept of the novel is the problem of national identity, which in this particular case, conveys the attitude of modern Greece toward the antiquity.

In our opinion, Khadzis tries to accord antiquity with modernity (Christian culture) through the image of Anastasia:

a) He gives a purely Christian name to the woman, who represents a reincarnated image of priestess, Diotima (reincarnation is indicated in the semantics of name itself: *Αναστασία* – rising from death. Deeper semantics of this name takes us to androgynous roots of human beings. Anastasia herself notes this moment of reincarnation: "I can be re-born".³³

b) In the work, one of the main attributes of a mantic woman – illusionary birds are identified with an archangel.

c) Anastasia transfers her mystic knowledge to the writer via a special ritual. In the end, a Modern Greek Kostas obtains this knowledge in the shape of a book.

³³ Δ.Χατζή, 201.

Iamze Gagua (Tbilisi)

THE MYTH OF ACTEON AND THE REASON FOR OVIDIUS' EXILE

As it is known Ovidius states that the poem „Ars amandi" and an incident of which he became an unintentional witness were the reasons for his exile. However, he does not specify the second reason. An extract from book II of „Tristia", where the poet draws parallel between the myth of Acteon and his tragedy, is worth being heeded.

cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?
inscius Actaeon vidit sine veste Dianam,
praede fuit canibus non minus ille suis,
scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est,
nec veniam laeso numine cassus habet.

Tristia II, 103, 108-112

The extract further became a source of a lot of fantasy whether what the poet could have seen and to what he fell a victim.¹ Why does the poet bring up the myth of Acteon in connection with the reasons for his misfortune? By what does his fate resemble Acteon's? Naivety would it be to think that the poet like Acteon had eyewitnessed a delicate scene. Here one thing is to be emphasized. For what did Acteon deserve his punishment and why was the Goddess angry with him? I think the extract from book III of „Metamorphoses", where the myth of Acteon is worked out, will answer the question.

Acteon and his companions were rambling through the woods to amuse themselves (non certis possibus errans – Met. III, 175) and quite occasionally they approached the Diana shrubbery and a beautiful cave where they found a wonderful sight – bathing Diana surrounded by the nymphs. On seeing Acteon they were startled. In vain were the nymphs trying to cover the naked Diana

¹ See J. S. Tibault, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1964.

with their bodies. The Goddess was their superior in height and figure. Furious Diana splashed Acteon's face with water and addressed him so:

nunc tibi me posito visam velamine narres
si poteris narrare, licet...

Met. III, 192-193

The Goddess felt fear that he would disclose his seeing her naked. Diana threatens him by not giving him a chance to tell the story to anybody. She transforms Acteon and his companions. Turned into deer, i. e. punished by Diana, Acteon stands baffled, knowing nowhere to go, whether hide himself in the woods or to come back to the palace. He is suffering from fear and shame:

quid faciat? repetatne domum et regalia tecta
an leteat silvis? timor hoc, pudor impedit illud.

Met. III, 204-205

Ovidius thinks, that neither Acteon nor his companions are to be blamed. They have committed none of the crime; That was a mistake and they were destined for it.

et bene si quaeras fortunae crimen in illo
non scelus inuenies, quod enim scelus error habebat.

Met. III, 141-142

Here is one more detail of some interest. At the end of the myth Ovidius points out that Acteon's misfortune gladdens Jupiter's wife, though she does not express it orally (*Met. III, 256, 258*).

Now Let us see how Ovidius' fate resembles Acteon's. I. Ovidius' guilt lies in his writing amusing, jocular verses. In his love elegies the poet wasted his talent and enjoyed himself (*Tristia I, 62, II, 74, II, 313*).

Acteon's guilt lies in the fact that for the sake of pleasure he was rambling through the woods where he came across the naked Goddess.

2. Ovidius was at his friend Cotta Maximus' holiday house when furious Augustus summoned him to his place. The confused and frightened poet did not know what answer to give to his friend who asked him if the evil rumours about his guilt were true (*Ex Ponto II, 3, 8-88*). Let us recollect confused Acteon who did not know which path to take. He was overwhelmed with fear (*timor*) and shame (*pudor*). Ovidius mentions „*timor*“ and „*pudor*“ in connection with his tragedy in „*Tristia*“ (*III, 628, IV, 39*).

4. Acteon's mischief gladdens Iuno whose earthly image is Livia. To put it mildly, she is not troubled by the tragedy of Ovidius, as she has not even tried to ease his punishment, to say nothing of her being the initiator of his exile.

5. The nymphs are trying to cover the naked Diana with their bodies, but they are not able to do this as the Goddess is their superior in height and figure. Augustus greatly tried to hide the scandalous histories of his daughter and granddaughter, but everybody was aware of everything, as the behaviour of the Prinsep's family – members, certainly, caught the public eye.

6. Acteon, turned-into a deer, is torn by his own friends turned-into dogs. And Ovidius, the same way, becomes the victim of his own verses.

In "Tristia" Ovidius continuous talking on his tragedies:

quo videar quamvis nimium iuvenaliter usus,
grande tamen tot nomen ab orbe fero,
turbaque doctorum Nasonem novit, et audet
non fastiditis ad numerare viris
corrui haec igitur Musis accepta, sub uno,
sed non exiguo crimine lapsa domus.

Tristis II, 117-122

Though the poet isolates his verses from the event to which he has fallen victim and which reminds him of Acteon's guilt, he unexpectedly declares that the reason for his tragedy is one thing, though of no insignificance. This allows us to infer that the reason for the exile of Ovidius is one that appears in various aspects. I think Acteon's seeing naked Diana allegorically represents a Roman urban lifestyle full of luxury, which Ovidius sang of and which he was punished for. Ovidius was praising all against what Augustus was. The Prinsep wished the morality of his family members to be exemplary for the Romans, to make everybody sure in fairness of his reforms. But all his attempts turned out vain.

Augustus was afraid that in his elegies Ovidius in his own manner would express the distress the Prinsep had endured owing to his family members. The poet could by his habitual humour and hints (subtexts) show Augustus' failures in home affairs and compromise him in the eyes of the society, and that was partially reflected in his poems.

The poet sang for the Rome of the Augustus' period; he declared what he had seen. Irritated Augustus sentenced the poet to silence,² the way Diana had done to Acteon. If we let Augustus speak by Diana's words, he threatened the poet: Go and boast of what you have seen i. e. Rome, not what Augustus wanted it to be – highly moral, but the way it was in reality and the way Ovidius described in his love elegies.

² Ch. Corten, Ovid, Augustus und der Kult der Vestalinnen (Studien zur klassischen Literatur), Fran. am Main, Bern... Bd. 72, 191.

Tea Gamrekeli (Tbilisi)

THE PRINCIPLE OF CIRCULAR ARRANGEMENT OF ELEMENTS IN KONSTANTINOS CAVAFIS' POEMS

It is common knowledge that poetic world offers infinite variations of compositional patterns i.e. combinations of successions of elements. Among ancient patterns of compositional organization known since Homeric times is the circular arrangement of elements.¹ Studies reveal that the bigger is the distance between Homer's immediate period and the Greek epic tradition the more altered are the principles of compositional organization.²

The mentioned device is frequently applied in works by poets of different epochs either in its pure form or partly altered. To our mind, Cavafis' poetry represents an interesting material to consider in this respect. 18 out of his 154 works are structured to the classical type of the principle of the circular arrangement of elements. However, since the format of a single paper excludes a possibility to consider all poems of our interest, we shall confine ourselves to the illustration of ten pieces structured to the circular composition. In the following analysis, we shall attempt to reveal the original composition-building style of the poet, sometimes even subconsciously realized in his verse.

To begin with, we should mention that the structure of the poems follows the *ABCBA'* pattern. The central element is encircled with other elements leading to the beginning and the end of the poem. The elements seem to reflect or even repeat one another. Here the operating principle may be either that of resemblance or complete analogy, or polarity, or the principle of recurrent key words.

¹ Τ. Γκατζρεκέλι, Η δομική οργάνωση στα ποιήματα του Κ. Καβάφη, Phasis, 2-3, 2000, 121.

² Р.Б. Гордезиани, Проблемы композиционной организации в раннегреческом эпосе, (А.Ф. Лосеву к 90-летию со дня рождения, Тбилиси, 1983, 74)

To our mind, the device is fully realized in *The Windows*³ (1903), which is an eight-line verse and has five sense fragments:

ΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΘΥΡΑ

Σ' αυτές τες σκότεινές κάμαρες, που
περνώ
μέρες βαρυνές, επάνω κάτω τριγυρνώ
για νάβρω τα παράθυρα. – Όταν
ανοίξει
ένα παράθυρο θάναι παρηγορία. –
Μα τα παράθυρα δεν βρίσκονται, ή δεν
μπορώ
να τα βρω. Και καλλίτερα ίσως να μην
τα βρω.
Ίσως το φως θάναι μια νέα τυραννία.
Ποιος ξέρει τι καινούρια πράγματα θα
δείξει.

THE WINDOWS

A (1-2a) [In the dark rooms where I
live out
empty days,]
B (2b-3a) [I circle back and forth
trying to find windows.]
C (3b-4) [It will be a great relief when
a window opens.]
B' (5-7) [But the windows are not there
to be found – or at least I cannot find
them.]
A' (8-9) [Perhaps the light will prove
another tyranny. Who knows what new
things it will expose?]⁴

The leading pathos of the poem is a strong desire to open windows, and also the fear of the consequences after finding them. The central element is the third *C* fragment expressing how great a consolation it would be to open the windows. It is preceded by *B* sense fragment picturing the moment of searching for the windows, and followed by *B'* fragment that reveals that the windows were not found. The first *A* fragment expresses how torturous is to live in "the dark rooms", and the fifth *A'* fragment renders fear of light that may "prove another tyranny". The analysis of the poem emphasizes logical links between the central sense fragment of the poem and its peripheral elements circularly arranged around the central one. The links are emphasized by the polarity of key words. Thus the first and the fifth sense fragments are linked by the opposition of "dark" and "light", and *B* and *B'* elements have opposing "find" and "cannot find".

The principle of circular arrangement of elements is also applied in *Unfaithfulness*,⁵ which is a twenty-five-line verse with seven sense fragments (1904):

³ K.B. Καβάφη, *Ποήματα*, 1896-1918, Αθήνα, 105.

⁴ The poems are translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard.

⁵ *Ποήματα*, 1896-1918, 109.

ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑ

Σαν πάντρευαν την Θέτιδα με τον Πηλέα
 σηκώθηκε ο Απόλλων στο λαμπρό
 τραπέζι
 του γάμου, και μακάρισε τους
 νεονύμφους
 για τον βλαστό που θα βγαίνε απ' την
 ένωσί των.
 Είπε, ποτέ αυτόν αρρώστια δεν θαγγίξει
 και θάχει μακρυνή ζωή. – Αυτά σαν
 είπε,
 η Θέτις χάρηκε πολύ, γιατί τα λόγια
 του Απόλλωνος που γνώριζε από
 προφητείες
 την φάνηκαν εγγύησις για το παιδί της.
 Κι όταν μεγάλωνε ο Αχιλλεύς, και
 ήταν
 της Θεσσαλίας έπαινος η εμορφιά του,
 η Θέτις του θεού τα λόγια
 ενθυμούνταν.
 Αλλά μια μέρα ήλθαν γέροι με
 ειδήσεις,
 κ' είπαν τον σκοτωμό του Αχιλλέως
 στην Τροία.
 Κ' έβγαζεν από πάνω της και
 ξεπετούσε
 στο χώμα τα βραχιόλια και τα
 δαχτυλίδια.
 Και μες στον οδυρμό της τα παλιά
 θυμήθη
 και ρώτησε τι έκαμνε ο σοφός
 Απόλλων,
 που γύριζεν ο ποιητής που στα
 τραπέζια
 έζοχα ομιλεί, που γύριζε ο προφήτης
 όταν τον υιό της σκότωναν στα πρώτα
 νειάτα.
 Κ' οι γέροι την απάντησαν πως ο
 Απόλλων
 αυτός ο ίδιος εκατέβηκε στην Τροία,
 και με τους Τρώας σκότωσε τον
 Αχιλλέα.

UNFAITHFULNESS

A (1-6a) [At the marriage of Thetis and Peleus
 Apollo stood up during the sumptuous
 wedding feast and blessed the bridal
 pair
 for the son who would come from their
 union.
 "Sickness will never visit him" he said,
 "and his life will be a long one."]
B (6b-9) [This pleased Thetis im-
 mensely:
 the words of Apollo, expert in prophe-
 cies,
 seemed to guarantee the security of her
 child.]
C (10-12) [And when Achilles grew up
 and his beauty was the boast of Thes-
 saly,
 Thetis remembered the god's words.]
D (13-14) [But one day elders arrived
 with the news
 that Achilles had been killed at Troy.]
C' (15-18) [Thetis tore her purple
 robes,
 pulled off her rings, her bracelets,
 and flung them to the ground.
 And in her grief, recalling that wedding
 scene,]
B' (19-21) [she asked what the wise
 Apollo was up to, where was this poet
 who holds forth
 so eloquently at banquets, where was
 this prophet
 when they killed her son in his prime.]
A' (22-25) [And the elders answered
 that Apollo himself had gone down to
 Troy
 and together with the Trojans had killed
 her son.]

The central *D* sense fragment of the poem relates about the death of Achilles in Troy. *C* and *C'* elements, which are linked to the central one, show that Thetis remembered Apollo's words. *B* and *B'* fragments refer to Apollo's sorcery, his gift for prophecy. As for the first *A* element, it pictures Apollo blessing Achilles while the final *A'* sense fragment renders how the god killed the hero. Thus, the poem vividly exposes similarities and differences between circularly arranged elements.

Similar structure underlies another one-verse poem *Body, Remember*⁶... (1918). The poem is composed of eleven lines and seven sense fragments:

ΘΥΜΗΣΟΥ, ΣΩΜΑ...

Σώμα, θυμήσου όχι μόνο το πόσο
αγαπήθηκες,
όχι μονάχα τα κρεβάτια όπου
πλάγιασες,
αλλά κ' εκείνες τες επιθυμίες που για
σένα
γυάλιζαν μες στην φωνή – και
κάποιο
τυχαίο εμπόδιο τες ματαίωσε.
Τώρα που είναι όλα πια μέσα στο
παρελθόν,
μοιάζει σχεδόν και στες επιθυμίες
εκείνες σαν να δόθηκες – πως
γυάλιζαν,
θυμήσου, μες στα μάτια που σε
κύτταζαν,
πως έτρεμαν μες στην φωνή, για σε,
θυμήσου, σώμα.

BODY, REMEMBER....

A (1-2) [Body, remember not only how you were loved, not only the beds you lay on,]

B (3-4a) [but also those desires that glowed openly in eyes that looked at you,

trembled for you in the voices-]

C (4b-5) [only some chance obstacle frustrated them.]

D (6) [Now that it's all finally in the past,]

C' (7-8a) [it seems almost as if you gave yourself to those desires too –]

B' (8b-10a) [how they glowed, remember, in eyes that looked at you, how they trembled for you in those voices.]

A' (10b)[remember, body.]

The central element is "Now that it's all finally in the past" (*D*). Polarity principle links the central fragment to *C* and *C'* elements, the first of which expresses frustration of desires, and the latter – their fulfillment. *C* and *C'* elements are linked to *B* and *B'* sense fragments that by similarity principle depict how "desires ... glowed openly in eyes ..." and "trembled ... in the voices." Key phrases related to the desire are fully repeated. Finally, the poem

⁶ Ποιήματα, 1896-1918, 91.

starts and ends with *A* and *A'* elements which also include recurrent key words "remember, body".

The next poem to consider is *A Young Poet in His Twenty-Forth Year*⁷ (1928). It consists of three verses, 24 lines and seven sense fragments:

**ΕΝΑΣ ΝΕΟΣ, ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΛΟΓΟΥ – ΣΤΟ 24ΟΝ ΕΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ**

Όπως μπορείς πια δούλεψε, μυαλό.-
Τον φθείρει αυτόν μια απόλαυσις
μισή.
Είναι σε μια κατάσταση
εκνευριστική.
Φιλεί το πρόσωπο το αγαπημένο κάθε
μέρα,
τα χέρια του είναι πάνω στα πιο
εξάισια μέλη.
Ποτέ του δεν αγάπησε με τόσο μέγα
πάθος. Μα λείπει η ωραία
πραγμάτως
του έρωτος λείπει η πραγματάως
που πρέπει να'ναι κι απ'τους δύο
μ'έντασιν επιθυμητή.

(Δεν είν'ομοίως δοσμένοι στην
ανάμαλη ηδονή κ'οι δύο.
Μονάχ'αυτόν κυριεψε απολύτως).

Και φθείρεται, και νεύριασε εντελώς.
Εξ άλλου είναι κι άεργος,κι αυτό
πολύ συντείνει.
Κάτι μικρά χρηματικά ποσά
με δυσκολία δανείζεται (σχεδόν
τα ζητιανεύει κάποτε) και
ψευτοσυντηρείται.
Φιλεί τα λατρεμένα χείλη, πάνω
στο εξαίσιο σώμα – που όμως τώρα
νιώθει

**A YOUNG POET IN HIS
TWENTY-FOURHT YEAR**

A (1) [Brain, work now well as you can.]
B (2-3) [A one-sided passion is destroying
him.
He's in a maddening situation.]
C (4-7a) [Every day he kisses the face he
worships,
his hands are on those exquisite limbs.
He's never loved before with this degree
of passion.]
D (7b-10) [But the beautiful fulfillment
of love
is lacking, that fulfillment is lacking
which both of them must want with the
same intensity.]

E (11-12) (They aren't equally given to
the abnormal form of sensual pleasure;
only he is completely possessed by it.)

D' (13-17) [And so he's wearing himself
out, all on edge.
Then – to make things worse –he's out of
work.
he manages somehow to borrow
a little here and there (sometimes
almost begging for it) and he just gets
by.]

C' (18-20) [He kisses those adored lips,
excites himself on that exquisite body –
thought he now feels it only acquiesces.]
B' (21-23) [And then he drinks and

⁷ Ποιήματα, 1918-1933, 63.

πως στέργει μόνον- ηδονίζεται.
 Κ'έπειτα πίνει και καπνίζει, πίνει και
 καπνίζει,
 και σέρνεται στα καφενεία ολομερίς,
 σέρνει με ανία της ομορφιάς του το
 μαράζι.-
 Όπως μπορείς πια δούλεψε, μυαλό.

smokes, drinks and smokes;
 and he drags himself to the cafes all day
 long,
 drags the weariness consuming his
 beauty.]
 A' (24)[Brain, work now well as you
 can.]

The first *A* and the last *A'* elements are absolutely identical and represent an address to the brain. The whole sense fragment is repeated: "Brain, work now well as you can". By circularity principle they are linked to *B* and *B'* elements which express a sorrowful state of the poet in love. *C* and *C'* fragments picture his passionate caresses. These elements, on their part, are linked to *D* and *D'* fragments by means of the principle of circular composition. *D* refers to the lack of "fulfillment of love", and *D'* once more pictures the poet's sorrowful state. And finally, the central element is outlined in *E* element that renders the dominant theme of "one-sided passion".

The principle of circular arrangement of elements is also applied in *Prayer*⁸ (1898), which consists of four verses, eight lines and five sense fragments.

⁸ Ποήματα, 1918-1933, 99.

ΔΕΗΣΕΙΣ

η θάλασσα στα βάθη της πήρ' έναν
ναύτη.-
Η μάνα του, ανήξερη, παϊνεί κι
ανάπτει

στην Παναγία μπροστά ένα υψηλό κερί
για να επιστρέψει γρήγορα και
ναν' καλοί καιροί-

και όλο προς τον άνεμο στήνει τ' αυτί.
Αλλά ενώ προσεύχεται και δέεται
αυτή,

η εικόν ακούει, σοβαρή και λυπημένη,
ξέροντας πως δεν θάλθει πια ο υιός
που περιμένει.

PRAYER

A (1) [The sea engulfed a sailor in its depths.]

B (2-4) [Unaware, his mother goes and lights

a tall candle before the icon of our Lady,

praying for him to come back quickly, for the weather to be good-]

C (5) [her ear cocked always to the wind.]

B' (6-8a) [While she prays and supplicates,

the icon listens, solemn, sad, know-
ing]

A' (8b) [the son she waits for never will come back.]

The poem starts and ends with *A* and *A'* elements which imply that the sailor has died. *B* and *B'* elements link to *A* and *A'*. *B* renders how the sailor's mother, unaware of his death "lights a tall candle before the icon of our Lady" and *B'* pictures "solemn, sad" icon of the Mother of God. *C* element, which shows the sailor's mother impatiently observing the weather, proves central.

Circular composition is applied in *Interruption*⁹ as well (1901), which is a one-verse poem with eight lines. To our mind, the poem includes three sense fragments:

ΔΙΑΚΟΠΗ

Το έργο των θεών διακόπτομεν εμείς,
τα βιαστικά και άπειρα όντα της
στιγμής.
Στης Ελευσίνος και στης Φθίας τα
παλάτια
η Δήμητρα και η Θέτις αρχίνουν έργα
καλά
μες σε μεγάλες φλόγες και βαθύν
καπνόν. Αλλά

INTERRUPTION

A (1-2) [Hasty and awkward creatures of the moment,
it is we who interrupt the action of the gods.]

B (3-5a) [In the palaces of Eleusis and Phthia

Demeter and Thesis initiate rituals over high flames and heavy smoke.]

A' (5b-8) [But Metaneira always bursts

⁹ Ποήματα, 1918-1933, 102.

πάντοτε ορμά η Μετάνειρα από τα
 δωμάτια
 του βασιλέως, ξέπλεγη και
 τρομαγμένη,
 και πάντοτε ο Πηλεύς φοβάται
 κ'επεμβαίνει.
 1901

in
 from the royal quarters, hair loose, terri-
 fied,
 and Peleus, scared, always intervenes.]

The first one expresses an idea that men "interrupt the action of the gods". It is followed by the second element the so-called paradigmatic part which renders how Thesis and Demeter "initiate rituals" "in the palaces of Eleusis and Phthia". This central element is followed by the third sense fragment, which is linked to the first one and illustrates the idea stated in it: Peleus and Metaneira interfere with Thesis' and Demeter's deeds and prevent them from accomplishing their intention.

In our opinion, *Thermopylae*,¹⁰ a two-verse poem with 10 lines, is also structured to the principle of circular arrangement of elements (1903):

¹⁰ Ποιήματα, 1918-1933, 103.

ΘΕΡΜΟΠΥΛΑΕΣ

Τιμή σ'εκείνους όπου στην ζωή των
 ώρισαν και φυλάγουν Θερμοπύλες.
 Ποτέ από το χρέος μη κινούντες.
 δίκαιοι και ίσιοι σ'όλες των τες
 πράξεις,
 αλλά με λύπη κιάλας κ' ευσπλαχνία.
 γενναίοι οσάκις είναι πλούσιοι, κι
 όταν
 είναι πτωχοί, παλ'εις μικρόν γενναίοι,
 πάλι συντρέχοντες όσο μπορούνε.
 πάντοτε την αλήθεια ομιλούντες,
 πλην χωρίς μίσος για τους
 ψευδεμένους.

Και περισσότερη τιμή τους πρέπει
 όταν προβλέπουν (και πολλοί
 προβλέπουν)
 πως ο Εφιάλτης θα φανεί στο τέλος,
 και οι μήδοι επί τέλους θα διαβούνε.
 1903

THERMOPYLAE

A (1-2) [Honor to those who in the life
 they lead
 define and guard a Thermopylae.]
B (3-10)[Never betraying what is right,
 consistent and just in all they do
 but showing pity also, and compassion;
 generous when they are rich, and when
 they are poor, still generous in small
 ways,
 still helping as much as they can;
 always speaking the truth,
 yet without hating those who lie.]

A' (11-14)[And even more honor is due
 to them
 when they foresee (as many do foresee)
 that in the end Ephialtis will make his
 appearance,
 that the Medes will break through after
 all.]

We distinguish three extended sense fragments in the poem. However, in this case, the circular composition is constituted not by one element merely reflecting another but by gradation. The central *B* sense fragment characterizes heroes who have sacrificed their lives to Thermopylae. The preceding *A* fragment glorifies the heroes, while the final *A'* element, following the central one, states that "even more honor is due to" the deeds that are committed despite one's awareness of inevitable defeat.

Another poem with circular composition is *He Swears*¹¹ (1915). It is a six-line verse with three sense fragments:

¹¹ Ποιήματα, 1918-1933, 58.

OMNYEI

Ομνύει κάθε τόσο ν' αρχίσει πιο καλή
ζωή.
Αλλ' όταν έλθη νύχτα με τες δικές
της συμβουλές,
με τους συμβιβασμούς της, και με τες
υποσχέσεις της,
αλλ' όταν έλθη νύχτα με την δική της
δύναμι
του σώματος που θέλει και ζητεί,
στην ίδια
μοιραία χαρά, χαμένος, ξαναπαιίνει.

The central *B* element pictures the nightfall. The first and the final fragments link to it by means of circularity principle. The first *A* element expresses a strong desire to start a better life, while the final *A'* shows return to the old lifestyle. We believe the poem vividly exposes logical opposition between the elements.

The circular arrangement of elements is applied in *Priest at the Serapeion*¹² (1926). The poem consists of two verses of different size, thirteen lines and three sense fragments:

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΟΥ

τον γέροντα καλόν πατέρα μου,
τον αγαπώντα με το ίδιο πάντα.
τον γέροντα καλόν πατέρα μου θρηνώ
που πέθανε προχθές, ολίγο πριν
χαράξει.

Ιησού Χριστέ, Τα παραγγέλματα
της ιερότατης εκκλησίας σου να τηρώ
εις κάθε πράξιν μου, εις κάθε λόγον,
εις κάθε σκέψι είν' η προσπάθεια μου
η καθημερινή. Κι όσους σε αρνούνται
τους αποστρέφομαι. - Αλλά τώρα
θρηνώ
οδύρομαι, Χριστέ, για τον πατέρα μου
μ' όλο που ήτανε- φρικτόν είπειν-

HE SWEARS

A (1) [He swears every now and then to begin a batter life.]

B (2-4) [But when night comes with its own counsel, its own compromises and prospects- when night comes with its own power]

A' (5-6) [of a body that needs and demands, he goes back, lost, to the same fatal pleasure.]

PRIEST AT THE SARAPEION

A (1-4) [My kind old father
Whose love for me has always stayed the same-
I mourn my kind old father
who died two days ago, just before dawn.]

B (5-10a) [Christ Jesus, I try each day in my every thought, word, and deed to keep the commandments of your most holy Church; and I abhor all who deny you.]

A' (10b-13) [But now I mourn: I grieve, O Christ, for my father even though he was – terrible as it to say it – priest at that cursed Serapeion.]

¹² Ποιήματα, 1918-1933, 51.

στο επικατάρατον Σεράπιον ιερέυς.

B element, which renders faithfulness of a believer in Christ, proves central. *A* and *A'* fragments, expressing the believer's mourning over his deceased father, link to it by means of circularity principle.

Circular composition structures Cavafis' *Endless Poems* edited by Renata Lavagnini. Poem *Colors*¹³ is an eight-line verse with three sense fragments.

ΧΡΩΜΑΤΑ

Τα κόκκινα, τα κίτρινα, και τα μαβιά
των λουλουδιών είν' όμορφα, το
παραδέχομαι.
Αλλά το χρώμα σαν φαντάζομαι,
το σταθερό κι αμόλυντο το χρώμα,
δεν πάει ο νους μου στα λουλούδια, αλλά
στο κόκκινο το ρουμπίνι ή το κοραλλί,
στο κίτρινο του τραπεζιού και στο
μάλαμα,
και στών σαμφείρον και των περουζέδων
τα μαβιά.

Colors

A (1-2) [Red, yellow and violet
flowers are beautiful, I admit.]
B (3-5a) [But as I imagine colors,
steady and pure it is not flowers that
I remember]
A' (5b-8) [but the red of ruby and
coral,
the yellow of topaz and gold and
the violet of sapphire and tur-
quoise.]

The first element *A* names colors of flowers, which is opposed by naming identical colors of precious stones in the third fragment *A'*. The central *B* element states that the notion of colors does not remind the author of flowers. The first and the third elements include recurrent words denoting colors: "red", "yellow" and "violet".

The above-stated leads us to the conclusion that Cavafis quite often and consistently applies circular composition as a kind of compositional organization. Equally remarkable is the fact that almost in all cases the poet resorts to the classical type of the device. To our mind, Cavafis' use of the principle is by no means spontaneous. We believe this type of compositional structure is organically linked to the development of the logic of a certain idea, and the poet uses it in poems with a definite logical structure. Since his other works are organized to a different compositional pattern, it becomes evident that Cavafis applies circular composition only to constitute a definite type of poems those based on circularity principle. It is also noteworthy that the principle runs throughout all periods of the poet's literary activity including his earliest as well as later works.

We should also admit that the principle of circularity is not confined to the recurrence of restricted number of elements at the beginning and the end of poems we mean *ABCBA'* structure. Some of the poems have four interre-

¹³ Κ. Π. Καβάφης, *Ατελή ποιήματα*, Renata Lavagnini, 1918-1932, Ίκαρος, 308.

lated elements. All these point to intensive and subtle usage of the principle of circular arrangement of elements in Cavafis' poetry.

Tea Gaprindashvili (Tbilisi)

**THE PROBLEM OF ALIENATION IN *THE DOUBLE BOOK* BY
D. KHADZIS**

Among the XX century Greek writers, who touched in their works the problem of "alienation", solitude and existence in general, D. Khadzis, a writer of post-war (WW II) period, is especially noteworthy and interesting. Almost all his literary works – novels and stories – bring up the problem of "alienation", non-communicability, solitude and estrangement among human beings. In this regard, his novel *The Double Book* is particularly remarkable.

In order to set off the peculiar properties of the novel, we shall consider it against the background of the notion of "alienation" in general.

The mentioned phenomenon originated in the early period of the world history and has not once been considered and interpreted by various philosophers and men of art. The problem of "alienation" has been perceived from different angles and several of its kinds have been distinguished.

"Traditional societies of the old age perceived the environment around as a micro-world, while beyond the confined environment there lay the unfamiliar and shapeless world."¹ People locked up in their own micro-worlds associated a stranger with a fear for unknown, hatred and rancor, as the latter represented the element of aposynthesis and destruction of their world. Peoples of Ancient cultures regarded a human being as estranged if the latter did not belong to their group or community. Different cultures had different names for these individuals. For instance, Ancient Greeks called a stranger "a barbarian", Jews – "an infidel", while Chinese – "a foreign demon".

The term "alienation" itself did not appear in any sociological dictionaries and encyclopaedias until 1935. However, the idea is either distinctly outlined or briefly mentioned in classical sociological studies of the XIX century and

¹ Μιρσέα Έλιαντ, *Οικόνες και σύμβολα*, Αθήνα 1994, 50.

the first decades of the XX century. If we trace down the roots of the phenomenon, we shall find out that works by IIIc AD neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus, also theological studies of St Augustine and Luther have the origins of the idea of alienation.² However, scholars believe that the most obvious source, which clearly conveys the idea is works by Hegel. Hegel considered alienation as an ontological phenomenon, the intrinsic property of nature related to the human existence in the world. He believed in the principle of natural demarcation between two types of human beings _subjects and objects. "Subject" refers to a creative personality who strives for existence and self-realization, while "object" is the one who is directed by others and is subjected to outside influence.³ Unlike Hegel, Marx interpreted "alienation" as a process characteristic of class-antagonistic society of capitalism generated from labor exploitation and representing isolation of a worker from the material and spiritual values of his own produce. According to Marx, self-realization through labor is an intrinsic component of nature, but the economic system prohibits this opportunity. Therefore, the chief problem of capitalism is an alienated labor.⁴

Along with the traditional Marxian conceptions on "alienation", there exists another theory developed by so-called "Mass Society" representatives. They linked "alienation" to the disappearance of traditional society resulting from industrialism. To their belief, a human being is isolated the way it has never been – anonymous and faceless in the mass, which turns him into a bourgeois. He is deprived of old values, and does not believe in a new rationalistic bureaucratic structure".⁵

While Marx and Mass Society theorists attached to "alienation" a pragmatic, worldly sense and emphasized issues on human labor and labor organization, there outlined another conception regarding "alienation". This was existentialism founded by Nietzsche and Kierkegaard. "A concrete human being, his existence in the modern bourgeois society as the realization of existence, a man's "solitude" and "desolation", hopelessness and "being under threat", disability and misery, bankruptcy of human existence and facing nothingness, his being before death and for death, his freedom – these are what existentialism is concerned with".⁶

At first, existentialism was a conception of a few philosophers. Later, especially after World War II, the number of existentialists increased. They

² Encyclopaedia Britannica, A new survey of universal knowledge, Volume I, Alienation, 628

³ Ibid.

⁴ Entfremdung, Wörterbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, Leipzig, 1986, 130-131.

⁵ Britannica, Αλλοτρωποίηση, 59.

⁶ K. Bakradze, Existentialism, Tbilisi, 1962, 37.

developed their conception of human existence not only in philosophical studies but in literary works as well. Such a popularity of existentialism was motivated by the thinkers' particular interest in an individual fate in the epoch, when "relations between an individual and society have obviously entered the critical stage, when a human being started to lack civil interests, when a man withdrew from the everyday life, personal emotions, beauty, even love ...".⁷ A horrible, estranged world and in particular, "alienated being – this is the main idea of the modern bourgeois art, while an artist is the person who reflects in his feelings and ideas essential and typical features of the society".⁸

The XX century thinkers and representatives of art unanimously admit the crisis of the modern epoch blaming for it "the technical alienation".⁹ "The technical alienation" is self-estrangement of a human being, which results from his own technical performance and work. According to a Georgian scholar Z. Kakabadze, "The produce of human actions and labor turn into a force hostile to the human beings themselves. The more items are produced, the more declined a human being is. The more he produces, the less happy he is. This is the situation of alienation".¹⁰

As we have already mentioned above, human "alienation" and solitude is most interestingly illustrated in the modern Greek literature. The phenomenon of "alienation" appears in a number of works by modern Greek writers. Remarkably, almost all of D. Khadzis' contemporary Greek writers were deeply impressed by the devastating outcomes of the World War II. Their primary concern lay in describing consequences of the war and the injuries it generated. The center of the historical-political events and socio-economic changes was occupied by a human being, who felt disharmony in the modern world and experienced tragic feeling. The majority of Greek writers of the mentioned generation emphasized in their works existential perception of a human being in the modern world.¹¹

Literary works by D. Khadzis touch the problem of human "alienation" and existence in a peculiar way. We may assert that the author is particularly interested in a human fate. However, some Greek scholars believe that Khadzis is concerned not with an individual, but the fate of the Greek community in general against the background of the war: "Khadzis is among the post-war Greek prose writers who took interest in the problems of the Greek

⁷ Assays on the Modern Foreign Literature, Modern Western Drama, TSU, Tbilisi, 1989, 24.

⁸ Z. Kakabadze, The Problem of "Existential Crisis" and the Transcendental Phenomenology by Edmund Husserl (in Georgian), Tbilisi, 1985, 9.

⁹ Ibid, 11.

¹⁰ Ibid, 9, 10.

¹¹ Δ. Τσακωνάς, *επίτομη ιστορία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας*, Αθήνα.

community involved in the historical events and social, political and economic changes, while the majority of writers were more concerned with historical reality and later, personal and existential problems."¹² We partly agree with the above conception of the Greek scholar, however, we believe that Khadzis' interest in the society is not so much general. Khadzis considers the Greek community through bringing up problems of its members (*Siulas the Tanner, Sambethay Kabyl ...*) and vice versa, each concrete human being is the face of the community itself. We shall develop this conception while considering the problems of the characters of *The Double Book*. We also believe that Khadzis numerously touches existential and personal problems of his characters (*The Grave, The Time of Tide, Saint George, The Double Book*). Our primary objective is to investigate the main causes of alienation among the characters of *The Double Book*.

The Double Book pictures two worlds completely different from each other – on the one hand, a modern society on its way to technical advancements, with developed technology and enormous factories and plants (Germany) and on the other hand, a miserable world of Volos timber plant (Greek). The novel puts emphasis on the dramatic life of Greek migrants to Germany in 50-60s, who take an active part in the industrial development of the country but have difficulties in adjusting to a strange, developed and technocratic world. They are gripped with, so to say, the syndrome of "technical alienation". In the very first chapter of the novel "the author illustrates the mechanization of the industrial production. Soon we clearly discern the worker's alienation from the production, his automation, distance between him and the work, isolation from other workers, his full solitude".¹³ – These are words by S. Xristou, a Greek scholar. Upon returning to his motherland after many years of life abroad, the writer finds the modern lifestyle inevitable, but his inner self rejects it. His attitude to the modern, developed and industrial society, which he knows perfectly well after years of living in Europe, is negative. It is in Greece that Khadzis better perceives the inner world of people, while in Germany he is more concerned with the environment, the new world typical of the industrial society developed by means of modern technology and the huge plant.

The main character of the story Kostas comes from a small Greek town Volos. He has lived in Stuttgart, an industrial city of Germany for four years and has worked in a plant. The huge city, rich in colorful advertisements, shop-windows and lights, seems to him inhospitable, inhumane. He feels

¹² Επιστημονικό σημείο, Δ. Χατζής, μια συνείδηση της ρωμοσύνης, Πάτρα 1999, 49.

¹³ Σ. Χρήστου. Αποξένωση και παρακμή, Αθήνα 1976.

himself a stranger, alienated and solitary in the city: "Here I am, in the avenue, on the pavement ... Nobody awaits me, there no place I would want to go to. My home, my motherland happen to be here, but no home, no motherland ... we have all become strangers in these huge cities ... And I am the truest citizen of the city of strangers".¹⁴ What may have caused such a state of the character? The hero answers the question himself as he understands the reason of alienation: "... This is it, our present world. It has all ready and specified for us, we lack nothing – one just does not know what to do with oneself",¹⁵ Kostas says. He feels alienated not only in the city but in the plant and at home as well. He is estranged from all. In the plant he is captured in long corridors, moves like a tram, talks over the same topics with his bosses, carries the loaded barrow to the inner yard, twice a day, at the same time, pierces a voucher to confirm his presence at the place of work and above all, he is regularly paid, and quite well – and that is all. And while at home, "the kitchen door has a small gap. I pay the rent through it and see nothing. I put the money in an envelope, pass the dead zone of the corridor and throw it there ..., this is the same as in "Autel", just here it is vice versa. There I am paid and I see nothing, and here I pay and see nothing".¹⁶ The Greek emigrant, whose life in Germany is confined to isolation and robot-like work in the plant (Autelectrica) and a solitary existence in the blank walls of Frau Baum's house, attempts to realize his place and adjust to this new but strange environment however difficult it may prove to him.

A Greek psychologist I. Ghalan¹⁷ makes an interesting comment on the alienation of Greek migrants to Germany, which, to our mind, is directly related to the problem raised in *The Double Book*. According to Ghalan, alienation of a Greek migrant worker is caused by: 1) sudden replacement of his native and friendly environment (home, square, café, district) by the one inhospitable and hostile to him, the environment with strange customs and a foreign language; b) living in absolutely different circumstances; replacement of a peaceful square, backgammon and cards, unscheduled life and work where privacy prevails by noisy, technology-wise developed, programmed, estranged and faceless civil life and work".¹⁸

¹⁴ Δ. Χατζής, "Διπλό βιβλίο", 63.

¹⁵ Ibid, 67.

¹⁶ Ibid, 61.

¹⁷ The problem of "alienation" of Greek migrants to Germany in 50-60s of the XX century was considered not only by writers, but has become the subject of many Greek Psychologists' studies.

¹⁸ Γιάννη Γ. Γαλάνης, *εφαρμοσμένη ψυχολογία, απελεύθερο Εργό και κατεστημένο*, 35.

Among the plant workers, Greek migrants are not the only victims of the "technical alienation". People who sit in solitude in tiny rooms isolated with glass walls surrounded with telephones, printing machines, telexes, dictaphones, turn into faceless beings, true machines: "Their faces are hardly noticeable, they always keep their heads down, say something, listen to telephones, click something on the machines ... And we are even more miserable suffering with our hands and bodies, and they over here, are really punished ... they have their eyes extracted and two autel lamps of our production installed in their place in order to prevent them from seeing anything else from 8am till 4pm".¹⁹ Even blond long-legged ladies walking to and fro in the corridors look like artificial, mechanical toys: "To my mind, they select them by their fine legs, then wind them up and so they go around wound up all day long".²⁰ Müller himself, the head of the department has turned into a spiritless machine: "Müller has no spirit at all, just a taper-recorder – and nothing more is necessary here... he always sits in his room and seems to form one entity together with his chair... He sees to everything from his place...he says something all the time, never shouts, never changes his voice. His words, the four words, he seems to print them on the machine installed in his mouth, the cassette in the tape-recorder put in his mouth".²¹ To our mind, these "products" of the technocratic society deprived of all humane by the modern civilized community, have become supplements to technology, as Edward Bond has it.²² The Greek scholar M. Meraklis believes that both the bosses of the plant and their employees are victims of the absurdity called the production system.²³

The characters of *The Double Book* are not the victims of the "technical alienation" alone. Another character of the novel, Skouroyanis is doomed to estrangement and solitude as well. After leaving his motherland, he has been attempting to establish himself in Germany for twenty years, but "Stuttgart, enormous buildings, illuminated streets, cafes and bars, shows – all strange, totally unknown, distanced from him, insignificant to him is unreal, a wall erected around him".²⁴ Throughout twenty years of living in a strange land he wondered to return to his native Dobrinovo. He hoped that his native people,

¹⁹ Δ. Χατζής, "Διπλό βιβλίο", 12,13.

²⁰ Ibid, 13.

²¹ Ibid, 15.

²² I. Kereselidze, *The Mask of the Social Drama, The Modern Western Drama*, TSU (in Georgian), Tbilisi, 1989, 104.

²³ Μ. Γ. Μερakλής, Προσεγγίσεις στην ελληνική πεζογραφία, η επανεμφάνιση του Δ. Χατζή: «Το Διπλό Βιβλίο», Καστανιώτης, 121.

²⁴ Δ. Χατζής, "Διπλό βιβλίο", 177.

close friends could put and end to his solitude, his long adventure. However, after returning to Dobrinovo, Skouroyanis found out that even his close friends are strangers to him, he realized that Dobrinovo is the place of his ultimate solitude, "unreal place. He suffered for twenty years wondering to come back to the non-existing place..."²⁵ Thus Skouroyanis is alienated in doubles ways. Neither in a foreign environment (Germany), nor in his native land (Greece) did he find refuge, the people he would open his heart to and tell about himself and his solitude. He feels "lonely" and "estranged" even at home.²⁶ After twenty years of living in Germany, Skouroyanis found out that Dobrinovo has also become an estranged place to him. Skouroyanis was unable to find his place in life and in the existing society and felt himself alienated. According to the Greek critic Andrea Karandon, "these are the stories of our compatriots who had to leave their motherland to work in German enterprises wondering to overcome hard life and return to their country they miss so much, but they can not get accustomed to the foreign country, and on their return to their native land, discover a new solitude. They are complete failures".²⁷ However, there still exists a way out. Skouroyanis, tired of solitude and unsociability, found compassion with animals. He walked on in solitude and opened his heart to a Pindusian bear: "He caressed his head. The animal took to his hands. This was an outbreak of his sorrow, solitude, despair – he embraced the lovely head of the animal... We two are left here – no one else – nothing is left over here".²⁸ D. Khadzis is sorry for the modern society, where people find it difficult to understand one another and live aloof and secluded: "When people in a society are driven to the extent when they feel more affection for a bear than a human being, the society must have been on the edge of destruction," – says the author.

This decayed society and abnormal human relations cause the fact that a person of a tender nature was called crazy: "They called me the tailor's half-crazy daughter. Women around me, I felt, kept away from me, they did not want to talk to me."²⁹ Said Anastasia, Kostas' sister. The real world was too hard and painful to Anastasia, she felt herself estranged and secluded from all, even from herself: "The most strange to me is my own self".³⁰ she said. The distinguished French philosopher Gabriel Marcel stated: "...To my mind, self-alienation is the fact when one's own self, one's being seems to one more

²⁵ Ibid, 128.

²⁶ Ibid, 122.

²⁷ Αντρέα Καραντώνη, 24 σύγχρονοι πεζογράφοι, εκδόσεις "Νικόδημος", Αθήνα, 227.

²⁸ Seeuete 23, 131,132.

²⁹ Ibid, 159, 264.

³⁰ Ibid, 167.

and more estranged".³¹ As to Sartre, like to all existentialists, self-alienation is a natural state of human beings in the society, which has become most senseless and aimless to them. This is the right appreciation of Anastasia, secluded, lacking self-realization, who sometimes attempted to escape reality and find spiritual compassion and her self in her fancies. She was lost amid reality and illusion. Blue, golden, greenish-golden birds drenched in sunlight were the beings that lived in her fancy to help her forget her solitude and alienation from all around for at least a while. Anastasia's marriage to a person strange to her destroyed her illusions. She knew that birds would come to her no more and she had to get accustomed to her husband's world, which was strange forever to her. "...Here we live, the defeated daughter of a Hellasite warrior, defeated in double ways, the mother of the fellow who was murdered by Hellasites ... And he is the third, crazy about money, three lonely beings, inaccessibly estranged, each secluded in themselves – in the house, which we have enlarged and decorated".³²

So, we may conclude that the characters of D. Khadzis' *The Double Book* are the victims of the estranged world – so-called "technical alienation" on the one hand and of decayed social relations on the other. Non-communicability between society and individual, or sometimes lack of contacts between individuals results into the tragedy of each character of *The Double Book*. It is significant that the author is concerned with human beings, their struggle with themselves and the society. However, he is not confined to a concrete individual only. Through the image of Kostas, the writer raises the problem of alienation among Greek migrants, while Skouroyanis represents each Greek repatriate who experiences double alienation: "And here write it down the way as to make society visible beyond his image, the society, which is on the edge of fall"³³ – says the writer himself about Skouroyanis at the end of the novel. As regards "self-alienated" Anastasia, her image reflects the decayed social relations characteristic of D. Khadzis' contemporary society.

³¹ Seeuite 8, 8.

³² See 23, 168.

³³ Δ. Χατζής, «Διπλό Βιβλίο», 176.

Rismag Gordesiani (Tbilisi)

SPÄTANTIKE ALS PERIODE DER KULTURGESCHICHTE

Die Verwendung des Begriffs – Spätantike – bringt die Diskussion über die Funktion und die terminologischen und chronologischen Aspekte dieses Terminus in Gang.¹ Wie bekannt, hat den Begriff "Spätantike" als erster J. Burkhardt verwendet und dieser Terminus wurde von Alois Riegl bezüglich des Stils in der bildenden Kunst vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert übernommen.² Seit den Zwanzigerjahren, insbesondere in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts, bekam dieser Terminus eine verallgemeinernde Bedeutung und man verwendet ihn oft zur Bezeichnung der letzten Periode der antiken Kultur.³ Ich verstehe unter "Periode" den Abschnitt einer Kultur, innerhalb dessen eine konkrete, generelle und koordinierende Linie oder Tendenz dieser Kultur anfängt und zu Ende geht. Die Gestalt dieser Linie ist faktisch die Tendenz der Kultur einer bestimmten Periode zum Selbstaussdruck durch eine bestimmte Form.⁴ Dementsprechend müssen wir bei der Annahme der allgemeinen historiographischen Bedeutung des Terminus "Spätantike" wenigstens zwei wichtige Fragen beantworten: a) wann fängt diese Periode an und wann geht sie zu Ende? und b) in welcher Form hatte sich die antike Kultur in dieser Periode selbst ausgedrückt?

Über die chronologischen Grenzen der "Spätantike" besteht in der Forschung keine einheitliche Meinung. Einige Forscher verwenden den Begriff

¹ Vgl. DNP, 11, 774ff.; A. Demandt, Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284-565 n. Chr., München 1989, 470 ff.

² Vgl. J. Burkhardt, Die Zeit Constantins des Großen, 1853/80, 275; A Riegl, Spätromische Kunstindustrie, 1901, 26.

³ Vgl. A. Demandt, op. cit.; P. Brown, The World of Late Antiquity: from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad, London 1971 (Nachdrucke: New York 1989, London 1995).

⁴ R. Gordesiani, Die strukturellen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Aufstiegs- und Niedergangsperioden in der Altgriechischen Kultur, Phasis I, 1999, 50 = Λεκτά. Ausgewählte Schriften, Tbilisi 2000, 284.

"Spätantike" überhaupt nicht und sprechen ab dem 4. Jahrhundert u.Z. von der byzantinischen Kultur, die der hellenistisch-römische Kultur vorausging.⁵ Die meisten Altertumswissenschaftler halten den Regierungsantritt Diokletians (284 n. Chr.) oder den Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts, als Konstantin die geschichtliche Bühne betrat, für den Beginn der Periode. Für das Ende dieser Periode nennt man eine ganze Reihe von Daten, von dem Ausklang des 5. Jahrhunderts bzw. dem Untergang des Weströmischen Reiches (476) bis zur ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts bzw. Mohammeds Hedschra oder sogar bis zur Entstehung des arabischen Reiches (640).⁶ Ein Teil der Forscher, hauptsächlich russische Altertumswissenschaftler, hält das 2. und das 3. Jahrhundert für die wichtigste Etappe in der Formierung der Spätantiken Kultur. In seinem Buch über Ästhetik der Spätantike begrenzt V.V. Bytschkow sich auf das 2. und das 3. Jahrhundert.⁷

Dementsprechend sind die Unterschiede in der Interpretation der Fakten der Kulturgeschichte im Hinblick auf das, was wir als typisch eben für die Spätantike halten müssen, ziemlich groß.

Meiner Meinung nach wäre es berechtigter die Charakterzüge der antiken Kultur und die Prozesse ihrer allmählichen Niedergangs hauptsächlich für den bestimmenden Faktor in der Abgrenzung und Charakteristik der Spätantike zu halten. Was die frühchristliche (bzw. frühbyzantinische) Kultur betrifft, wäre es richtiger, sie im Rahmen der Spätantike als eine parallele, begleitende, oder oppositionelle Erscheinung zu betrachten, die mit den ganz anderen Tendenzen des anderen Kulturzyklus verknüpft war.

Aber in diesem Fall ist es natürlich notwendig das zu klären, was wir eigentlich unter dem Begriff Antike verstehen.

Wir betrachten die Antike als historisch-soziale und kulturelle Gesamtheit, als Zyklus, bzw. Makrosystem, deren Einheit die Stabilität in der Erbllichkeit der Hauptformen der Kultur, Ideen und Weltanschauung bestimmen. Obwohl im Makrosystem innerhalb des langen historischen Prozesses dessen Bestandteile (Völker, Regionen) ständig wechselten und dessen Verbreitungsgrenzen sich änderten, erhielt es mehr oder minder stabil eigene Charakterzüge. Der antike Kulturzyklus fängt etwa in 20. Jahrhundert v.u. Z. in Kreta an und geht um die Wende des 5. zum 6. Jahrhundert zu Ende. Die Hauptareale seiner Verbreitung sind Griechenland, die Ägäis, Italien mit seinen Inseln; diese Regionen gaben der Entwicklung des Kulturzyklus

⁵ Vgl. S. Kauchtschischwili, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, I, Tbilisi 1950², 2 f. (in georgischer Sprache).

⁶ Vgl. A. Demandt, op. cit.; P. Brown, op. cit.; Debate in Symbolae Osloenses, V. 72, 1997, The World of Late Antiquity Revisited, 5 ff.

⁷ В.В. Бычков, Эстетика поздней античности, II-III века, Москва 1981.

äusserst wichtige Impulse. Als sekundäre Areale können wir die Regionen betrachten, die sich von Zeit zu Zeit in dieses System einschalteten oder aus ihm heraustraten und die sich nie als einen organischen Teil der Antiken Welt wahrnahmen.⁸

Den antiken Zyklus können wir in minoische, griechische, etruskische, römische und, vielleicht, einige andere Kulturen unterteilen, von denen jede ihren Anfang und ihr Ende, verschiedene Perioden ihres Wirkens und eine verschiedene Intensivität des Selbstaussdrucks hat. Am vollständigsten innerhalb des Zyklus ist die Rolle der Griechen und nicht nur deshalb, weil sie mit der Entstehung der antiken Kultur die geschichtliche Bühne betraten und auch an ihrer endgültigen Untergang teilnahmen, sondern auch deshalb, weil die Perioden ihrer Kulturgeschichte alle mögliche Modelle der Beziehungen zwischen Elementen bzw. Formen der Kultur und den von ihnen gebildeten Subsystemen bzw. den Perioden der Kulturgeschichte realisierten.⁹ Selbstverständlich hat der antike Zyklus drei Etappen der Entwicklung: die Anfangs-, Haupt- und Endperiode.

Nach meiner Meinung können wir die ägäische Kultur, mit ihrer vorgriechisch-minoischen und hellenisch-mykenischen Phase als erste Etappe bzw. Periode innerhalb des antiken Zyklus herausstellen. In dieser Periode sind viele Tendenzen entstanden, die später für die antike Kultur organisch und produktiv erschienen und die wir als Grundlage des griechischen Modells der Kultur bezeichnen können. Diese Periode könnten wir als Frühantike bezeichnen.

Nach der Zäsur, die von den Dark Ages hervorgerufen wurde, kommt die zweite, Hauptperiode des antiken Zyklus mit ihrer griechischen und römischen Phase. Der ganze antike Zyklus innerhalb der Hauptperiode ging einen Weg, den wir als Weg der Universalisierung und maximalen Verbreitung der antiken Werte in der Welt bezeichnen können.

Als ersten wichtigen Schritt in dieser Richtung können wir die griechische Kolonisation des Mittel- und Schwarzmeerraumes bezeichnen. Einerseits die Verbreitung der hellenischen Einflüsse und andererseits die Entstehung des riesigen persischen Reiches hatte in der Weltgeschichte eine der wichtigsten Opposition Europa/Asien markiert, deren Glieder das damals politisch stark differenzierte Griechenland mit seinen zahlreichen Poleis und das zentralisierte persische Reich darstellten. Jedes Glied dieser Opposition wurde durch bestimmte Bündel von Charakterzügen dargestellt, die zwei Wertsysteme, zwei Denkprinzipien – einerseits das hauptsächlich kritisch-analytische und

⁸ Vgl. R. Gordesiani, Die strukturellen ...

⁹ R. Gordesiani, Die strukturellen ...

andererseits das hauptsächlich mythologische Prinzip voneinander unterschieden. Diese Verschiedenheit wurde, natürlich, von beiden Seiten erkannt.¹⁰

Am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts beginnt in der Weltgeschichte der Prozess der Neutralisierung dieser Opposition. Die ersten Versuche in dieser Richtung, d.h. die s.g. Perserkriege (500-479) haben nicht zur Neutralisierung geführt, weil sie nur auf die Unterwerfung und Eroberung einer Welt durch die andere orientiert waren.

Als nächster, ziemlich erfolgreicher Schritt in der Richtung der Verbreitung der antiken Kultur und Neutralisierung dieser Opposition erscheint die Tätigkeit Alexanders des Großen. Das von ihm gebildete Weltreich, oder besser gesagt, die hellenistische Welt ist Ergebnis der Realisierung des Prinzips der drei Einheiten: der politisch-ökonomischen, der kulturellen und der sprachlichen. Zwar das Weltreich als politisch-ökonomische Einheit nicht dauerhaft war, doch die kulturelle und sprachliche Einheit bekamen reellen Charakter. In der hellenistischen Welt hatte die Synthese der gegenübergestellten Charakterzüge der Opposition Europa/Asien fast in jedem Fall einen ziemlich interessanten Charakter bekommen. Dabei war die hellenische Kultur, als System, zu einer festen Basis geworden, die ganz verschiedene Elemente vereinigte und der Entwicklung des antiken Zyklus neue Impulse gab. Das Modell Alexanders des Großen war für seine Zeit zu fortgeschritten; die alte Welt war noch nicht bereit, sich in einem staatlichen Organismus zu vereinigen. Sie hatte die Erfahrung der Bildung der großen imperialen Strukturen mittels der Eroberungskriege, aber hatte keine Tradition der organischen Vereinigung verschiedener Staaten in einer Struktur.

Innerhalb des antiken Zyklus entscheidend war der Schritt, den Rom getan hatte. Einerseits versuchte Rom aktiv das hellenische und hellenistische Modell der Kultur, dem es sich selbst freiwillig untergeordnet hatte, möglichst weit zu verbreiten, andererseits aber suchte es effektive Mittel, die von ihm eroberten großen Teile Europas, Asiens und teilweise auch Afrikas in der einheitlichen Struktur des Imperiums zu vereinigen. Und wirklich brachte Rom, das die von ihm eroberten bedeutenden Teile der Welt der Ideologie der Pax Romana untergeordnet hatte, den römischen Weltkreis zu einer relativ langen Periode der Neutralisierung der Opposition Europa/Asien und zu einer friedlichen Entwicklung.¹¹ Aber es sei noch bemerkt, dass es innerhalb des antiken Zyklus dem römischen Superreich gelang die globale,

¹⁰ R. Gordesiani, Die Gegenüberstellung Europa Asien vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart, Tbilissi 1997, 7 ff.

¹¹ R. Gordesiani, Die Gegenüberstellung ..., 12 f.

nach meiner Meinung, wichtigste Opposition in der Weltgeschichte, die Integration/Desintegration, für einige Jahrhunderte zu neutralisieren. Auf diesem Niveau der Integration ging die Antike Welt unbewußt oder bewußt jahrhundertlang.

Dieser Prozess dauerte von der augusteischen Epoche bis zur Wende des 2. zum 3. Jahrhundert. Man kann sagen, dass die zivilisierte Welt bis heute noch keine längere Epoche der Neutralisierung der Oppositionen und des globalen Friedens kennt.

Eben deshalb verdient die Wende vom 2. zum 3. Jahrhundert eine besondere Akzentuierung in der Geschichte der Zivilisation. Kann man schon von dieser Zeit als dem Anfang der Endphase der Antike sprechen und wenn ja, wie müssen wir deren Ausklang datieren? Für die Beantwortung dieser Fragen ist es nach meiner Meinung notwendig, die wichtigsten Charakterzüge bzw. Argumente der Antiken Kultur, die man als System der Werte zusammenfassen könnte, herauszustellen. Wir gehen von der Tatsache aus, dass von diesem bestimmten historischen Moment jedem von diesen Charakterzügen neue Argumente, die (als das oppositionelle System der Werte) den mittelalterlich-christlichen Kulturzyklus bestimmen, gegenübergestellt werden. Den Anfang der spätantiken Periode könnte man mit der Entstehung der binären Oppositionen in verschiedenen Sphären des gesellschaftlichen Lebens verbinden, wo die Argumente sowohl des antiken, als auch des mittelalterlich-christlichen Zyklus die Funktion gleichberechtigter Glieder der Gegenüberstellung bekamen. Das Ende der antiken Periode kam, als die Argumente des antiken Zyklus diese Funktion verloren hatten. Unten werde ich versuchen kurz darzustellen, wie ich diese Argumente und ihre Beziehungen in den wichtigsten Sphären des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in der für uns interessierenden Periode sehe.

1. Menschenbild. Das antike Argument konnte man folgenderweise formulieren. Der Mensch, der Bürger, der persönliche Freiheit und das Bewusstsein seines Eigenverantwortung besitzt, auf den die Gesätze und die autonome Funktionsweise orientiert.¹²

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument könnte man in folgende Weise formulieren: Theonomer Mensch, für den der höchste Wert der christliche Glaube ist.¹³ Die Formierung der Opposition fängt an der Wende des 2. zum 3. Jahrhundert an, als die Versuche der Apologeten, den antiken Menschen zu kritisieren und ihn nach einer neuen Religion zu orientieren, besonders effek-

¹² R. Müller, Menschenbild und Humanismus der Antike. Studien zur Geschichte der Literatur und Philosophie, Leipzig 1980.

¹³ H.-G. Beck, Das byzantinische Jahrtausend, München 1978, 11 ff.

tiv geworden waren. Seit Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts zu Konstantins Regierungszeit, das Christentum *religio licita* wurde, verbreitete sich die neue Ideologie sowohl in den Grenzen des römischen Reiches als auch bei den Nachbarreligionen sehr intensiv. Von dieser Periode an wurde der Prozess der Formierung des theonomen Menschen, als des Hauptglieds der Gesellschaft, unumkehrbar. Im 5. und am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts war dieser Prozess faktisch abgeschlossen und von dieser Zeit an können wir in dieser Sphäre das antike Argument schon nicht mehr als gleichberechtigtes Glied der Opposition betrachten.¹⁴

2. Politisches System und Organisation der Gesellschaft. Das antike Argument: Streben nach derartigen Kombinationen der monarchistischen, oligarchischen und demokratischen Prinzipien, die im gegebenen Fall für das Funktionieren des Staates optimal erscheinen könnten, das heißt, nach dem Mischsystem,¹⁵ bei der Verstärkung des monarchischen Prinzips Streben nach Vergöttlichung des Herrschers; wegen der starken Differenzierung der Gesellschaft die Herausbildung der sich polar gegenüberstehenden Schichten, wo an einer Seite die stehen, die volle Rechte hatten bzw. die Freien, an der anderen die, die keine Rechte hatten. bzw. die Unfreien.¹⁶

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument: die Loyalität gegenüber der existierenden staatlichen Struktur und dem obersten Herrscher. Streben nach Verstärkung des monarchischen Elements, zur Anerkennung des christlichen Monarchen als Stellvertreter (ὕπαρχος) Gottes im irdischen Staat und Verwandlung des von ihm regierten Staates in ein Bollwerk des Christentums, Streben nach "politischen Orthodoxie".¹⁷ Die Tatsache, dass das Christentum gegen die Sklaverei war und die Gleichheit aller Menschen vor Gott verteidigte, neutralisiert, wenigstens theoretisch, die Gegenüberstellung zwischen den Freien und Unfreien.¹⁸ Nach der totalen Krise der Princepsidee im 3. Jahrhundert und nicht ganz effektiven Änderungen Diokletians hatte die Tätigkeit Konstantins das Christentum von der Ideologie, die gegen die antike Kultur und die Heiden kämpfte, allmählich in die Ideologie der Verteidigung der Reichsstruktur und des Caesars verwandelt. Nach der Anerkennung des Christentums als Staatsreligion durch Theodosius I wurde der Prozess der

¹⁴ Zu den Prozessen in der Ideologisierung der Gesellschaft vgl. A. Demandt, op. cit.; P. Brown, op. cit., Debate. H.-G. Beck, op. cit.; 87 ff.

¹⁵ R. Gordesiani, Zum Verständnis der Demokratie in der Antike und Gegenwart, *Λεκτά*, 300 ff. (in georgischer Sprache).

¹⁶ Vgl. F. Gschnitzer, Sklaverei (in H. Sonnabend (Hrsg.), *Mensch und Landschaft in der Antike*. Lexikon der Historischen Geographie, Stuttgart, Weimar 1999), 478.

¹⁷ H.-G. Beck, op. cit., 87 ff.

¹⁸ Vgl. A. Demandt, op. cit., 288 ff.; F. Gschnitzer, op. cit., 480.

Transformation Roms in das frühchristliche Imperium unumkehrbar.¹⁹ Seit dem 5. Jahrhundert wurden die Ergebnisse dieser Transformation für das Imperium offensichtlich. Einerseits stimulierte dieser Prozess durch die Bevorzugung der Idee der religiösen Einheit gegenüber der Idee der staatlichen Einheit die Tendenzen des Zerfalls des Imperiums, andererseits aber zeigte er der Welt neue Wege zur suprastaatlichen, ideologischen Vereinheitlichung, wo die führende Rolle nicht die einheitliche imperiale Struktur, sondern die Einheit des Glaubens spielte.²⁰ Eben deshalb kann man seit dem 5. Jahrhundert nicht mehr von der Gleichberechtigung des antiken Arguments in deren Sphäre des politischen Systems sprechen.

3. Die bildende Kultur. Das Argument der Antike. – Der Primat des Mimetismus, Ästhetismus und Realismus der Form, die Vielfältigkeit der Gattungen in der Literatur und Kunst und ihre autonome Entwicklung. Informationelle Basis – die mythologische, historische und imaginäre Wirklichkeit, wo die Erbllichkeit der Symbole, Gestalten, Handlungsschemata, bildenden Strukturen und Formen sehr bedeutend sind.²¹

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument: die Verneinung der bildenden Prinzipien der Antike, der Primat des Seelischen und Ideologischen, die Beschränkung der Gattungen und ihre Unterordnung unter die ideologischen Forderungen, die Gegenüberstellung zum antiken Ästhetismus, die Ästhetik der Verneinung.²²

In dieser Sphäre dauerte der Prozess der Neutralisierung des antiken Arguments sehr lange. Obwohl das Christentum in der Verneinung der antiken Kultur schon im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert bedeutende Erfolge hatte, waren dessen Versuche in der Gegenüberstellung des neuen Arguments viel bescheidender. In der bildenden Kunst verliert die Opposition bis zum 7. Jahrhundert nichts an Aktualität, in der Literatur bis zum 6. Jahrhundert. In den s.g. Vorstellungskünsten spielte bei der Neutralisierung das Verbot eine große Rolle.²³

4. Religiöses Leben. Das Argument der Antike: trotz der Existenz der s.g. offiziellen Religion, Pluralismus, Toleranz, Fehlen des Strebens nach Universalismus; eben deshalb hatte die Religion nicht die bedeutende integrierende Funktion bei der Bildung der multiethnischen, großen Staatsstrukturen.²⁴

¹⁹ H.-G. Beck, op. cit. 33 ff.; A. Demandt, op. cit., 124 ff.

²⁰ Vgl. A. Demandt, op. cit., 453 ff.

²¹ Vgl. История эстетической мысли, I, Древний мир, Средние века, 1985, 148 ff.

²² В.В. Бычков, op. cit., 166 ff.

²³ Vgl. A. Demandt, op. cit., 389 ff.

²⁴ Zur Übersicht vgl. DNP, 10, 888 ff. Vgl. auch M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion, Erster Band, Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft, München 1955; W. Burkert, Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche, Stuttgart 1977; M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion, Zweiter Band, Die

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument – Streben nach der Bildung eines universalen, allumfassenden religiösen Systems, das faktisch die Toleranz und den Pluralismus ignoriert und allmählich beginnt es als von der staatlichen Struktur unabhängiger, für den glaubenden Christen integrierender Faktor zu fungieren. Die strengen, noch unbekanntem Maßstäbe der Organisation des religiösen Lebens, das die Kirche leitete, war Grund dafür, dass früher als in den anderen Sphären (Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts) das antike Argument bzw. der antike Polytheismus seine Funktion in der Opposition verloren hatte. Die Gegenüberstellung zwischen dem antiken und dem christlich-mittelalterlichen Argument bekam eben in dieser Sphäre seine schärfste, ausgeprägteste Form.²⁵ Grigor von Nyssa gibt eine klare Vorstellung in "Über die Göttlichkeit des Sohnes und des Heiligen Gottes" darüber, welche Maßstäbe der Prozess der Ideologisierung der Gesellschaft im Konstantinopel des 4. Jahrhunderts hatte. Die ziemlich rasche Neutralisierung des antiken Arguments in dieser Sphäre war hauptsächlich durch zwei Faktoren bedingt: a) durch die funktionale Nichtgleichberechtigung dieser Argumente, b) durch die ideologische Position des Reiches. Das christliche Argument betrachtete man nicht als Opposition des Staates oder des Herrschers. Und der Staat führte seit einer bestimmter Zeit faktisch keinen Kampf gegen das Christentum.²⁶

5. Philosophie und Wissenschaft. Das antike Argument: der Pluralismus, der sich auf das kritisch-analytische Prinzip stützt, frei von Dogmatismus; Die Wahrheit wird als Objekt der Erforschung betrachtet. Prinzip der Erforschung: "ich" – "Objektives es".

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument: die a priori als Wahrheit angenommene These wird Objekt der Erforschung und das ganze Pathos des kritisch-analytischen Denkens dient der Behauptung dieser Wahrheit; Entfernung vom Prinzip des emanzipierten Denkens und Orientierung nach dem Dogmatismus.²⁷

In dieser Sphäre wurde die Opposition gleich nach der Verstärkung der Apogetik am Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts formiert. Die Neutralisierung des antiken Arguments mittels der reinen Logik war ziemlich schwer, weil die

hellenistische und römische Zeit, München 1974; K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte, München 1960.

²⁵ A. Demandt, op. cit., 413 ff.

²⁶ H.-G. Beck, op. cit., 33 ff.; A. Demandt, op. cit.

²⁷ Ausführlicher vgl. K. Prachter (Hrsg.), Die Philosophie des Altertums, Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, Erster Teil, Basel 1953¹³; B. Geyer, Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie, Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, Zweiter Teil, Darmstadt 1956¹³. Für Übersicht vgl. auch DNP, 9, 862 ff.

antike Philosophie und Wissenschaft von den Vorsokratikern bis zum Neoplatonismus viele und mannigfaltige Wege der Erforschung darboten. Auch in dieser Sphäre hatte das Verbot eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt.²⁸

6. Sprachliche Kommunikation, die literarischen und nichtliterarischen Sprachen. Das antike Argument: Streben nach Zirkulierung der großen, universalen Schriftsprachen. Trotz dem Fehlen des zielgerichteten Programms der sprachlichen Assimilation hielt faktisch der Prozess der Zirkulierung oder Entstehung der nationalen Schriftsprachen an.²⁹

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument: Streben nach Verbreitung einer eigener Lehre, welche mit dem geschriebenen Wort verbunden war. Eben deshalb stimulierte es die Regeneration oder Entstehung der nationalen Literatursprachen: neben dem Griechischen und Lateinischen bekommen Koptisch, Syrisch, Gothisch, Armenisch, Georgisch die Funktion von Schriftsprachen. Wir haben eine Information aus georgischen Quellen, wonach im 3. Jh. v.u.Z. König Pharnabaz die georgische Schrift erfunden hatte. Aber es sei bemerkt, dass die georgische Sprache, als schriftliche bzw. Literatursprache, erst im V Jahrhundert fixiert wurde. Die Opposition Weltsprachen/Nationalsprachen, die noch im 4. Jahrhundert u.Z. ausgeprägten Charakter hatte, wurde neutralisiert und neben den Weltsprachen fanden auch s.g. kleinere Literatursprachen allgemeine Verwendung.

7. Weltordnung. Das Argument der Antike: Streben nach Verbreitung der antiken Werte in allen Sphären des menschlichen Schaffens und Unterordnung dieses Weltkreises nach mehr oder minder einheitlichen kulturellen und politischen Prinzipien in viele Regionen der drei Kontinente. Die logische Vollendung dieses Strebens war die Formierung des römischen Reiches und der römischen Konzeption der Weltordnung.³⁰

Das christlich-mittelalterliche Argument. Die Bildung der suprastaatlichen Einheit, die auf die Negation der antiken Werte und ihre Ersetzung durch das neue System der Werte orientiert war. Obwohl die christliche Ideologie die imperiale Struktur als Instrument zur Erreichung eigener Ziele zu verwenden versuchte, diente sie nach ihrer Weise dem Zerfall des römischen Großreiches. Die Opposition zwischen den antiken und christlichen Argumenten bekam einen ausgeprägten Charakter in der Epoche Konstantins, die Neutralisierung des antiken Arguments wurde durch den Niedergang des Imperiums abgeschlossen.

²⁸ Als Beispiel eines solches Verbots könnte man die Schließung der Akademie bzw. Universität in Athen 529 durch Justinian anführen.

²⁹ H.-G. Beck, op. cit., 15.

³⁰ Vgl. H. Bengtson, Römische Geschichte. Republik und Kaiserzeit bis 284 n. Chr., München 1988⁶, 217 ff.; С.И. Ковалев, История Рима, Ленинград 1986, 487 ff.

Wenn wir das alles in Betracht ziehen, müssen wir die Periode von der Wende des 2. zum 3. Jahrhundert bis zur Wende des 5. zum 6. Jahrhundert auf eine besondere Stelle in der Kulturgeschichte der Antike bringen. Obwohl in den verschiedenen Sphären die Formierung der binären Opposition und ihre Neutralisierung nicht gleichzeitig stattfanden, könnte man die chronologischen Grenzen der Spätantiken Periode auf diesen Zeitraum beschränken.

Ist der Niedergang der Antiken Zivilisation nur das Ergebnis der oben behandelten Faktoren oder eher das von globalen und allgemeinen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Weltgeschichte? Solche Faktoren, wie a) der intensive Prozess der Degradation der antiken Werte, b) die Verstärkung der Feinde des Imperiums, c) die Popularität der neuen Ideologie u.s.w.³¹ sind wichtig, aber nicht ausreichend für die Erklärung des Niedergangs der Antiken Welt.³² Nach meiner Meinung gab das Zusammentreffen der neuen kulminativen Phasen der Neutralisierung der wichtigsten Oppositionen der Weltgeschichte: Europa/Asien und Integration/Desintegration in der Spätantike der Krise einen katastrophalen Charakter. Im ersten Fall hatten die jahrhundertelangen Versuche der Neutralisierung der Gegenüberstellung mehr äußerlichen, als innerlichen Charakter. In der Epoche der Pax Romana war die Neutralisierung der Opposition Europa/Asien das Ergebnis der Funktionsverdopplung eines der beiden Glieder der Gegenüberstellung. Rom spielte gleichzeitig die Rolle des Oppositionsgliedes und des Mediators. Seit dem 3. Jahrhundert, nach der Entstehung und Verbreitung der Weltreligionen (erst Christentum, später Islam) bekam die Gegenüberstellung neue Impulse.³³ Nicht minder bedeutend war das Zusammentreffen mit der kritischen Phase der Opposition Integration/Desintegration. Wie das Studium der Zivilisationen zeigt, können wir in dem Wechsel der Perioden der Weltgeschichte eine interessante Gesetzmäßigkeit entdecken. Jede Periode beginnt mit der Tendenz einer Gruppe der Elemente und der von ihnen gebildeten Strukturen zur Integration bzw. Vereinheitlichung, die ein koordinierendes Motiv hat. Innerhalb jener Periode erreicht diese Tendenz eine bestimmte, kulminative Ebene. In diesem Moment beginnt die wachsende Tendenz zur Desintegration bzw. Differenzierung sich ausdrücklich zeigen. Die Gegenüberstellung bekommt die Form der binären Opposition: Integration/Desintegration. Die Periode endet mit der Neutralisierung des Arguments mit der Funktion der Integration durch das Argument, das die Funktion der Desintegration hat. Wie die Beobachtung dieses ständigen Kreislaufes zeigt, ist das Ende jeder wichtigen

³¹ Vgl. auch A. Demandt, *op. cit.*, 169 ff.

³² Eben deshalb diskutiert man noch heute intensiv über die Ursachen des Niedergangs der Antike.

³³ Vgl. R. Gordesiani, *Die Gegenüberstellung ...*

Periode der Weltgeschichte durch die Desintegration einer großen Einheit und durch die Ersetzung des Kulturzyklus gekennzeichnet. Eine der wichtigsten Perioden der Weltgeschichte fällt mit dem antiken Zyklus zusammen, dessen historische Mission durch die Formierung der größten Einheit abgeschlossen wurde. Seit dem 3. Jahrhundert wird die Tendenz der Desintegration mehr und mehr bemerkbar und das integrierte System des römischen Großreiches beginnt sich allmählich zu differenzieren. In den nachfolgenden Phasen der Weltgeschichte fand die obenbehandelte binäre Opposition vielfach eine universelle Bestätigung.³⁴

³⁴ Ausführlich R. Gordesiani, Das Schicksal der Großreiche (im Druck) (in georgischer Sprache).

Maka Kamushadze (Tbilisi)

IMAGE OF WOMAN IN KARIOTAKIS' WORKS

Kostas Kariotakis is a prominent Greek poet, who lived at the outset of XX century. His works are considered valuable pieces of the so-called pessimistic stream in the Greek literature. His poetic works incorporate many interesting phenomena. Our immediate goal is to focus on one aspect of his poetry – the image of woman.

As commonly admitted, Greek literature, likewise the world literature in general, comprehensively and diversely presents the image of woman. The image arouses various attitudes – starting with adoration of a woman and raising the image to the status of a goddess, and ending with obvious charge in misogyny. Pessimist writers have created a peculiar image of woman – she is either a weighty argument for pessimistic mood or, on the contrary, the sole beam of light in the hopeless world.

The image of woman bears an important role in Kariotakis' works. It suffices to mention that twenty-eight of his poems are completely dedicated to a woman, and another seventeen have lexical formatives or implications that refer to the fair sex. It is also obvious that names rarely serve as a relevant, determining feature to create an image of a certain woman. Kariotakis mentions only the names of mythological women. No other cases – those supposed to refer to the women from the poet's empirical life – have the ladies' names. As to mythological images, only one poem may be considered completely dedicated to the goddess of love "*Μιά μέρα ηλιοστόλιστη, μιά λαμπερήν ημέρα, / απ'τον αφρό του κύματος επρόβαλες, θεά μου...*".¹ In fact, the poem is a hymn to the beauty of Aphrodite, and is saturated with the mythological spirit. In other poems, a mythological name may serve to comparison and association. Thus, the name of muse Polymnia expresses the author's attitude to a weak, ailing lady. Kariotakis presents the lady as a muse.

¹ Κ. Γ. Καρυωτάκης, «Τα Ποιήματα» (1913-1928), Αθήνα 1992, 223.

Against the background of the false passions of the deceitful world, the poet depicts a colorless, lifeless creature and says: "Κάποια μεσάνυχτα / θα σε αγαπήσω, / Μούσα..."² The poet considers Nereid the symbol of a female charm that may disappear in the sea, although its beauty rejoices the poet: "Θεότρελος, ο δύστυχος, βονιέμαι μες στο κύμα, / τα μάτια της τα θεϊκά με φόβο με κοιτάζουν / και χάνεται στη θάλασσα... Ήταν νεράιδα... Κρίμα!"³ Magdalene is presented as a female beauty associated with sensuality. It is difficult to say whether the image refers to the biblical character or a real lady called Magdalene: "Την έβλεπα στα πόδια μου μπροστά γονατισμένη: / μου γύρευε ένα φίλημα. Τ'αφράτα της τα στήθια / η πιθυμά τα τράνταζε..."⁴

As to the poems of our immediate interest, they can be divided into four groups with four different attitudes to woman. To our mind, the most significant image of the four is that of a lady pictured as the source of aesthetic pleasure. The image stirs in the poet carnal passion, sensuality. It is remarkable that the poet presents female beauty according to the principle of picturing so-called specific, determining features. None of the poems seems to present female beauty as a harmony of inner and outer charm. They usually emphasize one or two elements that reveal the lady's fascination. Thus in the poem *Smile* the poet speaks of the lady's beautiful lips, breast and eyes that have become the source of his aesthetic pleasure: "Σα δύο κεράσια χώρισαν τα χείλη. / κ'έτσι βαθιά, γιομάτα ως ανασαίνει, / στο στήθος της ανεβοκατεβαίνει / το πλέον αδρό τριαντάφυλλο τ'Απρίλη"⁵ The poem *Contrasts* also mentions some parts of female body and renders the lady's beauty by expressing the aesthetic impression: "Όταν το θείο γέλιο σου στα χείλη σου ανθίζει / κι αστράφτει μες στα μάτια σου η κάθε ηδονή, / όταν την ώρα σου μορφή τρελή χαρά στολίζει / και ξεφωνίζεις εύθυμα, γλυκιά μου καστανή..."⁶ Lady's hair, cheeks, hands and eyes are mentioned in *Of Night*: "...Απ' τον ουρανό ξεφεύγουνε τ'αστέρια / και σαν πετράδια ατίμητα στολίζουν τα μαλλιά σου. / Ο Γαλαξίας άσπρο φως στα μάγουλα, στα χέρια / σου χύνει μες στο γάλα του βουτά την ομορφιά σου. / Νά και τα μαύρα μάτια σου!"⁷ The elements are a source of the poet's inspiration. Most of the poems emphasize somatic perception of woman, and the beauty stirs in the poet carnal passions. This is illustrated in *Remember, Kissed, As I Caress You, The Last Kiss, You Ask*

² ibid, 49.

³ ibid, 225.

⁴ ibid, 231.

⁵ Κ. Γ. Καρυωτάκης, «Τα Ποιήματα» (1913-1928), Αθήνα 1992, 26.

⁶ ibid, 217.

⁷ ibid, 232.

Me,⁸ etc. Each of the poems expresses the poet's fascination for the lady's beauty, and the carnal passion it stirs: "...Τα δροσερά σου χείλη τα κεράσινα / π'ανοίγουν σε χαμόγελο, / τι ηδονή όταν κολλούν στο στόμα μου / σ'ένα φιλί απέλειωτο! Ω, δέξου με, γλυκιά μου, στην αγκάλη σου / που μοιάζει με παράδεισο..."⁹, or "Και μ'άφησες, αγάπη μου, στα στήθια σου να γείρω. / Ένας χρυσός Παράδεισος μου θάμπωσε τά μάτια, / της βελουδένιας σάρκας σου με μέθυσε το μύρο, / και στο μυαλό μου χτίστηκαν ονείρωνε παλάτια..."¹⁰

In certain cases, the poet distances the lady's image from the carnal world, adds to it some extra touches and fills it with spirituality. Thus the poem *Dedication* describes a beautiful creature playing the piano; When Kariotakis speaks about woman's voice he says: "...Δε θυμούμαι καλά, πέρασαν χρόνια, / πως είχες όμως λέω και τραγουδήσει. / εζόν αν εκελάδησαν αηδόνια..."¹¹ The poet, fascinated with the lady's voice is unable to hold his admiration in *As I Caress You*: "Και τη φωνή π'αργοκυλά κρυστάλλινη / σαν μουσική αιθέρα, / ποια μούσα μαγεμένη σου τη χάρισε; / ποια ζωτική νεράιδα;"¹² Again the poet speaks of the aesthetic pleasure derived from the lady's voice. However, the pleasure is beyond the somatic perception of beauty.

Especially remarkable is the group of poems in which the source of the poet's pleasure is an ailing woman. The poet emphasizes not the features that arouse carnal pleasure or passions, but the expression of her pale face and extinguished, lackluster eyes. The poet admires the faded cheeks, weakened hands. This very lady becomes the poet's muse: "...κόρη χλωμόθωρη, / μαυροντυμένη. / Κ'είναι σαν αίνιγμα, / και περιμένει. / Λάμπει το βλέμμα της / απ'την ασθένεια. / Σάμπως να λιώνουνε / χέρια κερένια..."¹³ The poem *Almond Tree* is also dedicated to an ailing woman. The almond tree that grows in the poet's garden is so weak that is doomed to fading. The tree symbolizes the sick creature: "Έχει στόο κήπο μου μιά μυγδαλιά φντρώσει / κ'είν 'έτσι τρυφερή που μόλις ανασαίνει. / μα η κάθε μέρα, η κάθε αυγή τηνε μαραίνει / και τη χαρά του άνθου της δε θα μου τη δώσει..."¹⁴

In some poems, Kariotakis' attitude to woman is neutral, or just positive as to the being that fulfils her biological and social role. Thus in the poem *Seeing off* mother speaks to her child who is intimidated with hardships and complexity of life. Mother encourages him and gives him advice: "Βλέπε,

⁸ ibid, 216, 219, 241, 243, 218.

⁹ ibid, 241.

¹⁰ ibid, 243.

¹¹ ibid, 85.

¹² ibid, 241.

¹³ ibid, 49.

¹⁴ Κ. Γ. Καρυωτάκης, «Τα Ποιήματα» (1913-1928), Αθήνα 1992, 36.

παιδί μου, πάντα ομπρός. Το χτες μη σε πικραίνει. / Τώρα η ζωή σαν άλογο στην πόρτα σε προσμένει.»¹⁵ Likewise, notions "sister" or "girls" frequently occur in Kariotakis' poetic world and render neutral or positive attitude. As an example, we shall cite the poem *Only*: "Τα ωραία κι απλά κορίτσια –ω αγαπούλες!- / η ζωή να μου τα πάρει, χοροῦ γύρος..."¹⁶ The poem *Solitude* offers the image of sisters: "Μεσάνυχτα, και λείπετε, αδελφούλες μου..."¹⁷

The group of poems that may be referred to as misogynic creates a contrast in Kariotakis' poetry. What has earlier determined the poet's more or less positive attitude is radically changed. Kariotakis attempts to make up an image of a woman whose charm stirs negative emotions and in certain cases is even fatal for men. Let us remember the poem *Despise*, in which the poet compares the beautiful sex to Japanese puppets, speaks of their empty heads, denounces their lifestyle, compares them to monsters, and considers them nonentities: "Φθονώ την τύχη σας, προνομιούχα / πλάσματα, κούκλες ιαπωνικές. / Κομψά, ρόδινα μέλη, πλαστικές / γραμμές, μεταξωτά, διαφανή ρούχα..."¹⁸ As to the poem *Varium et mutabile*, here the poet compares the lady's beautiful mouth to a snake's nest that produces only deception and treachery. The desperate poet doubts woman's sincerity: "Πάντοτε ψέμα / έλεγε το / ιριδωτό εκείνο βλέμμα; / Το στόμα μία / φιδοφωλιά / και στα φιλά / τι προδοσία!"¹⁹ A weak creature becomes an image of a fatal woman in *Ochre Spirochaete*. Her lips and smile lead the poet to an abyss: "...Κ'ήταν ωραία ως σύνολο η αγορασμένη φίλη, / στο δειλί αυτό του μακρινού πέρα χειμῶνος, όταν, / γελώντας ανιγματικά, μας έδινε τα χείλη / κ'έβλεπε το ενδεχόμενο, την άβυσσο που ερχόταν."²⁰ Remarkably, this type of poems does not prevail in Kariotakis' poetry. They were, apparently, motivated by episodes from the poet's life.²¹

Although what unites all the groups is an image of woman, there is also a common formula implied in all of them – death is somewhere nearby: a girl of divine beauty lying on the sand and expecting death as a rescue: "Στην αμμονδιά μιά θεϊκιάκοπέλα ξαπλωμένη / -λουλούδι που μαράθηκε προτού

¹⁵ *ibid*, 263.

¹⁶ *ibid*, 89.

¹⁷ *ibid*, 89.

¹⁸ *ibid*, 161.

¹⁹ *ibid*, 269.

²⁰ *ibid*, 168.

²¹ As it is known, Kostas Kariotakis was infected with an incurable disease, which might have been caused by a woman. This event greatly changed the poet's attitude to the fair sex, and was reflected in his works. His physical disease and moral torture may be implied in the title of the poem *Ochre Spirochaete* and the image of "a friend for money" that portends the end for the poet.

ν'ανθίσει ακόμα -...τα θολωμένα μάτια της στον ουρανό σηκώνει / και με
 τρεμάμενη φωνή παράπονο αφήνει: / "Ο λυτρωτής ο θάνατος γιατί να μη
 σιμώνει,"²² *The Last Kiss* is the poem, which, besides a passion scene, pic-
 tures a dying woman: " ... Νά, σήμερα πεθαίνεις! / Τά χλωμασμένα χείλια σου
 μου δίνεις να φιλήσω / και μου λαλουν τα μάτια σου στη γλώσσα της χαμένης /
 αγάπης μας: "Πηγαίνω κει, από τον ήλιο πίσω".²³ In the poem *Of Night* a
 beautiful blue-eyed creature tells the poet about the approach of death: "...Τα
 δακρυσμένα μάτια σου: "Τραγουδιστή", μου λένε, / "μην τραγουδάς, κ'είναι
 κοντά η μέρα που πεθαίνεις."²⁴ All these poems illustrate how death coexists
 with life and beauty in Kariotakis' works.

All above compels us to conclude that Kariotakis, as a pessimist poet, has
 a peculiar attitude to woman. In the majority of his poems the image can not
 be considered the main source of his pessimistic mood. Moreover, we may
 think that the image is the stimulus that gives the poet pleasure, rejoices him,
 shows him the sense of life. In this respect, interesting is the fact that
 woman's image is associated with the so-called quasi-major mood in most of
 his poems. As mentioned above, the concept of death never leaves the poet,
 however, the fair sex is rarely a reason of hopelessness and despair. None of
 his poems imply that aesthetic and carnal pleasure "immortalized with death"
 would be the top of his delight, on the contrary, in some cases the poet em-
 phasizes that he is saddened with a woman's death as it brings an end to his
 carnal or aesthetic satisfaction. Although some of his poems express misogyn-
 ic tendencies, the latter can not be considered dominating mood of his
 works. If we compare Kariotakis' works to those by other pessimist writers of
 the world literature, we shall see that his attitude to woman is by no means
 different from the image created by the pessimistic poetry.²⁵

²² *ibid*, 222.

²³ Κ. Γ. Καρωστάκης, «Τα Ποιήματα» (1913-1928), Αθήνα 1992, 243.

²⁴ *ibid*, 232.

²⁵ If we draw a parallel between Kostas Kariotakis' poems and works by a prominent French pessimist writer Charles Baudelaire, we shall notice a number of similar traits belonging to the image of woman. Besides the numerous common features found in the poets' works, it is remarkable that both poets picture a woman as a beam of light in the obscure world: "It was a ray ...and now is night" – this is the French poet's attitude to a lady rendered in "A Lady Passing By". Interestingly, the image of woman is quite different in the poetry of Georgian pessimist writer Terenti Graneli. Almost none of his works express aesthetic pleasure and passion derived from the lady's appearance. However, what unites the three poets is their "optimistic" attitude to woman. We shall cite an extract from the Georgian writer's poem "To Ira" dedicated to a lady: "To you does the sacred dream aspire,/ there is an abyss, but something rescues me./ I wish to live if you are near./ together with you I await autumn."

Tinatin Kauchtschischwili (Tbilisi)

NEUENTDECKTE GEGENSTÄNDE MIT GRIECHISCHEN INSCRIFTEN AUS MZCHETA

In Mzcheta, im Hof der Kirche Swetizchoweli hat das archäologische Institut von Mzcheta, am 13. August 2001 ein Steingrab, N 14, eröffnet (Direktor des Instituts von Mzcheta Prof. Andreas Apakidze). Die im Grab liegende Person ist noch nicht identifiziert. Man weiss nicht genau, ob sich es um eine Frau oder um einen Mann handelt (aber viele sind der Meinung, dass dort eine Frau begraben ist). Im Grab fanden sich etwa 25 verschiedene Gegenstände, hauptsächlich aus Gold und Silber. Zu meiner Kompetenz zu meinem Arbeitsbereich gehören zwei Gegenstände: 1. Ein Goldring mit Gemme und griechischer Inschrift und 2. Ein Schreibzeug ebenso mit griechischen Inschriften.

1. Ein Siegelring aus Gold, in dem eine Gemme-Intalio aus Karneol sitzt. Auf dem Siegelring ist ein Frauenkopf im Profil mit einer Kopfbedeckung in Form eines abgeschnittenen Zylinders dargestellt: Die Kopfbedeckung ist nach vorne verschoben. Grösse des Ringes: Höhe – 19 mm, Breite – 28 mm. Die Länge der Gemme ist 20 mm, Breite 17 mm, Gewicht – 9,890 gr.

Um die Gemme zieht sich eine sorgfältige, fein verfasste griechische Inschrift, die man auf dem Abdruck so lesen kann: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ (am rechten Rand, dem Frauenprofil entlang), ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΑΞΙΑ (am linken Rand, hinter den Darstellungen. Richtung: von unten nach oben). Dort steht: Βασίλισσα Ουλπία ναξία – Königin Ulpia aus Naxos.

Ich halte es auch für möglich, den zweiten Teil der Inschrift so zu lesen: Βασίλισσα Ουλπία ἄναξια. Königin Ulpia Herrscherin. (Hier würde eines der beiden α fehlen. Aber die Annahme, dass ein Buchstabe "fehlt", ist wenig glaubwürdig, weil die Inschrift sehr sorgfältig und schriftkundig verfasst ist).



Danach war die Besitzerin des Siegelringes war die Königin Ulpia (über ihr zweites Epitheton werde ich nicht sprechen). "Ulpia" ist ein römischer Name, ziemlich verbreitet in den ersten Jahrhunderten (es gibt eine zweite Variante dieses Namen Οὐλιπίανα). Es ist interessant, dass die Königin ihre Herkunftsangabe aus Naxos auch in Iberien beibehalten hat, wenn meine erste Interpretation stimmt. Wenn nicht, dann ist es auch von grossem Interesse, dass die Königin Ulpia ein zweites Epitheton hat (Herrscherin). Woher dieses Kunstwerk stammt, müssen die Fachleute für Glyptik entscheiden.

2. Das Schreibzeug besteht aus einer Silberschachtel, am Anfang breiter, am Ende enger, mit einem durchbrochenen Deckel aus Gold. Selbst der Deckel besteht aus zwei Teilen: sein gaufrierter Silberteil endet mit einer dreieckigen, hohen, offenen Komposition von Hochreliefdarstellungen. Auf diesen Darstellungen stehen griechische Inschriften mit sorgfältig gezeichneten Buchstaben, aus denen hervorgeht, dass drei Personen dargestellt sind. (Dieser Gegenstand besteht aus zehn Fragmenten. Die Inschriften befinden sich über den Darstellungen). Hinter der Komposition, in Leere stand das Tintenfass aus Gold (in vier Fragmenten). Auf seinem Deckel befindet sich eine goldene durchbrochene Platte, worauf in zwei Zeilen niellierte griechische Inschriften stehen.

Auf der Rückseite des Schreibzeugs sind in drei Reihen je drei mit goldgefärbte Hochrelieffiguren dargestellt (weniger hochreliefig, als die drei Personen auf dem Deckel). Auf der Platte, deren Form (d) ziemlich bekannt ist, stehen die Namen der Musen.

Hier muss man bemerken, dass die Namen der Musen gut geschrieben sind. Die Umzeichnung dagegen ist nachlässiger, als in den Inschriften auf dem Deckel.

Die Länge des Schreibzeuges ist 34,6 cm, Breite – 9,1 cm am Anfang, am Ende – 6,6 cm. Randhöhe: 1,5-3,0 cm. Hochrelief am Anfang 8x7 cm.

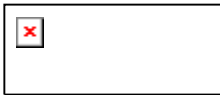
Es gibt auch einen Gegenstand, welcher in einem Beutel liegt und aus zwei silbernen Blechen besteht. In dem Gegenstand waren drei Federhalter erhalten.

Es ist ganz offensichtlich, dass man dem Verstorbenen ein Schreibzeug mitgegeben hat. Es könnte ihm gehören, oder sein Besitzer war sich seines Wertes bewusst und konnte damit umgehen. Damals war in Iberien die griechische Kultur in bestimmten Kreisen gut bekannt. Aber, es ist zu fragen: was stellen diese griechische Inschriften (und Darstellungen) auf dem Gegenstand dar?

Die erste Reihe der Inschriften befindet sich über der Darstellung mehrerer Männer im Hochrelief in einer ziemlich guten Handschrift. Diese Inschriften sind:



- ΜΕΝΑΝ[δρος] - Μέλανδρος Menander, der Lustspieldichter 4.-3. Jh.v.Chr., der bedeutendste Vertreter der neuen Komödie.



- ΟΜΗΡΟΣ - Όμηρος Homer, Gründer der griechischen Poesie, wirkte im 8. Jh.v.Chr.



- ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ - Δημοσθένης Demosthenes, Rhetoriker im 4. Jh.v.Chr.

Nach welchen Merkmalen diese Triade ausgewählt wurde, ist für mich nicht ganz klar. Dass Homer die zentrale Stelle einnimmt, ist selbstverständlich. Aber wenn die Personen nach den Genren hier dargestellt sind, dann sollte eigentlich statt Menander, der bekanntere Aristophanes stehen – der berühmteste Autor der alten Komödie. Vielleicht ist es deshalb so, weil in römischer Zeit Menander populärer war, als Aristophanes. Demosthenes aber – der berühmte Vertreter der griechischen Rhetorik, steht an seiner Stelle. Trotzdem ist der Sinn der Auswahl dieser Triade nicht ganz verständlich.

Besonders interessant ist die Zweizeilen-Inschrift, die sehr sorgfältig auf dem durchbrochenen Blech geschrieben steht:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΥΣΤΑΜΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΥΣΤΑΜΟΥ // ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ
Βασιλέως Ουστάμου || τοῦ καὶ Εὐγενίου
Von König Ustamos und auch Eugenios.

Das heisst, dieser Gegenstand gehörte König Ustamos und auch Eugenios (könnte Eugenios Sekretär oder Schreiber des Königs sein?).

Bemerkenswert ist der Name "Ustamos". Dieser Name kommt in der Literatur genau in dieser Form nicht vor. Aber, wir kennen zwei Fälle von Inschriften aus dem Schwarzmeergebiet, in denen der Name Οὔστανος steht: die erste aus Tanais, in der Liste von Thiasen, um 220 und die zwei Inschriften aus Pantikapeion, auf einer Grabstelle aus dem 4. Jh. Hier sind nur Name und Vatersname angegeben. Die Gleichsetzung von "Ustamos" und "Ustamos" ist nicht schwer (der Austausch "m" und "n" ist auch nicht unerwartet).

Οὔστανος wird mit Ὑσπάνης verbunden und ergibt eine awestische Etymologie: "lebenskräftig". "Ustamos" ist durch diese Inschrift in die georgische Onomastik eingeführt worden. Εὐγένιος aber ist ein griechischer und bis heute sogar in Georgien verbreiteter Name (seine Etymologie ist "adlig"). Der König welchen Landes "Ustamos" war, kann ich nicht sagen (sicher König der Gegend, wo dieser Gegenstand gefertigt wurde, oder derjenigen seines Besitzers).

Auf der anderen Seite der Schachtel befindet sich eine Platte, auf der dreireihig je drei Musenfiguren dargestellt sind. Unterhalb der Darstellungen befindet sich eine Platte, deren Form (d) seit römischer Zeit verbreitet ist. Darauf stehen die Namen.

In der ersten Reihe:



ΚΛΙΩ Klio – (nach klassischen Normen Κλειώ) Muse der Geschichte, Etymologie – "Ruf".

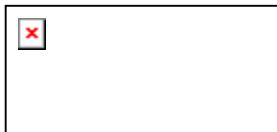
ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ, Εὐτέρπη Euterpe – Muse der lyrischen Poesie.

Das bedeutet "Frohsinn".

ΘΑΛΙΑ, Θαλία Thalia – (klassische Formen sind Θάλεια, Θαλεία).

Muse der Komödie. Etymologie – "Festfreude".

In der mittleren Reihe:



ΜΕΛΠΟΜΗΝΗ, Μελπομένη Melpomene – Muse der Tragödie. "Singende".

ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ, Τερψιχόρη Terpsichore – Muse des Tanzes

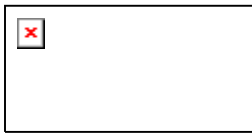
(ionische Form, attisch wird es Τερψιχόρα).

"Freude am Tanz".

ΕΡΑΤΩ, Ἐρατώ

Erato – Muse der erotischen Poesie. "Liebliche".

In der unteren Reihe:



ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ, Πολυμνία Polymnia –
 Muse der Hymnen, (klassische Formen sind
 Πολυμνία, oder Πολυμνία). "Viele Lieder".
 ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ, Οὐρανία Urania – Muse der
 Astronomie. "Himmlich".

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ, Καλλιόπη Kalliope – Muse des Epos, Heldenge-
 dicht.

Das meint "Schönstimmige".

Nach welchen Merkmalen diese Musen geordnet sind, ist nicht ganz deutlich. Mir scheint, dass diese Anordnung geht auf Philologen aus Alexandria zurück. Auf einem älteren Denkmal, auf dem die Musen dargestellt sind (um 570-560) wird Kalliope als Hauptmuse bezeichnet. Sie ist hervorgehoben, in en face, und hält in der Hand eine σύριγξ (eine komplizierte Form der Flöte). Alle anderen Musen sind im Profil dargestellt. Die Freskenmuseen von Herkulaneum, die unserem Exemplar chronologisch näher stehen, sind nicht in dieser Reihenfolge geordnet; Hier steht Kalliope an der 6. Stelle.

Alle Musen, wie diese aus Mzcheta, so auch die, die im Ausland in den Museen aufbewahrt sind, halten ein Musikinstrument (Blas – oder Saiteninstrument), ein Diptychon, eine Papyrusrolle u. a. in der Hand.

Neun Musen, Töchter von Zeus und Mnemosyne wurden um die Zeit von Hesiod (7. Jh.v.Chr.) in die griechische Kunst und Literatur eingeführt. (Dabei gibt es in der gleicher Literatur eine andere Meinung über deren Herkunft und Zahl; z.B. bei Alkman, Mimnermos, Eumelos, sogar bei Euripides). Die Inschrift von Mzcheta folgt aber der Variante von Hesiod.

Wie mir bekannt ist, haben die Philologen von Alexandria die "Geschichte" von Herodot in 9 Büchern eingeteilt und jedem Buch einen Musennamen gegeben; und zwar in dieser Reihenfolge: I – Klio, II – Euterpe, III – Thalia, IV – Melpomene, V – Terpsichore, VI – Erato, VII – Polymnia, VIII – Urania, IX – Kalliope.

Wenn wir hier den Inhalt der Bücher berücksichtigen, ist die Reihenfolge der Musen nicht ganz klar. Ausserdem von Klio-Muse der Geschichte, womit das erste Buch genannt ist. Warum aber das 4. Buch (die Skythengeschichte) den Namen von der Tragödienmuse hat, ist auch unklar. Ebenso ist es mit anderen Büchern...

Die Musen aus Mzcheta sind nach dem gleichen Prinzip geordnet, wie Herodot's Musen.

Aus sprachlicher Sicht muss man in der Inschrift von Mzcheta einen Itazismus erwähnen, der seit der Wende der Zeitrechnung eingeführt wurde:
 Κλειώ (klassisch) || κλιώ (Itazismus) Θάλεια, Θαλεία (klassisch)
 || Θαλία (Itazismus).

Τερψιχόρα-s ionische Form ist: Τερψιχόρη.

Zweimal kommt ein und dieselbe Ligatur vor: **Η** (Δημοσθένης, Μελπομένη).

In der Schrift ist es nichts weiteres bemerkenswert, hier sind die klassischen Normen (attische) erhalten.

Ich habe schon oben erwähnt, dass es in der Form der Buchstaben auf dem Siegelring und auf dem Schreibzeug keinen Unterschied gibt.

- β, ο, σ, ε, ω, π, κ, θ, ν, η sind überall gleich.

- α ist auf dem Siegelring A, auf den Personendarstellungen A, auf der Ustamos-Inschrift Q bei den Musen B

- λ ist auf dem Siegelring Λ, auf der Ustamos-Inschrift Π, bei den Musen Λ und R

- υ hat auf dem Siegelring einen kleinen Fuss V, genauso wie in den Inschriften von Ustamos. Bei den Museninschriften ist der Fuss ein wenig länger (Y).

- μ kommt in zwei Formen vor: in den Ustamos-Inschriften ist es abgerundet, wie in den Museninschriften (q), aber bei den Schriftsteller-Inschriften – eckig M.

- das Schriftzeichen ψ gibt es einmal bei den Musen-Inschriften und es hat eine eigenartige Schreibart: (υ mit hohem Fuss und darauf ist ein Pfeil gemalt).

Die Platte (d) auf der die Musen dargestellt sind, entspricht einem seit römischer Zeit verbreiteten Muster. Ähnliche Platten mit griechischen Inschriften sind seit dem 1. Jh.n.Chr. bekannt und kommen relativ häufiger in den folgenden Jahrhunderten vor.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass wir die Inschriften mit ähnlichen Schriftzeichen wie in Mzcheta im 1. Jh. aus Zypern, Palermo, Rom (Hadriatische Zeit), aus Chersonesos um 129-130 kennen; aus Athen um 138-139 und aus Olbia in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.; allgemein im 2. Jh. – aus Lykien, Rom, Ägypten, Pisa, Athen, Mazedonien. Im 2.-3. Jh. aus Athen, Ostia; In der I Hälfte des 3. Jh. – aus Rom (224 n. Chr.), aus Ostia (um 245-249), Chersonesos (um 245), Aquilla, im 3. Jh.- aus Rom, (283), Ostia, Zypern, Athen, Phrygien, Kreta, Kykladen. Es gibt Inschriften des 3.-4. Jh. aus Heraklea, des 4. Jh. aus Sparta, Syrakus, Phrygien; eine Inschrift um Jahr 301 aus Sulmon.

Dazu gehören natürlich die Inschriften, die während der Ausgrabungen in Mzcheta gefunden wurden, wie die auf Gemmen und Schalen, so auch lapidarisches Inschriften, die hauptsächlich ins 2.-3. Jh. datiert werden.

Ausgehend vom obenerwähnten Material, glaube ich, dass die griechischen Inschriften auf den neu entdeckten Gegenständen in Mzcheta (auf der Gemme, auf dem Schreibzeug mit einer goldenen durchbrochenen

Platte, auf den Darstellungen im Hochrelief und unter den Musen) aus einer Zeit stammen.

Die Buchstaben sind nicht ganz ähnlich (auf der Gemme sind sie fein, auf der durchbrochenen Platte und hochreliefierten Darstellungen deutlich und sorgfältig geformt, unter den Musen dagegen – ein wenig nachlässig). Das Datum dafür musste das 2.-3. Jh. sein.

Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)

ETRUSCANS IN *AENEID*

As it is well-known, Virgil's *Aeneid* and its importance sufficiently surpass the limits of belles-lettres. The poem provides various information which attracts a special attention of the scientists working in literature, history, mythology, linguistics, politics etc.

This fact is naturally explained by the content of *Aeneid* – Virgil presents a mythological version of originating and development of Roman civilization. At the same moment here coexists myth and historical reality, fantasy and a reliable information.

It is very difficult to conclude how people in antiquity distinguished the spheres of history and mythology. This is quite another matter, which goes far beyond the limits of our paper. The only thing that may be said definitely is that a concrete mythological plot is often connected with a certain historical event. It's also quite complicated to speak about a mechanism, according to which a myth is created. Of course here exists an exception – when the myth has its own author.

In the case of *Aeneid*, Virgil can be defined as an author of the mythological essence of his poem.

Of course, Virgil had a concrete basis for his mythological conception. In order to give to his plot a convinciveness and realism (which was important to make an official version ordered by the emperor Augustus), Virgil studied historical, mythological and literary heritage of Greece and Rome.

But all this information was not enough to complete the whole story about Aeneas. As it is known from the poem, Aeneas meets in Italy a lot of local tribes and people, who have their own culture – history, mythology, religion, language and lifestyle. So it was also important to know everything about this peoples, because they had to become not only the characters of *Aeneid*, but the characters of the Roman mythological history.

This fact, in our opinion, explains another reason which prompted the emperor to decide on Virgil as the future author of *Aeneid*. Besides exceptional poetical talent, moderateness and academic education, Augustus and his counselor Maecenas took into consideration the place the poet came from.

Virgil was from Mantua – a little ancient city on the north of Italy. This city was founded by Etruscans and during the centuries there lived many nationalities of antique Italy: Etruscans, Venetians, Latins, Ligurians, Greeks. Here peacefully coexisted the culture, religion, mythology of these peoples and tribes. In *Aeneid* Virgil comments:

"Mantua, dives avis, sed non genus omnibus unum:
gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,
ipsa caput populis, Tusco de sanguine vires"

(X, 201-203)¹

It may be said definitely, that among these peoples Virgil gave a special place to Etruscans.

Some scientists propose, that the reason of this fact can be explained by two circumstances:

1. Virgil use a lot of Etruscan myths in the plot of *Aeneid*, a great part of which was narrated by Gaius Maecenas, poet himself, an Etruscan nobleman from Arezzo;
2. Maecenas paid special attention to Etruscans. He had a great influence on Augustus and wanted to give glory and fame to his compatriots.²

We must note that this opinion is only partially true.

More convincing is to suppose that Virgil brought the information about Etruscans according to the historical regularity – because of the following reasons:

1. Etruscans were the nearest neighbours of Romans and their culture together with the culture of Greeks was an example to follow for Latins;
2. Etruscan state was the first to dominate in Italy before Rome. As Servius notes: "In Tuscorum iure paene omnis Italia fuerat (Serv., in Aea., XI, 567)

Their power was great on the land and on the sea. It is not fortuitous, that the Tyrrhenian sea took it's name from the ethnic name of Etruscans, the way Greeks called them.

However, at the moment Virgil was composing the poem, Etruria, as a political union of the state-towns, already belonged to the history. How-

¹ Verg., Aen.

² Cristofani, M., Dizionario illustrato della civiltà etruscà, Giunti, Firenze 1999, 60.

ever, its culture, language and religion had retained their significance for centuries in the political and cultural life of the Roman Empire.

This way, the existence of the Etruscan material in *Aeneid* is a natural historical phenomenon.

Which spheres of Etruscan civilization are covered in *Aeneid*? We can distinguish the following semantic groups:

1. Historical-geographical environments (towns, geographical place-names, historical characters);
2. Mythology (mythological characters, plots);
3. Religion and cult (gods, divination);
4. Lifestyle (ceremonies, dress, foot-wear, musical instruments);
5. Characteristics of Etruscans (ethnic properties).

Historical and geographic environments

It must be said, that in *Aeneid*, according to antique tradition, Etruscans are nominated by four ethnic names:

1. "Etrusci" (VIII, 48) or "Tusci" (X, 199); 2) "Tyrrheni" (XIII, 555); 3) "Lydi" (II, 781); 4) "Meoniae iuventus" (VIII, 499).

The first name Etruscans got from Romans (Etruscans, as it is known, called themselves "rasenna"), the others – are based on the information of Herodotus. Herodotus affirms that Etruscans had to come to Italy from Lydia. Once a terrible starvation started there during which Tyrrhenos, the son of the king, took one part of the people with him by sea in search of a new land. Lydians reached the new motherland in Italy, where Umbrians lived. Tyrrhenians founded a lot of towns.³

Although there existed various theories offered by other authors of antiquity (Hellanicus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus), this opinion was legalized not only in Greece but also in Rome and was accepted by Virgil.

Towns

In *Aeneid* the names of several Etruscan towns are mentioned:

Corythi Tyrrhena (VII, 204-29) – a city, from which, according to Virgil, the legendary king and founder of Troja starts his voyage to the mountain of Ida. Corythi can be identified with Etruscan city Cortona (etr. curthute, lat. Kortona, Kroton, gr. Corythus)⁴

³ Herod., I, 93-94.

⁴ Cristofani, M., 79.

Agylliane (VIII, 479) – the first city, according to *Aeneid*, founded by Etruscans – Greek version of the name of Etruscan city Caere, modern Cerveteri.

Clusium and Cosae (X, 167-168) (etr. cusate. gr. Kossai, lat. Cosa, Cosae) – the cities founded in 273 B.C.

Populonia (X, 172) – (etr. Pupluna, Fulfunia, lat. populonia).

Pisa (X, 182) (gr. Pisa, lat. Pisae).

Caerete (X, 182) – (etr. Ceisra, gr. Chaire, Agylla, lat. Caere).

Pyrgi (X, 184) – (gr. Pyrgoi, lat. Pyrgi).

Gravisca (X, 184) – (lat. Graviscae) – founded in 181 B.C. modern -Porto Cementino (VI)

Mantua (X, 201) (etr. Manthva, grec. Mantoua, lat – Mantua) modern Mantova.⁵

It is significant that Virgil in his list of towns does not mention Tarquinia – the main city of Etruria. This fact is explained by the opinion, that Tarquinia is ignored by Virgil because of opposition and strained relations between Tarquinia and Rome (Liv, VI, 4,7-11).⁶

Place Names

1. "Island Ulva" – (X, 1973) – "insula inex haustis Chalybum generosa mettalis" – modern isle Elba.

2. River Thybris (II, 78) – is named as lydian "ubi Lydinus arva inter optima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris" or Tyrrhenian "Tyrrhenum Thybrim (VII, 242)"

3. Tyrrhenian Sea – "Tyrrhenum mare (I, 67)" etc.

Historical Characters

1. Tarquin dynasty – "Vis et Turquines reges animaque superbum" (VI, 817).⁷

Tarquin Dynasty in history is represented by two kings of Rome – the fifth – L. Tarquinius Priscus and the seventh – L. Tarquinius Superbus.

⁵ De Simone, C., Il nome etrusco del paleonimo Mantua, SE, vol LVIII, 1993.

⁶ See: Camporeale, Ai primordi di Roma in the book: Die integration der Etruscher und das Weiter wirken etruskischen Kulturgutes im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Wien 1998, 151.

⁷ Pellegrini, G.-B., Metodologia nell' esplorazione della Toponomastica Etrusca, Secondo congresso internazionale etrusco, ATTI, vol I, Supplemento dise, 1989 1587.

L. Tarquinius Priscus came to Rome from the Etruscan city of Tarquinia. He had changed his Etruscan name Lucumonius into Roman Lucius (Livius, *Ab Urbe condita*, VI, 2).

2. Porsenna – (VIII, 646) (etr. Laris or Larth Pursiena). The king of Chiusi, who gave refuge to persecuted Tarquinius Superbus. In 509-504 BC he besieged Rome but was defeated. Porsenna and Tarquinius Superbus in *Aeneid* became symbols of tyranny, against which Romans struggled defending their own liberty: "Aeneadae in ferrum libertate ruebant" (VIII, 647) and overthrew the monarchy in Rome.

2. Mythology

Mythological characters

Tarchon – One of the main characters in *Aeneid*. He is the main ally of Aeneas (VII, 505). Tarchon, according to Virgil, the king of Agylae, struggles against the tyrant Mezentius and the Rutuls.

Tarchon is the well-known character of the Etruscan mythology. He was the son (or the grandson) of Tyrrhenos. He, according to his father's will had founded 12 towns of Etruria and created the main principles of state organization. The fact that Tarchon is related to Etruscan is well known. On one of the mirrors from Toscana, Tarchon takes part in the examination of sheep's intestines.⁸

According to Titus Livius (*De ost*, c.3, 10A), Tarchon was the ploughman, who met Tages, a legendary foreteller, a grizzled baby, who jumped out of the ploughed land and explained to the peasant the main principles of "divinatio".

Virgil, as we see, used the name of the well-known and popular character to make his "invented" king Tarchon appear realistic in terms of mythology.

Mezentius – According to *Aeneid*, the king of Agylinae, which during a long period held this proud people (Etruscans) in restraints. He was known by his exceptional cruelty and a terrible method of punishment. He used to tie a living person face to face with a dead man and have die slowly.

Mezentius was ousted from the city. He found a shelter with Rutuls – their king Turnus. Virgil notes:

"Ergo omnis furis surrexit Etruria iustis, regem and
supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt"

(VIII, 494-495)

⁸ Brendel, O. J. *Etruscan art*, ed. E. H. Richardson, Harmondsworth, 1985, 417. fig. 316 von Vacavo, O. W., *Die Etrusker in Der Welt Der Antike*, Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 148-149.

Virgil composed this mythological passage after historical facts. Porsenna, a historical king of Chiusi, as we have mentioned above, gave refuge to Tarquinius Superbus. The exceptional cruelty of the king of Caere Mezentius is based on the information of Herodotus (*Historiae*, I, 167) – During the naval battle in 540 BC the fleet of Etruria and Carthage beat Greeks (phocidians) and Greek captives were stoned by the habitants of Caere.

3. Religion

Etruscans were considered to be the most religious people⁹ ever since the outset of antiquity.

We have studied this part of their life before.¹⁰

According to antique historical sources and the new archeological material, modern scholars had an opportunity to consider various spheres of religion and cult in Etruria.

In the present paper, we shall dwell our attention solely on those moments of Etruscan religious life that are mentioned by Virgil.

1) Divination

When Virgil enumerates Etruscan leaders who supported Aeneas, he mentions Azyll, a fortune teller.

"hominum divumque interpres...
cur pecudum fibrae, caeli, cui sidera parent
et linguae volucrum et praesagi, fulminis ignes" (X, 175-178)

Virgil speaks about all directions of Etruscan prediction: forecast of human fate, prophesy according to stars, lightnings and forecast based on observation of entrails of the sacrificed animal.¹¹

It's not occasional that Virgil pays a special attention to this sphere of Etruscans' spiritual life.

In Rome, Etruscans had always had a reputation of reliable predictors. Cicero writes that Etruria was well-known for an excellent interpretation of divine signs and miracles from ancient times. This prompted Senate to have ten boys from Etruscan noble families get skilled in this art (*De divin*, I, 92).

This way the institution of erudite predictors was formed, which had a special honour in Roman society. After Virgil, the state continued to depend on this institution. Tacitus narrates that once Claudius himself made a report about the importance of preserving Etruscan institution (*Annales*, X, 15).

⁹ Liv., *Hist.*, V, 16.

¹⁰ See კობახიძე, ე., *ეგრუსკული საკულტო გერმინოლოგია*, 1994, ლოგოსი.

¹¹ MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation a Study in Religion and Politics in Republic of Rome*, Bruxelles, 1982. 60.

It's also important to remember that as it was known, an emperor Claudius was the author of the work *Tyrrhenika* written in Greek – which consisted of 20 books and was dedicated to various aspects of Etruscan predicting art.

In Rome the whole doctrine of Etruscans was called *Etrusca disciplina*.

Modern scholars refer to antique sources (Servius, ad Aeneidas, IV, 166, Titi Livii, ab urbe cond., V, 15, Plinius, nat. hist., II XI, Arnobius, ad vers. nat., III,40; Cicero, har. resp., 18) while supposing that the doctrine consisted of the following volumes: libri fulgurales – prophesy according to lightnings. libri haruspicini – prophesy according to entrails, libri fatalis – prediction of human fate, libri acherontici – a book about the other world, ostentaria – interpretation of divine signs and miracles.

Virgil is *Aeneid* does not mention Etruscan gods. Etruscan Arruns prays before a battle, but he appeals to Apollo of Soractis (a mountain near a Rome, where there was an ancient sacred place):

"Arruns sic voce precatur:

Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis (XI, 784-785).

Virgil mentions the god of the river Thybris, from whom Aeneas got a prophesy (VIII, 31-66). Thybris, according to *Aeneid* a tyrrhenian river (an Etruscan god of the river). Thybris married Manto, daughter of Tiresias and had a son Ocnus, who was considered to be the founder of the city Mantua (X, 198-201).

The name of god Thybris is not familiar to the Etruscan religion, but there is a name of another god Mantus preserved, who gave a name to the city of Mantua.¹²

The version of Virgil about the city Mantua is based on the passage of Servius (ad Aen, X, 19). (It must be noted that Servius offered another version – Mantua is founded by Tarchon).

4. Lifestyle

In *Aeneid* there are some details describing Etruscan lifestyle.

Adress, shoes

It's significant that Etruscans were well known in antique world as a people who love luxury. The format of our paper does not allow us to discuss the basic tendencies of Etruscan fashion, which is clearly presented in the wall-painting.¹³

¹² Schulze, W., Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen. Berlin, Zurich, Dublin, 1966, 274.

¹³ Camporeale, G., Gli Etruschi, Utet, 2000, 184-186 Abbigliamento e calzature.

Virgil mentions the dress of Romans and Etruscans, especially togas (VIII, 458), but once he writes about "Tyrrhene plantis" – Tyrrhenian sandals with straps. These were the shoes that old Evandros wore:

"Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis" (VIII, 212)¹⁴

Sandals, as it is known from the archeological material, became popular in Etruria only from VI BC as a result of Greek and Oriental influence. Before sandals were introduced, Etruscans used to wear curved-nosed high boots – calcei repandi

Etruscans had modified the sandals – they had covered the wooden soles of the shoes with bronze, they divided laces of sandals into two parts and made them gold-brocaded. This modification of Etruscans became very popular and got the name of Tyrrhenian sandals. This kind of sandals according to scholars, are worn by the statue of Athene made by Phidia¹⁵

The popularity of the Etruscan sandals is confirmed by Virgil – Tyrrhenian sandals is worn by Ausonian Evandros.

In another passage of the poem, Venus gave the sign to Aeneas with the lightning and thunder. The sound of the thunder, as Virgil mentions, shook the sky like a tyrrhenian horn:

"Namque improvise vibratus ab aethera fulgor
cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor" (VIII, 524-526).

It must be said that Tyrrhenian horn is well-known in Greek literature (Aeschylus, Eumen. 567 sgg; Sophocles, Ajax, 17; Euripides, Fen. 1377 sgg and others).

Tyrrhenian sandals, which were brought into Greece from Etruria, had military and religious functions.

There were of two different types: short, bow-shaped and long, rectilinear, arched at the end.¹⁶

5. Personal qualities of Etruscans

According to *Aeneid*, during the war against Rutuls, Evandros, proposed and introduced to Aeneas in a new ally – Etruscans – people, who came to Italy from Lydia and are famous by their exceptional military qualities "gens, bello praeclara" (VIII, 480).

¹⁴ Bonfante L., *Etruscan Dress*, Johan Hopkins Univ.-Press, Baltimore and London, 31; 59.

¹⁵ Cristofani, 186.

¹⁶ Pallotino, M., *Etruscologia*, Milano 1984, 353. Keller, W., *La civiltà etrusca*, Garzanti 1985, 387.

This opinion about Etruscans is repeated by Virgil to characterize not only the whole people ("expertos belli iuvenes" – X, 173), but also a single character: Tarchon, Azyl, Orynthos and Mezentius.

It's evident, that the ally of Aeneas had to be distinguished, first of all, by their martial qualities. Virgil always maintains accuracy of a scholar – all his assertions are based on historical sources:

"Etrusci bellicosimi et gens magna fuit (Ad Georg. II 533); "Sane notum est bello multum potuisse Tyrrhenos" (Serv, in Aen, VII, 426).

Livy wrote about the glorious past of Etruscans: "Quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset" (Liv, I, 2, 5).

"In Tuscorum iure paene omnis Italia fuerat" (Serv., in Aen., XI, 567).

Another quality, that adds an honour to Etruscans is irreconcilability against tyranny – king Mezentius:

"at fessi tandem cives infanda furentem / armati circumstant ipsumque domumque/ obruncant socios, ignem and fastigia iactant" (VIII, 483-491).

It's also important to mention that in *Aeneid*, Etruscans are not only devoted allies to Romans, but also their worthy enemies (Mezentius).

Virgil wants to connect this fact (that Etruscans struggled against the Romans) with real facts – according to the history, relations between the towns of Etruria and Rome were not always friendly.

The nearest city of Etruria – Veii struggled against Rome for almost hundred years (482-396 B.C.) in three bloody wars. This list continues – Pyrgi, Tarquinia, Felsina, Arezzo ...

Were Etruscans and Romans allies in reality or not?

The first encounter of Romans with Etruscans took place in 504 B.C, but then they were enemies, not friends. Romans had an ally – Greeks from Cuma and they won.

In 354 B.C – Etruscans and Faliscans tried to stop the Roman victorious advance in the Apennines. In 298-290 – Etruscans together with Sannits, Sabins, Umbrians and Galls were destroyed by Romans.

It was only in 225 BC that Etruscans and Roman were allies – they defeated the Galls.

According to the material collected by us in *Aeneid*, it may be said distinctly, that all the information can be divided into two groups:

1. Materials taken from Etruscan reality (historical events, characters, toponymy etc.)

2 Material accumulated through interpretation of the myth about Aeneas (characters mythological plots). Material from the second group are provided by Virgil on the basis of existing historical facts mentioned by other authors of antiquity.

New plots are composed by means of generalization of concrete historical facts, and a new character is connected with a concrete mythological or historical prototype.

There are some cases when Virgil changes historical facts, ignores them or tries to "correct" them by mythological plots.

These corrections made to the history of Etruscan and Roman relations, in most cases, are based on the instructions of the customer – emperor Augustus or his advisor – G. Maecenas. These corrections were consistent with their political course, as it was more favorable to maintain peace and balance in the state.

In spite of the above mentioned artificial interference, the poem does not lose its highly artistic qualities and purity.

The information about Etruscans and their culture affirms great importance and influence of Etruscans and points to various aspects of their culture which had a strong impact not only upon Roman, but also upon all the contemporary antique civilizations.

Neli Makharadze (Tbilisi)

THE ARABISMS OF GREEK-GEORGIAN TRANSCRIPTIONAL MANUSCRIPT FROM LEBANON

The Greek-Georgian transcriptional manuscript from Lebanon became known to us from the list made in 1953 by Shalva Vardidze, the Georgian scholar and priest. Later the list was sent to Georgia as a contribution to the K.Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts and is kept there as manuscript Q-1477. Sh. Vardidze discovered the original of the list under number 1272¹ in the book depository of the monastery of Our Saviour located in the mountains near the town Saidi. As the copyist notes, no one knows how the anonymous Georgian manuscript came into the monastery, according to Mr. Guram Chikovani, is of Jacobite-monophysite confession. The manuscript dates back to 14th century, according to the paper by Sh.Vardidze himself and the head of the Beirut museum.

Lib-1272 is the orthodox liturgical collection of missals and prayer books, where Greek and Georgian passages take turns without repeating each other. Besides, the priest's and the deacon's text meant for the parish is Greek, transcribed in Georgian alphabet, while secret prayers and lections are Georgian. It is evident that the official language of those who recited the liturgy was Greek, while priesthood was Georgian.

The transcription of the Greek part of liturgy into Georgian alphabet has revealed phonetic and phonological peculiarities characteristic of the Greek papyri of Roman and Byzantine periods of Egypt² and those developed in the

¹ Hereinafter Lib – 1272

² See Fr. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I, Phonology, Milano: Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità IV. Kapsomenos, Stilianos G. Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 28. München, 1938. Mayser, Edwin. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäer-*

conditions of long-term coexistence of the Greek-Coptian languages.³ This, naturally, gives rise to the thought about the Egyptian origin of the archetype of Lebanese manuscript.

The manuscript is not the original. This is manifested first of all through such random cross-sections and junctions in the words and phrases that can be made by the copyist with a poor knowledge of the language. Secondly, it shows the layers of phonetic systems of Byzantine Greek and local phonetics belonging to different levels and circumstances, and influence of a foreign language, in addition. The manuscript is not paginated in a consecutive order. In accordance with Sh. Vardidze's pagination, it contains 145 pages written in Mkhedruli. About half of these are in Greek. Some final pages have been written in the other handwriting and on the other paper. In a word, it looks like that the manuscript 'has travelled' in time and space before finding a shelter in the monastery of Our Saviour located in the mountains of Saidi. The manuscript should not belong to the period earlier than the 11th century because who has compiled the manuscript undoubtedly was using the Georgian Gospel, Apostolic, Liturgies of John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea in redaction of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli and was absolutely secure from the influence of the foreign language.

In the case of the transcribed text the question is posed from a different angle: the anonymous liturgist, in our opinion, uses the manuscript created by Georgians in the Coptian environment. On the basis of the linguistic data its origin can only be determined approximately, but it is hard to say where, in which monastery and for whom the Georgian priesthood served in "Coptic Greek" – whether it was the result of linguistic constraints based on the three language principle characteristic of the Eastern church or whether the parish was really Greek and Georgian. This is hardly probable after the 7-8th centuries when the Arabic expansion completely expelled Coptic, the native language of the local population, when the Christian churches and monasteries of Egypt were destroyed and monastery libraries were raided. The reign of Arabs and spread of Islam, like in many countries of the Mediterranean area, in the West and East, forced the Egyptian population to forget the native language that has been preserved only by the Copts exiled from the native land and the Coptian Christian church.⁴

zeit, mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften, I, Laut-und Wortlehre, Leipzig, 1906, etc.

³ Еланская, А. И. Коптский язык, М. 1964. Till, Walter, C. Koptische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1955; Vergote, J. Grammaire copte, i. Introduction, phonétique et phonologie, Louvain, 1973; Ернштедт, П. В. Исследования по грамматике коптского языка, М. 1986. etc.

⁴ Хосроев А. Л., Четверухин А. С. Вводная статья, in: "Ернштедт, Исследования..., 3-51.

We have considered the results of Coptian-Greek interference found in the Lebanese manuscript in a special work,⁵ while now we shall touch upon the peculiarities that are not reflected in the Greek material of the Byzantine period and appears sporadically in the borrowings or the foreign texts translated from Greek, including the Georgian translations. This is the pronunciation of γ in palatal position like of the Georgian \jmath [j] as in: ქელოვა [jelova] – Γέλλοβα, პანაჯურელთა [panajurelTa] – Παναγυριστών, ვაჯინარი [vajinari] – βάγειν, βαγενάρι, აჯურა/აჯურა [ajura/ajura] – ἄργυριον, ჯალია [jalia] – γιάλος and others in the Georgian manuscripts of the XI-XIII centuries.⁶ Similar examples are mentioned by Al. Thumb from Armenian borrowings: majistros (μάγιστρος – X cent), Diojen (Διογένης, X cent), Öan – Γιάννης and others. It's difficult to say, he writes whether Armenian j transmits Greek G in the palatal position, but in Greek itself γ [j] > j pronunciation really exists. I have noticed it in Mani in Pelopones.⁷

How is it reflected in Lib-1272:

It is evident from the data of the transcriptional materials that by the time it was created the spirantization process of voiced stop phonemes was completed. This is proved by the transmission of the sound expressed with β by \jmath [v] or its omission in the intervocalic position.⁸ Georgian is unable to reflect the pronunciation of δ of those times. But as for γ in front of back vowels and consonants the Georgian velar fricative ϱ [ɣ] corresponds to it, while in intervocalic position it systematically disappears or merges with the following [i] vowel and is transmitted by one simple ო [i] as აიუ [aiu] – ἄγιου, პანაიას [panaias] – Παναγίας, ტრისაიონ [trisaion] – Τρισάγιον, აიაზმოს [aiazmos] – ἄγιασμος, ლეინ [lein] – λέγειν, ევლოიმენი [evloimeni] – εὐλογημένη, ომოლოისომენ [omoloisomen] – ὁμολογήσωμεν, მონოენესუ [monoenesu] – Μονογενοῦς σου, etc. in about 50 cases.

$\gamma = \varrho$ [ɣ]: აღათოს [aGaTos] – ἄγαθος, აღაბი//აღაპი [aGabi//aGapi] – ἄγάπη, ლეღონდა [leGonda] – λέγοντα, მეღალუ [meGalu] – μέγாலου, ევლოუმენ [evloGumen] – εὐλογοῦμεν, ანაღნოზმა [anaGnozma] –

⁵ მანუჩიშვილი მ. მ., ქართული ენის ისტორიის საკითხები (XIV ს.). თბილისი: საქართველოს ენობათმცოდნეობის ინსტიტუტი, 1986, 205-209.

⁶ see Makharadze N. A. Problems of Pronunciation of Byzantine Greek, Tbilisi, 1978, 48-49 (in Georg. language, summary in Russ).

⁷ Thumb, Albert. Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Armenischen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Koiné und des Mittelgriechischen: BZ 9 (1900), 407. idem, Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular: Grammar, Texts, Glossary, Chicago, 1964, 20.

⁸ e.g. ვასილია [vasilia] – βασιλεία, ევლავიას [evlavias] – εὐλαβεία, ფოჟუ [prou] – φόβου, ევსეოს [evseos] – εὐσεβῶς, ანდილაუ [andilau] – ἀντιλαβῶ (Lib – 1272) etc.

ἀνάγνωσμα etc. The number of examples reaches 60. In γγ, γκ complexes voiced velar stop გ [g] is preserved: ანგელიკე [angelike] – ἀγγελικαῖς, ანანგის [anangis] – ἀνάγκης, ევანგელიე [evangelie] – Εὐαγγελίου etc.

In parallel to these in transcriptional materials certain peculiarity has been found which changes this picture to a certain extent. This intervocalic γ is transmitted by Georgian voiced palatal fricative ქ [j], in front of the [e] and [i] vowels. If this occurred in few cases, it would have different explanation, but the number of examples exceeds 40. The fact that often the same words are repeated does not change the common picture or make it more evidently expressed:

ანაენისი [anajenisi]	129 ⁹	ἀναγεννήση
აპოლოკიან [apolojian]	იღ(26), კა(33), 78,102,132	ἀπολογία
აქია [ajia]	68,69,125	ἀγία, ἀγίω
აქიან [ajian]	კე(37), 101,128,132,136	ἀγίαν
აქიასტენდონ [ajiaštendon]	129	ἀγιασθέντων
აქიესუ [ajiesu]	იო(31), იქიესუ [ijiesu]	ἀγίας σου
აქიის [ajiiis]	კბ(34), 87	ἀγίους
აქიო [ajio]	68,100,130	ἀγίω
აქიონ [ajion]	100, 129	ἀγίου
აქიუ [ajiu]	102, 132	ἀγίου
მონოქენის [monojenisi]	კწ (40)	Μονογενής
პალიქენისიას [palijene- sias]	125	παλιγγενεσίας
პროიქიაშმენა [proijiaz- mena]	134	προηγιασμένα
აქია ტის აქიის [ajia tis ajiiis]	134	τὰ... Ἅγια τοῖς Ἁγίους
ფაქეთე [fajeTe]	ივ (28), 87	φάγετε
		etc.

In spite of the abundance of examples, we consider, that this is not the initial peculiarity of the transcribed material but is the result of the new environment the manuscript found itself in. Since Lib-1272 is from Lebanon, naturally Syria and Lebanon can be assumed as the new environment from where Arabic language expelled the Eastern dialect of Aramaic language –

⁹ The pagination in Georgian alphabet starts only on the 13th page of the Lebanese manuscript and applies to ა (a) – შ (sz). We are also giving the pages of the original counted by Sh. Vardidze that is noted in the new list. For the Greek text we are using Ἱερατικὸν αἰ θεῖαι λειτουργίαι ἔκδοσις τῆς ἀποστολικῆς, διακονίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος 1971.

the local Syrian, like it did with the Coptian, and prevailed already from the VIII century.¹⁰

In the sound system of the Arabic dialect from Syria-Lebanon, as well as in the sound system of many contemporary Eastern Arabic dialects, the existence of reflex j¹¹ of the common Arabic /ǧ/ or as of phoneme /j/, or as of the phonetical version, is typical. But it becomes evident from the works of the medieval Arabic phoneticians (VIII-XIII) that the formation of disaffricatization of /ǧ / and formation of the voiced palatal is not the newly developed phonetic process for all regions. It was considered already by Sibawajhi (VIII cent.), Zamakhshari (XI cent.) and others.¹²

After the Koran language became the literary language, the observation of the purity of language in the Arabic world acquired the nature of religious fanaticism and the Arabic grammarians discussed not only the differences between the literary and colloquial languages, but in the phonetic system they even singled out the sounds the pronunciation of which was unacceptable in "the subtle speech". Besides the main 35 consonants in the language there were eight more consonants that in fact existed in the language and only two of them were compromised: "S similar to ǧ and s similar to z". According to Karl Vollers' identification, S similar to ǧ is j.¹³ But there is a restriction here as well: j is considered as an acceptable version like the reflex of S, received as a result of assimilative vocalization while as spirant version of ǧ, it is un-

¹⁰ It has been preserved as the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Malula (Ma'l la). Церетели К. Г. Арамейский язык (Новоарамейский) in: Языки Азии и Африки, IV, 1, М. 1991, 233-238.

¹¹ It is characteristic of the dialects of Magrib- Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, South-Eastern Algeria . . . as well as of the dialects of Eastern Ethiopia, Cypress, Southern Messopotamia – Iraq, Khuzistan, Turkey... it appears rarely in the Arabic dialect of Egypt as well (mainly in the borrowings). Researchers often name it among "the new phonemes" along with p, v, ts, C: Шарбагов, Г. Ш. Арабский литературный язык, современные арабские диалекты и региональные обиходно-разговорные языки. in: Языки Азии..., 250-282. Старинин, В. П. Эфиопский язык, *ibid*, 331-337. See also Завадовский, Ю. Н. Арабские диалекты Магриба, М., 1962, 20-41; Van Ess, J.M.A. The spoken arabic of Iraq, London, 1956; Cowell, M. W. A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic, Washington, 1964; Bruce Ingham, The Dialect of Mi'd%on or "Marsh Arabs" (in: Proceedings of the Third International Conference AIDA, Malta, 2000), 125-135; Жордания А. Г. Сопоставительный анализ Восточно-арабских диалектов немагрибского типа (египетский, чадский и суданский диалекты), Автореферат докторской диссертации, Тб., 1999, 8-13; Baruch Podolsky, Historical Phonetics of Amharic, Tel-Aviv, 1991, 20. etc.

¹² J. Cantineau, *Études de Linguistique Arabe*, Paris, 1960, 63. Gobronidze M. G. The Main Arabic Phonetic Theories of the Middle Ages,, 1980, 28 (in Georgian language, summary in Russ).

¹³ Gobronidze, The Arabic..., 28; K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alter Arabien*, Strassburg, 1906, 10.

acceptable. Hence, there are two possible ways for the formation of j.¹⁴ The discourse is about the peculiarity of Tamim, the Old Eastern Arabic dialect.

When arguing about the people speaking the Central Asian Qashqa-Daria dialect, Guram Chikovani draws attention the toponym *Žīnāw* (= Ğynau) which is explained on the basis of the Syrian dialect and means "we have come" – *jīnā*. The scholar assumes from this and some other data, that the part of the ancestors of the Arabians from Jejnau could have originated from Syria. They presumably could have settled here in the VII-X centuries.¹⁵

The juxtaposition of the Arabic dialect of Egypt and literary Arabic created bilingualism (and in many cases tri-lingualism) for the population of Egypt and other conquered countries which has not been overcome as of yet. The degree of acquisition of literary language would naturally vary in accordance with the level of education and personal capabilities, but the colloquial language was common for all at least within the borders of a single region. They naturally influenced each other in the conversation of the bilingual people and this could be the reason for the existence of such parallel forms in the old Georgian manuscripts created in the Sinai and Palestine educational and monastery centers. E.g. აჯიოს [aǰios] // აგიოს [agios], ეელოჯიგოს [euloǰ itos] and ეელოგიგოს [evlogitos].¹⁶

When we considered from this view-point the material from Sinai and Palestine, we explained the გ[ǰ] equivalent for γ as the preservation of the tradition and the slowed process of the spirantization of voiced stops, which was at the same time expressed by β – ბ[b] equivalent in all the positions.¹⁷ It should be underscored, that this process runs in the conditions of the Arabic bilingualism.¹⁸

The trace of this phenomenon can be registered in some cases from the Lebanese manuscript when in parallel of the transcriptional versions for γ we have გ [ǰ] and ჯ [ǰ̣].

γ = გ[ǰ], positions has no significance:

გის [ǰis]	61,116	γῆς
გრიგორუ [ǰrigoru]	140,142	Γρηγορίου
ევანგელიონ [evangelion]	8(20)	Εὐαγγέλιον
ლოგონ [logon]	97	Λόγον

¹⁴ Comp. Cantineau, Etudes... 26; 56-54.

¹⁵ Chikovani G, The Qashqa-Daria Arabic Dialect of Central Asia (Phonology, Grammar, Vocabulary) Tbilisi, 2002, 30-31; 192-193 (in Georgian language, Summary in Engl.).

¹⁶ Makharadze N. Problems... 46.

¹⁷ Makharadze N. Problems... 27-28: აბუსოს [abusos] – ἄβυσσος, ასების [asebis] – ἀσεβείας, ბატოს [batos] – βᾶτος, ეპების [epebis] – ἐπέβης etc.

¹⁸ Makharadze N. Problems... 53.

მეგა [mega]	8(19), 8(20), 67,68	μέγα
მეგალომარტიროს [megalomartiros]	141	μεγαλομαρτύρων
მეგალონ [megalon]	140	μεγάλων
მეგალოპრეპეს [megaloprepes] თ(21), ორგის [orgis]	69,99,139 ოგ(25)	μεγαλοπρεπές ὄργης
γ = ჯ[ǰ] only in front of the [i] and [e] vowels:		
დემიურჯისას [demiurǰisas]	139	δημουργήσας
ევანჯელიონ [evanǰelion]	69	Εὐαγγέλιον
ორჯის//ორღის [orǰis//orǰis]	75, 8(14)	ὄργης
ჯორჯიუ [ǰorǰiu]	141	Γεωργίου

As for γ = ჯ[ǰ] pronunciation, we assume it is the conversational peculiarity of the Greek dialect spread in the territory of Syria and Lebanon, has systemic character and should not be considered as the peculiarity in just the Georgian manuscript accidentally reflected owing to the affect of local Arabic speech. It is noteworthy, that in Greek, as we saw, this phenomenon occurred only in the position acceptable for its phonetic structure, i.e. in front of [i] and [e] vowels. In other cases it can be explained by analogy or the sporadic manifestation in the individual speech although disaffrikatization of /ǰ/ phoneme and the development of its voiced fricative j is the process typical for many languages and dialects.¹⁹

The peculiarity registered by Al. Thumb in 1900 in Pelopones have been approved by the later descriptions of the Greek dialects, but it is interesting, that j consonant from the sequence G+[i], G+[e] seems least to be developed as a result of G [j]>j process. In Cypress and on some off-shore islands of Asia Minor the [j] is the allophone of /z/ in the palatal position.²⁰ ζ+ : მაჯ̣ჯ̣ა, ჳჯ̣ჯ̣ევ, მაჯ̣ჯ̣ინა, ბუჯ̣ჯ̣ა, ჳჯ̣ა > ჳ̣ა...²¹ In Pontian appears in the ä and ö pre-vowel position: τραπέζ̣' > τραπέζ̣'ä, τοπούζ̣ > τοπούζ̣'ä...

¹⁹ Including the Kartvelian languages and dialects. The linguist A. Lomsadze gives a lot of such examples in his work: "Dezafrikatization (spirantization) in the Kartvelian languages: ჯ[ǰ] > ჯ[ǰ]": დაჯა [dajda] <დაჯდა [daǰda], დაჯერება [dajereba] < დაჯერება [daǰereba] (Racha, Lechkumi, Achara); გაჯანჯალეა [gajanǰaleba] < გაჯანჯალეა [gǰanǰ-galeba] (Gurian), ჟამ [jam] < ჟამი [ǰami] (Ingiloian), Svanian ჟელ [jeG] < ჟელ [ǰeG] etc. see in the collection "Arnold Chicobava – 100", Proceedings of the International symposium, 1998, 58-69 (in Georgian language).

²⁰ When describing the dialects the specialists transfer j consonant with [ǰ] transcription, while ǰ with [vτǰ]. vτ=[d], ζ = [z].

²¹ Χριστού Γ. Παντελίδου, Φωνητική των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων Κύπρου, Δωδεκάησθου και Ικαρίας, Αθήναι. 1929, 8; 41. Κυριάκου Χατζηωάννου, Γραμματική της ομιλουμένης κυπριακής διαλέκτου με ετυμολογικό προσάρτημα, Λευκωσία 1999, 9.

dialect $\sigma\mu$ transfers into $\zeta\mu$ complex: $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\zeta\mu\grave{\alpha}$ (κόσμος), $\rho\delta\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\mu\grave{\alpha}$ ('δέσμ' = ἡδύσμος).²²

In Tsakonian the sequence $\rho+j$ is the point of departure: $\rho i > \rho j > \zeta$: $\xi\rho i a > \xi\rho j a > \xi\zeta a$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho u a > \kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho j a > \kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta a$, $\mu o\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho i > \mu o\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta i$ etc. Later the process covered other positions as well: $\delta\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma > \zeta\upsilon\mu\acute{o}$ [jumo].²³

For today it is hard to determine whether these changes are the regular result of the phonetic processes running inside the dialects or of the age-long coexistence and interference of foreign languages (Arabic, Turkish).²⁴ In any case, in the presented data of the Lib-1272 manuscript can to a certain extent be explained by the influence of the Arabic dialect of Syria and may point to one local peculiarity of the Greek language spread in that region in the middle ages.

²² Δ. Η. Οικονομίδου, Γραμματική της ελληνικής διαλέκτου του Πόντου, Ακαδημία Αθηνών. 1958, 95.

²³ In Tsakonian $\upsilon = \sigma$ or $\iota\upsilon$. Θανάση Π. Κωστάκη, Σύντομη γραμματική της τσακωνικής διαλέκτου, Αθήνα, 1951, 33-34; 44.

²⁴ As the specialists point out, the Arabic dialect of the Cypress is connected with the Lebanese. A. Lekiasvili, Arabic language, I, Tbilisi. 1977, 20-21 (in Georg. language).

Medea Metreveli (Tbilisi)

**THE FUNCTION OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL FEMALE IMAGES
IN *THE BIG CHIMAERA* – A NOVEL BY M. KARAGHATSIS**

M. Karaghatsis, who greatly contributed to modernization¹ of the New Greek literature, is a representative of the generation of the 1930s. He transferred a number of issues relevant in his contemporary Europe into the context of the Greek reality and rendered them with quite a new interpretation. In 1953 his novel *The Big Chimaera* was published. It was a transformed version of his earlier story *The Chimaera* published in 1936 and developed into a novel. The Greek literary critics showed a rather controversial attitude towards the novel, determined by the moral image of the protagonist of the novel – Marina. Discussing Karaghatsis's works, the critics view mostly the preponderance of sexual aspect, but give no heed to quite a few interesting elements of the novel. In our opinion, a special attention should be given to the unusual way the classical Greek tradition is interpreted in that work. Let us make a short review of the subject matter of the novel. A Greek sailor brings home from France Marina, a young girl, and marries her. Marina has experienced severe hardships in her past being a daughter of a prostitute. Still, she arrives in Greece with great hopes and expectations. Unfortunately, her life in the new country takes a dramatic turn. This was determined by a fatal step she undertook at the time of her husband's absence. In fact, not being quite sure of the propriety of her step, she nevertheless spent a whole night aboard ship with its captain, a stranger... Since her absence caused the worsening of her child's health, Anna, her mother-in-law and Minas, her brother-in-law disclosed her behavior. They both became extremely indignant at her immorality. This is followed by her another fatal step. By mere chance, Marina leaves her ailing child on its own and spends the night having a love affair with her brother-in-

¹ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Νεανικά Διηγήματα, Πρόλογος του Στρατή Πασχάλη*, Αθήνα 1993, 9-17.

law. That night her child dies. The moral burden of a perpetrated blunder proves unbearable for Minas who finally commits suicide. Marina, being pregnant from Minas, is incapable of withstanding public pressure and commits suicide too.

Our interest is aimed at the manner the author introduces images of the Greek mythology in connection with Marina, and also at the function these images are burdened with. Let us go back to the episode of Marina's arrival in Greece. Setting foot on the land of Hellas, the woman states: "Different gods now govern my fate. The gods, who harshly tested Medea, Clytemnestra, Jokasta and Phaedra...I must cover my heart with steel in order to elevate my soul and its suffering. I must be ready up to the core of my breast. I have to be considered with the divine, all knowing, towering and, terrifying gods. With the gods of Greece."²

In our opinion, by bringing the mentioned images into the narrative, the author displays notable parallels between the fate of his protagonist and that of the mythological heroines.

As far as we know, in the literary criticism available, there is no special study devoted to functions of above-mentioned female images in the artistic structure of the novel. Apart from that, there is also one considerable episode in the novel where Marina is compared to Helen. Apparently, factual identification of Marina with Helen has far-reaching artistic aims. Marina's likeness to Helen is revealed not only in their appearance, but also in the major result that their role implies: Marina destroyed the family she entered – in the same way as Helen destroyed Priam's family and Troy. An episode of our particular interest deals with the scene when Marina goes down into the city with her brother-in-law after visiting Acropolis. Catching sight of her, a group of elderly Athenians, sitting at the wall of Acropolis, suddenly repeat the words through which Trojan old men express their attitude towards Helen in front of Teichoscopia in the III song of *Iliad*, lines 156-160. In this case Karaghatsis represents Homer's text, word by word, in Old Greek:

Οὐ νέμεσις Τρώας καὶ ἐυκηρίδας Ἀχαιοῦς.
 Τοιῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
 αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικει'
 Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοίη περ ἑοῦσ' ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω,
 μήδ' ἡμῖν τεκέεσσι τ' ὀπίσσω πῆμα λίποιτο³

² M. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, Αθήνα 2001, 46.

³ M. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 107.

"Small blame that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should for such a woman long time suffer woes; wondrously like is she to the immortal goddesses to look upon. But even so, for all that she is such an one, let her depart upon the ships, neither be left here to be a bare to us

The only difference is that after line 158 the author breaks off quoting Homer and describes how pleased Marina appears at so high esteem her beauty received. Yet, when the old men added 159-160 lines of *Iliad*, their words frightened and mortified her. She failed to make out the reason why the old people addressed her with those words: "Her heart is frozen. What does the old Greek mean? What relation does she have with the awful words which Homer puts into the mouths of the elders of Troy for Helen."⁴

We can see that the old Athenians, like their Trojan counterparts in *Iliad*, on the one hand are charmed by the young woman's beauty, but on the other hand, they cannot help noticing that her beauty can bring a series of misfortunes. So, in fact, they urge her to leave the country.

Thus, with this passage the author point out that a drama she brings to Yannis's family will not be only the drama of a single Greek family, but it has a more generalized meaning. This is clearly shown by the author in the final of the novel where the death of Yannis' brother Minas, along with his family, reminds the scene of destruction that followed the Trojan War with the deaths of Hector and his family.

The female mythological images that Marina mentions in her above-cited monologue have a definite common aspect that unifies them with her. Consecution of female names corresponds to the activities and deeds of the character, as well as to the intensity of that unity with the image.

In *The Big Chimaera* the likeness of Marina to Euripides's Medea is underlined repeatedly. From Marina's reminiscences we learn that she had majored in classical philology and her thesis for the doctoral degree was dedicated to the interpretation of the image of Medea. Marina remembers her words she addressed the examination commission members with on the day she defended her thesis: "Medea obsessed me. Is she, a woman, who out of jealous love murders her children, a psychopath? That is the question, which tyrannizes me. No, she is not a psychopath. If she were, she would not have inspired the genius of Euripides, who never pursues the themes of his tragedies in a cycle of morbidity. Medea is a normal person, whose passion for love obscures her logic, just like in each normal person. According to the meaningless conclusion: a person who cannot feel such an emotion is not normal."⁵ We are supposed to conclude that driven by the desire to defend Medea, she succeeded in reorienting the professors' initial skeptic attitude towards the matter and was duly awarded the degree. We can state that from the

and to our children after us." (Homer, *The Iliad*, with an English translation by A.T. Murray, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1924).

⁴ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 107-108

⁵ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 24.

days of her youth, Marina felt close to the pathos that was linked with the image of Medea. Marina found it motivated and justified, what Medea did under the influence of her erotic pathos and after the darkening of her mind. Marina's life continues in such a way that an attraction she felt towards Medea gradually transforms into her likeness to Medea. We must mention the detail of Jason's story: he brought Medea to Greece and Yannis did the same with Marina, the minor difference lies in comparatively changed functions that we trace in the novel. According to the Old Greek tradition, Jason brought a barbaric bride to the civilized homeland, while Yannis brings his emancipated wife from the civilized country – to the rather patriarchal and less emancipated Greece. And it goes without saying that the strongest connection and likeness is in the death of the heroine's children. A so-called fantastic scene deserves special attention – a dialog between Eosphoros and the planets, when Marina cites *Medea* of Euripides: "Medea? Who was she?" „She was a woman who killed her children out of love. She killed them in order to take revenge on their father, the man whom she loved, because he loved another woman." "How does this happen? How can a woman kill her children out of love? " "She can. When I, Eosphoros, grasp with my strong fingers the womb of a woman, when I bury my nails in the flash of pleasure and folly, the woman is capable of everything." "And this woman why she reads the story of a woman who killed her children?" "And this woman also killed her child out of love. This unfortunate one however did not want it. She did not want it. Whereas Medea wanted it." "Then, this woman is not so awful as Medea." "You are making a mistake. She is more horrible. Because the time when I, Eosphoros impelled Medea to kill her children, I was a god! Who dares to judge the wish of a god? "⁶

Marina strongly feels her likeness to Medea: after she had conceived her second child, she wanted to distance herself from her mythological prototype. This idea is supported by the following passage: "From the day that she felt her pregnancy, she didn't pick up "Medea" again from the little table."⁷We can feel here a desire of the woman to escape killing of her second child. Yet, her suicide, which implies the death of an unborn child, never lets her free herself from "Medea complex".

Thus, we can state that in Karaghatsis' novel, Medea is presented as a key figure. Most of all, the author is obsessed with the sole line of killing one's child. In both cases we can name erotic pathos as the reason, but the differ-

⁶ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 294-295.

⁷ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 298.

ence is that in Medea it emerges after learning Jason's betrayal, while Marina herself succumbs to her passion and becomes involved in adultery.

It is possible to link Clytemnestra with Marina through the following features: like Agamemnon's wife, Marina, too, is unfaithful to her husband at the time of his absence. And again, like Agamemnon's wife, Marina too starts an affair with her husband's next of kin. Clytemnestra is involved with her husband's cousin, Aegisthus⁸, and Marina – with her husband's brother, Minas. In both cases such links lead to destruction and death: Aegisthus and Minas, Clytemnestra and Marina. We can go farther and trace a certain likeness in other cases as well: Although Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon and Marina does not kill her husband physically, it can be inferred from the novel that her activity causes him to perish. Marina's mother-in-law predicts Yannis's possible "death" with these words: "If Yannis learns the truth, he will die from heartache. For him to live, he must know nothing".⁹

Marina also represents a clear link with Jocasta. The cause of misfortune in both cases is incest. In Jocasta's case the drama is even more horrifying because it is impossible to blame her for the fact and she represents a victim of Fate. Marina's case is different, because she is conscious of her behavior and fully understands the controversy related to the attitude of the social moral. Marina's mother-in-law's words of damnation, said at the grave of her husband, do not spare the deed of Marina and Yannis. She points out that the step they had taken was incest: "Konstantine, our son Minas turned out bad, a masked person and incestuous. He dishonored his brother and became the reason for the death of his niece – our grandchild".¹⁰ Both women fell victims to moral blow, caused by incest.

The likeness to Phaedra is not in the matter of incest, but rather in the understanding shared by the heroes about what kind of reaction they should expect from their husbands and society for what they had done. Phaedra kills herself before she gets an idea of the social attitude from her son-in-law – Hippolytus's stance towards the matter. As for Marina, she felt the force of the social reaction in the form of the mother in law's attitude towards her: „Is your goal to reveal to all of the world your disgrace? Do you want to humiliate my son completely? No, you will not come out from inside here! You will not come out in spite of a good deed, you as well as your bastard seed. The door is open. If you want you can go away. But don't come back;

⁸ It is known that Atrous, Aegisthus's uncle, the son of Thyestes, after taking a severe revenge on his brother, brought up and cared for Aegisthus as if he were his own son, therefore, Aegisthus can be considered, in fact, Agamemnon's brother.

⁹ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 301.

¹⁰ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 282

you will find it closed".¹¹ And with her suicide Marina tried to escape the moral responsibility.

Eventually, consideration of Karagatsis' novel from the angle we have chosen has revealed that the writer, whose works, at first sight, seem to lack notable links with the classical tradition (as is the case with so many other modern Greek writers), in fact uses Antique images in quite an original way to display individuality of his protagonist. If we take into consideration that in his early story the antique images are not present, and that the writer introduced them only after extending this story into a novel, we can assume that he gave considerable significance to this "innovation" and thus emphasized the properties of the main heroine. Consideration of the novel from this standpoint, shows that the so called "a thoughtless narrative" is not characteristic of Karagatsis, which he is traditionally accused of. In any case, usage of the antique images and their connection to the context of the novel reveals how profoundly the writer understands the function of those images in order to present Marina's destiny more distinctly.

¹¹ Μ. Καραγάτσης, *Μεγάλη Χίμαιρα*, 309

Tamar Mirianashvili (Tbilisi)

A CONCEPT OF *NEW SONG* IN *THE EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS* OF CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA

A concept of a New *Divine Song* deserves a particular attention in the apologetics of Clemens of Alexandria – *The Exhortation to the Greeks* – because it displays all the significant issues of the Christian doctrine, the matter that still is lacking a proper recognition.

We believe that the process of indicating the essential points of the New Song – το ἄσμα το καινόν - is subject to a certain structural regularity. The way the essence of New Song is presented in the introductory part, we may take as a shortened version of the complete Christian concept. In our opinion, a logical regularity between the basic notions of the concept is revealed in the existing logical links. Clemens succeeds in this task mostly by his perfect skill in utilization of epithets, and their intensive usage – as well as their multifaceted features, characteristic of the apologetic genres – along with the desired emotional response, provides the author with the possibility to disclose steadily the New Song to the reader. At every stage of introducing some epithet or basic Christian notions, Clemens points at the Biblical material relevant to their idea and meaning, which helps him in achieving the successive communication of the reader with the Holy Writ. In order to verify the Christian notions and ideas, as well as to demonstrate finally the superiority of the New *Divine Song* – as regards to the *Old Song* and Hellenic culture and religion, Clemens sets off the Christian notions against the essentials of Hellenic culture.

In the first place, the number and frequency of epithets is aimed to reveal the enhance feature of the concept of New Song that is successively revealed, and at the same time, they play the part of logical connections between these essential ideas of the said concept. Clemens skillfully uses all these logical links, and practically, every suitable instance to provide the case with the material on Greek mythology and Biblical themes.

The amount and meaning of the epithets that comes forward at some stage of the Christian concept, is determined by the factor of a particular idea or notion that is to be set. In the first chapter of his *Exhortation*, Clemens molds the concept of the New *Divine Song* against the background of classical antiquity. Bearing this in mind, he brings in the essential postulates of New Song step by step, in order to fix them in the perception of a reader.

We can view the very first postulate of the New Song as an attempt to fix its origin and idea. Clemens presents the New Song by telling the mythic story of Amphion of Thebes and Arion of Metimenes that was widely known in Greece. According to the well-known version of the myth, Amphion succeeded in luring a fish by means of his musical skills, and Arion managed to build the walls of Thebes. Clemens also reminds of the myth about some sophist from Thrakia who could tame wild beast by his singing and could make oak trees move to music.¹ (Protr. 2)² It is significant to note the connection of the tonality of the *Old Song* with Orpheus. Orpheus is viewed as a symbol of religion and culture – and traditions of classical antiquity in general – and he is opposed by an apologist of Christianity with the New Song. The author sets off these myths against others, which he needs to illustrate the superiority of the New *Divine Song* against the *Old Song*, and provides his own interpretation of the well-known version of the myth: "I can also tell you of another legend and another minstrel akin to these, namely, Eunomus the locrian and the Pythian grasshopper. A solemn assembly of Greeks, held in honour of a dead serpent, was gathering at Pytho³ and Eunomus sang a funeral ode for the reptile. Whether his song was a hymn in praise of the snake, or a lamentation over it, I cannot say; but there was a competition, and Eunomus was playing the lyre in the heat of the day, at the time, when the grasshoppers, warmed by the sun, were singing under the leaves along the hills. They were singing, you see, not to the dead serpent of Pytho, but to the all-wise God, a spontaneous natural song, better than the measured strains of Eunomus. A string breaks in the Locrian's hands; the grasshopper settles upon the neck of the lyre and begins to twitter there as if upon a branch: whereupon the minstrel, by adapting his music to the grasshopper's lay, supplied the place of the missing string. So it was not Eunomus that drew the grasshopper by his song, as the legend would have it, when it set up the bronze figure at Pytho, showing Eunomus with his lyre, and his ally in the contest. No, the grasshopper flew of its own accord, and sang of its own ac-

¹ The allusion implies Orpheus, Euripides, *Rhesus*, 924.

² The cited passages are taken from A. Butterworth's translation of Clemens of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, Cambridge 1919.

³ The allusion at Delphi oracle.

cord, although the Greeks thought it to have been responsive to music. (Protr. 2-4).

Thus, from the point of view of the concept of the New song, Clemens develops a mythological version more admissible to him, where – according to his interpretation – the image of a cricket reflects a natural harmony existing in the order of the universe. There Clemens explains *the first important postulate* of the concept of New song, identifying it with world harmony. He also sets out the opposition of the New and *Old Songs*: the first being natural and identical to the harmony of the universe, and the second being artificial. He states that the song of a cricket is the sound of divine harmony existing in nature that establishes the conformity of the existence of the universe; correspondingly, we are supposed to take it as a genuinely natural melody that praises the wise God that confers it with harmony. Clemens also notes that any melody created by some Greek musician will prove its artificiality – and therefore, it is inadmissible. It cannot be admissible even for the fact of its ascribed ability to change the nature of the wild beasts. (Protr. 4). According to the author, another point that proves the superiority of the sole divine melody – as regards to the Old Song that has various rings – either Phrygian or Lydian or Dorian, the New song is indivisible and identical to the harmonious order of the universe. "The new music, with its eternal strain that bears the name of God" (Protr. 6).

The excessive usage of epithets by the author is mostly aimed at two points: 1. To defend a purely apologetic style of the genre which implies the stating of the notion favoured by the Tauthor in the consciousness of the listener; 2. To introduce conceptual changes of epithets, the usage of which – as we see the fact – gives the author a possibility to present the essence of his own idea in succession. Following the introduction of the epithets that link the concepts of the New song, the major point for the author in the concept of the new song, is to state the following new moments: he puts forward the fact of the similarity of the New song and the harmony of the universe and of the supreme truth. The consciousness of the reader records also for the first time the connection of the New song with the Bible as its source: "Let us bring down truth, with wisdom in all her Brightness, from heaven above", (Protr. 6) The truth will cover all with the light of its rays, everyone who is absorbed by the darkness, "For out of Sion Shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem", (Isaiah II. 3.). "That is, the heavenly Word, the true champion". (Protr. 6). "This is the New song, the song of Moses; Soother of grief and wrath, that bids all ills be forgotten"⁴ (Protr. 6).

⁴ Homer, *Odyssey* IV. 221.

At this point the author brings in his *second most important postulate* on the superiority and purpose of the New song and its noble mission becomes clearly visible: "But far different is my minstrel, for He has come to bring a speedy end the bitter slavery of the daemons that Lord it over us; and by leading us back to the mild and kindly yoke of piety He calls once again to heaven those who have been cast down to earth. He at least is the only one who ever tamed the most intractable of all wild beasts-man"; (Protr. 8) i.e. a man is given the only norms of the rightful ethics. Correspondingly, Clemens views his own sermon as an intermediary that "Let the prophetic voice, which shares in the song of truth, come forward, speaking words of pity for those who waste away their lives in ignorance and folly," or God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." (St. Matthew III. 9; St. Luke III. 8.). (Protr. 8).

whereas God Himself is imbued with pity for such lot of mindless humans. When mentioning them the author uses the Biblical words: "offspring of vipers" (St. Matthew III. 7; St. Luke III. 7). (Protr. 11).

At this stage *the third important postulate* of the New song is brought in: Logos that signifies the New song: "Yet if any even of these snakes chooses to repent, let him but follow the Word and he becomes a "man of God" (1 Tim. VI. 11). Others are figuratively called "wolves" (St. Matthew VII. 15) clothed in sheepskins". (Protr. 10).

At the same time, Clemens introduces *the fourth postulate of the concept* where two significant issues are underlined: another fact of stating the connection of the New song with the Bible as with its source, and the demonstration of the connection of the *novel canticle* with the Holy Spirit as with the guiding force of its action. The notion of Holy Spirit is stated here as the driving force of the New song:

"It has made men out of stones and men out of wild beasts. They who were otherwise dead, revived when they but heard the song. Furthermore, it is this which composed the entire creation into melodious order, and tuned into concert the discord of the elements, that the whole universe might be in harmony with it." (Protr. 11). " This pure song, the stay of the universe and the harmony of all things, stretching from the centre to the circumference and from the extremities to the centre, reduced this whole to harmony,⁵ not in accordance with Tracian music, but in accordance with the fatherly purpose of God. By the power of Holy Spirit He arranged in harmonious order this great world, yes, and the little world of man too, body and soul together".

⁵ The way the New song is characterized here, is associated with the ideas of Stoics about the divine order of the Universe.

(Protr. 13). "He makes music to God, and sings to the human instrument". "For thou art my harp and my pipe and my temple".⁶ Clemens explains that kithara in this case signifies harmony, while avlos – the spirit, and the temple – the word; (Protr. 13).

To strengthen the fourth postulate, Clemens introduces new epithets that help again to prove the similarity of the New song with *logos*; he also provides an explanation of what is this novel canticle and what represents a man himself that the New song is aimed at.

Here we can set aside *the fifth postulate* of the author's concept where the task of the final goal of the New song is developed:

"What then is the purpose of this instrument, the word of God, the Lord, and the New song? To open the eyes of the blind, to unstop the ears of the deaf, and to lead the halt and erring into the way of righteousness; to reveal God to foolish men, to make an end of corruption, to vanquish death, to reconcile disobedient sons to the Father. (Protr. 15).

Thus, we consider that the scheme of Clemens' *New song* concept is based on the grounds of the five major issues:

1. New song as an entity with its naturalness, and the Bible as the source of its origin;
2. The superiority of the New song to the Old and the demonstration of its purpose;
3. The similarity of the New song to Logos;
4. Re-statement of the derivation of the New song from the Bible and Holy Spirit – to underline its connection with the guiding force of its actions;
5. Demonstration of the final goal of the New song.

After this preamble the author presents their detailed analysis and explanation, defining the point by introducing a variety of Christian images and a number of Biblical examples. He summons new epithets, rearranges the accents, and displays every postulate from a different aspect.

He starts with the explanation of the essence of the New song, stressing the way the term New song should be perceived; its similarity with the Logos is also underlined. He explains that one must not consider the New song as if it were some kind of new arms or a new house because meaning a Word, it was "before the morning star" (Psalm CIX. 3 (Septuagint). and, "in the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the Word was God". (St. John I. 1.). "But error is old, and truth appears to be a new thing; still, not one

⁶ The source of this quotation is unknown. According to Butterworth, It may be a fragment of an early Christian hymn, the metaphors retain similarity with Psalm. lvii. 8; 1 Corinthians vi. 19.

of these nations (Prygians, Arcadians or Egyptians) existed before this world." (Protr. 17).

At this point, the problem of a human being as regards to the New song is also included, i.e. the postulate is set forward that stresses the existence of both from the beginning and their derivation from the sole source;

"But we were before the foundation of the world, we, who, because we were destined to be in Him, were begotten beforehand by God. We are the rational images formed by God's Word, or Reason, and we date from the beginning on account of our connexion with Him, because "the Word was in the beginning".(St. John I. 1). Because the Word was from the first, He was and is the divine beginning of all things; but because He lately took a name- the name consecrated of old and worthy of power, the Christ- I have called Him a New song." (Protr. 17).

After that Clemens returns to the second and third postulates that we have mentioned in connection with the purpose of the New song and its similarity with Logos. Yet, now both these issues are united with the word of the New song, in order to reveal its similarity with Christ and His Mission:

"The Word, then, that is the Christ, is the cause both of our being long ago (for He was in God) and of our well-being. This Word, who alone is both God and man, the cause of all our good, appeared but lately in His own person to men; from whom learning how to live rightly on earth, we are brought on our way to eternal life. This is the New Song, namely, the manifestation which has but now shined forth among us, of Him who was in the beginning, the pre-existent Word. He formed us, taught us, in order that hereafter as God He might supply us with life everlasting." (Protr. 19).

Clemens develops the second postulate when he admits a confrontation between the Old and New songs. In order to put forward the superiority of the latter, he finds new stricter epithets for the Old song:

"For the wicked, crawling wild beast makes slaves of men by his magical arts, and torments them even until now, as it seems to me, after the manner of barbarians, who are said to bind their captives to corpses until both rot together. Certain is that wherever this wicked tyrant and serpent succeeds in making men his own from their birth, he rivets them to stocks, stones, statues and suchlike idols, by the miserable chain of daemon-worship; then he takes and buries them alive, until they also, men and idols together, suffer corruption." (Protr. 19).

Linking the New song to the Old Testament is another point of interest in studying the author's reasoning. He finds a group of new epithets to present the way the New song expressed itself in the Biblical predictions: "By wonders and signs in Egypt, and in the desert by the burning bush and the cloud that, followed the Hebrews like a handmaid. By the fear that these wonders

inspired He exhorted the hard-hearted; but afterwards, through Moses and Isaiah and the whole company of the prophets, He converts to the Word by more rational means those who have ears to hear". (Protr. 21).

Clemens completes the formation of the New song concept with its final aim. The salvation of a man he considers the decisive argument of the concept and while discussing the details of the problem he accentuates several matters.

He starts with the importance of the humanization of Logos, and after paying tribute to the vast contribution that the prophets had done in declaring the New song to the people, he concentrates on the role of Prophet John who prepared the people to the declaration of New song:

"John also invites us to salvation and becomes wholly a voice of exhortation. Let us then inquire of him. "Who and whence art thou?"⁷ (Protr. 22).

the author completes the explanation of the essence of the New song with the reality of people's communion to the New song:

"Take poet in purifications meet for Him, not of laurel leaves and fillets embellished with wool and purple, but crown yourself with righteousness, let your wreath be woven from the leaves of self-control, and seek diligently after Christ. "For I am the door," (St. John X. 9.) He says; which we who wish to perceive God must search out, in order that He may throw open wide for us the gates of heaven." (Protr. 27).

On the basis of mythological material of the New song – as an adequate matter of harmonious order and therefore, the sole true sound of the essence of the universe – Clemens switches to the gradual negation of the Old song. For him, the tradition of classical antique culture is epitomized by Orpheus and other musicians of equal scope – and blames them for comprising the wrong principles of Universal harmony on mankind:

"Cithaeron, and Helicon, and mountains of Odrysians and Thracians, temples of initiation into error, are held sacred on account of the attendant mysteries. For my own part, mere legend though they are, I cannot bear the thought of all the calamities that are worked up into tragedy; yet in your hands the records of these evils have become dramas, and the actors of the dramas are a sight that gladdens your heart. But as for the dramas and the Lenean poets, are altogether like drunken men." (Protr. 6).

He also blames poets and musicians – the representatives of the Old Testament for inculcation of violence and madness in the religious festivities. This element he explained as the inculcation of paganism by introducing the tragic parts in the ceremony of the religious cult. He believed that sculptures

⁷ Homer, *Odyssey* I, 170.

and drawings served to the strengthening of the senseless rituals while in fact they were nothing except wooden logs and boulders, and thus, through lies they put under the yoke of the slavery the genuine shining freedom that the citizens possess (Protr. 9).

Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi)

WOMEN IN THE LAW OF DEMOCRATIC ATHENS

It is universally considered that Classical Greece is one of the most interesting and important periods of the Ancient World both from the socio-political and cultural points of view. "It was the epoch full of the most significant events – the processes, that began in the Archaic period acquired surprising perfection, the Greek culture gave birth to majority of its important heights, the power of the Greek polis ideology as well as its weakness was completely revealed at this time. It was the period during which the Greek culture achieving the great ascents has suffered such a great and final decay. Every aspect of the versatile and full-blooded life of this period arouses a great interest up to now".¹

Achievements of Classical Greece is straightforwardly linked with emergence and development of the new system – democracy, which reached its peak in Athenian polis. The Athenian democracy elaborated the democratic principles in a most perfect way. Athenian citizens had the same rights and could equally take part in the political life of the day; at the same time they had a free choice for their activities, for founding their business and e.t.c. But these were considered the privileges of the citizens. Despite the fact, that women also were the citizens of Athens, they were deprived of the above-mentioned rights of citizen. It was a paradox of the Athenian democracy. Thus the democratic freedom of the classical polis entailed the legal and cultural subordination of women.² What was the reason of it? But before we can answer this question there is a point we should discuss. We must investigate the way how the democratic system of governing had been found and see, what was the basis of the newly established state.

¹ Gordziani R., *The Greek Civilization*, v. II, I, The Classical Era, Tbilisi, 1997, 5 (in Georgian).

² Arthur M., "From Medusa to Cleopatra: Women in the Ancient World" in (edd.) R.Bridental and C.Koontz, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Boston, 1977, 79.

The new system, more egalitarian form of the government – democracy was formed by the class developed step by step in the aristocratic society – the class of middle farmers. This change entailed emergence of the new type of the family, so-called nuclear – small family, which as it seems at this point of history appeared to be the most appropriate form in creating and transmitting the wealth of the newly born class. In the conditions of a new system this small family – oikos became the nucleus of social organization of the new state – polis and was developed as the productive unit of society.³

The new state was based on small households, and even more, the polis was defined as the sum of all the individual households. Head of a house became a citizen automatically.⁴ For this result the nuclear family acquired specific importance in the life of the polis. The virtue of the polis as a whole greatly depended on the virtue of the oikos, as a part.⁵

Proceeding from the increased importance of an oikos, protecting and maintaining a family became the principal concern of the state.

The overwhelming importance of an oikos in the Greek state caused transformation of the woman's role in the oikos. The functions of wife and mother, that she always performed, acquired a new significance as they were construed to be necessity and duty. Woman had to perform two main obligations – to ensure the legitimacy of heirs for the family and to transfer the property with reserved rights to the transferor.⁶ Failure to perform these duties would have dangerous consequences for a vitality of families and hence for the middle class on the whole.⁷ Thus woman became a necessary part of an oikos and consequently acquired essential importance for the state. Essential nature of her contributions caused the necessity of special control and protection of a woman. But besides these measures Greeks imposed restrictions on woman's

³ Gluskina L.M., "Social Institutions, Economic Relations and Legal Practice in the 3rd Century Athens According to the Court Speeches of Demosthenes", Demosthenes, Speeches, v. I-III, Moscow, 1994, v. II, 411.

⁴ Arthur, 1977, 85.

⁵ Aristotle, Politics 1260b10-20. The ways of the relationship between polis and oikos are discussed in the various passages of Aristotle's Politics. Pol.1253b3; 1261a20; 1263b32; 1261b11; 1253a18.

⁶ Arthur assumes, that the function of women was to ensure legitimacy of heirs. Arthur, 1977,79, while Gould attributes a great importance to the transmission of the property by women, Gould J., "Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Greece" JHS 100,1980, 38-59, 44.

⁷ It was in the interests of Athenian State to maintain individual families, both because it ensured a supply of warriors, and because economic viability of an oikos helped to escape the civil strife and ensure the political stability. Blundell S., Women in Ancient Greece, London, 1995, 119.

freedom to ensure her subservience for the needs of the state any time it was necessary.⁸

All these seem to be the main reasons of her above-mentioned subordination – a paradox of the Greek democratic system.

One of the main characteristics of the Greek polis was so-called "totalitarianism" – the Greek state demanded the priority of her interests over the interests of others. Individuals – both women and men had to subordinate their interests to the interests of the city, to sacrifice themselves to the needs of the polis.⁹ Subordination of women to the interests of the polis was not quite obvious, as there was an *oikos* between a woman and a polis and women had to perform their obligations and duties first and foremost for a family.

But while discussing the definite aspects of the legal status of a woman, the social institutions bound up with a woman and the customs defining her role, we shall make sure, as it seems to us, that nearly everything concerning her position depended on the needs of the state itself functioning successfully only through the families.

We shall proceed by first discussing her subordinate position in a family; second, we shall try to present how far the social institutions linked with women resulted from the inner structure of society.

According to the law of Athens woman had not the status of fully autonomous being. Women thus were not entered on the *lexiarchikon grammateion* of the deme, where all male members of the community were registered, neither were they considered as members of a *phratry*. In Athenian reality there existed no documents declaring legitimacy of a woman. The legitimate status of women could be established only in the roundabout way, with the help of indirect and informal evidences. It is significant, that the pattern of naming respectable women is almost fully absent in Attic tombstones of women as well as in the private speeches of the Attic orators.¹⁰ Women were referred to by complex paraphrases, which marked their status-dependence

⁸ Arthur, 1997, 85.

⁹ Marinovitch L.P., Kochelenko G.A., "Introduction for the Edition of 1994", *Lysias, Speeches*, Moscow, 1994, 14. For the clearest example of individual-state relationship pattern in Antiquity see, Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1094b.

¹⁰ The issue of woman's name in Tombstones is investigated in the articles: Vêrilhac A.M., "L'image de la femme dans les épigrammes funéraires gresques" *La femme dans la monde méditerranéen. I. Antiquité*, Lyon, Paris, 1985, 85-112. D.Schaps' article treats the problem of naming of women in the private speeches of the Attic Orators, D.Schaps "The Women Least Mentioned: Etiquette and Women's Names", *CQ* 27, 1977, 323-330.

upon male kinsmen.¹¹ "A woman was not somebody to respect, but was somebody's mother, or sister, or wife, or daughter – that was another matter."¹²

As far as a woman was not an independent being, she was always assumed to be incorporated in the structure of an oikos. The institute of *kyrieia* – or guardianship was common for the reality of Athens. It meant, that throughout her life woman was under the legal control of a male *kyrios*, who was her nearest male relative. If unmarried she was usually in the *kyrieia* of her father, or brother or grandfather on her father's side. Upon marriage her husband acted as her *kyrios*, but it would be more correct to say that she fell under a kind of divided *kyrieia*, as the former *kyrios* had kept definite rights upon her (More detailed discussion of these special aspects of *kyrieia* will be presented below).

On her husband's death if she did not have any children she reverted to the guardianship of her fathers. If widow had sons, she passed to the *kyrieia* of her sons. In the case they were minors, she fell under the guardianship of their *kyrios*. The Archon protected widows and if women were somehow abused, it was his obligation to protect the offended.

A *kyrios* had to ensure economic and social security of a woman under his guardianship. He represented her in a court and his consent was necessary for any legal action undertaken on her behalf. As woman legally was not permitted to engage in transactions, it was her guardian, who had to do it instead of her.¹³

Marriage and motherhood were considered to be primary goals and events in the life of a female. And even more, those were her duties she owed to Athens. Greeks lamented the death of young unwed maiden first of all because she had not fulfilled her roles as a wife and a mother.¹⁴

Women had no right to choose her future husband. It was her guardian, who in law determined whom a woman should marry. Marriage was generally contracted within an "anchistea" – an extended household. Marriages between uncles and nieces, between first cousins, between siblings (on the fathers' side only) were usual.¹⁵ If suitable candidate was not found in the extended

¹¹ Dem.XI, 60.

¹² Schaps, 1977, 330.

¹³ Just R., *Women in Athenian Law and Life*, London, 1989, 34-36.

¹⁴ Pomeroy S.B., *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves, Women in Classical Antiquity*, New York, 1975, 62.

¹⁵ Plutarch, *Themistokles*, XXXII, 1-2; *Dem.LVII*, 20; *XXVIII*, 1,3; *LIX*, 1-2: *XLIV*, 10. *Iseos*, XI, 16.

family, a woman might marry a close friend of her father,¹⁶ or a person unconnected with her family, in the latter case a bride might have not even seen her husband-to-be prior to her betrothal. But she was not allowed any say in that matter.

Girls in Athens were married for the first time very early – between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.¹⁷ The reason for early female marriages dealt with the perception of Greeks that sexually mature girls were ungovernable. And as according to their custom, a bride was to be a virgin, to avoid further difficulties, Greek males preferred to marry them in an early age. The majority of the man, on the other hand, married at about thirty. The disparity in the ages of husband and wife, naturally aroused a gap between them, made difficult true partnership between spouses. But at the same time according to Ehrenberg sexual relationships bound married couples closely and caused strong mutual attachment among them.¹⁸ Besides, the disparity in ages helped to accentuate the intellectual inferiority of the wife and reinforced patriarchal attitudes toward women.¹⁹

All these discussed regulations undoubtedly manifest that woman had subordinate status and as Gould states, existed only as an extension of her male *kyrios*.²⁰ On the other hand woman's role was simultaneously the essential and crucial one for the maintenance and security of families and hence for the vitality of the state. Now we shall proceed to explore how the main women social institutions were arranged to serve the needs of the state.

Up to the certain period of Athenian history a marriage had no formal character. It was living together, which made a marriage a marriage; its existence was therefore essentially a question of a fact. Living together – *sunoikeion* is the Greek for being married and procreation of children was its explicit object.²¹ In 451/0 Pericles introduced the law according to which qualification as an Athenian citizen included being of Athenian parentage on both sides, and not, as previously on his father's side. Hence the legal personality of a male citizen became dependent upon his being the son of an Athenian woman. It seems likely, that a formal marriage became obligatory after

¹⁶ One of these cases is described in Iseos, II, 3-9, where the brothers (guardians of their sister) not only married her to their father's friend, but latter also demanded from her to agree upon the divorce.

¹⁷ Pomeroy, 1975, 64.

¹⁸ Ehrenberg V., *The People of Aristophanes*, Oxford, 1951, 144.

¹⁹ Blundell, 1995, 120.

²⁰ Gould, 1980, 45.

²¹ Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece*, London, 1968, 110.

introducing this law.²² Only formal marriage made it possible to show that the bride had the legal status. Thus the formal character of marriage had primarily a public side. The need of the formal marriage was due to the importance of asserting the child's legitimacy.²³ That is why a marriage was registered with the *phrateres* of the husband, but when the girl was an *epikleros*, it was registered also with her family.²⁴

Besides these customs, there were some other obligatory conditions to consider a marriage a formal one, performed according to the Greek wedding rules.²⁵ One of them was a betrothal – *engue*. Women were to be betrothed before wedding. A betrothal had a formal character as well and the witnesses should have been presented from both sides.²⁶ The proof of *engue* was utmostly important in the case the legitimacy of children was ever called in question. Thus a betrothal was considered to be one more affirmation of the formal marriage and the legitimate status of an heir. In connection with this the formula sworn by the father after introducing the child to the *phrateres* is worth mentioning. He said, he knew, that the child had citizen-status, being born to him from a citizen mother, properly (i.e. formally) married.²⁷ Great public importance of these ceremonies is undoubtedly obvious.

Here we came up to the most important institutions of marriage, namely, a dowry that acquired a very specific character in the case of Athenian wedding system. A marriage of a woman had one more obligatory precondition – producing a dowry for a bride. It was the business of her *kyrios*. Probably it was not his legal obligation, but by the 5th century dowry was an established convention and was a notion of both father's economic status and his self-esteem.²⁸

Athenian women did not directly inherit their fathers' property, but had a share in the patrimonial inheritance, which was reflected in the dowry. So

²² The issue remains debatable. E.g. Wolff believes, that it had always been necessary, see Wolff H.J., "Marriage, Law and Family Organization in Ancient Athens", *Traditio* 2, 1944, 43-95. Lacey himself assumes, that it is not certain whether a formal marriage was necessary till 403/2 B.C., Lacey, 1968, 104. For Pericles' citizenship law and a formal marriage, see Hignett C., *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1958.

²³ Lacey, 1968, 111.

²⁴ *Isaios*.VIII, 18: III, 75, 79; *Pollyx*, 107.

²⁵ Formally arranged marriage was denoted by Greek terms "kata tous nomous" and "epi dikaios", e.g. *Dem.* XLVI, 18.

²⁶ Lacey, 1968, 105.

²⁷ The formula is cited in *Dem.* LVIII, 54. Though here the term "properly" is not mentioned. Here is just stated "being born to him from citizen-mother married to him".

²⁸ *Dem.* XXXVII, 42-45; *Is.* XI, 40.

they received their portion of the family's inheritance on marriage and not on the death of their father.²⁹

Dowry functioned as a kind of mechanism, that ensured woman's economic and social security. Husband had to invest the dowry and was required to maintain his wife from the income computed at 18 per cent annually. Husband was not advised to dispose of the capital sum. Usually this sum was remained as a legally separate piece of property and was passed over their sons, when they were old enough to inherit it.

Dowry protected wife from both frivolous divorce initiated by her spouse and ill treatment on her husband's side. This social safeguard resulted from husband's obligation to return dowry in case of divorce. And it must be borne in mind, that woman's family always had the right to terminate the marriage and reclaim a dowry back. If man did not return the dowry, he had to pay interest on its value of 18 per cent annually.³⁰ In the case he failed paying this sum, he could be prosecuted by woman's family. The dowry was to be returned no matter which partner was an initiator of the divorce, even when the divorce resulted from adultery of a woman.³¹ A widow took her dowry back to her natal household if spouses had no children, or if there were only daughters in a family.³² If there were sons and wife remained in her dead husband's family, then the *kyrios* of her sons managed the dowry. In the case she chose to return to her natal family, she took her dowry with her.

The specificity of the dowry lies mainly in the condition that woman, an owner herself, was not legally capable of disposing it, she did not really own what she possessed – it meant, that she was only the instrument to transmit the inheritance from one family to another.³³ As we have already emphasized, even husband – her guardian was not advised to dispose of the principal part of it, which was to remain intact throughout her lifetime. The established mechanism of transmitting the property was by no means accidental, neither was accidental the very reason why women were deprived of the rights to dispose of their property. The essence of the dowry was to remain as a legally separate piece of property, hence to be a kind of a guarantee for the vitality of a family. "The state thus limited individual freedom to dispose of property to

²⁹ About the issue of women's inheritance, see especially Schaps D., *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece*, Edinburgh, 1979 and his "Women in Greek Inheritance Law" CQ 25, 1975, 53-57.

³⁰ Dem.XXVII, 17; Dem.XXX, 7; Dem.LIX, 52.

³¹ It is worth mentioning, that a divorced woman took her dowry back, while her son(s) remained with their father. It meant, that son(s) did not inherit their mother's dowry. The owners of the property would become the woman's children from her next marriage.

³² Blundell, 1995, 116, see also note 8.

³³ Gould, 1980, 44.

prevent the exercise of that right from conflicting with the higher principle of the inviolability of each *oikos*.³⁴ This primarily principle established by the polis ideology served first and foremost to retain the basis of the state – the middle class, whose government was "the best form of political society" as Aristotle put it, the class, the members of which "should possess moderate and adequate property".

The utmost importance of the dowry caused special control of the rules concerning it. The maintenance of these rules was probably the responsibility of the archon, but at the same time it was the concern of the whole society. And since the property was of such significance for Athenians, it was women's role as the transmitters of property that caused such a concern about them and impelled to protect them.³⁵

The ultimate importance of the inviolability of individual families is most obviously manifested in another specific Greek institution – *epiklerate*. In families in which there was not a son daughters were responsible to perpetuate the *oikos*. These daughters were called "*epikleroi*". For the reason that there is not a more appropriate term available, the word is often translated as "*heiress*", but "*epikleros*" literally means "with the property",³⁶ or "attached to the family property",³⁷ which very neatly displays the essence of the term. It could only seem, that the *epikleros* inherited property, but in reality the property was passed over to her husband and through him to their children, who in fact owned the property, since *epikleros*' husband only held it in trust until the son(s) came of age. On the other hand, *epikleros* could not be separated from the inheritance, as her husband had no right to take inheritance without first marrying her.³⁸

Epikleros' marriage was stipulated by very harsh rules. An *epikleros* was obliged to marry the nearest male kinsman. The groom was chosen in an extended household – an "*anchisteia*" according to the order of succession, which existed among the male candidates of an "*anchisteia*". And it did not matter if one of the wedding partners was married by that time. Married *epikleros*, if she had not produced a son, might be divorced even without her will.³⁹ Afterwards she had to return to her natal family and marry a claimant (nearest male kinsman). If the male candidate was himself already married,

³⁴ Arthur, 1977, 87.

³⁵ Gould, 1980, 44.

³⁶ Blundell's interpretation, Blundell, 1995, 117.

³⁷ Pomeroy, 1975, 61.

³⁸ Blundell, 1995, 117.

³⁹ See Harrison A.R.W., *The Law of Athens, The Family and Property*, 1968, Oxford, 309-11, citation according to Blundell, 1995, 117, n.13.

then he also had to divorce, or give up his claim. It is to be emphasized, that epikleros' husband forfeited his rights to inheritance within his own family.

The Greek term for marriage "ekdosis", which literally means giving out, loaning, betrays its essence primarily in the institution of epiklerate.

Woman appeared to be an object, which her kyrios lent out to another family to perform the functions of a wife and mother. But the former kyrios always retained the right to dissolve the marriage and require the "loaned object" back. The necessity primarily occurred, when there were no male heirs and women had to perpetuate their father's line. She had to return to her natal household and bear an heir. Hence "ekdosis" obviously displays the unbreakable bond existing between a woman and her natal oikos. Epikleros is the clearest example, that women owed her generative functions primarily to the oikos of her birth. And it must be remembered, that while perpetuating a line of a natal family, epikleros acted against disappearance of an individual oikos. Performing her function of an "heiress" she served first of all interests of the polis.

The subordination of the woman's status has caused the reevaluation of the crime of adultery. In Homeric period the attitude toward woman's morality can be characterized as much more loyal. In former times adultery was considered to be primarily an offence against a husband, it might become the cause of a war between households, but by no means did it engender a danger for social stability. It democratic Athens the crime of adultery acquired quite different estimation. It was not only a private offence any more, but became a crime against society, since adultery put in question the legal status of a heir, hence threatened the integrity of the oikos itself. As Pomeroy states, "since the aim of marriage between citizens was the production of legitimate children, adultery was a public offence because it could result in the introduction of a child unrelated to husband – and possibly the offspring of a non - Athenian – into the husband's house and kinship-group cults".⁴⁰

Greeks were very cautious to prevent this ultimate danger to society, that is why they had estimated adultery as a very heavy crime. One of the passages of Lysias' famous speech *Against Eratosthenes* explains very obviously, what the point for such a strict estimation of adultery was: "the lawgiver prescribed death for adultery" (though not for rape)... because he, who achieves his ends by persuasion thereby corrupts the mind as well as the body of woman.... gains access to all a man's possessions, and casts doubt on his children's parentage".⁴¹

⁴⁰ Dem. LVII, 41.

⁴¹ Lysias, I, 33.

Having all these in view, the state therefore regulated very strictly the sexual life of Athenian citizen women. Some time before, Solon's laws had defined not only the obligatory sexual norms for women, but considered in detail the regulations concerning women's voyages, or their behavior during walking. The "double standard" claiming different types of sexual life for men and women, was encouraged in Solon's time. It did allow men extra-marital sexual relationship provided, that they were not with women, who were under the guardianship of other citizens. Women had no sexual liberty. As we have already explored, the reason of such attitude towards women's behavior was primarily civic and not moral.⁴² The ultimate control and regulations of women's sexual life resulted from the threat that their sexual freedom could bring to society.

Both sexes suffered heavy penalties for committing adultery. The *kyrios* of a woman had the right to kill a seducer caught in the act with any woman under his guardianship. But as it seems in Classical Greece an adulterer more frequently was put into prison with the aim of taking from him monetary compensation.

The law did not demand to kill adulteress, but a divorce for a woman taken in adultery was compulsory.⁴³ She was excluded also from participation in religious festivals. In reality it meant, that woman was almost deprived of the rights of citizenship, "since religion and marriage were the only spheres, where the citizen woman was privileged".⁴⁴ An adulteress somehow became a social outcast. If regardless of exclusion, an adulteress tried to participate in religious ceremonies, any member of society had the right to punish her physically and tear off her clothes in public. According to Solon's laws an unmarried Athenian daughter caught with a man could be sold into slavery, but in later times she was merely kept at home unmarried. The very fact of reevaluation of adultery and the penalties imposed on the crime affirms in addition that integration and inviolability of an *oikos* and thus well being of the state dictated the norms of behavior in this area of Athenian life.

Proceeding from this primal concern for Athenian polis, women unconditionally were confined to private sphere entirely (except religion). In Athens they could not attend or vote at the Assembly, sit on Juries, or serve as council members and magistrates, they could not make public speeches, or speak in a court. The citizenship of Athenian woman was much more frequently

⁴² Lacey, 1968, 113.

⁴³ Dem.LIX, 86-87.

⁴⁴ Arthur, 1977, 87.

reproduced by the term "aste", than by the term "politis".⁴⁵ Women had no political rights at all. The term "aste" referred to woman's possession of civil rights, but we must bear in mind, that civil rights of an Athenian woman were quite restricted. According to Blundell, citizenship of Athenian women meant only that they had a share in the religious, legal and economic order of the Athenian community".⁴⁶

In 451/450 B.C. the Assembly introduced the citizenship law of Pericles, which had modified the existed rules for entitlement to citizenship. The issue was briefly surveyed above. From this period onwards a mother together with father granted her children the citizenship status, but to do this, she was to be a citizen herself. Athenian women became important, "as channels through which political as well as economic rights were transmitted to the next generation of citizens".⁴⁷ It seems, that the new law somehow altered attitude of men towards Athenian women. The way in which Athenian citizen women were viewed by male sex, was considerably different from the way, Athenian men estimated alien women. From the midst of the 5th century Athenian women were enjoying the privileges that other groups of women were deprived of. One can say even more, regardless of the subordination, women of Athens were highly respected in the state. The recognition of women's contribution to the polis was displayed in the important role they had in the religious sphere of Athens. But these issues are not of our interest at the present moment. We are primarily concerned with the motives of introduction of Pericles' citizenship law – namely, how far was this law preconditioned by the interests of the polis itself.

Despite the fact, that the motives of the law are quite divergent, the majority of scholars speak in favor of the priority of the state's interests in implementing the law. E.g. According to one of the popular arguments, Pericles' law was introduced in order to limit the influence of aristocratic families, who by arranging marriages with powerful families in other states acquired control over the foreign policy.⁴⁸ Hence, it suggests, that the goal of Periclean law was to maintain and secure the interests of the middle class – the basis of the Greek polis.

⁴⁵ Fem. of polites. This word is normally translated as "citizen", but it mostly signifies citizen with full political rights.

⁴⁶ Blundell, 1995, 128. See also term "aste" in H.G.Liddell, R.Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1961.

⁴⁷ Blundell, 1995, 129.

⁴⁸ The summary of these arguments is given by Patterson C.B., Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451-450 B.C., The Ayer Company, 1981.

According to Pomeroy, the new citizenship law was imposed in order to regulate Athenian population. While making her speculations, the scholar takes into consideration two ancient sources: Aristotle and Diogenes Laertius. Aristotle stated, that Pericles' citizenship law was enacted because of the large number of citizens.⁴⁹ While Diogenes Laertius explained the relaxation of the citizenship law in 411 B.C. by the need of Athenians to increase their population. As Pomeroy puts it, these ancient accounts for Periclean law depicted, that Athenians understood how to regulate their population – the simplest means of controlling the growth of the population was increasing or decreasing the number of females, who could produce citizen children.⁵⁰ Pericles' law restricted the number of citizen brides and thus prevented engendering additional families – the surplus of population seemed to be undesirable for successful functioning of Athenian polis in the period of Pericles' governing.

Among other motives of the law the concern of Athenians to make their city more coherent attracts special attention. And indeed from the middle of the 5th century, Athenian community became endogamic – the citizen body was constituted from marriages arranged within the community, exchange of women between Athenians brought together different families and thus facilitated the cohesion of the Athenian state.⁵¹

All the discussed material makes clear the point we have stated in the very beginning. Women's role and family relations in general were secondary issues for Greeks of that period. Their primary concern was for the state.

⁴⁹ Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* 26, 4.

⁵⁰ Pomeroy, 1975, 70.

⁵¹ Blundell, 1995, 127.

Diether Roderich Reinsch (Berlin)

DER TOD BYZANTINISCHER KAISER IN HISTORIOGRAPHIE UND SAGE¹

Die kulturwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit dem Sterben und dem Tod, die Thanatologie, war schon 1979, als Hans-Georg Beck seine Studie über "Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits" veröffentlichte,² seit etwa zwanzig Jahren zu einer Mode geworden. Heute, ein Vierteljahrhundert später, stellen wir fest, daß das Thema "Sterben und Tod" nichts von seiner Anziehungskraft eingebüßt hat, im Gegenteil: Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen über den Tod erfreuen sich des Interesses auch eines breiteren Publikums. Die Studie von Norbert Elias "Über die Einsamkeit des Sterbenden"³ erlebt nach 1982 eine Reihe weiterer Auflagen, das grundlegende Werk von Philippe Ariès, "L'homme devant la mort"⁴ erscheint deutsch unter dem Titel "Geschichte des Todes" in mehreren Auflagen als Taschenbuch.⁵

Nichts deutet indessen darauf hin, daß sich an der allgemeinen Haltung unserer Gesellschaft zum Tod Wesentliches geändert hätte. Ausgrenzung und Verdrängung des Todes und des Sterbenden aus dem öffentlichen und dem privaten Bewußtsein charakterisieren weiterhin das Normalverhalten. An der Einsamkeit des Sterbenden hat sich nichts geändert. Sterben und Tod sind vielmehr nur ein Teil des allgemeinen Interesses am Alltäglichen der Vergan-

¹ Vortrag, gehalten am 10.03.2003 im Institut für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Tbilisi = aktualisierte Fassung eines in *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 13 (1994) 247-270 publizierten Aufsatzes.

² H.-G. Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte einer Mentalität* (Bayer. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Sitz.-Ber. 1979, 6), München 1979.

³ N. Elias, *Über die Einsamkeit der Sterbenden in unseren Tagen*,⁶ Frankfurt am Main 1990.

⁴ Ph. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris 1977.

⁵ Vgl. auch R. Marx / G. Stebner (Hg.), *Perspektiven des Todes*, Interdisziplinäres Symposium I (Annales Universitatis Saraviensis. 22), Heidelberg 1990. G. Condrau, *Der Mensch und sein Tod: certa moriendi condicio*,² Zürich 1991.

genheit, der sogenannten Alltagsgeschichte, die jeder Mensch erlebt, zu deren Ereignissen er bestimmte Haltungen und Mentalitäten entwickelt. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß die Federführung auch für die Thanatologie in Frankreich gelegen hat, man denke, von Ariès abgesehen, an die Arbeiten von Michel Vovelle,⁶ Jacques Le Goff,⁷ Pierre Chaunu⁸ und anderer. Da andererseits auch das Mittelalter aus Gründen, die eher nachdenklich stimmen, sich ungebrochener Aufmerksamkeit und Beliebtheit erfreut, überrascht es nicht, wenn kein Mangel herrscht an Monographien, Sammelwerken und Aufsätzen über "Sterben im Mittelalter", "Death in the Middle Ages"⁹ oder, auf unseren engeren Bereich bezogen, "Death and Burial in Byzantium",¹¹ "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period",¹² "Death in Byzantine Iconography"¹³ und anderes.¹⁴

In diesem Beitrag geht es nicht um das Herausarbeiten einer allgemeinen Mentalität, sondern, viel bescheidener, um das Bild, das die byzantinische Mit- und die neugriechische Nachwelt vom Sterben ihrer Kaiser gezeichnet hat. Dabei werden wir uns mit vier verschiedenen Ausprägungen dieses Bildes beschäftigen: dem Kaiser als Heiligen, dem Kaiser als Widersacher des Glaubens, dem Kaiser als Leidenden und dem Kaiser als nationalem Neomärtyrer.

Daß Quellen für eine solches Vorhaben reichlich vorhanden sind, hängt mit dem Umstand zusammen, daß das staatliche, gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Leben der Byzantiner in für uns nur schwer nachvollziehbarer Weise auf den Kaiser konzentriert war und sich im Kaiser konkretisierte und darstellte. Nicht nur die Geschichtsschreibung, auch weite Teile der übrigen Lit-

⁶ M. Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois*, Paris 1974. DERS., Les attitudes devant la mort: problèmes de méthode, approches et lectures différentes, in: *Annales* 31 (1976) 120-132. DERS. L'histoire des hommes au miroir de la mort, in: *Death in the Middle Ages*, vgl. unten Anm. 10.

⁷ J. Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, Paris 1981.

⁸ P. Chaunu, *La mort à Paris. XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1978.

⁹ K. Stüber, *Commendatio animae. Sterben im Mittelalter*, Bern-Frankfurt/Main 1976. A. BORST u.a. (Hg.), *Tod im Mittelalter* (Konstanzer Bibliothek 20), Konstanz 1993. N. Ohler, *Sterben und Tod im Mittelalter* (dtv. Sachbuch) München 1993.

¹⁰ *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. Braet/W. Verbeke (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia I 9), Leuven 1983.

¹¹ So der Titel der *Ninth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference at Duke University, November 1983*; die Referate publiziert in: *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984) 115-194.

¹² D. Abrahamse, in: *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984) 115-194.

¹³ CH. Walter, Death in Byzantine Iconography, in: *Eastern Church Review* 8 (1976) 13-127.

¹⁴ Vgl. F. Tinnefeld, Rituelle und politische Aspekte des Herrscher Todes im späten Byzanz, in: L. Kolmer (Hrsg.), *Der Tod des Mächtigen. Kult und Kultur des Todes spätmittelalterlicher Herrscher*, Paderborn et al. 1997, 217-228. P. A. Agapitos, 'Ο θάνατος στο Βυζάντιο: ἀποσπασματικές εἰκόνες ενός ἀγνωστου κόσμου, in: *Ἐστία* 150 (2001) 269-286.

eratur (mit der bemerkenswerten Ausnahme der Epik und des Romans) sind daher basilozentrisch. Diese Literatur enthält auch nicht wenige Nachrichten über den Tod der Kaiser, doch ist diesem Aspekt des Themas "Tod" von der modernen Wissenschaft – vom Bereich des Zeremoniellen,¹⁵ einem rein referierenden Übersichtsartikel von Guiland von 1954¹⁶ und kleineren Arbeiten zu Einzelproblemen¹⁷ abgesehen – noch wenig Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet worden.

Der Kaiser als sichtbarer Staat und von Gott eingesetzter Herrscher ist zwar in vielfacher Weise über alle seine Untertanen hinausgehoben, er ist sogar, da selber νόμος ἔμφυχος, legibus und unter Umständen sogar canonibus solutus, aber auch er ist dem allgemeinen Gesetz des Todes unterworfen oder, um es mit den Worten des Dichters Christophoros von Mytilene zu sagen: "Wahrlich auch den Kaisern wird einmal das Leben genommen, einmal mischt man auch ihnen des Schicksals bitteren Becher". Ἦ μάλα καὶ βασιλῆες ἀμέρσκονται βιότιοι, πικρά δὲ μὴν καὶ τοῖσι μόρου κινῶνται ἄλεια.¹⁸

Daß auch der Kaiser wie alle Menschen dem Tode ausgeliefert ist, kommt nicht zuletzt in einer Reihe von literarischen Metaphern zum Ausdruck und ebenso an einigen Stellen des Zeremoniells, das den Kaiser zu Lebzeiten und auch nach seinem Ableben streng zu befolgenden Regeln der Repräsentation unterwirft.

Das byzantinische Griechisch hat eine schier unendliche Fülle von Metaphern für Sterben hervorgebracht, euphemistische und solche, die den Sachverhalt sehr drastisch ausdrücken, christliche und solche, die eher der traditionellen Vorstellungswelt der heidnischen Antike angehören.¹⁹ Unter diesen findet man in den Darstellungen kaiserlichen Sterbens nicht selten Wendungen, welche das Moment des allen Menschen Gemeinsamen be-

¹⁵ Vgl. dazu Treitinger und Kukulcs (wie unten Anm. 22 und 23).

¹⁶ R. Guiland, La destinée des empereurs de Byzance, in: *EEBS* 24 (1954) 37-66. – Eine Übersicht über die Tode westlicher Kaiser und Könige enthält der Aufsatz von H. M. Schaller, Der Kaiser stirbt, in: *Tod im Mittelalter* (wie oben Anm. 9) 59-75. Eine detaillierte Einzelstudie zum Tod eines französischen Königs im selben Aufsatzband: W. Paravicini, Sterben und Tod Ludwigs XI., 77-168.

¹⁷ Von Bedeutung vor allem Ph. Grierson, The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042), in: *DOP* 17 (1962) 1-63.

¹⁸ E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mytilenaios*, Leipzig 1903, *Ged.* 8,1-2. Ein ähnlicher Gedanke formuliert bei Theodoros Prodromos, *Ged.* 25,1-5 Hörandner:

Ὅφρῶς βροτῶν καὶ τύφος ἀρχικοῦ κράτους / καὶ κοσμικῆς φύσημα λαμπρᾶς ἀξίας, /
ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν μαθόντα τὰς θνητῶν τύχας / χαμαὶ φρονεῖτε· πᾶς γὰρ ἐξίσου νέκυς /
καὶ πάντες υἱοὶ τῆς ῥόδου οὐσίας.

¹⁹ Vgl. St. Linnér, *Syntaktische und lexikalische Studien zur Historia Lausiaca des Palladius* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1943: 2), Uppsala-Leipzig 1943, 123-125.

sonders betonen. Der Kaiser, so heißt es dort, "erstattet die gemeine Schuld" (ἀποδίδωσιν oder ἀποπληροῖ τὸ κοινὸν χρέος, τὸ χρεῶν, τὸ κοινὸν ὄφλημα, τὸ χρέος τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, τὸ πάγκοινων ὀφείλημα τῆς φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης und ähnliches). Das Zeremoniell kaiserlicher Bestattungen kennen wir, von den konkreten Einzeldarstellungen abgesehen, durch die entsprechenden Kapitel des Zeremonienbuches²⁰ und des Ps.-Kodinos,²¹ und diese zeremonielle Seite des Todes mußte auch nicht erst im Gefolge der Forschungen der Annales-Schule neu entdeckt werden. So lesen wir eine kurze Zusammenfassung bereits bei Treitinger²² in seiner Monographie zur Kaiser- und Reichsidee von 1938, und ausführliche Informationen finden wir wie zu vielen anderen Gebieten des Lebens beim unermüdlichen Sammler Phaidon Kukules.²³ Seine Abhandlung Ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἡ ταφή im vierten Band seines Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς behandelt in einem Unterkapitel auch die τελευταία und ταφή τῶν βυζαντινῶν βασιλέων und enthält alles Wesentliche, wenn auch, wie oft bei Kukules, die zeitlich nicht differenzierte Verwendung des Belegmaterials und die ausgiebige Heranziehung noch dazu viel späterer fiktionaler Literatur, hier des Ἑρωτόκριτος, nicht unproblematisch sind. Das Ritual des ἐπιτάφιος βασιλέων unterscheidet sich aber in jedem Fall nur partiell von dem des gewöhnlichen Sterblichen. Auch am Kaiser werden die üblichen Handlungen des Totenrituals (τὰ ἐξ ἔθους, τὰ συνήθη) vollzogen, und bevor man ihn am Ende ins Grab legt, tritt der Praepositus (sacri cubiculi) an den Leichnam heran, befiehlt ihm "Nimm die Krone von deinem Haupt" und ersetzt sie durch eine schlichte Purpurbinde.²⁴

Doch uns interessieren hier gerade die nicht-zeremoniellen, die individuellen oder zumindest als individuell erscheinenden Züge kaiserlicher Tode. Die Quellenlage ist für die einzelnen Kaiser, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, sehr unterschiedlich. Von manchen Kaisern erfahren wir nichts außer einem lapidaren τελευταία. Bei einem abgedankten Kaiser genügt oft ein Halbsatz, daß er als ιδιώτης noch einige Zeit gelebt habe. Erst recht gilt das beim Übertritt in den Mönchsstand; der bürgerliche Tod enthebt den Berichterstatter der

²⁰ Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De caer.* II 84-85 (cap. 69 [60]) Vogt: Ἐπιτάφιος βασιλέων.

²¹ S. 284-285 Verpeaux: Περὶ πενθίμων βασιλικῶν φορεμάτων.

²² O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, Jena 1938 (Nachdr. Wiesbaden 1969), 155-157.

²³ Ph. Kukules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς*, Bd. 4, Athen 1951, Kapitel Ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἡ ταφή (148-248); dort das Unterkapitel Ἡ τελευταία καὶ ταφή τῶν βυζαντινῶν βασιλέων (227-248).

²⁴ So das Protokoll des ἐπιτάφιος βασιλέων bei Konstantin VII. Porphyrogenetos, vgl. oben Anm. 18. Teile des dort abstrakt zusammengefaßten Zeremoniells finden sich in konkreten Darstellungen von Kaiserbegräbnissen wieder, z.B. in der ausführlichen Schilderung vom Sterben und der Beisetzung Konstantins VII. im 6. Buch von Theophanes Continuatus.

Aufgabe, noch über den physischen Tod zu berichten. Manche Kaiser haben nicht lange genug regiert oder aus anderen Gründen nicht das Glück oder Unglück gehabt, einen Biographen zu finden. Dieses Schicksal teilen auch einige wenige Kaiser, die nach unserem Verständnis und auch nach dem ihrer Zeitgenossen sehr bedeutend waren und die lange regiert haben wie z.B. Justinian I. und Basileios II.²⁵ Gute Aussichten hingegen, auch als Sterbender Beachtung zu finden, hatte derjenige, der in Auseinandersetzungen über den rechten Glauben verstrickt war oder ermordet wurde.

Da es uns bei den Schilderungen der Kaisertode nicht um die Tatsachen als solche geht, sondern um die Vorstellungen, die an den Tod bestimmter Kaiser geknüpft werden, sind auch die abgeleiteten Darstellungen von Interesse, ja oft von größerem Interesse als ihre Quellen, da sie als repräsentativ für einen breiteren Leserkreis und dessen Vorstellungen und Wertungen gelten können.²⁶ Die Zahl der erhaltenen Codices zeigt, daß die großen Chroniken fleißiger gelesen wurden als die historischen Monographien.

Betrachten wir die lange Reihe der über 1100 Jahre und an die 90 Hauptkaiser vom Beginn bis zum Ende des Reiches, so fällt, was das Sterben dieser Kaiser angeht, eine deutliche zeitliche Zäsur ins Auge. Das Eingreifen Gottes in den Lebenslauf der Kaiser, insofern er zur Strafe das Leben verkürzt und einen plötzlichen, gewaltsamen oder den Krankheitsumständen nach schrecklichen und unehrenhaften Tod schickt, ist im wesentlichen auf die Zeit der großen Glaubensauseinandersetzungen bis hin zum Ikonoklasmus

²⁵ Prokop und Agathias reichen nicht bis zum Tod Justinians; Menander Protektor, der Näheres enthalten haben könnte, ist bis auf Bruchstücke verloren. So bleibt für Justinian nur Evagrius. Bei ihm heißt es, Gott habe verhindert, daß Patriarch Anastasios aus Antiocheia verbannt wurde, denn vorher habe Justinian, unsichtbar verwundet, sein irdisches Leben zerstört (ἀοράτως τρωθῆεις τὸν τῆδε κατέστειψε βίον). Demnach resultiert der Tod Justinians nach Evagrius aus der Fürsorge Gottes für Antiocheia, da er nicht wollte, daß Justinian über den Gegner des von ihm vertretenen Apathartodoketismus, eben den Patriarchen Anastasios, obsiegt. Über die näheren Umstände des ἀοράτως τρωθῆναι erfahren wir nichts. Corippus auf der anderen Seite läßt Kallinikos in seiner Adresse an den Nachfolger Justin II. nur davon sprechen, daß Justinian laetus plenusque dierum in die caelestia regna eingegangen sei. Bei Evagrius dagegen liegt in der Formulierung eine eindeutig negative Stellungnahme vor: καταστρέφειν τὸν βίον und ähnliches wird ausschließlich von häretischen Kaisern gebraucht (z.B. Konstantin V., Michael II., Leon V.). Im Falle Justinians schwächen spätere Chroniken die Formulierung zu einem ἐτελεύτησε oder μετέλλαξε τὴν ζωὴν ab. – Noch weniger erfahren wir über die Todesumstände bei Basileios II., als er nach 50 jähriger Regierung im Alter von 72 Jahren starb: μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον heißt es lapidar bei Psellos, αἰφνιδίῳ νόσῳ ληφθεὶς ἀπεβίω bei Skylitzes.

²⁶ F. Graus, Die Herrschersagen des Mittelalters als Geschichtsquelle, in: *Arch. f. Kulturgesch.* 51 (1969) 65-93 hat in Bezug auf Friedrich Barbarossa mit Recht die rhetorische Frage geäußert, was denn wohl letztlich geschichtsträchtiger gewesen sei, seine Taten oder sein legendärer Ruhm als Kyffhäuser.

beschränkt. Auch spätere Darstellungen berichten für diese erste Phase noch von solchem Eingreifen der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit, aber nach der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts bis in die Spätzeit wird ihr Eingreifen nicht mehr angenommen. Der Tod als Strafe wird in diesen Fällen nicht paulinisch als Folge der Erbsünde gesehen, sondern ganz alttestamentarisch als Ausdruck des göttlichen Zorns gegenüber dem Gottlosen. Die "Phantasievorstellung des Sterbens als einer Strafe für Missetaten", die man begangen hat,²⁷ und die damit zusammenhängenden Schuldgefühle dienen zur Festigung des rechten und zur Abwehr des falschen Glaubens. Der Tod des höchsten Repräsentanten gesellschaftlichen Handelns, des Kaisers, ist exemplarisch.

Vergleichbare Strafen haben natürlich auch schon die christenverfolgenden römischen Kaiser vor Konstantin I., die ich hier nicht behandle, getroffen, und die Kontinuität der konkreten Erscheinungsbilder des Todes wird von den Autoren bisweilen selbst betont. So verweist etwa Georgios Monachos,²⁸ indem er aus dem 3. Antirrhethikos des Nikephoros Patriarches zitiert, bei der Schilderung des Todeskampfes Konstantins V. auf illustre Vorgänger: Konstantin wird vom Fieber geschüttelt, er verbrennt innerlich, sieht so schon eine Vorstufe des Höllenfeuers, das ihn erwartet. Und, so fährt Georgios fort, indem er in solchen Genüssen schwelgte, wie wir sie auch für die Christenverfolger Diokletian und Maximian überliefert haben, vernichtet er sein schändliches und übles Leben (καταστρέφει τὸν αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ κίκιστον βίον).

An Fieber zu sterben, ist eine Möglichkeit, bestraft zu werden; eine andere ist das Darmsyndrom *δυσεντερία*, das für das Ableben einiger häretischer und ikonoklastischer Kaiser verantwortlich gemacht wird, z.B. Leons I., Leons III. und des Theophilos. Hier steht das typologische Vorbild des Erzhäretikers Arius im Hintergrund, dessen unehrenhafter Tod mit Genuß als allgemeines Erzählgut in Konstantinopel kolportiert wurde:²⁹ Arius war in den Kaiserpalast bestellt worden und schwur dort auf die Glaubensdefinitionen des Konzils von Nicäa, schwur aber auf das, was geschrieben ist, trickreich, indem er seine eigene Glaubensformel, ebenfalls geschrieben, verborgen unter der Achsel trug. Doch, so steht es bei dem Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates, die Dike folgte auf dem Fuße. Als Arius nämlich mit einer Eskorte das Konstantinsforum erreichte, überkam ihn plötzlich Furcht und eine *γαστρος χαύνωσις*. Man weist ihm den Weg zur öffentlichen Latrine hinter

²⁷ N. Elias, vgl. oben Anm. 3, 59.

²⁸ S. 764, 14 – 765,6 De Boor.

²⁹ Schriftliche Quelle: Sokrates I 74,9 – 75,2 (S. 169-171 Hussey). Vgl. auch Athanasios, *ep. de morte Arii* cap. 3 sowie *ep. ad epp. Aeg. et Libya* cap. 18 jeweils mit Verweis auf Act. 1,18 (Tod des Judas) [Hinweis von K. Metzler, Berlin].

dem Forum, wo nach einer mit Strömen von Blut und dem Ausscheiden von Organen verbundenen Entleerung, deren drastisch geschilderte Einzelheiten ich hier übergehen möchte, Arius stirbt.

Die Todeslegende aber war Allgemeingut der Konstantinopolitaner; alle, die an der Latrine vorbeigingen, behauptet jedenfalls Sokrates, erhoben auch noch zu seiner Zeit, also hundert Jahre nach diesem Ereignis, den Finger als Zeichen, daß sie an den schmachvollen Tod des Arius denken. Ekel und Abscheu sind mit dem Dysenterie-Tod verbunden, der Kaiser wird dadurch erniedrigt, und allen ist natürlich die Vorstellung geläufig, daß die Bauchhöhle der Sitz der Dämonen ist, Gestank ihr Kennzeichen im Gegensatz zum Wohlgeruch des Heiligen.

Besonders drastisch ist der Fall des Herakleios. Er, der monotheistische Häretiker, wird wasserstüchtig, zusätzlich aber, als Strafe für die unerlaubte Heirat mit seiner Nichte Martina, so erzählt man sich, hätten sich auch noch an seinem αἰδοῖον Veränderungen vollzogen, die es notwendig machten, an seinem Unterbauch ein Querbrett anzubringen, damit der Urinstrahl nicht sein Gesicht traf.³⁰

Diese Krankheiten müssen beileibe nicht erfunden sein, insbesondere Dysenterie war bei den aus unserer Sicht mangelhaften hygienischen Verhältnissen sicher nichts Seltenes; bemerkenswert ist jedoch die Verbindung von Kritik an der Glaubensrichtung des Kaisers, Krankheit und den pejorativen Metaphern für "Sterben". Bei Zonnaras³¹ heißt es von Leon III.: "So regierte der elende Leon zum Schaden des Reiches vierundzwanzig Jahre, erkrankte an Dysenterie und erbrach auf erbärmliche Weise seine Seele (ἀθλίως τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξηρεύεατο)."

Den durch solche Krankheiten wie Fieber und Dysenterie herbeigeführten Toden liegt nicht ein festes System zugrunde, nicht alle Dysenteristen sind Häretiker und umgekehrt; was wir beobachten, sind Konvergenzen von dogmatischem (manchmal auch anderem moralischem) Fehlverhalten, gewissen Todesursachen und speziellen Metaphern für "Sterben". Doch nicht nur der Tod durch Krankheit, sondern jeder abrupte Tod, jeder Tod durch Feindes – oder Mörderhand kann bei Bedarf dem Arsenal der strafenden göttlichen Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet werden. Der plötzliche Tod, den sich der moderne Mensch, wohl auch der moderne Christ, eher wünscht, war für das gesamte Mittelalter, in Ost und West, eine Schreckensvorstellung, nahm er dem Menschen doch die Möglichkeit, durch sorgfältige Vorbereitung seine Aussichten auf die ewige Seligkeit zu verbessern.

Das Paradebeispiel für den von Gott gesandten gewaltsamen Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld ist Julian, das "stinkende Schwein", wie ihn Konstantin Manas-

³⁰ Vgl. Ioannes Zonnaras XIV 17,24-27 (III 215,17 – 216,4 Büttner-Wobst).

³¹ XV 4,18 (III 264,11-13 Büttner-Wobst).

ses³² respektlos bezeichnet. Böse Vorzeichen künden seinen Tod an³³ (auch das gehört zum Beweis, daß es sich um ein Strafgericht handelt), sie sind Vorboten der *θεομηρία*,³⁴ des Zorns Gottes bzw. der *θεία δίκη*.³⁵ Während der Schlacht erhebt sich Wind, Wolken verdunkeln die Sonne, Staub wird aufgewirbelt, und da im Dunkel stößt ein Reiter Julian die Lanze durch den Arm in die Seite, niemand weiß, woher der Stoß gekommen ist, ob ein Perser ihn geführt hat oder einer seiner eigenen Leute. Der Heide Libanios, der mit Julian befreundet war, insinuiert, es sei ein Christ gewesen.³⁶ Nach der gängigen Version aber hat Julian sein Blut mit der Hand aufgefangen, es in die Luft gestreut und gerufen "Trink dich satt, Nazarener!"³⁷ bzw. "Du hast gesiegt, Galiläer".³⁸

Kein Häretiker war Nikephoros I., er war durchaus orthodox, zog sich aber durch seine kirchenpolitischen und vor allem ökonomischen Entscheidungen den Zorn, ja Haß der radikalen Mönche im Umfeld des Studiu-Klosters zu. Der Chronist Theophanes behandelt ihn daher nicht anders als einen Häretiker und schildert seinen Tod ganz entsprechend.³⁹ Nikephoros ist wie Julian für ihn *θεόκταντος*,⁴⁰ von Gott getötet. Üble Vor- und Warnzeichen gehen seinem Tod voraus. In der Schlacht gegen die Bulgaren sieht niemand genau, wie er fällt. Krum aber, der Bulgarenkhan, läßt seinen Kopf, nachdem er ihn tagelang ausgestellt hatte, abkochen und einen silbergefäßen Trinkbecher aus ihm fertigen. Noch bei Zonaras⁴¹ lautet das zusammenfassende Urteil bei seinem Tod: *κάκιστος γεγωνῶς ἀπώλετο αἰσχίστα*.

Lebensverkürzend ist der jähe, von Gott zur Strafe gesandte Tod in jedem Fall, doch nicht immer wird dieser Aspekt so deutlich hervorgehoben wie bei Anastasios I. Ihm eröffnet ein Traumgesicht in Gestalt eines göttlich erscheinenden Mannes, der einen offenen Codex hält, daß er ihm 14 Jahre seines Lebens nehme, und er löscht diese 14 in seinem Buch, dem Buch des Lebens. Bei Malalas⁴² gibt der Mann zur Begründung an *διὰ τὴν ἀπ-*

³² V. 2378 Bekker. Ähnlich V. 2407 *χοῖρος πηλόφυρτος*.

³³ Vgl. die Schilderungen bei Sozomenos VII 2,3 – 2,9 (S. 236,26 – 238,4 Bidez-Hansen) und Theophanes Conf., S. 53,4-11 De Boor.

³⁴ Sozomenos, 236,23-24 Bidez-Hansen.

³⁵ Theoph. Conf. 53,2 De Boor.

³⁶ Or. 18, 274 sq., zitiert von Sozomenos VI 1,15-16 (S. 236,4-14 Bidez-Hansen).

³⁷ Ioannes Zoanaras XIII 13, 21 (S. 68, 3 Büttner-Wobst).

³⁸ Georgios Monachos, S. 545,118 De Boor; Theodoret, S. 205, 1 Parmentier.

³⁹ Theoph. Conf., S. 488,13 sqq. De Boor.

⁴⁰ Theoph. Conf. S. 489,17 De Boor. Dasselbe von Julian S. 53,3.

⁴¹ XV 16,1 (S. 311,11 Büttner-Wobst).

⁴² S. 408,16 Dindorf (ebenso Chron. Pasch., S. 610,14 Dindorf).

ληστίαν σου – wegen deiner Unersättlichkeit; bei Späteren⁴³ wurde daraus – schließlich war Anastasios Monophysit – διὰ τὴν κακοπιστίαν σου – wegen deines falschen Glaubens. Anastasios wurde vom Blitz erschlagen oder stirbt jedenfalls plötzlich während eines Gewitters. Der Abzug der Lebensjahre⁴⁴ ist etwas verwunderlich, denn Anastasios starb im Alter von 88, nach anderer Quelle von 90 Jahren.

Schreckliche Krankheit, gewaltsamer Tod, Todeskampf und schließliches Erbrechen der Seele stehen als düstere Bilder im Kontrast zum idealen Tod, den der erste der christlichen Kaiser von Byzanz, Konstantin, gestorben ist. Die Darstellung seines Propagandisten Eusebios hat das Bild für die nachfolgende Zeit entscheidend geprägt; noch heute feiert die Orthodoxie am 21. Mai jeden Jahres Konstantin und seine Mutter Eleni als Heilige.⁴⁵

Die hagiographische Tendenz, die in der Vita Constantini des Eusebios allgemein zutagelegt, kommt auch in der Schilderung seines Todes⁴⁶ klar zum Ausdruck. Hier gibt es keine drohenden Vorzeichen, kein Fieber, nichts Ekles, kein Aufbäumen gegen den Tod, keinen Todeskampf, kein gewaltsames Entweichen der Seele.

Schon lange vor seinem Tod – das behauptet jedenfalls Eusebios – hatte Konstantin zu Ehren der Apostel eine Kirche bauen lassen und seine Grabstätte dort εἰς δέοντα καιρὸν inmitten der zwölf Apostel-Kenotaphe vorbereitet. Nachdem der Kaiser das Osterfest gefeiert hat, läßt ihn Gott nach den Worten des Eusebios "zur rechten Zeit des göttlichen Übergangs zum Besseren teilhaftig werden".⁴⁷ Ein erstes Krankheitszeichen macht sich bemerkbar (ἀνωμαλία τοῦ σώματος); der Kaiser versucht zunächst, sein Leiden durch Bäder in Helenopolis in Bithynien zu lindern. Er betet dort zu Gott, wird seines bevorstehenden Todes eingedenk, ersehnt sich die Reinigung von den Sünden, läßt sich in Nikomedeia taufen und strebt nun selbst danach, nur noch in Weiß, nicht mehr in Purpur gekleidet, möglichst bald die Reise zu Gott anzutreten, was sich am Pfingstag zur Mittagsstunde erfüllt: πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀνελαμβάνετο.⁴⁸ Den Sterblichen läßt er das zurück, was

⁴³ Theoph. Conf., S. 163,31 sqq. De Boor; Ioannes Zonaras XIV 4,22 (S. 143,6-7 Büttner-Wobst).

⁴⁴ So ausdrücklich Zonaras (S. 143,7): ἀπολείφω τῆς ζωῆς σου ἕτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

⁴⁵ Zum Kult vgl. W. Kaegi, Vom Nachleben Constantins, in: *Schweizer. Zeitschr. f. Gesch.* 8 (1958) 289-326.

⁴⁶ Eusebios, VC 60 sqq.

⁴⁷ VC 60,5 (S. 145,12-13 Winkelmann): κατὰ καιρὸν εὐκαιρον θείας ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβάσεως αὐτὸν ἤξιον. Von Anfang an ist klar, daß wir uns hier auf der Skala der Todesarten auch sprachlich am entgegengesetzten Ende vom plötzlichen Tod dessen befinden, der unter Qualen seine Seele erbricht.

⁴⁸ VC S. 147,6 Winkelmann.

ihnen verwandt (d.h. sterblich) ist, seine gottliebende und gottgeliebte Geistseele aber verbindet er mit seinem Gott.

Es folgen bei Eusebios in breiter Schilderung Klagen und Trauer des Gefolges, der hohen Militärs und der Bevölkerung, die Überführung nach Konstantinopel in goldenem Sarg – die notwendigen Konservierungsmaßnahmen an der Leiche werden taktvoll nicht erwähnt –, Aufbahrung im Palast, Defilé von Militär, Senat und Volk, Trauer – und Verehrungsbekundungen in Konstantinopel, Grablegung durch Sohn Konstantios in der Apostelkirche und allgemeine Verehrung nach dem Tode. Diese Darstellung und damit das Bild des Kaisers als Heiligem – es fehlen nur noch die Wunder – bestimmt weitgehend die spätere Tradition; die fehlenden Wunder werden alsbald nachgeliefert, Theodoret von Kyrrhos⁴⁹ berichtet von solchen an Grab und Statue Konstantins.

Am heiligen Konstantin wird auch in der späteren Tradition nicht mehr gezweifelt; man versucht höchstens, ihn vom halben Häretiker Eusebios abzukoppeln durch Aufnahme der Silvesterlegende mit der frühen Taufe in Rom. Der sprachliche Tenor bleibt dem Heiligen angemessen; bei Zonaras⁵⁰ etwa lautet nach der Erwähnung eines Giftmordgerichtes die Formulierung *ὁ τρισόλβιος βασιλεύς ἐκείνος πρὸς τὰς αἰωνίους μετετέθη σκηνάς*.

Kein späterer byzantinischer Kaiser ist so gezielt auch in der Schilderung seines Todes zum Heiligen stilisiert worden. Eirenes Tod (Gedenktag am 9. August) wird in den historischen Berichten nur erwähnt⁵¹ (sie starb in der Verbannung auf Mytilene). Die Krankheit Ioannes III. Dukas Vatatzes (Gedenktag am 4. November⁵²) schildert Georgios Akropolites im Geschichtswerk lang und breit, ohne daß die wirkende Gnade Gottes in ihr besonders erkennbar wäre.

In seinem Epitaphios auf den Kaiser findet sich keine Schilderung, wohl aber werden abstrakt die Hauptpunkte des idealen Kaisertodes genannt: *πλήρη γενέσθαι χρυστῶν ἡμερῶν*, also ein langes moralisch einwandfreies Leben geführt zu haben, *μὴ βιασθῆναι τὴν διάζευξιν τῆς ψυχῆς*, keine Gewalt bei der Trennung von Körper und Seele, vielmehr soll ihre *ἀρμονία* auf natürliche Weise gelöst werden, und die Übergabe der Herrschaft an einen dem Vater ebenbürtigen Sohn.

Aber auch ohne Eintragung in ein Menologion und zumindest lokalen Kult werden einzelnen Kaisern im Tode Züge zudedacht, die sie dem Heili-

⁴⁹ *Kirchengeschichte* I 34,3 (S. 90,10-13 Parmentier).

⁵⁰ XIII 5,1 (S. 26,7-8 Büttner-Wobst).

⁵¹ Z.B. Theoph. Conf., S. 480,7-9 De Boor; Ioannes Zonaras XV 14,12 (S. 304,12-13 Büttner-Wobst).

⁵² Zu ihm vgl. A. Heisenberg, Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige, in: *BZ* 14 (1905) 160-233.

gen-Typus nähern: In der Beschreibung des Todes Konstantins VII. im 6. Buch des Theophanes Continuatus stehen die Augusta Eleni, die Kinder und einige Hofbeamte am Sterbebett des Kaisers und benetzen ihn mit, wie es heißt, "nutzlosen" Tränen. Hier klingt die alte Kritik der Kirchenväter an ihrer Meinung nach exzessiver Trauer bei einem im christlichen Sinn gar nicht so traurigen Ereignis durch. Dann erscheinen Chöre von Heiligen und Gerechten, Mönchen, Märtyrern und Hierarchen, und der Kaiser legt sein *πανάγιον πνεῦμα* in die Hände der Engel. Die Metaphern für den Akt des Sterbens bei den eher dem Typus des Heiligen zuzurechnenden Toden lauten entsprechend oft *μεταλλάττειν τὴν ζωὴν, μεθίστασθαι τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς, κοιμάσθαι ἐν κυρίῳ oder ἐν εἰρήνῃ, μεταναστεύειν γῆθεν* und ähnlich.

Die Todesumstände des Kaisers als Ausdruck göttlicher Rache oder als Zeichen besonderer göttlicher Huld sind kennzeichnend für das erste halbe Jahrtausend des Reiches. Seit der Makedonischen Dynastie spielt das unmittelbare Eingreifen Gottes hingegen nur noch selten eine Rolle. Nicht daß es jetzt keine gewaltsamen und furchtbaren Tode mehr zu beschreiben oder andererseits keine Kaiser mehr gäbe, die man preisen möchte und bei denen es nahe läge, ihnen einen Heiligen-Tod zu attestieren, im Gegenteil. Es gibt entsetzliche Darstellungen brutalen Mordens (man denke an den Tod des Nikephoros Phokas bei Leon Diakonos⁵³), ausführliche Beschreibungen der Krankheitssymptome auf den Tod leidender Kaiser (man denke an Romanos III. Argyros in der Darstellung des Michael Psellos⁵⁴), und auf der anderen Seite gibt es verehrte Gestalten wie Manuel II. Palaiologos in der Wertung des Michael Dukas.⁵⁵ Ihr Tod aber wird nicht unter den Aspekten Strafe – Belohnung gesehen, sondern als Tod von leidenden Menschen beschrieben. Auch Kaiser, die einen relativ friedlichen Tod nach Krankheit sterben, werden nicht idealisiert, sondern in menschlichen Porträts in einer manchmal fast bürgerlichen Intimität gezeigt. Die Art und Weise, wie sie sterben, entspricht bisweilen gerade nicht dem vergangenen Leben; so konstatiert Ioannes Zonaras beim Tode des Alexios I. Komnenos, er habe eine glückliche Regierungszeit gehabt, aber einen unglücklichen Tod, und er schließt daran folgende herodoteisch anmutende Überlegung an: "So ist nichts von allem Menschlichen bleibend und fest, nichts ist vertrauenswürdig und gewiß, sondern alles geht dahin, leichter umgedreht und umgestürzt als ein Würfel".⁵⁶

⁵³ Leon Diakonos V 7-8 (S. 87,14 – 89,15 HASE). Schauerlich auch die Darstellung des Todes Andronikos' I. bei Niketas Choniates, S. 349,93 – 351,55 Van Dieten.

⁵⁴ Chronographia III 24-26 (I 106-112 Impellizzeri).

⁵⁵ S. 188,9-11 Bekker.

⁵⁶ Ioannes Zonaras XVIII 29,14 (S. 765,2-4 Büttner-Wobst).

Nicht daß etwa die Theodizee nicht mehr über das Arsenal der schlimmen Tode verfügte (Georgios Akropolites zählt sie noch einmal auf: Schlimme Krankheit mit langem Siechtum, plötzlicher Tod bei scheinbarer Gesundheit, Vereinzelung in der Schlacht, dem Pfeilschuß eines wenig heldenhaften Gegners ausgesetzt), aber mit diesen Strafen werden Rebellen abstrakt bedroht, mehr nicht: Kaiser sterben den konkreten Tod des Mitmenschen. Ihre menschliche Schwäche kommt im Tode verstärkt zum Ausdruck. Nachdem Niketas Choniates das Sterben Manuels I. dargestellt hat, wie er den nahenden Tod zuerst nicht wahrhaben will, schließlich aber der Erkenntnis nicht mehr ausweichen kann und sich voller Kummer mit der Hand auf den Schenkel schlägt, dann nach dem Mönchsgewand verlangt, stirbt und nun ausgestreckt im Tode daliegt, da, so fährt er fort,⁵⁷ "dachten alle an die menschliche Schwäche und die Nutzlosigkeit des Körpers im Tode, der uns wie eine Muschelschale umschließt". Diese neue Intimität, die insbesondere für die Komnenen- und Palaiologenzeit feststellbar ist, soll im folgenden an drei Beschreibungen von Kaisertoden gezeigt werden, dem Tod Michaels VII. Palaiologos bei Pachymeres,⁵⁸ dem Tod Andronikos II. Palaiologos bei Gregoras⁵⁹ und dem Tod Alexios I. Komnenos bei Anna Komnene.⁶⁰

Kaiser Michael VII. war schon auf dem Sommerfeldzug am Sangarios erkrankt, trotzdem brach er im Herbst 1282 noch einmal zu einer Kampagne auf. Auf dieser verschlimmerte sich seine Krankheit, er erreichte mit Mühe den Ort Ἀλλαγή, wo ihm auch bestimmt war, τὸ ζῆν μεταλλάττειν. Am entscheidenden Tag dann, dem Todestag, wagte es der kaiserliche Hofarzt Kabasilas nicht, dem Kranken das Urteil der Ärzte mitzuteilen, denn, so fügt Pachymeres hinzu, "die Kranken halten eine solche Mitteilung für einen Teil des Todes, so als ob das Reden darüber die Ursache für das Geschehen sei". Da er den Kaiser aber nicht ohne das letzte Abendmahl sterben lassen will, verhält er sich wie ein moderner Krankenhausarzt und spricht zunächst mit dem Sohn, Andronikos. Aber auch dieser wagt es nicht, seinem Vater die Wahrheit zu sagen, sondern beauftragt heimlich einen Priester, das Abendmahl vorzubereiten. Dann spielt sich fast eine Genreszene ab. Der Priester betritt im Ornat und mit den Abendmahlsgaben das Krankenzimmer, aber der Kaiser bemerkt ihn nicht, da er zur Wand gedreht liegt. Der Priester wartet schweigend, bis sich der Kaiser zufällig umwendet. Irgendwann tut der Kaiser das auch, erfaßt die Situation und ruft in unwilligem Erstaunen: "Was soll das?" τί τοῦτο; Und nun redet auch der Priester um den Tod herum, man

⁵⁷ S. 222,62-64 Van Dieten.

⁵⁸ VI 36 (II 663,17 – 667,6 Failler).

⁵⁹ *Historiae* IX 14 (I 461,23 – 463,2 Schopen).

⁶⁰ *Alexias* XV 11-24 (S. 493-505 Reinsch-Kambylis).

habe für den Kaiser gebetet, und er bringe ihm die Abendmahlsgaben, damit sie der Gesundheit des Kranken förderlich seien. Da ermannt sich der Kaiser, erhebt sich von seinem Bett, verlangt nach einem Mönchsgürtel, liest das Glaubensbekenntnis, betet, nimmt das Abendmahl, fällt wieder aufs Bett und stirbt. Bemerkenswert, mit welcher Intimität und welcher menschlicher Nähe das zögerliche Verhalten der Umgebung des Kaisers und dessen anfängliche Abwehrhaltung dargestellt werden.

Auf andere Weise menschlich und nah ist die Schilderung vom Tode Andronikos II. bei Gregoras. Die konkreten Umstände – Andronikos stirbt unerwartet (er hatte seine Unterhaltung mit dem Autor und einigen anderen nur unterbrochen, die Fortsetzung auf den kommenden Abend verschoben), und er stirbt an Diarrhoe, einsam und ohne Beistand – diese konkreten Umstände hätten sich bei anderer Haltung des Autors zu seinem Gegenstand trefflich dazu geeignet, das Schreckensszenario eines göttlichen Strafgerichts zu zeichnen. Das tut Gregoras, der Freund des Kaisers, natürlich nicht, aber er verschweigt auch nicht, was er leicht hätte tun können, die näheren Umstände des Todes, die in diesem Fall nicht als schrecklich und entehrend, sondern eher als mitleiderregend dargestellt werden. Der Kaiser speist allein zur Nacht, weil Fastenzeit ist, sind es Muscheln. Um sie zu verdauen, so Gregoras, hätte der Kaiser unvermischten Wein trinken sollen, er aber trank kaltes Wasser. Die Folge waren schwere Magen- und Herzbeschwerden, die sofort einsetzten, dann Atemnot. Andronikos sieht seinen Tod kommen; anders als in der oben geschilderten Szene vom Tod seines Vaters Michael, hätte er gern einen Priester bei sich gehabt, doch der alte, von seinem Enkel entmachtete Mann hat keinen Priester um sich im Palast, der ihm das Abendmahl spenden könnte. So nimmt er in seiner Not statt des Leibes Jesu ein Bild der Panhagia in den Mund und stirbt auf dem Bett. Aber, so fügt Gregoras hinzu, das war nicht das eigentliche Bett, sondern ein Notbett unmittelbar neben der Toilette, denn für den alten Kaiser in seiner Schwäche und körperlichen Not war der längere Weg zu dem anderen Bett zu weit. Auch hier stehen wir, wie mir scheint, vor der Schilderung eines in diesem Fall gerade in seiner privaten Frömmigkeit und körperlichen Schwäche menschlich nahen Kaisers in der Todesstunde.

Noch eine andere Dimension der Darstellung, die des Diesseitig-Tragischen, bietet die Beschreibung des Todes des Alexios Komnenos durch seine Tochter Anna. Sie macht insgesamt auf uns einen erstaunlich modernen Eindruck. Auch Alexios stirbt in Annas Darstellung nicht als Kaiser, als öffentliche Person, sondern sehr privat, als leidender, mit dem Tode ringender Mensch, als überaus geliebter Vater und Gatte, mit dessen Schmerzen und Todesqual die Tochter so stark mitempfindet, daß sie am Ende ihres Berichts die Frage stellt: "Warum lebe ich noch, da er tot ist? Warum bin ich nicht mit

ihm gestorben?" Diese topische Frage der Monodie,⁶¹ die uralte Frage der Trauernden beim Tod eines geliebten Menschen wäre angemessen für die Gattin,⁶² bei der Tochter, die nach mehr als dreißig Jahren als Frau von 65 Jahren den Tod ihres Vaters beschreibt, erstaunt, ja befremdet sie. Der Tod wird hier nicht als ein natürliches, unausweichliches und allen gemeinsames Schicksal empfunden und hingenommen, sondern als Tragödie, als persönliche, individuelle Katastrophe, als das größte Leid, welches den Menschen treffen und welches auch die Zeit nicht lindern kann. Ganz und gar unchristlich lehnt sich Anna hier gegen das Unvermeidliche auf (sie vergleicht sich mit Niobe, zitiert Euripides).

Diese ungewöhnlich starke gefühlsmäßige Identifizierung der Tochter mit dem Vater läßt die Historikerin, am Schluß ihres Werkes, in der Darstellung der letzten Tage des Alexios, aus den Grenzen des Genos "Geschichtsschreibung" ausbrechen. Ganz bewußt und ausdrücklich überschreitet sie bei der Darstellung des Todes von Alexios die Grenzen, die ihr als Historikerin gesetzt sind (ιστορεῖν ἄμα καὶ τραγωδεῖν will sie und sagt klar: θεσμούς ἱστορίας ὑπερεκπίπτειν ἔρχομαι). Sie macht sich endgültig frei von den Zwängen distanzierter Objektivität und stellt die Tragödie ihres Lebens dar. In diesem Drama sind wie auf einer Bühne vor allem zwei Personen beleuchtet, der Kranke und Sterbende auf seinem Lager und seine Gattin; die Töchter, Anna selbst und ihre Schwestern, und die übrigen Beteiligten, Ärzte und Diener, bleiben pflegend, ratend und beobachtend im Hintergrund. Alles, was die Funktion des Kaisers betrifft, sein Nachfolger, die Lage des Reiches, die Reaktion der Stadt etc. bleibt so gut wie ausgeblendet. Der Thronerbe, Annas Bruder Ioannes, wird nur ein einziges Mal gegen Ende kurz erwähnt, ohne Namensnennung. Ebenso wird die Reaktion der Stadt auf die Nachricht vom Sterben des Kaisers nur sehr beiläufig angeführt.

Der Tod des Alexios hat nichts Ungewöhnliches oder Dramatisches an sich. Alexios stirbt weder überraschend noch besonders frühzeitig (er ist immerhin über sechzig Jahre alt geworden), sondern so wie die meisten Menschen sterben: an einer Krankheit. Trotz ihrer guten medizinischen Kenntnisse und trotz der zahlreichen zu Rate gezogenen Ärzte weiß Anna diese Krankheit und ihre Ursache nicht genau zu benennen: Ihr Hauptsymptom ist Atemnot, welche schließlich zum Erstickungstod führt. Mit geradezu dokumentarischer Genauigkeit notiert Anna jedes einzelne Symptom und den

⁶¹ Vgl. die Monodie des Staphidakes auf Michael IX.: A. Meschini, *La monodia di Stafidakis* (Univ. di Padova. Istituto di studi biz. e neogr. Quaderni 8), Padova 1974, S. 15,5-7: οὐκ οἶδα πῶς οὐ συνεξεπνεύσαμεν τῷ βασιλέων ἄκρῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκπνέοντι.

⁶² Vgl. eben diesen Fall bei Theod. Prodr., *Ged.* XLV 349-350: τοῦ γὰρ μόνην ζῆν ἀθλίως καὶ σχετλίως / τὸ συνθανεῖν σοι τιμώτερον κρίνω.

Verlauf der Krankheit, welcher Teil des Körpers affiziert, welche seiner Funktionen betroffen sind. Man hat den Eindruck, daß sich darin nicht so sehr das medizinische Interesse der Augenzeugin äußert, sondern daß sich die liebende Tochter durch dieses nüchterne sachverständige Beobachten Distanz verschaffen will, um wenigstens rational zu erfassen, was sie emotional nicht fassen kann. Aus demselben Grund beschreibt sie nicht so sehr die eigene Rolle am Kranken – und Sterbebett, sondern rückt vielmehr die ihrer Mutter in den Vordergrund.

Anna zeichnet die Kaiserin Irene als tragische Figur, die an ihrem übergroßen Schmerz, an ihrem Mitleiden mit dem Gatten zerbricht, die ihre Haltung und ihre Würde verliert und sich selbst aufgibt, noch ehe der Sterbende seinen letzten Atemzug getan hat, so daß dieser sie ermahnt, seinen Tod nicht vorwegzunehmen. Diese so überaus fromme Christin, die, als die Ärzte versagen, im ganzen Land zu Bittgebeten für Alexios auffordert, kann den Tod ihres Gatten nicht hinnehmen, findet keinerlei Trost und Halt in ihrem Glauben, sondern verzweifelt und gibt ihren Gefühlen in archaischer Weise Ausdruck.

Überhaupt findet sich in der gesamten Darstellung von Alexios' Tod keinerlei Hinweis auf das Jenseits, keinerlei auf dem christlichen Glauben basierender Trost, sondern hier ist ausschließlich Raum für den ganz menschlichen diesseitigen Schmerz und untröstliche Verzweiflung. Das erstaunt, denn Anna wird nicht müde, die große Frömmigkeit und gläubige Ergebenheit ihres Vaters und ihrer Mutter in allen Lebenssituationen zu betonen. Hier in der Sterbeszene nichts davon: Weder ist von einem Priester die Rede, der dem Sterbenden beisteht und ihm das Abendmahl gibt, noch findet sich irgendein Zeichen oder Wort bei Alexios selbst oder bei Irene oder Anna, welches auf Trost durch den christlichen Glauben hindeutet (etwa auf den Gedanken an ein Wiedersehen im Jenseits). Ganz archaisch und ganz modern ist bei Anna im Augenblick des Todes der Mensch allein auf sich gestellt, von allem entkleidet, nicht mehr Kaiser, nur noch Mensch. Am deutlichsten kommt dies in den Worten der Kaiserin zum Ausdruck, die noch vor den letzten Atemzügen des Kaisers ausruft: "Mag alles dahinfahren, Kaiserkrone und Kaiserherrschaft, Reichtümer und alle Macht, Throne und Imperien", und dann beginnt sie die Totenklage.⁶³

Mit Blick auf solche und ähnliche Texte wird man auch von byzantinischer Seite der Kritik etwa von Norbert Elias⁶⁴ oder Arno Borst⁶⁵ an der

⁶³ S. 501, 57-59 Reinsch-Kambylis: "ἐρρίφθω τὰ πάντα", εἰπούσα μετὰ μακροῦ κωκυτοῦ, "καὶ διάδημα καὶ βασιλεία καὶ ἐξουσία καὶ κράτος ἅπαν καὶ θρόνος τὲ καὶ ἀρχαί" γοερῶς κατῆρχε τῆς θρηνησίδας.

⁶⁴ (wie oben Anm. 3), S. 23-29. Elias kritisiert mit Recht das Verfahren von Ariès, Idealisierungen der fiktionalen Literatur als Beschreibungen gesellschaftlicher Realität zu werten und die

Behauptung von Philippe Ariès beipflichten, wir hätten es bis in die Neuzeit hinein generell mit einem "gezähmten" Tod zu tun, zur Mentalität des mittelalterlichen Menschen gehöre es, mit Gelassenheit und Ruhe zu sterben.

Zum Schluss möchte ich einen Blick auf den Tod des letzten byzantinischen Kaisers werfen, der einen für sein Amt sehr untypischen Tod gestorben ist, nämlich den auf dem Schlachtfeld. Überhaupt ist der gewaltsame Tod auf dem byzantinischen Kaiserthron vor allem in der Spätzeit nicht ganz so häufig, wie ihn die Kolportagevorstellung von Byzanz sich ausmalt. Der letzte gewaltsam zu Tode gebrachte Kaiser vor Konstantin XI. war der in den Wirren der lateinischen Eroberung der Hauptstadt ermordete Alexios V. Murtzuphlos, und das war immerhin 250 Jahre her.

Von Konstantins Tod berichten, mehr oder weniger ausführlich und phantasievoll, viele zeitgenössische und spätere Quellen.⁶⁶ Als allgemein akzeptierte Version kann etwa gelten, was Franz Babinger in seinem in breiteren Leserschichten und vielen Sprachen erfolgreichen Buch "Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit" wie folgt formuliert hat: "Kaiser Konstantin stürzte sich, als er vernahm, daß das Panier der Türken auf den Mauern wehe, mit seinen Getreuen ins dichteste Schlachtgetümmel, machte alles, was er erreichen konnte, mit seinem Schwert nieder und hielt, verwundet, fast allein noch eine Weile den aussichtslosen Kampf aus. Niemand hörte mehr auf seine Worte. Alles war schon rettungslos verloren ... Als er erkannte, daß gegen die Übermacht des Gegners weiterer Widerstand unmöglich sei, warf er sich den andringenden Osmanen entgegen. Von den Seinigen verlassen, brach er in die Worte aus: "Ist denn kein Christ da, der mir den Kopf nehme?" Rief's und fiel unter den Schwertstreichen zweier Türken, deren einer ihm ins Gesicht, deren anderer vom Rücken auf ihn einhieb. So endete der Letzte der Kaiser von Byzanz, kämpfend und wie ein einfacher Krieger fechtend."⁶⁷

Babinger stützt sich in den wesentlichen Punkten, auch bei den *ultima verba*, auf den Bericht des Dukas.⁶⁸ Die anderen griechischen Berichterstatter der Halosis – die ebensowenig Augenzeugen sind wie Dukas – stimmen

im Mittelalter zweifellos vorhandene brutale Wirklichkeit des Todes einerseits und dazu noch die Angst vor den Jenseitsstrafen andererseits außer Acht zu lassen.

⁶⁵ A. Borst, Zwei mittelalterliche Sterbefälle, in: *Merkur* 34 (1980) 1081-1098.

⁶⁶ Zusammengestellt, teilweise übersetzt und kommentiert von A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli. I: Le testimonianze dei contemporanei. II: L'eco nel mondo*, Verona 1976. A. Pertusi, *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli, edizione postuma a cura di A. Carile*, Bologna 1983. Zuletzt zum Thema D. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor. The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last Emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge 1992 (mit ausführlicher Bibliographie), dort S. 74-108.

⁶⁷ München 1953, S. 100.

⁶⁸ S. 286,23 – 287,6 Bekker (= S. 361,1-7 Greco).

damit generell überein, nur bei den letzten Worten gibt es Divergenzen: Kritobulos⁶⁹ berichtet, Konstantin sei im Kampfgewühl vor der Hauptmauer gefallen, seine letzten Worte lauteten: "Die Stadt wird erobert und ich lebe noch?" Bei Laonikos Chalkokondyles⁷⁰ lauten diese "Auf, ihr Männer, auf diese Barbaren hier los!" Dann kann bei ihm der Kaiser die Stellung nicht mehr halten, er wird verfolgt, an der Schulter verwundet und stirbt. Sphrantzes, der als Augenzeuge in Frage gekommen wäre, war nach eigener Bekundung nicht an der Seite Konstantins;⁷¹ Leonardo von Chios⁷² berichtet, der Kaiser sei im Gedränge am Tor erdrückt worden. Die letzten Worte stimmen dem Sinn, nicht dem genauen Wortlaut nach, mit Dukas überein.

Bei heroischen letzten Worten ist es generell gut, an den General Cambronne in der Schlacht bei Waterloo zu denken, dessen berühmtes "Merde" in der heroisierenden Tradition zu dem Ruf wurde: "Die Garde stirbt, und sie ergibt sich nicht." Doch die Verzweiflungstat Kaiser Konstantins, verzweifelt deshalb, weil der Tod gesucht wird, ein Weiterleben in der schwärzesten Stunde des Reiches gar nicht mehr erstrebenswert scheint, diese Verzweiflungstat könnte sich so wirklich zugetragen haben. Allerdings bleiben einige Zweifel, ob nicht bereits hier heroisierende Legendenbildung am Werke war.

In seiner Rede vor König Alfonso I. von Aragon am 25. Januar 1454 in Neapel berichtet Nikolaos Sekundinos,⁷³ Konstantin habe sich in den Kampf gestürzt, nachdem er sich der kaiserlichen Insignien entledigt hatte, damit ihn die Feinde nicht erkennen, indem er so tat, als sei er ein einfacher Soldat (*imperatoris insignibus depositis et abiectis, ne hostibus notus fieret, privatum se gerens*). Die Schwierigkeit, den toten Kaiser zu identifizieren, von welcher andere Quellen berichten, könnte mit dem Wegwerfen der Insignien (also Helm, Purpurmantel und Purpurstiefel) zu tun haben. Aber warum sollte der Kaiser seine Insignien wegwerfen, bevor er den Tod suchte? Wollte er, daß sein Leichnam unerkannt bleibt? Und wie wahrscheinlich wäre eine solche Möglichkeit, würde es doch genügend Gefangene geben, die ihn auch ohne Insignien identifizieren könnten? Wäre das Ablegen der auffälligen Insignien nicht plausibler, wenn der Kaiser versucht hätte, da alles verloren war, sich unerkannt durchzuschlagen, eventuell ein Schiff zu erreichen? Es gibt eine nicht leichthin abzutuernde Quelle, die ebendies behauptet. Tursun Beg, bei der Eroberung Konstantinopels hoher Würdenträger im Stabe Mehmeds II. hat seine Geschichte des Eroberers (Tarihî Abul-Fatih) an seinem Alterssitz

⁶⁹ S. 70,25-26; 82,1-2 Reinsch.

⁷⁰ II 159,21-22 Darkó.

⁷¹ S. 134,4-5 Maisano.

⁷² Pertusi (wie oben Anm. 66) I 162,445 – 164,462.

⁷³ Pertusi (wie oben Anm. 66) II 136,110-123.

Bursa im Jahre 1488 geschrieben. Dort berichtet er,⁷⁴ der Kaiser habe versucht, nachdem die Janitscharen die Hauptmauer erstürmt hatten, zum Goldenen Horn zu fliehen, um auf einem Schiff zu entkommen, traf jedoch auf ein türkisches Kontingent; es kam zu einem heftigen Kampf, in dessen Verlauf er getötet wurde.

Einen Reflex dieser Version haben wir möglicherweise in Darstellungen zu sehen, die den Kaiser nicht sterben, sondern auf einem Schiff entkommen lassen. Es ist klar, daß wir uns hier im Reich der Phantasie befinden, denn daß Konstantin in Konstantinopel im Kampf gefallen ist, daß sein Kopf zu Mehmed gebracht worden ist, darüber gibt es keinen Zweifel. Ob sein Tod allerdings so heroisch–pessimistisch war, wie allgemein akzeptiert, ist nicht so sicher; auf jeden Fall aber paßt die heroisierende Version besser zum Märtyrer, als welcher Konstantin alsbald bezeichnet wurde. In einer Chronik, die in mehr als 18 Handschriften (die früheste noch aus dem 15. Jahrhundert) überliefert ist, heißt es: "und er erwarb sich so die Krone des Martyriums" (καὶ ἐκομίσατο τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον).⁷⁵

Beim unkenntlichen und schwer auffindbaren (vielleicht ja auch gar nicht wirklich aufgefundenen) Leichnam aber konnte die weitere Legendenbildung ansetzen, welche nunmehr überirdische Mächte ins Geschehen um den Tod des Kaisers eingreifen läßt. So übernimmt etwa in einer Erzählung die Panhagia die kaiserlichen Insignien aus seiner Hand zur Aufbewahrung, bevor er in die Schlacht zieht. Doch will ich hier nur auf die bekannteste dieser Legenden um den Tod Konstantins eingehen, die über Jahrhunderte dort tradiert wird, wo allgemeine Geschichtsbilder propagiert werden, in mündlicher Erzähltradition und vor allem in den Lesebüchern der Schulen.

Diese Legende lautet folgendermaßen:⁷⁶ Als die Türken in Konstantinopel eindringen, ritt unser Kaiser schnell dorthin, um sie daran zu hindern. Es waren Tausende von Türken, sie umzingelten ihn, er aber kämpfte unverdrossen mit seinem Schwert. Da wurde sein Pferd tödlich getroffen, und der Kaiser stürzte zu Boden. Als gerade ein Schwarzer das Schwert hob, um dem Kaiser den Todesstreich zu geben, kam ein Engel des Herrn, hob ihn auf und brachte ihn in eine Höhle tief unten in der Erde in der Nähe des Goldenen Tores. Dort wartet jetzt der versteinerte Kaiser (ὁ μαρμαρωμένος βασιλιάς) auf die Stunde, wo der Engel zurückkehrt und ihn holt. Die Türken wissen

⁷⁴ Italienische Übersetzung bei Pertusi (wie oben Anm. 66) I 324,543 – 325,582 mit Kommentar Anm. 59 (S. 463-465).

⁷⁵ Sp. Lampros, in: *NE* 5 (1908) 262.

⁷⁶ Nach der Fassung bei N. Polites, *Μελέται περὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἡλλενικοῦ λαοῦ. Παραδόσεις*, A', Athen 1904, 22 Nr. 33 mit Kommentar B', 658 ff. Zum ganzen Komplex jetzt auch Nicol (wie oben Anm. 65), 101-108.

das zwar, können aber die Höhle nicht finden; sie haben deshalb das Goldene Tor zugemauert, weil sie wissen, daß hier der Kaiser in die Stadt eindringen und sie zurückerobert wird. Eines Tages wird nach dem Willen Gottes der Engel wieder in die Höhle hinabsteigen, den Kaiser aus der Versteinierung lösen und ihm das Schwert, das er in der Schlacht getragen hat, wieder in die Hand geben. Der Kaiser wird sich erheben, durch das Goldene Tor in die Stadt einziehen und mit seinem Heer die Türken verjagen bis hin zum Roten Apfelbaum (der Κόκκινη Μηλιά).

Ein Blick in Stith Thompsons "Motif-Index of Folk Literature"⁷⁷ macht klar, daß es sich hierbei um eine Variante des Motivs "King asleep in mountain" handelt, das wir in keltischen, angelsächsischen, armenischen, persischen, indischen und weiteren Ausformungen antreffen, eine Untergruppe des sogenannten "magischen Schlafs". In der deutschen Geschichte hat dieses Motiv in Form der Kyffhäuser-Sage eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt; Klaus Schreiner hat deren Entwicklung vom 13. bis ans Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts untersucht.⁷⁸

Bei näherer Betrachtung ergeben sich vor allem bei der modernen politischen Indienstnahme der Sage erstaunliche Parallelen zwischen dem Mythos um Friedrich II., seit dem 16. Jahrhundert übergegangen auf den deutschen Friedrich I. Barbarossa und Konstantin XI. Palaiologos. Beide Legenden sind schon kurz nach dem Tod der betreffenden Kaiser entstanden; die ungewöhnlichen oder gar unaufgeklärten Todesumstände sowohl bei Friedrich II. und Friedrich I. als auch bei Konstantin haben ihr Entstehen begünstigt. Im griechischen Bereich fehlen die eschatologischen Phasen des End- oder Messias-Kaisers, und auch als Gegenentwurf gegen die Macht des Papstes im Glaubenskampf wurde Konstantin begrifflicherweise nicht gebraucht. Die beiden Konzepte nähern sich aber einander im 19. Jahrhundert. Wir erleben in Deutschland eine Blüte der Stauferliteratur in allen möglichen Genera, Friedrich Barbarossa wird als ersehnter Stifter der nationalen Einheit in Anspruch genommen. Am bekanntesten ist das in die Lesebücher eingegangene Gedicht von Friedrich Rückert aus den "Zeitgedichten" von 1814-1815: "Der alte Barbarossa, Der Kaiser Friederich, Im unterird'schen Schlosse Hält er verzaubert sich. Er ist niemals gestorben, Er lebt darin noch jetzt; Er hat im Schloß verborgen Zum Schlaf sich hingesezt. Er hat hinabgenommen Des Reiches Herrlichkeit, Und wird einst wiederkommen, Mit ihr, zu seiner Zeit usf."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ St. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, Bloomington-London² 1966, D 1960.2.

⁷⁸ K. Schreiner, Die Staufer in Sage, Legende und Prophetie, in: *Die Zeit der Staufer. Geschichte – Kunst – Kultur*. Katalog der Ausstellung Stuttgart 1977, III, 249-262.

⁷⁹ F. Rückert, *Gesammelte poetische Werke*, Bd. I, Frankfurt 1868, 108-109.

Noch im polemischen Gegenwurf von Heines "Wintermärchen" ist die allgemeine Verbreitung und Bedeutung der Vorstellung greifbar.

Mit der imperialen Variante in Deutschland nach 1871 fallen beide Konzepte, das deutsche und das griechische, zusammen. Als die griechischen Truppen beim Versuch, das Byzantinische Reich als griechischen Nationalstaat wiedererstehen zu lassen, im Mai 1919 in Smyrna landen, lautet das Losungswort der Operation Κωνσταντίνος, die Antwort-Parole Παλαιολόγος, und wir erinnern uns, daß Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Überfalls Nazideutschlands auf die Sowjetunion den Decknamen "Unternehmen Barbarossa" trug. Auch für die griechische Seite wäre es interessant, der Aufnahme und Bearbeitung des Motivs in der Literatur nachzugehen, etwa bei Ἰωάννης Ζαμπέλιος,⁸⁰ bei Γεώργιος Βιζυηνός,⁸¹ bei Νίκος Καζαντζάκης⁸² bis hin zu Ὀδυσσεύς Ἐλύτης,⁸³ doch das ist Stoff für einen weiteren Vortrag.

Damit sind wir am Ende unserer Betrachtungen angekommen. Die Byzantiner glaubten an das Eigenleben der Wörter, besonders wenn es sich um Namen handelt, wo wir bei eher mechanistischem Sprachverständnis nur frostige Kalauer sehen. Zwischen den Wörtern und Namen gibt es für die Byzantiner Beziehungen, die als Real-Beziehungen gedeutet werden: Ein Konstantin, der Eleni Sohn, hat Konstantinopel gegründet; er ist im Tode zum Heiligen geworden. Wiederum ein Konstantin, der Eleni Sohn, hat Stadt und Reich mit seinem Tod in den Untergang begleitet und wird es zu neuem Leben erwecken. Der Kreis zum nationalen Νεομάρτυρας hat sich geschlossen.

⁸⁰ Tragödie Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Παλαιολόγος (publiziert 1833).

⁸¹ Gedicht ὁ τελευταῖος Παλαιολόγος (in der Sammlung Ἐπιθίδες ἀῖραι, publiziert 1883).

⁸² Tragödie Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Παλαιολόγος, erste Fassung 1944, Umarbeitungen 1946 und 1949, publiziert 1953.

⁸³ Θάνατος καὶ ἀνάστασις τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου (1971). – Bei Nikos Engonopoulos erscheint in seinem gleichnamigen Großgedicht der Revolutionär Bolivar als Sohn des Rigas Velesinlis und Inkarnation Konstantins: μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς μύριος μορφῆς ποῦ πῆρε κι ἄφησε, / διαδοχικά, ὁ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Παλαιολόγος / Μπολιβάρ εἶσαι τοῦ Ῥίγα Φερραίου παιδί – Nicol (wie oben Anm. 66), 107-108 verweist für das Thema Konstantinos Palaiologos in der neugriechischen Literatur auf Βιζυηνός, auf Γεώργιος Ζαλακώστας (Gedicht Τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὸ στέμμα, publiziert 1854), auf eine Perikope in Κωστής Παλαμᾶς, Ἡ φλογέρα τοῦ βασιλιᾶ (1910) und auf ein populäres Lied aus den 1970er Jahren mit dem Titel Ὁ μαρμαρωμένος βασιλιάς.

Rusudan Tsanava (Tbilisi)

MARRYING A KING'S DAUGHTER

Marrying a king's daughter and, subsequently, gaining the governing authority within the kingdom is one of the ways of obtaining the superlative position.

This model is so popular and distinguished that it often serves as a traditional plot-story for various people's fairy-tales. Though, beyond the seemingly romantic story we could notice a very "strict" ritual, which will be described below.

Let's discuss different variations of the ancient Greek mythoritual model – "Obtaining a wife". It is a common knowledge that there are various myths and legends created on the ground of analogy with the "major", "initial" myth. In this way, a whole kaleidoscope of resembling stories is being gradually formed. And further, applying the methods of excluding and summarizing this variety is brought down to one restricted story, which could be conditionally called an archetype model, using the terminology of Jung.

As we mentioned above, seeking hand in marriage and obtaining governing authority in such myths are equivalent to each other. Marrying a king's daughter means capturing authority. Here we come to describing the central image-symbols of this mythoritual model:

1. The Father of a bride
2. A youth seeking hand in marriage.

Both these symbols are related to capturing power. The former acknowledges that by letting his daughter get married he loses the throne, while the latter, on the contrary, having obtained the desired woman, seizes the throne.

The Model of the Father

Oenomaus reigned in Peloponesos, Pisa city in Elis. He was the son of Ares and Asterope, daughter of Atlas. He got famous for his wonderful herds of

horses,¹ gift of Ares himself. Oenomaus had several sons but they have only nominal function in the myth, and a daughter Hippodameia² – the "horse tamer". The king didn't want his daughter to get married. There were two different reasons according to the versions: Oenomaus either desired to marry his daughter himself, or had been warned by an oracle that he would die by the hand of the man who married her. Hippodameia's father competed with fiancés in carriage racing. Oenomaus used to kill the defeated fiancés, cut their heads and extremities, nail them over the door of his palace leaving the bodies unburied. This way the king had disposed of twelve or thirteen rivals for his daughter's hand. Finally Pelops beat him.

Danaos – was a descendant of Io from Argos – the fourth generation. He was obstinately against marring his daughters to his nephews – sons of Aegyptus. Danaos escaped with his 50 daughters from Egypt to Argos. Danaos ran away to Argos in approximately the same period when his cousin – Cadmos arrived in Greece. Cadmos was looking for his sister – Europa and Danaos accompanied his daughters and sought a shelter in Argos. According to one version of the myth, Danaos had claimed the legal right to Argos' throne as a descendant of Io from Argos. The discussion over this issue was scheduled for the next day. But a very strange thing happened that very night. A wolf that ran out of the forest rushed into the Argos' cattle and ripped into pieces the leader of cattle herd. Argos' people considered that this was the divine sign and gave the throne to Danaos.

The compulsory marriage of Danaos' daughters to the sons of Aegyptus had a tragical end. The girls took their father's side and killed their husbands

¹ The horse is one of the central figures of mythoritual. Mural paintings of wild horses of the Ice Age have been found on cave walls. Presumably the horse was domesticated in the IV millennium BC in East Europe or Central Asia (Hans Biedermann, *Knaurs Lexikon der Symbole* 1996). The overall Indo-European similarity of the root of the word "horse" is identified in all dialects. There are certain proofs of faith and imagination regarding the horse. In the ancient Greek tradition the horse appears in the texts of the Mycenaean period. The horse is a ritual animal and its cult is symbolized by a particular goddess. In Mycenaean they called this goddess "Horses' Lady". Гамкрелидзе Т. В. Иванов Вяч. Вс. *Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы*, Т. II Тб. 1984: 550. The horse is an animal for the sacrifice ritual. This moment was very important in the burial rituals. The horse generally is assumed to have a "transferring role" and has death semantics. Being an sacrificial animal, its parts possess a big power. The horse is also a "Helper". Пропп В.Я. *Исторические корни волшебной сказки*. Л. 1946:152-163. The horse portrayals and skulls were believed to be powerful amulets.

² Hippodameia is associated with the cult of the horse. This connection is not limited to the etymology of the name. The fiancés were obliged to win in carriage racing. Myrtilos, the faithful coachman of her father was in love with Hippodameia. He betrayed his master under the sole condition that he would have been granted the right of first night with Hippodameia. And finally, Hippodameia is the person who establishes the annual sports competition dedicated to Hera.

on the night of the marriage. Only one daughter betrayed the father preferring the husband.

50 daughters are 50 priestesses of the highest deity, i. e. a huge force enabling Danaos to prove to the people of Argos that their appearance is a divine sign and will. According to the myth the establishment of Demeter's cult and Thesmophoria festival in Argos is connected to Danaids' name.

Tyndareus – the king of Sparta, Leda's husband. Leda was the partner both of Zeus and Tyndareus simultaneously. With these two partners, she had two twins – Helen and Clytemnestra, Polydeuces and Castor. Out of these twins Helen and Polydeuces are considered to have been conceived by Zeus and Clytemnestra and Castor – by Tyndareus. Although Tyndareus patronized all of them equally.

Helen's fiancés gathered in Sparta. Tyndareus wanted to avoid disturbance and following Odysseus' advice, dismembered the horse. Then he made fiancés stand on horse parts and swear that they would cause no trouble to each other in case of defeat. Afterwards, when Menelaos got Helen's hand, he became governor of Sparta.

The story on Adratos, king of Argos, can also be viewed in the same "Father's Model". He had two marriageable daughters, of whom an oracle told him to give one daughter to a lion and the other to a boar. When Adratos noticed Polyneices and Tydeus with lion and boar emblems respectively, he understood the meaning of the oracle. He did not object to their marriage, moreover, he even tried to help these two heroes during the competition process.

If we consider the Argonaut myth very carefully, we shall find that Aeetes also fits into the "Father's Model". Aeetes tries to give Jason very hard tasks. He sends Apsyrtus to pursue the kidnapped sister and tries to get his daughter back. We could look at some other samples: e.g. Teukros has his daughter Batia marry to Dardanus of Krete (or Samothraky) and leaves the throne to him. Also, Eneas from Troy got married to Lavinia and received the kingdom of Italy.

We could call up other samples from ancient myths, but I think that an additional material wouldn't add to the concept.

The model of the Fiancé

Pelops – son of Tantalos – sought hand of Hippodameia, Oenomaus' daughter. This is the very Pelops dismembered, boiled up and presented to Gods by his father. Pelops revived due to Gods' will who have supported him afterwards as well. Pelops is a hero with "sign". His right shoulder was made of ivory. All his descendants had a white sign on their right shoulder.

Pelops was under Poseidon's protection. Poseidon presented him the golden chariot drawn by winged steeds. Pelops overcame the sea³ and the earth with this carriage. He reached Peloponesos from Asia Minor (Lydia or Phrygia) and competed with Oenomaus in carriage racing.

Pelops won the victory himself or was helped by someone else (Myrtilios – the Oenomaus's charioteer, a son of Hermes) and, subsequently, he got Hippodameia.⁴ Later Pelops subdued most of the rest of the peninsula and named to Peloponnesus. Previously the region was called Apia.

Agamemnon and Menelaos are descendants of Pelops and they also are fiancés seeking a throne. But they do not have to fight against their future father-in-laws. Menelaos got Helen's hand and throne after competing with other fiancés.

Sons of Aegyptus are also known as fiancés who strive to marry Danaides and subsequently, reinforce their real power and win the Gods' sympathy.

I propose that Jason is also a "seeking" fiancé. See below why:

Jason's goal is to get the throne. To reach this goal he has to fulfill a task – to capture the golden fleece. According to the popular version, Medea is helping Jason in the fulfillment of this task. She, actually, facilitated the capture of the golden fleece and accompanied Jason to Greece. The main thing is that the action in the myth follows a strict logic. If Jason had no need in Medea, he could have left her like Theseus abandoned Ariadne.⁵ According to rules of myth the "supporting hero" disappears from the action as soon as he/she fulfills his/her function.⁶ But Medea accompanied Jason to Greece and gave birth to his children.

Now let us consider the logic of this myth:

Jason arrived to Colchis and fulfilled Aeetes' tasks: yoked the team, ploughed the valley, and killed the giants that grew from the dragon's teeth. Giving the task, that is the model of examining is incorporated into the story of "looking for" fiancés. The extract of seeking hand of a woman who betrays her father also belongs to the line of the same stories.

³ Ships of Phoenicians furrowed the Mediterranean Sea from the ancient times. The small size ships were called "horses", because the top and backside of the ships were decorated by heads of horses. Циркин Ю. Мифы Финикии и Угарита, М. 200:12.

⁴ Hippodameia is a correlate of Hera. see Robert Graves. The Greek Myths. Transl to Rus. 1992: 301.

⁵ Ariadne has provided the same assistance to Theseus as Medea has done to Jason. If not for the ball of threads, Theseus wouldn't have been able to overcome the labyrinth. It is also important that both ladies are supporting the heroes to solve the buffalo related problems. These two ladies, who have betrayed their fathers, are relatives. Ariadne is Medea's cousin.

⁶ See: Joseph Campbell. The Hero with a Thousand Faces. Transl. to Rus. 1997; Claude Levi-Strauss. Mythologiques. Le Cru et le Cuit. Transl. to Rus. 2000; Попов 1946.

Jason had an opportunity to marry Medea and settle in Colchis, but he went to Greece and continued struggle for the throne. In fact Jason could not reach the satisfactory result by obtaining the golden fleece. He couldn't get the kingdom of his father – Aeson. The kingdom was ruled over by the daughters of Pelias. Jason left for Corinth seeking for the throne. I think this is exactly where the archaic version of the myth circles. Why? According to Corinthian version of the Argonaut myth, Corinth was assigned under Aeetes authority and his descendants had all rights for getting the throne.⁷ Hence, according to the Corinthian version Medea is a legal ruler of the Corinth kingdom. It should not be excluded, that Euripides made an allusion to this version in his "Medea."

In Euripides tragedy the king⁸ has nominated Jason as his daughter's fiancé. Jason wants to receive the desired throne through marring the princess.

Now we shall try to summarize.

On Peloponesos (also in different regions of Greece: e.g. Boeotia) in an ancient period the throne assignment was inherited through maternal line. "The Princesses" (the same as "Queens" e.g. Jokasta, Helen, Clytemnestra) became priestess and hypostases of the supreme Goddess. They had the right to rule the weather, regulate the fruit growing, ensuring the sympathy of the Goddess. As to the priestess' partners that is their husbands, initially they had only nominal rights. These partners were even substituted after the lapse of time or due to unaccomplished responsibilities. It is proposed that priestess' male partners were offered to Deity as a divine partners of "Great Mothers" (Tamuz, Adonis, Jason...). The echo of this mythoritual model must be reflected in Danaides myth that killed their husbands. Clytemnestra, also, kills and dismembers her husband. She thinks that she sacrifices Agamemnon to Deity. Male⁹ throne keepers, apparently, were very tense and sometimes resorted to use "substitution" tool and instead of themselves offered the Deity their first child, for example: Tantalos – Pelops, Agamemnon – Iphigenia, Aeetes – Apsyrtos... or another close relative. Some examples of self-sacrifices were also witnessed.

Numerous myths have reached our times stating about fathers' attempts to lock their marriageable daughters into the castles and underground just to

⁷ A. Urushadze, Ancient Kolchis in the Myth of Argonauts (in Georgian). Tbilisi 1964: 21-22.

⁸ It may be intentional that the name of king is Creon in the tragedy. The fact is that readers of Theban tragedies have the impression that there was a temporary governor under the name Creon. We can say that Creon "fill in the gap" between two legal governors.

⁹ See Frazer G.G. The Golden Bough. Transl. to Rus. 1980.

avoid the hated competitors, future son-in-laws pretending to get the throne.¹⁰ As we have stated above, at the end father is forced to set a competition to identify a fiancé. The king competes with the fiancé himself or fiancés are competing with one another.

It is identified that the competition is an ancient ritual and it continues the ritual of burying. All Greek "game"– competitions starting from Olympic and ending with Heraee, were dedicated to the death of a certain hero and served to perpetuate his name.

The scientists had paid their attention to a most interesting fact: sportsmen move against the Sun and counter-clockwise at stadiums even nowadays. The same thing happens on hippodromes, car racing and cycle track. There is no doubt that the contemporary competitions are based on the old traditions. It is also known that in the mythoritual language movement against the Sun has the death semantics. This is proved by the ancient texts from Greece, India and Hittite. E. Gardiner investigated the relation between competition and a burying ritual. Horse carriage racing has the same semantics.¹¹

Scientist can not name the date of the foundation of the competition. But they regard it as an ancient ritual conceived in the ancient epoch. The competition ritual is universal as is evidenced in lifes and imaginations of various peoples of the world.¹²

According to Pausanias the first carriage racing was held on Arkadiosis' son Azano's funeral in Greece (Paus. VIII 4.5). Starting from Homer, Greek writers used to describe sports competitions conducted after the burying ritual. So, materials to analyze are numerous, and therefore, we shall stop here.

Based of the material considered in the present paper, we come to the following conclusion: at the stage of social structure when the governing power was handed down through the maternal line, the struggle for obtaining the

¹⁰ Gardiner E.W. Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals. Lond. 1910.

¹¹ Балонов Ф. Р. Колесничные ристания как форма погребального жертвоприношения, В сб. Жертвоприношения, М. 2000.

¹² It should be admitted that Ethiz ritual has found its way in *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. If we consider the poem with regard to the myth model, we shall see there are two similar situations in the poem: the throne keepers had two beautiful daughters. One of them T'hinat'hin ascended the throne and needed a partner, while the other princess was locked in the castle. In the first case a hunting competition was held between the king and the fiancé. Actually in Arabia the future status and the destiny of the kingdom was determined after that hunting competition of Rostevan and Avt'handil. Proposing Avt'handil as T'hinat'hin's husband and the throne keeper was a matter of time.

As to P'harsadan's, he often competed with Tariel (though the results are concealed). He was expecting a fiancé from far away. This case is modeled after a different pattern: fiancés must struggle with each other to liberate and marry the beauty locked up in the castle and afterwards obtain the throne.

throne was merciless and severe. This battle implied killing of the current/old throne keeper – which meant a ritual murder, e.g. sacrifice that was the necessary requirement for the future well being of the social group. In honor of the murdered i. e. a sacrificial person, ritual competitions were held. This event finalized one circle of mythoritual spiral. Those moved by a strong desire of obtaining throne were involved in this severe circle until other principles and world outlines were established. These new principles can conditionally be called as a "Dynasty Serenity". But through this "Serenity" another fault and sin occurred.

Zurab Vacheishvili (Tbilisi)

FOR COGNITION OF GOD IN *ASCETICISM* BY
N. KAZANDZAKIS

The Byzantine civilization has left a considerable cultural heritage in the history of mankind and its tradition has been succeeded by Orthodox Christian culture.

The Byzantine cultural heritage has had a great impact on every new epoch, trend and individual author. Present-day readers have inherited it modified – either enriched with or lacking certain nuances.

With regard to above, the present paper attempts to analyze the work *Asceticism* by a contemporary Greek author, N. Kazandzakis.

This work, which was written in 1923 and published in 1927, provoked much indignation in the Greek society and especially among certain circles of the Greek Orthodox Church. Such a disposition had a considerable influence on the critics of *Asceticism*, and of N. Kazandzakis' other works as well. Almost none of the critics made an effort to search for the Byzantine traditions in the work. Most scientists found *Asceticism* contrary to Christian traditions. Some of them considered Kazandzakis a Buddhist,¹ some a follower of Plotine,² and others thought he championed Nitsche's and Berxon's ideas.³ Altogether they considered him a nihilist.

In this paper we shall try to compare the ideas in *Asceticism* with theology in the Apophatical tradition and thus determine how much of an influence this tradition had on N. Kazandzakis's thoughts.

"We come from a dark abyss and vanish in a dark abyss. The lit space between them is called Life",⁴ – says N. Kazandzakis at the beginning of *Asceti-*

¹ N. Βρετάκος, «Νικός Καζαντζάκης, η αγωνία του και το έργο του» Αθήνα.

² Γ. Σταματίου, «Ο Καζαντζάκης και οι αρχαίοι» Αθήνα 1983.

³ Π. Πρεβελάκης, «Καζαντζάκης, ο ποιητής και το ποίημα της Οδύσσειας» Αθήνα 1958.

⁴ N. Καζαντζάκης, «Ασκητική», Αθήνα 1985, 9.

cism. In our opinion, he tries to determine the apophatic character of his own theology.

At the very beginning he distinguishes two human lifestyles: 1. The upward slope, which leads to unification, life and immortality, and 2. The downward slope – which leads to devastation, matter and death.

Before perceiving God, an ascetic should undergo a certain catharsis. In this aspect N. Kazandzakis reminds us of Christian apologists, For example, V. Loski, in his work *The Essays on Mystic Theology in Eastern Church*, presents Dionysus the Areopagite's⁵ way of perceiving God, that in some way brings him closer to Plotine's theories. Both authors present two stages which a person must pass through before he starts to perceive God.

At the first stage it is necessary to get rid of all material things and sins. At the second stage one must become free from intellect and all intellectual things, because it is impossible for one to comprehend the being that exists above all. Here it must be noted that in contrast to Dionysus the Areopagite, Plotine's God is not absolutely imperceptible.⁶

Gregory of Nazianzus believes people who want to perceive God must be like Moses and first of all must be sanctified like Moses. Those who try to do this without sanctification will be cursed in the same way as the people who dared to step on Mount Sinai.⁷

In *Asceticism*, N.Kazandzaki presents four stages of perceiving God. Before perceiving God an ascetic has to perform three duties, which to us is the way passed by Moses, leading to the Promised Land, symbolizing the perception of God.

Duty one: a human must look deep in to himself and must be able to grasp the wisdom of the world, because all these things are formed within the brain, i.e. the brain gives birth to every earthly and material things. An ascetic should set aside his thoughts and overcome the bounds created by it.

This stage resembles the period of Moses' life, when he lived in wealth in the palace of the Pharaoh's daughter (Ex. 2. 7-11). To Gregory of Nyssa, the Pharaoh's daughter symbolizes the earthly and futile wisdom. Whoever wants to raise to Moses' inward eminence as regards perception of God, must be

⁵ As V. Loski refers to Pseudo Dionysus the Areopagite as to Dionysus the Arepagite (see Вл. Лоский, «Очерк мистического богословия восточной церкви», В кн.: «Мистическое богословие», Киев 1991), we shall also keep to his tradition.

⁶ See: Вл. Лоский, «Очерк мистического богословия восточной церкви», В кн.: «Мистическое богословие», Киев 1991, 112-113.

⁷ Gregorius Nazianzenus, De theologia (orat.28), 3: PG, t.34 col.29.

called first the son of Pharaoh's barren daughter; i.e. he must first grasp the earthly wisdom, and then renounce and overcome it.⁸

Duty two: In order to overcome the bounds of the mind, a human must listen to his heart, because heart gives the hope of freedom and is the essence of life. When Moses saw an enslaved Jew, he supported his countryman; that provoked the Egyptians (Ex. 2. 13-15). To Gregory of Nyssa, the Jewish people, contrary to the Egyptians, symbolize true wisdom, justice and virtue.⁹

Duty three: After following his heart a man should set himself free from the hope created by his heart. Jewish people brought reproach upon Moses for the murder of an Egyptian. Moses, scared and hopeless, took shelter in the Midiam Desert (Ex. 2, 13-15). By escaping to the desert he gained freedom.

N. Kazandzakis's ascetic, after performing his third duty, says: "I have no hopes, no fears, I am free from my mind and my heart. I stand higher. I am free. This is what I have wanted. I wish for nothing more. I have been searching for freedom".¹⁰

However, that is not enough on the way to the perception of God.

Step one: Self.

At level one N. Kazandzakis's ascetic has to cognize his own "self", his helplessness and imperfection. "I am not good, I am not chaste, I am not calm",¹¹ "I am afraid of speaking. I have artificial wings on, I cry, sing and weep so as to drown the sharp scream in my heart".¹²

And just then, for the first time, an ascetic hears God's voice: "I, the scream, I am your Lord! I am not the shelter, neither home or hope. I am not Father, neither Son or Spirit. I am your Commander-in-chief",¹³ and the voice calls upon the ascetic to struggle in order to rescue himself, without any hesitation and questions.

In our opinion, Moses' liberating mission started from the moment of his escape from Egypt, when he found shelter in the Midiam Desert (Ex. 2. 15).

The desert symbolizes a place for a man to be sanctified. There, a human, in solitude, deepens in his own personality and becomes stronger for the future struggles. In the Midiam desert Moses got married and had children. This fact makes us think that it was Moses' effort to come to perfection.¹⁴ It was

⁸ Gregore de Nysse, *La vie de Moïse*, Ed. J. Daniélou, Sources Chrétiennes, N1, Paris 1968, 2,10-13.

⁹ ib. 2,14.

¹⁰ N. Καζαντζάκης, «*Ασκητική*», Αθήνα 1985, 27.

¹¹ ib. 30.

¹² ib. 30.

¹³ ib. 31.

¹⁴ According to "the Old Testament" a man could not be considered a consummated person unless he is married and has children.

there that, for the first time, the Lord appeared before him as a burning blackberry bush and invoked him to struggle for the rescue of his nation (Ex. 3. 2-17). According to Gregory of Nyssa's explanation, Moses' obedience to the Lord's command by taking off his shoes in front of the burning blackberry bush, symbolizes liberation from the material, earthly world i.e. liberation from "Self".¹⁵

Step two: The nation.

An ascetic should realize that he is not alone. He is a part of a unit. His nation is his own body, past, present and future.

Giving the definition of an ascetic's compulsory service to the nation, N. Kazandzakis says: "Your primary duty is to feel inwardly all your ancestors. Your second duty is to discover their ambitions and succeed in their pursuits. The third duty – leave your son a will to excel you".¹⁶

Moses felt sorrow for his ancestors' sufferings and enslavement. Although he could have run from the danger, he went back to Egypt and tried to liberate his people from the yoke of the Egyptians and lead them to the Promised Land (Ex. 3.20).

Step three: The mankind.

After obtaining the national consciousness, an ascetic must realize the mankind's anguish and must struggle for their rescue. "Now get rid of national feeling too". "Hosts of humans – white, yellow and black – rush at you and scream inside you".¹⁷ "Observe people and pity them".¹⁸ An ascetic should realize that he is "one small letter, one syllable, one word in Odyssey".¹⁹ He must attach importance to travel; compete with people, gods, animals. Slowly and patiently he must lay the foundation of the highest essence – Itaka in his consciousness".²⁰ "On their way, numerous people are lost – they are born and die fruitless".²¹ "They are the manure for the future seeds; ashes, blood and brain make the ground fertile".²²

Israel's way through the desert is not only the process of a nation's liberation leading to the Promised Land. In the desert Israel is sanctified and prepares to accept their Savior in future.

¹⁵ Gregore de Nysse, "La vie de Moïse", Ed. J. Daniélou, Sources Chrétiennes, N1, Paris 1968, 2, 22.

¹⁶ Ν. Καζαντζάκης, «Ασκητική», Αθήνα 1985, 40.

¹⁷ ib. 41.

¹⁸ ib. 42.

¹⁹ ib. 45.

²⁰ ib. 46.

²¹ ib. 43.

²² ib. 43.

Hence we may draw a parallel between the third level in N. Kazandzakis' work and the exodus of Israel from Egypt under Moses' leadership (Ex. 12.51).

Step four: The earth.

After passing, stage by stage, through "self", "the nation" and "the mankind", the ascetic must continue upward and grasp the whole earth, the world. i.e. he must become a superhuman. At level four the ascetic is endowed with vision. The ascetic hears the Lord's voice that invokes him to struggle. "Make your home with your people, feed with your hands and heart; with your blood resurrect your terrifying ancestors and set off to struggle together with your dead, living and would-be-born people."²³

At the fourth level, Moses ascended Mount Siani, isolated himself from Israel, and was enveloped in the mist of the Lord. Here, for the second time, Moses had a the vision of the Lord (Ex. 17). No human being had ever had so close a vision of God. This means – Moses was a superhuman.

N. Kazandzakis's ascetic must also act before he finally gets perceived in his god.

He must comprehend the interactions between God and human, between men, and between man and nature. Only after such comprehension one can have God's vision.

Moses came back from Sinai. Forty years of misfortune and bloodshed awaited his people before they could get to the Promised Land. When Israel came close to the Promised Land, God commanded Moses to go up the Mount Nebo and only allowed him to view the Promised Land Galilee, from afar (Deut. 34).

According to N. Kazandzakis's conception of symbols, "Galilee, with its ideal grace, harmonious mountains, blue sea and a small beautiful lake, stretches beyond Jesus' shoulders, smiles and looks like Jesus himself. It is peaceful, unpretentious and joyful like a kind man."²⁴ – i.e. Galilee can be considered a symbol of Christ, and the country which Moses viewed can be interpreted as Christ's face.

The god in *Asceticism* has two images.²⁵ In the chapters analyzed, the god is a strict, merciless commander-in-chief, who demands the soldiers to shed their blood, and to lay down their lives in order to achieve their goals. This is

²³ ib. 53.

²⁴ N. Καζαντζάκης, «Αναφορά στον Γρέκο», Αθήνα, 1985 243.

²⁵ In all his works N. Kazandzakis depicts God's two contrary features. From the one hand He is Jehovah – strict, revengeful, blood-thirsty God opposing with, Jesus – Kind philanthropic God "Who on the Easter Day was killed on the green grass so that He did not resist, only bleating innocently N. Καζαντζάκης, «Αναφορά στον Γρέκο», Αθήνα, 1985 243 .

the symbol of Jehovah, the more so as we recall the Jews lead to the Promised Land as presented in *The Report to Greco*.²⁶ In the last chapter of *Asceticism* it seems that this blood-thirsty god becomes calm and transformed.

So the god shows resemblance with Galilee, viewed by Moses. The extinguishing fire is altered into a peaceful light. The god looks like a loving insect which smiles and weeps, i.e. he becomes philanthropic.

In *Asceticism* there are two symbolic names: (η Ἄβυσσος)²⁷ abyss and (η Σιγή) silence, which N. Kazandzakis explains as follows: "Silence is everyone who after fulfilling his military service in every heroic exploit and after reaching the peak of his efforts beyond the heroic deeds, does not struggle and scream any more; he becomes fulfilled, united, integrated into the world in silence.

He has become harmonized and friendly with the abyss, like a man's sperm in a woman's womb.

Now his wife is an abyss, which refines, opens him up, eats his internal organs and alters the essence of his blood. An abyss smiles, weeps, comes out and goes down together with him, and never leaves him alone."²⁸

All these things bear much resemblance with the highest divine couple: ο Βυθός (depth) and η Σιγή (silence) in the Valentinian mythology.

Though there is a certain resemblance between Kazandzakis's god and Valentinian highest divine couple, there are also significant differences as well.

In *Asceticism* η Σιγή (silence) is male, and ο Βυθός (abyss) is female. N. Kazandzakis's god is not presented as a couple, he is one and perfect.

N. Kazandzakis's ideas have some resemblance with Apophatic theology since such terminologies as "darkness", "abyss" and "silence" are also characteristic to Apophatic theology. They are used synonymous to God, who is absolutely incomprehensible. Besides, according to *Asceticism*, a human mind is able to comprehend "only apparent representations of the phenomena, but never the essence. It can comprehend not every phenomenon, but only those that are material; and to make it more specific, not each material thing, but only links among them".²⁹

We can find the like statement in the works of Byzantine authors. For instance, according to Basil of Caesaria, a human being is not capable to com-

²⁶ v. N. Καζαντζάκης, «Αναφορά στον Γρέκο», Αθήνα 1985, 243.

²⁷ Ἄβυσσος is derived from ἄβυθος, which means – bottomless, though βυθός in the old Greek it has the other meaning – "depth" (v. Γ. Μπαμπινιώτης, «Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας», Αθήνα 2002. 399) to us it can be a synonym to Ἄβυσσος.

²⁸ N. Καζαντζάκης, «Ασκητική», Αθήνα 1985, 96.

²⁹ N. Καζαντζάκης, «Ασκητική», Αθήνα 1985, 13.

prehend God, neither even a material thing, because we judge about things according to their properties that we discern and this way form a certain idea of the things; however, the analysis fails to fully represent the object of our perception. There is always something that escapes the analysis and becomes impossible to render through apprehension. And if perception of a material object is beyond human capabilities, apprehension of God is far less possible.³⁰

Alongside the Apophatic theology, all the authors refer to Kataphatic theology too. The Areopagite offers two theological methods – kataphatic and apophatic. The former gives some notions about the divine essence, God.

N. Kazandzakis also truly keeps to this tradition and tells us about his deity, namely his divine being, Akritas-Digenis: the warrior, the sufferer, very strong but not almighty, the warrior at the furthest frontiers, the commander-in-chief, the emperor of all the powers, visible or invisible".³¹

Akritas – protector of the Byzantine frontiers.

Digenis – having double origin.

In our opinion, these two terms imply above-mentioned Galilee – Christ. The god in N. Kazandzakis' work, who has double origin, the divine and the human natures, is Christ. This idea becomes especially clear in his work *The Last Temptation* where N. Kazandzakis says: "Christ's double origin is what I have best appreciated".³²

Other epithets applied to Christ are: "Akritas – a tireless warrior", "A sufferer at the gates of the Hell – crucified to redeem the mankind".

Our supposition is also attested by the following: Christian theology, according to the tradition, has a very practical meaning, as it is only the means that serves a single purpose – human's unification with God, i.e. transformation in God (θέωσις).

"God has humanized in order enable man become God. It is the Word, Logos that opens to us the way to the incorporation with God and if the humanized word "Christ" does not have the same essence as "Father" and if he is not true God, then man's transformation into God becomes impossible".³³

God has created a man after his own single will, but God is unable to save man unless his will links to will of man.³⁴

³⁰ Вл. Лоский, «Очерк мистического богословия восточной церкви», В кн.: «Мистическое богословие», Киев 1991, 115.

³¹ Ν. Καζαντζάκης, «Ασκητική», Αθήνα 1985, 95.

³² Ν. Καζαντζάκης, "Τελευταίος Πειρασμός", Αθήνα 19, 15.

³³ Вл. Лоский, «Очерк мистического богословия восточной церкви», В кн.: «Мистическое богословие», Киев 1991, 99.

³⁴ ib. 99.

This is why N. Kazandzakis's god, though he is very strong, is not almighty; so he addresses a man and calls for help so that the potential god in man be released and incorporated with the divine essence.

So, "Blessed are those who hear His call . . . and blessed are those who have released You and have incorporated with You the Lord, and who say: "You and I are One".³⁵

In the second edition of *Asceticism* the author added the last phrase: "Even the One does not exist",³⁶ which is another proof to his profound knowledge of the Byzantine theology and its influence on his works. Between kataphatic and apophatic theologies, the Areopagite gives the priority to the former as it is more perfect than Kataphatic, as according to Dionysus the Areopagite, it is the only natural way which corresponds to the incomprehensible, since all that can be perceived are existent, while God is beyond of all what is perceptible and therefore is non-existent.³⁷

Above we have attempted to present the high extent to which the Byzantine tradition has found its way in N.Kazandzakis's *Asceticism*. We really do not think that works by N.Kazandzakis are based solely on the Byzantine theology. We shall by all means admit the eclectic character of the work considered above; however, the Byzantine theology is the main source of the author's inspiration. That is why the whole system for the comprehension of deity in *Asceticism* is so close to the Byzantine theology.

We have arrived at the conclusion that the ascetic's way of development, the notion of god and the idea of god's "non-existence" as presented in *Asceticism* are formal transformations of the Byzantine theology, but as to the idea of the work, it is identical to the tradition aforesaid.

³⁵ N. Καζαντζάκης, «Ασκητική», Αθήνα 1985, 98.

³⁶ ib. 98.

³⁷ Вл. Лоский, «Очерк мистического богословия восточной церкви», В кн.: «Мистическое богословие», Киев 1991, 109.

Jürgen Werner (Berlin)

“ICH BIN ALS GRIECHIN GEBOREN ...”

Zu den griechischen Künstlerinnen, die weltbekannt geworden sind, gehört die große Schauspielerin, die engagierte Politikerin, die leidenschaftliche Patriotin Melina Mercouri (1925-1994). Außerhalb ihrer Heimat kannte man sie vor allem aus Filmen wie "Sonntags nie" (1959). Zu drehen begann sie 1955; auf der Bühne stand sie seit 1951, im Nationaltheater Athen und auf zahlreichen anderen Bühnen Griechenlands und der USA. Unmöglich, ihre Rollen aufzuzählen. Sehr beeindruckt hat sie mich in Saloniki als Medea. Auch als Chansonsängerin hat sie sich international einen Namen gemacht.

Im Piräus wurde das "Mädchen vom Piräus" (das war sie in "Sonntags nie") 1977 und erneut 1981 als Kandidatin von Andreas Papandreous PASOK ins Parlament gewählt. Sechs Wochen führte sie unter Verzicht auf lukrative Rollenangebote aus dem Ausland ihren Wahlkampf, wobei es kein "Sonntags nie" gab! 1981 wurde sie Ministerin für Kultur und Wissenschaft, ein Ressort, wo bisher stets Wissenschaftler und Verwaltungsfachleute ihres Amtes walteten. (Außer ihr gehörten dem Kabinett zwei Vizeministerinnen an. So viel Damen gab es noch in keiner griechischen Regierung.) Jetzt hatte sie Gelegenheit zu realisieren, was sie im Wahlkampf gefordert hatte: "die verkalkte griechische Kulturpolitik radikal zu ändern". So hob sie die Filmzensur auf. Sie hatte den Job bis zur PASOK-Wahlniederlage 1989 und dann wieder ab 1993.

Als 1967 in Griechenland eine Militärjunta die Macht ergriff, da begann die Mercouri, schon seit der Diktatur von Metaxas (1936-41) überzeugte Antifaschistin, 1967 gerade auf Gastspiel in den USA, einen enthusiastischen Kampf gegen die Obristen. Vom Innenminister Pattakos ausgebürgert, sagte sie: "Ich bin als Griechin geboren und werde als Griechin sterben." Und sie kämpfte unbeirrt weiter, bis 1974, als die Junta endgültig mit ihrem Latein bzw. Griechisch am Ende war. Dabei traf es sie hart, nicht in die Heimat fahren zu können. Sie reiste oft in die Türkei, um von dort aus wenigstens

griechische Inseln zu sehen. Sie kämpfte als Schauspielerin, als Sängerin und als Autorin mit dem Buch "I was born Greek", in deutscher Übersetzung 1971 bei Blanvalet, 1974 bei Rowohlt.

Anders als die meisten schreibenden Actrizen stellt die Mercuri nicht ihr Privatleben in den Vordergrund, sondern das politische Geschehen in Gegenwart und Geschichte ihres Vaterlandes. Der Leser erfährt viel Entlarvendes über die Athener Diktatoren und ihre politischen, militärischen, ökonomischen und publizistischen Helfer besonders in den USA, und zwar durchweg in höchst anregender, oft anekdotischer, ausgesprochen spritziger Form: Innenminister "Pattakos, Mitglied der Vereinigung 'Zoi', deren Ziel die Reorganisation von Kirche und Gesellschaft nach puritanischem Muster war, schritt gegen Miniröcke und Bärte ein. Als er überall ausgelacht wurde, verfiel er ins andere Extrem: Er gestattete die Abhaltung eines internationalen Minirock-Wettbewerbs in Griechenland." Makaresos wurde Wirtschaftsminister, "weil er der einzige der drei Diktatoren war, der addieren und subtrahieren konnte."

Sarkastische Bemerkungen über die USA und ihre "milde 'Bestrafung' der Junta: "Keine Düsenflugzeuge mehr, aber Gewehre" (die die Obristen für die Unterdrückung des Volkswiderstandes viel dringender brauchten); über den damaligen König (bald wurde Griechenland Republik) und über frühere Monarchen: 1831, nach der Befreiung von der Türkei, bestimmten die drei 'Schutzmächte' England, Frankreich, Rußland: Griechenland braucht einen König. "Sie prüften die Liste der Arbeitslosen königlichen Geblüts, pickten den Prinzen Otto von Bayern heraus und schickten ihn ans Mittelmeer. Obwohl er kein Wort Griechisch sprach, setzte es sich dieser arme Otto in den Kopf, unter sein Volk zu gehen. So zog er mit vollem Hofstaat, Ehrentepichen und Dolmetschern unter Glockengeläut durchs Land". Die Wittelsbacher hielten sich nicht. Die 'Schutzmächte' etablierten einen dänischen Prinzen auf dem griechischen Thron. "Er blieb recht lange auf seinem Posten, fast 50 Jahre, bis jemand sagte: 'Genug ist genug' und ihm eine Kugel in den Kopf jagte." Über einen Offizier der faschistischen Besatzung (1940 ff.): "Er schwärmte für Mozart und konnte mitten in eine Truppeninstruktion über Vergeltungsmaßnahmen gegen Partisanen einen kleinen Vortrag über das vollkommene Ebenmaß des Parthenon einschalten." Über einen griechischen Gefängnisverwalter der Metaxas-Zeit: "Alle Bücher mußten durch die Zensur der Wachen gehen. Der Aufseher meines Vaters betrachtete alles Russische als bolschewistisch und maßte sich an zu wissen, wer Russe war und wer nicht. [Maßgeblich war für ihn die Familiennamen-Endung -ow.] 'Lermontow: Russe. Nein. – Tschchow: Russe. Nein. – Tolstoi: in Ordnung.'" Bücher von Gorki und Lenin hätte er also, vermute ich, passieren lassen!

Warmherzige Worte über Theodorakis, über die Schriftsteller Ritsos und Varnalis sowie Kambanellis (auf ihn geht ein Teil der Texte von Theodorakis' Oratorium "Mauthausen" zurück.) Viel über die künstlerische Arbeit der Mercouri; mit schönen Anekdoten, etwa über improvisierte Musikaufnahmen zu "Sonntags nie" – zum Entsetzen des Drehstabes kommt der Komponist ohne Partitur, weil die Musiker, die dann so vorzüglich spielen, keine Noten lesen können! – oder über die Schwierigkeiten, in leidenschaftlichen Kuß-Szenen zu überzeugen, wenn man dabei an kalten Drehtagen Eiswürfel im Mund hat, damit der Atem nicht auf den Film kommt; schließlich spielt der Film im Sommer! Herrlich die Beschreibung, wie die Mercouri, noch ziemlich jung, das Hervorbringen von Tränen übt. – Beim Friseur: "Sämtliche Damen der High Society waren da. Sie saßen unter ihren Trockenhauben, und jede war entweder mit einem Bankdirektor oder einem Reeder verheiratet. Ein Kurzschluß hätte die Hälfte aller griechischen Millionäre zu Witwern gemacht."

Sie trifft einen französischen Theaterschriftsteller und will ihn auf sich aufmerksam machen: "Ich sah gut aus an diesem Tage, und ich wußte es. Ich trug den malerischen rosa Hut, der äußerst kleidsam war. Ich wollte von Achard gesehen werden. Er sollte mich anschauen. Und er tat es ..." Bei Dreharbeiten rettet sie Filme, die der Regisseur vernichten will: "Ehe wir aus dem Wasser stiegen, hatte ich die Filmrollen an mich genommen und versteckt. Fragen Sie nicht, wo. Wenn eine Frau Sachen verstecken will, dann weiß sie schon, wie." Freimütig, aber ohne Exhibitionismus äußert sich Melina Mercouri über Privates: "Männer. Fangen wir mit den Männern an. Ich lebe heute im festen Bund einer Ehe und sogar einer unwahrscheinlich guten. Zu meiner eigenen Verwunderung bin ich meinem Mann [Jules Dassin] seit 14 Jahren treu. Aber ehe er in mein Leben trat, habe ich andere Männer kennen- und liebelgelernt, und es war keiner unter ihnen, mit dem ich es nicht schön gehabt hätte." Über den Komponisten Hadzidakis: "Ich liebte ihn sofort, und ich liebe ihn noch immer, obwohl er so unausstehlich sein kann, daß meine Zuneigung sich mehr als einmal in Wut verwandelt hat. Während ich dies schreibe, bemühe ich mich gerade wieder einmal, ihn zu hassen, obwohl ich genau weiß, daß es mir nicht gelingen wird oder nur so lange, bis ich ihn wiedersehe. Sobald ich seine menschliche Wärme und seinen Charme spüre, werde ich ihm wieder um den Hals fallen, und er wird mich 'Agoraki' [Büßchen] nennen, und ich werde völlig in ihn vernarrt sein, bis zu unserem nächsten Krach ..."

"Ich bin als Griechin geboren" ist eines der informativsten und charmantesten Bücher über das Griechenland um die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Wann wird die längst vergriffene Autobiographie der Mercouri wieder das Licht der Buchhandlungen erblicken?

Jürgen Werner (Berlin)

MEIN JANNIS RITSOS

Die Frankfurter Buchmesse vom Herbst 2001 war Griechenland gewidmet. Einer der Dichter, deren Namen wiederholt beschworen wurden, so vom griechischen Staatspräsidenten Stephanopoulos, war Jannis Ritsos (1909-1990).

1971 konnte man in "Les Lettres Françaises" lesen: "Le plus grand poète vivant s'appelle Yannis Ritsos." Der Satz stammte von keinem geringeren als Louis Aragon. Dieser "größte lebende Dichter", so hört man, ist gegen das Biographische. Aber Dichtung erwächst aus dem Leben; für Stephan Hermlin ist die Vita eines Autors die Probe auf die Erwartung, es mit einem *wesentlichen* Dichter zu tun zu haben, und das ist für ihn einer, der über eine exemplarische "innere Geschichte" verfügt, bei dem die "Leiden der Zeit, die Befürchtungen, Wünsche und Auseinandersetzungen der Gesellschaft" eins geworden sind mit seinem Ich. Um noch einmal Aragon zu zitieren: Jannis Ritsos "ist das ganze Leben seines Volkes, seine Schmerzen, sein Gesang."

Ritsos wird am 1. 5. 1909 in Monemvasia (Peloponnes) geboren, als viertes Kind eines Gutsbesitzers. Nach der Grundschule besucht er 1921-25 das Gymnasium in Gythion. Kindheit und Jugend sind überschattet von der Spieleidenschaft des Vaters, die zum finanziellen Ruin der Familie führt – der Vater stirbt später in geistiger Umnachtung –, und von der in der Familie grassierenden Tbc. An ihr sterben 1921 die Mutter und der Bruder, und Jannis wird selbst jahrelang unter dieser Krankheit zu leiden haben. Er spricht gelegentlich von der "Last kranker Geschlechter" und davon, daß er "Kind ohne Kindheit" gewesen sei. Geld für sein Studium ist nicht da. "Ich studierte Geschichte der Vergangenheit und der Zukunft an der zeitgenössischen Fakultät des Kampfes" sagt er 1975 in dem Gedicht "Angaben zur Identität" Er geht nach Athen und schlägt sich als Büroangestellter durch. (Beeindruckend die kalligraphische Klarheit seines Schriftbildes, zugänglich in der zweisprachigen Ausgabe "Kleine Suite in rotem Dur", Berlin 1982 u. ö.). Selbst

eine solche Existenz ist schwierig genug, ist doch Griechenland und zumal Athen überfüllt mit Arbeitslosen: Ein expansionistischer Krieg Griechenlands gegen den "kranken Mann am Bosphorus" – ein Krieg, der die Megali Idea, die "Große Idee", den Traum von einem neuzeitlichen griechischen Großreich in byzantinischen Dimensionen mit Einschluß Anatoliens realisieren sollte – hatte 1922 mit der "Kleinasiatischen Katastrophe" geendet; die meisten Griechen, die bis dahin in uraltem griechischem Siedlungsgebiet an der Ostküste der Ägäis und der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres gelebt hatten, kamen jetzt, soweit sie nicht niedergemetzelt worden waren, nach Griechenland, das, noch weitgehend Agrarland, vergleichsweise wenige Arbeitsmöglichkeiten bot. 1926, kurz nachdem Ritsos nach Athen gekommen ist, nötigt ihn die Tbc, in seinen Heimatort zurückzugehen. Jahre hindurch befindet er sich überwiegend in Sanatorien. In den 30er Jahren arbeitet er in den verschiedensten Berufen, unter anderem als Schauspieler, Tänzer, Regisseur, Korrektor.



Ehrenpromotion Jannis Ritsos 1984 im Senatsaal der Universität Leipzig. Neben Ritsos Botschafter Koundakis und Gattin sowie Prof. Werner

Ritsos beginnt, sich mit dem Marxismus zu beschäftigen. Er liest Varvalis, den ersten kommunistischen Dichter Griechenlands, und Majakowski, dem er 1953 ein Gedicht widmen wird ("Guten Tag, Wladimir Majakowski") und der für ihn "der erste Dichter unseres Jahrhunderts" ist. 1931 schließt er sich der kommunistischen Bewegung an, der er zeit seines Lebens verbunden bleibt. Nach dem Überfall Italiens und Deutschlands auf seine Heimat (1940/41) gehört er der Antistasi, der griechischen Résistance, an. Ab 1944 kämpft er gegen das einheimische Establishment (Krone, Militär, Großbürgertum), das mit Hilfe der britischen 'Befreier' für eine gewisse Zeit das Rad der Geschichte zurückzudrehen vermag. 1948-52 befindet er sich in KZs wie Makronisos, nicht weit entfernt vom Stolz Griechenlands, der Akropolis; weltweite Proteste – von Picasso, Aragon, Elsa Triolet, Eluard, Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Malraux, Ehrenberg, Simonow, Hikmet, Amado – kämpfen ihn frei, ohne daß er den berüchtigten Loyalitätseid leistet. Es folgen Jahre des ungehinderten Schaffens, der Reisen, Jahre auch der offiziellen Anerkennung. Als sich 1967 eine Militärdiktatur etabliert, ist Ritsos unter den ersten, die verhaftet und deportiert werden. Dank internationaler Solidaritätsaktionen wird er 1968 entlassen. Danach steht er auf Samos unter Hausarrest. Normale Lebens- und Schaffensbedingungen gibt es für ihn erst 1974, als die Junta mit ihrem Latein bzw. Griechisch am Ende ist.

Ritsos schreibt mit sieben Jahren sein erstes Gedicht. Er wird auch anderen Künsten huldigen, etwa in seinen Steinzeichnungen von Aufenthalten in griechischen KZs; eindrucksvolle Proben, von Manfred Küchler meisterhaft fotografiert, enthält der schon genannte Band "Kleine Suite in rotem Dur". – Gedruckt werden Gedichte von ihm ab 1927, das erste am 1. Mai, an seinem 18. Geburtstag: zarte, pessimistische Gebilde aus Ritsos' 'Zauberberg', der allerdings mit dem aristokratischen von Thomas Mann wenig gemein hat.

Der erste Gedicht-Band, 1934, heißt "Traktor". In ihm besingt Ritsos den sozialistischen Aufbau in der Sowjetunion. Die griechische Literaturszene, der damals noch "politisch Lied ein garstig Lied" ist wie den Spießern in Goethes "Faust" – "technisches Lied" ebenfalls –, reagiert ablehnend: Wie kann ein griechischer Dichter über den Sozialismus, wie ein Lyriker über Traktoren schreiben? Später hält Ritsos dagegen: "Ich war ein Kämpfer, bin es noch, und werde es immer sein."

1936 werden in Saloniki demonstrierende Arbeiter ermordet. Ritsos schreibt den "Epitaphios", "Trauergesang", in dem eine Mutter ihren toten Sohn beweint, dann aber von der Klage zur Anklage übergeht, zu einem revolutionären Aufschrei gegen Ausbeuter und Unterdrücker. Neben ihren Zorn, neben ihre Zärtlichkeit gegenüber dem geliebten Sohn und seinen Genossen, die *ihre* Söhne sein werden, tritt die Zuversicht dieser unbeugsamen Frau. –

Der "Epitaphios" erscheint in 10000 Exemplaren, einer für damalige Verhältnisse sensationellen Auflage. Der Diktator Metaxas, 1936 zur Macht gekommen, setzt das Werk auf den Index, läßt es verbrennen. Symptomatisch für die Verhältnisse in Griechenland: Der "Epitaphios" kann erst nach 20 Jahren wieder erscheinen, und schon 1967 wird er, von den Obristen, erneut verboten. – Später komponiert Theodorakis Teile des "Epitaphios" (und andere Ritsos-Dichtungen). Diese Vertonungen sind um so wichtiger, als Griechenland, aus verschiedenen Gründen, damals noch weit weniger Lesegesellschaft, Literaturgesellschaft als heute ist. Teuer gedruckte Lyrik in meist niedrigen Auflagen ist zu jeder Zeit in breiten Schichten relativ wenig bekannt; allerdings hat sie die Chance, im besten Sinne des Wortes volkstümlich zu werden, wenn sie von hervorragenden Komponisten wie Theodorakis vertont und von hervorragenden Interpreten wie Maria Farandouri dargeboten wird. Auch auf der eingangs erwähnten Frankfurter Buchmesse sang die Farandouri. (In Ländern, die über Jahrzehnte hinweg vergleichbare ökonomische und politische Bedingungen hatten, Spanien z. B., ist es offensichtlich ähnlich. – Gedichte müssen singbar sein, hat Brecht gesagt.) Daß die erfolgreiche Vertonung des "Epitaphios" auch für Theodorakis ein gewisser Wendepunkt in seiner Existenz war, sei am Rande vermerkt.

Im "Epitaphios" verwendet Ritsos, wie in seinen früheren Gedichten, den traditionellen, vom Volkslied her vertrauten Fünfzehnsilbler, paarweise gereimt, mit Anlehnung besonders an das Miroloji, das Klagelied. Schon mit zwölf Jahren hat er den Fünfzehnsilbler mühelos gehandhabt, mündlich wie schriftlich. 1937 veröffentlicht er "Das Lied meiner Schwester". Es ist seiner psychisch kranken Liebblingsschwester gewidmet. Das "Lied" markiert einen wichtigen Einschnitt in Ritsos' Schaffen: Er schreibt jetzt verhältnismäßig kurze Verse in freien Rhythmen, ohne Reime. Aus der 1954 publizierten "Prüfung" geht hervor, daß sich Ritsos schon 1935 mit den freien Rhythmen beschäftigt hat, ebenso wie andere griechische Dichter. – Der Band wird von Kostis Palamas, dem Patriarchen der griechischen Dichtung, enthusiastisch begrüßt. Auf einen der früheren Berufe von Ritsos anspielend schreibt er: "Die griechische Dichtung hat zum ersten Mal einen so kräftigen und mutigen Tänzer gefunden ... Wir treten beiseite, um dich vorbeizulassen."

In den Werken der nächsten Jahre bemüht sich Ritsos, die Schatten der Vergangenheit hinter sich zu lassen, etwa in der "Frühlingssinfonie", in "warmen Tönen einer Euphorie im Glück der Liebe", wie es die Übersetzerin I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea formuliert:

Du schreitest
in meinen verstaubten Räumen einher
in einem weiten Frühlingskleid,

das nach grünen Blättern duftet,
 nach frisch gewaschenem Himmel
 und nach Möwenflügeln
 über einem morgendlichen Meer.
 Sieh dir die Fotos an
 - die verstorbene Mutter
 der verstorbene Bruder
 und meine blasse Schwester
 mit den mondähnlichen Locken
 und mit einem feinen Lächeln,
 das auf ihrem Gesicht hängt
 wie ein Käfig mit Kanarienvögeln,
 der in einem ärmlichen Haus hängt,
 in dem alle gestorben sind.
 Wo ist ein Lastträger,
 der alle diese Möbel
 in den Keller brächte?
 Gehen wir in die Felder,
 um den Mohn und die Sonne
 und das frische Gras
 wie Ringe an den Fingern zu tragen.

(Übersetzung: Armin Kerker)

Partien aus der "Frühlingssinfonie" waren zusammen mit anderen Texten 1984 in Dresden im Rahmen der 7. Sinfonie von Theodorakis zu hören.

Die Gedichte der darauffolgenden Schaffensperiode reflektieren die italienisch-deutsche Besetzung und den Bürgerkrieg. In all diesen Jahren, unter schwersten Bedingungen, ist Ritsos produktiv wie kein anderer griechischer Schriftsteller, Kazantzakis ausgenommen. Der Schauspieler Manos Katrakis hat geschildert, wie sein Freund Ritsos in Makronisos oft vom frühen Morgen an geschrieben (und gezeichnet) hat, ohne an Essen und Trinken zu denken, und unter welchen Umständen! Dazu Ritsos selbst in "Herakles und wir":

Und wenn euch unsere Verse
 eines Tages ungeschickt erscheinen, denkt nur daran, daß sie geschrieben
 wurden
 unter den Augen der Wächter und mit der Lanze immer in unserer Seite.

Bei all dem hat Ritsos eine unerschütterliche Hoffnung auf ein besseres Morgen. Diese Hoffnung bringt beispielsweise das 1942 geschriebene, 1961 veröffentlichte Buch "Das letzte Jahrhundert vor dem Menschen" zum Ausdruck. 1945-47 schreibt Ritsos eines seiner berühmtesten Gedichte, "Romios-

ini", "Griechentum", sein Hohes Lied auf sein Land und sein Volk, gleichsam einen seiner – um es mit einem Hölderlin-Titel zu sagen – "Vaterländischen Gesänge", ungeachtet allen mediterranen Kolorits von ganz anderem Charakter, als ihn die sonst damals in Griechenland verbreitete Ägäis-Poesie hat. Hieß es etwa bei Jorgos Seferis, einem der bedeutendsten griechischen Dichter des 20. Jhs., in "Mythos Geschichte" (1935):

Unser Land ist umschlossen, nichts als Berge,
die ein niedriger Himmel überdacht, Tag und Nacht,
wir haben keine Flüsse, auch keine Brunnen, keine Quellen,
nur wenige Zisternen, und auch diese leer

- Verse, "deren Melancholie abstrakt bleibt", wie ihr Übersetzer Armin Kerker sagt, so heißt es in Ritsos' "Romiosini":

Diese Bäume dulden einen geringeren Himmel nicht,
diese Steine verweigern sich dem fremden Schritt,
diese Gesichter können nur unter der Sonne sein,
diese Herzen schlagen nicht, außer im Recht.
Diese Landschaft ist hart wie das Schweigen,
sie preßt in ihrem Schoß das heiße Gestein
[...] Es gibt kein Wasser.
Alle dürsten [...]
Ihre Hand klebt am Gewehr [...]

(Übersetzung: Thomas Nikolaou)

Ritsos besingt in diesem Gedicht (die Anfangszeile der zweiten Strophe hat der Reclam-Anthologie neugriechischer Lyrik von 1972 den Namen gegeben) das Griechenland der Beherrschten, der Unterdrückten, der Verfolgten. – "Romiosini", in Teilen von Theodorakis vertont, begeistert 1981 zum 11. Festival des Politischen Liedes in Berlin Tausende, ebenso wie die Makronisos-Kantate (nach Texten aus "Steinerne Zeit", 1957) in der Vertonung von Mikrutsikos.

Von der Ägäis-Poesie anderer griechischer Dichter, die ohne gesellschaftlichen Bezug ist, distanziert sich Ritsos auch in "A.B.C." (die drei Buchstaben bezeichnen Verbannten-Bataillone auf Makronisos):

[...] Und das Meer der Ägäis war blau wie immer,
sehr blau, nur blau.
Ach ja, wir sprachen einmal von der Ägäis-Poesie,
von der nackten Brust der Nixe, auf die ein Anker gestickt war,
vom Licht des Meeres, das Gardinen für die Möwen häkelt. –
300 Ermordete.
Ja, wir sprachen von der Ägäis-Poesie:

der Krebs träumt auf nassen Felsen
 im Sonnenuntergang
 wie eine kleine Bronzestatue im Ozean. –
 600 wurden wahnsinnig [...]

(Übersetzung: Vagelis Tsakiridis)

Zu den besonders bekannt gewordenen Gedichten der 50er Jahre gehört "Der Mann mit der Nelke", 1952 dem im gleichen Jahr ermordeten Arbeiterführer Nikos Belojannis gewidmet, der bei der Urteilsverkündung eine rote Nelke in der Hand hatte. So auch auf dem Porträt, das Picasso geschaffen hat; es ist auf dem Umschlag der schon erwähnten Anthologie "Diese Landschaft ist hart wie das Schweigen" wiedergegeben. – 1956 erscheint die "Mondscheinsonate", die erste in einer langen Reihe monologischer Dichtungen, nachzulesen z. B. in der Übersetzung von Recha Rothschild in "Sinn und Form" 9 (1957), mit einer Vorbemerkung von Aragon. Ritsos zeigt darin, daß die alte Welt zum Untergang verurteilt ist; daß in ihr zwar der Wunsch, nicht aber die Fähigkeit existiert, etwas zu verändern. – Das Gedicht wird in kürzester Zeit in 20 Sprachen übersetzt. Die griechische Regierung kann nicht umhin, Ritsos mit dem Großen Staatspreis für Dichtung auszuzeichnen.

1969, in der Zeit der Junta, aus dem KZ entlassen, aber unter Hausarrest, schreibt Ritsos "Milos geschleift". Das Gedicht erscheint 1971, in der Zeit einer gewissen Liberalisierung, in den "Nea Kimena", den "Neuen Texten", einer Anthologie mit mehr oder weniger gegen die Obristen gerichteten Tendenz. (Näheres dazu in der Leipziger Promotionschrift 1980 von Ursula Novotny: Die kulturpolitische Lage in Griechenland in der Zeit der Junta-Herrschaft [1967-1974] unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der literarischen Situation.) In "Milos geschleift" erzählen drei alte Frauen von der barbarischen Behandlung der Insel Melos, neugriechisch Milos (am bekanntesten unter dem italienischen Namen Milo: Venus von Milo), deren Gemeinwesen im 5. Jh. v. Chr. athenischer Aggression die Stirn bietet, schweren Repressalien ausgesetzt ist, schließlich aber neu zu existieren beginnt – ein Sinnbild der Unbezwingbarkeit antidiktatorischen Widerstands. Dieses Gedicht hat 1979 einer bibliophilen Auswahl von Ritsos-Werken im Reclam-Verlag (mit einer Radierung und Federzeichnungen von Giacomo Manzù) den Titel gegeben.

Lange war uns Ritsos vor allem als politischer Lyriker vertraut. Doch hat er, schon seit langem, besonders intensiv etwa seit 1980, auch weiblicher Schönheit und körperlicher Liebe gehuldigt, so in dem Zyklus "Erotika" (deutsch: Berlin 1983); vorher erschien in Übersetzung bereits ein Teil dieses Zyklus, die "Kleine Suite in rotem Dur", wobei Rot hier Symbolfarbe des Eros ist):

Schlaf an meiner Brust / sagtest du / und ich durchwachte die Nacht
 an deiner Brust
 Meine Hände erinnern sich deiner
 Sie zieht sich an zieht sich aus / Feuer ihre Kleider / Feuer ihre Nacktheit

- schöne Gedichte auf intimste partnerschaftliche Augenblicke, auf die enthusiastische Wirkung scheuer Berührung ebenso wie stürmischer Umarmung.

An die hundert längere Gedichte bzw. Gedichtzyklen, Dramen, Essays (so über Block, Majakowski, Eluard), Übersetzungen (meist von Lyrik, auch von Kinderbüchern) liegen vor – ein kaum noch überschaubares Oeuvre, geschuldet der nicht nachlassenden Produktivität dieses Dichters, der sich überdies neuen Genres zuwandte: der Erzählung, dem Roman. 1955 schreibt Ritsos anlässlich der Geburt seiner Tochter "Der Morgenstern. Kleine Enzyklopädie der Diminutive für meine Tochter Eri". Ich gäbe gern eine Probe, aber die im Griechischen meist stark emotional getönten Verkleinerungs- oder "Schmeichelwörter" sind im Deutschen viel seltener: "Töchterchen", "Gärtchen" sind in unserer Sprache möglich, aber nicht Diminutive von "Lilie", "Schlaf" usw. – Ritsos' Werk wäre noch umfangreicher, wären nicht viele Manuskripte unter dem Zugriff der Asfalia, der Sicherheitspolizei, verlorengegangen.

Ritsos ist auf vielfältige Weise bemüht, Realität realistisch zu gestalten, Zusammenhänge deutlich zu machen: zu den "Wurzeln der Welt" vorzustößen (nach dem gleichnamigen Gedicht heißt die 1970 in Berlin erschienene Ritsos-Auswahl). In dem Gedicht "Hypothek" (1969) sagt er: "Ich schreibe einen Vers, ich schreibe die Welt; ich existiere, die Welt existiert". Für Ritsos muß und kann die Welt mit dichterischen Mitteln verändert werden. Vertrat Seferis die Ansicht "Sprechen nützt nichts; die Meinung der Mächtigen, wer kann sie schon umstimmen? Wer wird gehört werden?", so Ritsos: "Viele Gedichte sind wie Waffen" ("Die Verpflichtung der Dichter", 1958). Ferdinand Freiligrath hatte 1841 verkündet: "Der Dichter steht auf einer höhern Warte als auf den Zinnen der Partei." Ritsos hat sich nie gescheut, als Dichter auf den Zinnen der Partei zu stehen, der er seit 1931 angehörte. Bemerkenswert aber, daß er in seine linke Dichtung zumindest im letzten Viertel seines Lebens eine zunehmend undogmatische Gesinnung eingebracht hat: "Wir vergaßen nie die Dialektik, wir umgingen nicht die unbeantwortbarsten Fragen" ("Das ungeheuerere Meisterwerk"; Übersetzung: Asteris Kutulas). Manche der aphorismenartigen "Monochorde" (1979) des Kommunisten Ritsos, möglicherweise im Hinblick auf die Situation in der Kommunistischen Partei Griechenlands bzw. überhaupt der kommunistischen Bewegung abgefaßt, hätten in Ostdeutschland Beachtung finden sollen, wo Ritsos sehr

bekannt und beliebt war: "Einspuriger Weg führt nicht in die Zukunft", "Dieser Mensch ist heiser geworden – durch sein Schweigen", "Sie wälzten ihre Sünden auf andere ab und wurden so heilig" (Übersetzung: Asteris Kutulas). Überhaupt wich er keiner politischen, keiner ästhetischen Diskussion aus. Im "Ungeheueren Meisterwerk" spricht er vom "Beschluß der illegalen Parteileitung, wo die Genossen mit brüderlicher Sorge die Beschwerde formulierten, daß meine neuen Gedichte bestimmte metaphysische Tendenzen umranken, und ich antwortete mit weit metaphysischeren Gedichten eines weit tieferen Realismus, ungefähr wie der von Sdhanow, aber auch zusammen mit den verurteilten Katzen der Achmatova" (Übersetzung: A. Kutulas. Sdhanow war einer der engstirnigsten sowjetischen Kulturpolitiker, die Achmatova wohl die bedeutendste russische Dichterin, die in der UdSSR große Probleme hatte).

Ritsos ist einer der wichtigsten Vertreter der linken griechischen Literatur. In Griechenland anfangs offiziell totgeschwiegen oder abgelehnt – im Unterschied etwa zu Seferis, der ebenfalls zuerst in den 30er Jahren mit Gedichtbänden hervortrat –, war er in seiner Heimat und außerhalb seit den 50er Jahren der mit Abstand bekannteste und anerkannteste lebende griechische Dichter, erlangte er eine Bedeutung, "die selbst seine ihm nicht gewogenen Kritiker anerkennen müssen", wie Pavlos Tzermias bereits 1969 in der "Neuen Zürcher Zeitung" feststellte. Dabei gab es eine Zeitlang die Tendenz, sein Werk zu 'entschärfen'; Armin Kerker polemisierte in einem Gedicht von 1973 dagegen:

Für Jannis Ritsos
 Als sie es nicht mehr leugnen konnten,
 daß da in Hellas
 jemand war,
 der seine Stimme erhob,
 gemeinsam mit den Tabakarbeitern
 aus Saloniki
 die streikten und dafür erschossen wurden,
 daß da im fernen Griechenland
 ein Dichter Worte fand
 für unterdrückte Bauern
 die sie auch verstanden;
 als sie ihn also
 selbst durch Folter
 nicht zum Schweigen bringen
 und trotz seiner aufwiegelnden Lieder
 nicht verschweigen konnten,
 entdeckten sie,

die ihn lieber tot als rot gesehen hätten,
 in seinen Werken
 "stille Altersreife",
 "schweres Leid" und "tiefgeprüfte Trauer",
 "zögernde Hoffnung" einer "noterfahrenen Weisheit".
 Es ist jetzt nötiger denn je,
 ihn vor diesen zu schützen.

Die ganze griechische "(Literatur-)Generation von 1930" – Seferis, Embirikos (*1901), Elytis (*1911) und Ritsos – wurde inhaltlich und gestalterisch stark von der übrigen zeitgenössischen europäischen Lyrik beeinflusst, von Eluard etwa. Einige Jahrzehnte zuvor hatte Rimbaud, Hauptvertreter des frühen Symbolismus, gesagt: "Il faut être absolument moderne." Davon ließen sich in den 30er Jahren auch die jungen griechischen Dichter leiten; sie wurden vor allem vom Symbolismus bestimmt mit seinen explosiven, überschäumenden Wortketten, kühnen Metaphern, Träumen. Ritsos war nicht so extrem wie andere griechische Dichter, übernahm z. B. nicht die "automatische Schreibweise": das Verfahren, impulsiv, unreflektiert, ästhetisch unverarbeitet alles niederzuschreiben, was einem in den Sinn kommt. Zudem unterschied er sich von den anderen Dichtern seiner Generation von Anfang an durch bewußte Hinwendung zu den Ideen der Oktoberrevolution und zu der von der modernen Technik geprägten Welt. Unter seinen Vorbildern nennt er Eluard, Aragon, Neruda, Garcia Lorca, Majakowski, Ehrenburg ... Gewiß, obwohl Ritsos weniger modernistisch ist als andere Dichter seiner Generation: Auch bei ihm ist nicht alles auf Anhieb verständlich, weshalb eben die Leute, die das schwer Verständliche eines Seferis als "wahre Dichtung" preisen, Ritsos vorwerfen, seine Gedichte würden nicht von Arbeitern, Bauern und Fischern gelesen (was diesen seinen Kritikern ja nur recht sein könnte), sondern von Intellektuellen. Zu diesem Thema sagte ich schon einiges, vor allem zur Massenwirksamkeit vieler von Theodorakis vertonter Gedichte. (Sie war wohl einer der Gründe dafür, daß die Junta 1967 jede Theodorakis-Musik verbot.) Nicht immer leicht zu verstehen sind Ritsos-Texte zumal dort, wo kein Kontext existiert, wie bei den "Monochorden". In "Notwendige Erklärung" äußert er dazu: "Es gibt bestimmte Verse – manchmal sogar ganze Gedichte -, von denen ich selbst nicht weiß, was sie bedeuten. Was ich nicht weiß, erhält mich. Du hast recht zu fragen. Aber frag mich nicht." (Übersetzung: Niki und Hans Eideneier). – Trösten wir uns in solchen Fällen mit dem Bonmot des Sokrates über Heraklits Schriften: Sie seien dunkel, aber aus der Vortrefflichkeit dessen, was er, Sokrates, verstehe, schließe er auf die Vortrefflichkeit auch dessen, was er nicht verstehe ...

Bedeutsam die – so Bernd Jentzsch und Klaus-Dieter Sommer – "fast schon magische Kraft, die er den Gegenständen verleiht", die etwa als "stumme Zeugen der Leidenschaft" eine Rolle spielen wie in den Liebesgedichten der "Kleinen Suite": die Sandale der Geliebten, der Aschenbecher, der hölzerne Stuhl; "in den einfachen Dingen [...] werden innere Zusammenhänge, die Wurzeln der Welt sichtbar".

Bei einem griechischen Dichter der Neuzeit ist mit Antikerezeption zu rechnen. Auch im Werk von Ritsos existieren zahlreiche antike Gestalten und Vorgänge (Helena, Tiresias, Philoktet, Orest, Iphigenie, Ismene, Phädra; die Schleifung von Milos); im "Ungeheueren Meisterwerk" erinnert sich Ritsos des "herrlichen daktylischen Hexameters Homers". Natürlich gibt es bei ihm keine Antikerezeption um der Antikerezeption willen, er hat nicht die Absicht – um es mit einer Formulierung Brechts zu sagen, – "philologische Interessen zu bedienen", aber das hat ohnehin noch nie ein Dichter von Format getan.

Um von der Fülle der von Ritsos benutzten Gestaltungsprinzipien wenigstens noch zwei Eindrücke zu vermitteln: Satire findet sich ebenso wie Humor. Satire z. B. in "Die Nachbarschaften der Welt" (1951, publiziert 1957), dem Volksepos der griechischen Linken, einer Überschau über Besetzung, Widerstand, Befreiung, Bürgerkrieg. Ein Auszug aus der ersten deutschen Übersetzung dieses Werkes von Erasmus Schöfer erschien in "Sinn und Form" 1/1985. Hier ein Abschnitt des 14. Kapitels:

Hört wie dieser Wind aus den Wäldern
pfeift in die Städte der Zukunft!
Er ist groß dieser Wind
fröhlich ist er
und rauh dieser Wind.
Und Mr. Churchill friert und Mr. Truman friert
...
Bedauert ihn doch, ihr Schwarzen, den Mr. Truman
den Mr. Truman den seine Atombombe nicht wärmt
den Mr. Truman der euch so bedauert, ihr Schwarzen,
den Mr. Truman der Korea so sehr bedauert
und so sehr auch Griechenland, bedauert ihn, Gefangene von Makronisos,
bedauert ihn, Eingesperrte, Erhängte, Hingerichtete
...

Eine humoristische, gelöste Erzählweise ist vor allem in Ritsos' letzten Lebensjahren stärker hervorgetreten, etwa in der "Ariost"-Erzählung (sie wurde 1982 veröffentlicht, ist aber wesentlich früher entstanden): "Gegenüber, das erleuchtete Museum. Durch das große Fenster das steinerne Haupt von Zeus ohne Bart. Ob ein Friseur für Statuen existiert?", oder in

"Das ungeheuerere Meisterwerk" von 1977: "Ich küßte sie am Ohr genau an jener Stelle, an der, wenn sie ihn besäße, ein rubinbesetzter Ohrring hinge ...".

In seiner Heimat offiziell anerkannt war Ritsos spätestens mit der Verleihung des Großen Staatspreises für Dichtung, Mitte der 50er Jahre, auf die "Mondscheinsonate" hin. Dieses Gedicht, rasch in 20 Sprachen übertragen, von bereits 'Arrivierten' wie Aragon enthusiastisch begrüßt, trug in starkem Maße dazu bei, Ritsos im Ausland bekanntzumachen. Heute liegen Werke von ihm in mehrere Dutzend Sprachen übersetzt vor. Besonders lebhaft war die Ritsos-Rezeption in Frankreich, zu dem Griechenland über lange Jahre hinweg enge kulturelle Beziehungen hatte: Griechen, zumal Künstler und Schriftsteller, lebten zeitweilig in Frankreich und ließen sich von der französischen Kultur beeinflussen – ich sprach schon vom Symbolismus und vom Surrealismus –; auch der Lyriker Elytis war, durch Übersetzungen und literaturkritische Arbeiten über ihn, in Frankreich viel eher bekannt als im deutschsprachigen Raum. Im Zusammenhang mit Ritsos fielen hier schon die Namen Aragon, Eluard und Picasso (er lebte seit 1903 in Frankreich). *Ein* Werk von Ritsos erschien überhaupt zuerst in Frankreich: "Steine Wiederholungen Gitter", 1971 griechisch/französisch in Paris, mit Vorwort von Aragon; in Griechenland konnte es erst 1972, in der Phase einer gewissen Liberalisierung, gedruckt werden. Pablo Neruda, Botschafter seines Landes in Paris, schrieb "seinem Bruder Jannis Ritsos" ein Geleitwort zur Reclam-/Anthologie "Diese Landschaft ist hart wie das Schweigen" (1972); leider hatte schon 1973 Ritsos Anlaß, seinerseits "seinem Bruder Pablo Neruda" ein Wort ins Grab nachzurufen. In Deutschland gab es zahlreiche Solidariserungen mit Ritsos, zumal nach der 'Machtergreifung' der Junta (Günter Kunert, Jannis Ritsos nicht zu vergessen, 1968), aber auch schon vorher (Adolf Endler, *Der griechische Dichter oder Schwielowsee* 1958 [1960]). Für diesen wichtigen Vorgang verweise ich auf die Leipziger Promotionsschrift 1980 von Efstathia Kraidi: DDR-Literatur in der künstlerischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte Griechenlands seit der faschistischen Okkupation. Joachim Seyppel berichtete in seinem Buch "Hellas, Geburt einer Tyranis" (Westberlin 1968, teilweise identisch mit seinem "Griechischen Mosaik", Ostberlin 1970), wie er in Griechenland nach dem verhafteten Ritsos fragt. Ritsos-Gedichte schrieben in der Bundesrepublik beispielsweise Armin Kerker und Margarete Hanssmann; im großen HAP-Griehaber-Katalog von 1977 "Kato i diktatoria. Contra la Junta" sind zahlreiche Ritsos-Gedichte zitiert. In der Schweiz solidarisierte sich Max Frisch mit Ritsos.

Die Beschäftigung mit dem Schaffen von Ritsos beginne im deutschsprachigen Raum erst allmählich, während es in Frankreich und anderswo schon bekannt sei, stellte Tzermias 1969 in der "Neuen Zürcher Zeitung" fest. (Warum das so war, sagte ich bereits.) Es ist richtig, wenn damals in der

Schweizer Zeitschrift "Propyläen" ein Kritiker darauf hinwies, daß an moderner griechischer Literatur in der Bundesrepublik der 50er/60er Jahre fast nur die bedeutenden, nur eben etwas esoterischen Dichter Kavafis und Seferis eine Rolle spielten, allenfalls noch Kazantzakis, nach dem Welterfolg seines "Sorbas" (der aber auch der Erfolg der Verfilmung mit Anthony Quinn in der Titelrolle und mit der Musik von Theodorakis war). Noch Brecht († 1956) nahm offensichtlich keine Notiz von seinem griechischen Gesinnungsgenossen. Selbst in dem Sammelband "Internationale Literatur des sozialistischen Realismus 1917-1945" (Berlin, Weimar 1978) wurde Ritsos, wurde die ganze griechische linke Literatur im Unterschied zu derjenigen anderer nichtsozialistischer Länder überhaupt nicht erwähnt. Die erste deutschsprachige Ritsos-Auswahl in Buchform erschien schließlich erst 1968 in Westberlin. Wenn seinerzeit im Zusammenhang mit der Ritsos-Rezeption jemand sagte: "Wir kümmern uns wenig um Tradition und Eigenart der Poesie Griechenlands, obwohl wir es gern besuchen", so mag das damals für die Bundesrepublik gegolten haben; in der DDR waren Griechenlandreisen bis zur Wende fast unmöglich. Die erste Ritsos-Auswahlübersetzung erschien dort zwar erst 1970 ("Die Wurzeln der Welt"), doch wurden von 1951 an wiederholt einzelne Gedichte in Übersetzung in Zeitschriften wie "Sinn und Form" und Anthologien gedruckt. An Ritsos gleichgesinnten, gleich bedeutenden Dichtern sind in Ostdeutschland vor Ritsos Aragon und Neruda heimisch geworden; allerdings ist das Französische und selbst das Spanische keine solche Sprachbarriere wie das Neugriechische. Seit 1979 wurden immer wieder Ritsos-Werke deutsch in Buchform verlegt (einige nannte ich), darunter mehrere bibliophile Ausgaben, so 1987 vom "Ungeheueren Meisterwerk" mit einer Originalgrafik von Ritsos. Ritsos-Pflege fand in vielfältigen Formen statt. Da gab es Aufführungen vertonter Ritsos-Gedichte beim 11. Festival des Politischen Liedes (1981) und bei den Dresdner Musikfestspielen 1984, da gab es den TV-Dokumentarfilm "Sag Himmel auch wenn keiner ist" (1984) und Rundfunksendungen. Im Mai 1984 lasen im Gohliser Schloßchen Leipzig Ritsos-Übersetzer und -Nachdichter aus seinem Oeuvre; anschließend bedankte sich der Dichter mit einer temperament- und geistvollen Rede über Poesie und Literaturwissenschaft sowie mit der Rezitation seines Gedichtes "Irimi" ("Frieden") in griechischer Sprache; dies tat er mit einem Nuancenreichtum, um den ihn mancher berufsmäßige Sprecher beneiden konnte.

Einen Tag später wurde Ritsos im Alten Senatssaal der Universität Leipzig in Anwesenheit des griechischen Botschafters mit der Ehrendoktorwürde der Leipziger Alma mater ausgezeichnet, "in Würdigung seines reichen lyrischen, epischen und dramatischen Schaffens, das einen gewichtigen Beitrag zur Weltliteratur darstellt; in Anerkennung seiner unbeugsamen politischen Haltung auch in dunkelsten Zeiten der Geschichte; in Hervorhebung

seiner vielfältigen Aktivitäten im Dienste der Freundschaft zwischen den Völkern". (Leipzig war, nach Saloniki und Birmingham, das dritte Neogräzistik-Zentrum, das Ritsos zum Dr. h. c. machte.) Auch hier stattete der Dichter seinen Dank mit einer Ansprache ab, die mit denselben Epitheta charakterisiert werden kann wie die im Gohliser Schlößchen. Ich zitiere Auszüge: "Heute ist ein großer Tag für mich. Und es ist ein eigenartiger Zufall: die Universität Leipzig wurde 1409 gegründet, und ich wurde 1909 geboren, das heißt, 500 Jahre nach der Gründung der Universität ist der Tag meiner Geburt. Und in diesem Jahr, da Sie den 575. Jahrestag der Gründung der Leipziger Universität feiern, feiere ich meinen 75. Geburtstag, das heißt, ich bin in gewisser Weise ein Altersgenosse der Leipziger Universität, nur eben 500 Jahre jünger. Wenn wir aber die griechische Tradition dazurechnen, die, ob ich will oder nicht, nicht nur in meinem Empfinden, sondern auch in meinen Adern kreist, kann ich sagen, daß ich zwei bis drei Jahrtausende älter bin als die Universität Leipzig.

Ich würde Ihnen gern noch vieles sagen. Aber eine Rede, selbst die kürzeste, wird durch eine Übersetzung doppelt so lang. Und in diesem Fall trifft die Verstimmung des Publikums sowohl den Redner als auch den unschuldigen, bedauernswerten Übersetzer. So werde ich Ihnen, um Sie nicht noch mehr zu ermüden, keine Rede über die Dichtung halten ... Ich schließe, indem ich meine große innere Bewegung über die große Ehre zum Ausdruck bringe, die Sie mir durch die Verleihung der Ehrendoktorwürde der großen Universität Leipzig erwiesen haben ... Vergessen wir nicht, daß an dieser Universität ein Lessing, ein Leibniz, ein großer, ein sehr großer Goethe studiert haben. Den Titel eines Ehrendoktors haben hier wirklich große Dichter erhalten wie mein Freund Pablo Neruda und ich betrachte es als große Ehre, daß in der Liste der Ehrendoktoren Ihrer Universität auch mein Name stehen wird."

Eine Begegnung mit Ritsos hatte ich außer in Leipzig auch in Athen. Dort besuchte ich ihn in seiner Wohnung in Athen im Bezirk Ajos Konstantinos (keinem Nobelviertel), im vierten Stockwerk; gegenüber eine Schule mit lärmenden Kindern im Hof. Ritsos empfing mich in der 'offiziellen' Wohnung für Besucher: Wände und Fußboden fast gänzlich bedeckt mit Ritsos-Werken im Original und in Übersetzung (es gibt Übertragungen in einige Dutzend Sprachen); mit Gemälden und Fotos von Ritsos und seiner Frau; mit den bemalten Steinen, von denen ich sprach – ein Museum, kaum Platz zum Treten, kaum freie Sitzgelegenheiten. Zu literarischer Produktion, ließ ich mir sagen, pflegte sich Ritsos in eine Zweitwohnung, im gleichen Haus, zurückzuziehen. Ritsos hatte mich erwartet. So unterbrach er, als ich kam, die Arbeit, mit der er gerade befaßt war: zusammen mit einer Mitarbeiterin für das Cover einer ausländischen Edition ein passendes Ritsos-Foto herauszusuchen. (Auf Selbstinszenierung hat sich der Meister vortrefflich verstanden; das wurde bei

vielen Gelegenheiten deutlich.) Dafür klingelte pausenlos das Telefon, und mehrfach waren es Anrufe, denen Ritsos sich stellen mußte, so, als die Witwe seines eben verstorbenen Freundes Manos Katrakis Trost und Rat suchte ...

Ritsos sind viele gewichtige Ehrungen innerhalb und außerhalb seiner Heimat zuteilgeworden. Den höchsten internationalen Literaturpreis, den Nobelpreis, erhielt er nicht; im Vergleich zu den griechischen Dichtern Seferis und Elytis, die 1963 bzw. 1979 mit ihm ausgezeichnet wurden, war er dem Preiskomitee wohl zu weit links. Immerhin hat dieses Gremium den Preis 1971 dem ebenfalls sehr weit links stehenden Pablo Neruda zuerkannt, der, als er ihn empfing, äußerte, er kenne jemanden, der ein größeres Recht auf diesen Preis habe: Jannis Ritsos ... Nicht nach Verdienst bekannt ist Ritsos' noble Reaktion auf die Verleihung jenes Preises an Elytis. Er gratulierte ihm mit den schönen Worten: "Die Verleihung des Nobelpreises an unseren großen Dichter Elytis ist eine große Ehre vor allem für den Nobelpreis. Elytis selbst hat schon die bedeutendsten 'Preise' bekommen: weiteste Anerkennung und die Liebe des ganzen griechischen Volkes." Dies ist eines der denkwürdigsten documents humains. Auch Jannis Ritsos genießt die "weiteste Anerkennung und Liebe" des griechischen Volkes, und nicht nur des griechischen.



Friedmar Kühnert

Am 18. September 2002 verschied in Jena nach langer Krankheit Friedmar Kühnert, emeritierter Professor der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und Mitglied der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Sein Tod hat nicht nur seine Kollegen und Freunde in Deutschland, sondern auch in vielen anderen Ländern, insbesondere in Georgien, betroffen gemacht.

Er wurde am 16. November 1924 in Dreißigacker (Thüringen) geboren. Seit dem Studium der Lateinischen und Griechischen Philologie an der Universität Jena (1945-1950) bei den berühmten Altertumswissenschaftlern Karl Barwick und Friedrich Zucker führte er eine aktive Lehrtätigkeit und Forschungsarbeit in der Klassischen Philologie. Er promovierte in Jena über Quintilians "Institutio oratoria". Seine Habilitationsschrift "Allgemeinbildung und Fachbildung in der Antike" (1957), die 1961 publiziert wurde, gilt bis heute als ein Standardwerk im Bereich der Bildungsproblematik in der Antike. Seit 1951 hat er im Institut für klassische Philologie (später: Institut für Altertumswissenschaften) der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena alle Stufen der wissenschaftlichen Karriere – vom Assistenten bis zum Professor mit Lehrstuhl (1966) – absolviert. 1961 wurde er Direktor des Instituts für Altertumskunde. Dank seiner Autorität und Umsicht gelang es Herrn Kühnert, während der Dritten Hochschulreform der DDR im Jahre 1968 in seiner Universität die Altertumswissenschaften als Lehr- und Forschungsrichtung nicht nur zu retten, sondern trotz allen Schwierigkeiten weiterzuentwickeln. Seit 1969 leitete er das damals gegründete Institut für Altertumswissenschaften. Jahrelang war Jena in der DDR faktisch das einzige Universitätszentrum im Bereich der Altertumswissenschaften, das sowohl wissenschaftliche Arbeit als auch aktive Lehrtätigkeit führte.

Die Hauptarbeitsgebiete von Friedmar Kühnert waren: Bildungswesen und Rhetorik in der Antike, römische Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, Antike-rezeption, Geschichte der klassischen Philologie. Seine Publikationen und seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit fanden internationale Anerkennung, wie Besprechungen in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften, seine systematischen Einladungen zur Realisation verschiedener Forschungsprojekte, in Herausgebergremien und Beiräte, zu Gastvorlesungen und Kongreßvorträgen bestätigen.¹

Für uns war sehr wichtig seine Tätigkeit in der Sphäre der Festigung der vielseitigen Beziehungen zwischen den Universitäten Jena und Tbilisi, insbesondere zwischen deutschen und georgischen Altertumswissenschaftlern. Zum ersten Mal kam er nach Tbilisi Ende der 60-er Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts zusammen mit seinem Kollegen, dem Gräzisten Ernst Günther Schmidt.² Faktisch war er der erste deutsche Professor für Klassische Philologie, der in der Universität Tbilisi Gastvorträge und Vorlesungen gehalten hat. Seitdem ist Friedmar Kühnert ein echter Freund unserer Universität und überhaupt Georgiens geworden. Die Beziehungen zwischen unseren Altertumswissenschaftlern bekamen regelmäßigen Charakter und wurden wissenschaftlich ertragreich.

Die Universitäten Tbilisi und Jena haben neun gemeinsame internationale Konferenzen im Bereich der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft veranstaltet. Die Vorträge wurden in Spezialbänden in Deutschland und Georgien herausgegeben. Diese Beziehungen haben eine große Rolle für die Entwicklung der Altertumswissenschaft an der Universität Tbilisi gespielt, weil sie uns die einzigartige Möglichkeit gaben, die Forschungsergebnisse der georgischen Altertumswissenschaftlern sowohl für die "sozialistischen" Länder als auch für den "kapitalistischen" Westen zugänglich machen und mit unseren Kollegen nicht nur in Jena, sondern auch in Leipzig, Berlin, Halle und faktisch überhaupt in Westeuropa feste Kontakte aufzubauen.³

Friedmar Kühnert war für mich und meine Kollegen in Tbilisi ein echter Freund, der Georgien gut kannte und liebte. Diese Liebe hat er an seine Gattin Barbara Kühnert, unsere geschätzte Kollegin, übergeben. Das fühlte jeder von uns sowohl während des Aufenthaltes in Deutschland als auch in Georgien. Friedmar Kühnerts liches Andenken wird in unserem Institut noch lange bewahrt werden.

¹ Ausführlicher mit Bibliographie vgl. J. Werner, Friedmar Kühnert (16.11.1924 – 18.9.2002), Jahrbuch 2001-2002. Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Stuttgart/Leipzig 2003, 551 ff.

² Prof. Dr. E. G. Schmidt verstarb 1999. Vgl. R. Gordesiani, Ernst Günther Schmidt, Phasis, 4, 2001, 145 ff.

³ Ausführlicher vgl. R. Gordesiani, E. G. Schmidt, Tbilisi und Jena – Klassische Philologen kooperieren, Philologus 129, 1985, 299 ff.



Otar Lordkipanidze

Am 19. Mai 2002 ist der berühmte Archäologe Otar Lordkipanidze unerwartet im Alter von 71 Jahren verstorben.

Otar Lordkipanidze – Mitglied der georgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Direktor des Zentrums für archäologische Forschungen, Professor der Staatlichen Universität Tbilissi (Lehrstuhl für Archäologie), Leiter der Ausgrabungen in Vani, Träger der Alexander von Humboldt Medaille sowie georgischer Staatspreise war weltbekannt sowohl durch seine Ausgrabungen in Westgeorgien, als auch durch zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Publikationen. Sein unerwarteter Tod ist ein großer Verlust für die Altertumswissenschaft und für seine Kollegen und Freunde in der ganzen Welt.

Er ist am 30. Oktober 1930 in Tbilissi geboren. 1948-53 – studierte er an der Universität Tbilissi (Geschichte Georgiens), 1953-57 – an der staatlichen Universität Leningrad (Klassische Archäologie und Klassische Philologie). Seit 1957 – arbeitete er im Institut für Geschichte, Archäologie und Ethnographie der Akademie der Wissenschaften von Georgien. 1958 – wurde er mit der Doktorarbeit -Handwerkbetrieb und Handel in Mtskhetha in 1.- 3. Jh. n. Chr." promoviert, 1966 – habilitierte er sich mit der Arbeit "Antike Welt und altes Georgien" und 1977 begründete er die wichtigste archäologische Institution in Georgien – das Zentrum für Archäologische Forschungen. Hier werden alle archäologischen Fundplätze Georgiens, sowie die Probleme der Alten Geschichte des Kaukasus und der Antiken Welt erforscht. Bis zu seinem Tode war er Direktor dieses Zentrums. Im April organisierte er zum Anlass des 25 jährigen Jubiläums des Zentrums eine internationale Konferenz

über das Thema „Georgische Archaeologie im 21. Jahrhundert. Erfahrungen der Vergangenheit und Zukunftsperspektiven“.

Er ist Autor von etwa 20 Monographien und über 200 Artikeln, die sowohl in Georgien als auch im Ausland in georgischer, russischer, englischer, deutscher, französischer, italienischer und bulgarischer Sprache veröffentlicht wurden. Für das Buch „Archäologie in Georgien von der Altsteinzeit bis zum Mittelalter“ (in deutscher Sprache), Weinheim 1991 wurde ihm ein spezieller Orden und „Ehrenorden“ erteilt. Noch eine Monographie in deutscher Sprache: „Das alte Georgien (Kolchis und Iberien) in Strabons Geographie“, die in Amsterdam 1996 erschien, zeigt die große Bedeutung dieses Werkes für das Studium der georgischen Geschichte in der Antike.

Er hielt Vorlesungen und Vorträge an den Universitäten und wissenschaftlichen Zentren in Deutschland, England, Frankreich, Italien, Österreich, Schweiz, Spanien, Griechenland, Tschechien, Polen, Bulgarien, Türkei, Israel, Iran, USA, Kanada.

Otar Lordkipanidze war Begründer (1977) und Organisator der internationalen Symposien von Vani, die eine sehr grosse Rolle bei der weltweiten Anerkennung georgischen Archäologie gespielt haben. 1997 organisierte er in Tbilissi eine internationale Konferenz über die Probleme der Geschichte des Kaukasischen Iberiens (Königreich von Kartli).

1987 wurde unter seiner Leitung und mit seiner Initiative das archäologische Museum in Vani gegründet. Er initiierte die Ausstellung „Georgien-Schätze aus dem Land des Goldenen Vlieses“ als erste Exposition, die vom Zentrum für Archäologischen Forschungen von Tbilissi in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Deutschen Bergbaumuseum Bochum ausserhalb Georgiens organisiert wurde.

Seine Verdienste um die georgische Archäologie wurden international gewürdigt. Er war: Korrespondierendes Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Mitglied der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft der Polnischen Archäologie, Mitglied des Redaktionskollegiums der französischen Zeitschrift „Pontos Euxeinus“, Mitglied des internationalen Rats der Indoeuropäischen und Thrakologischen Forschungen; Mitglied der Kommission von LIMC, Mitglied der Internationalen Assoziation der Klassischen Archäologie (Rom); Ehrenmitglied des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz; Mitglied der Königlichen Akademie von Spanien.

Unter seiner Betreuung wurden 20 Doktorarbeiten geschrieben.

Für die Mitarbeiter des Instituts für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Staatlichen Universität Tbilisi und des Redaktionskollegiums unserer Zeitschrift hatte die Freundschaft und Zusammenarbeit mit Otar Lordkipanidze große wissenschaftliche und menschliche Bedeutung. Es ist kein Zufall, dass unter seinen zahlreichen Zukunftsplänen Enzyklopädie

der Caucasus Antiquus – gemeinsame Projekt unseres Instituts und des Zentrums für archäologischen Forschungen eine so große Rolle spielte.

Wir werden ihm ein bleibendes Andenken bewahren.

Redaktionskollegium

BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

SHORT VERSIONS

Ekaterina Gamkrelidze. Der Lateinische Lehnwortschatz.
Sprachliche Kontakte in Altitalien, Logos, Tbilissi 2002, 305 S.

Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt einen Versuch dar, die Sphären des lateinischen Wortschatzes darzustellen, die in verschiedenen Entwicklungsstadien des Lateinischen von Nachbarsprachen beeinflusst wurden. In dieser Hinsicht wird besonders der Hintergrund (Zweisprachigkeit, soziolinguistische und soziokulturelle Faktoren) berücksichtigt, der diese Prozesse hervorgerufen hat und den Untergang der einheimischen Idiome und die Verbreitung des Lateinischen auf der ganzen Apenninhalbinsel zur Folge hatte. Der aus den Nachbarsprachen entlehnte Wortschatz des Lateinischen, entstanden durch diese Prozesse, ist im Buch nach semantischen Gruppen geordnet und in Form eines semantischen Wörterbuches dargestellt.

Ungeachtet dessen, dass die dem lateinischen Lehnwortschatz gewidmeten Studien sehr zahlreich sind, betreffen sie hauptsächlich die Sprachgeschichte oder sie setzen sich nur mit einzelnen Fragen der Entwicklung der lateinischen Sprache auseinander. Die Berücksichtigung der sozialen Umgebung und der extralinguistischen Faktoren aber zeigt das vollständige Bild der lexikalischen Veränderungen und Innovationen, die im Laufe der jahrhundertelangen Beziehungen des Lateinischen mit Nachbarsprachen stattgefunden haben sollten. Dazu erlaubt uns die Darstellung des lateinischen Fremdwortschatzes in Form eines semantischen Wörterbuches und seine Anordnung den gewissen semantischen Gruppen, aufzuzeigen, was ein Volk von dem anderen im Prozess der Annäherung übernommen hat und welche Sphären des lateinischen Wortschatzes durch verschiedene Nachbarsprachen besonders beeinflusst wurden. Wie gesagt, ungeachtet dessen, dass es

zahlreiche Studien gibt, die die aus einzelnen Sprachen entlehnten lexikalischen Einheiten betreffen, gibt es keine Untersuchung, die den lateinischen Fremdwortschatz im Ganzen darstellt, geordnet nach semantischen Gruppen.

Die Lehnwörter sind im Wörterbuch nach gewissen "semantischen Gruppen" geordnet, wie "Götternamen", "Ritueller und religiöser Termini", "Namen der Körperteile" u.ä.m. Eine solche Anordnung des lateinischen Lehnwortschatzes erlaubt uns, die Sphären der geistigen und materiellen Kultur aufzuzeigen, die durch verschiedene Nachbarsprachen besonders beeinflusst wurden. Dies spiegelt seinerseits die kulturellen Einflüsse wider, die von den einheimischen Kulturen der antiken Welt auf die römische Kultur ausgeübt wurden.

Die Arbeit besteht aus zwei Teilen – 1. Dem theoretischen Teil, der seinerseits aus dem Vorwort und fünf Kapiteln besteht und 2. Aus dem semantischen Wörterbuch des lateinischen Lehnwortschatzes, gefolgt von der Analyse der semantischen Gruppen der lateinischen entlehnten Lexik und von dem nach den Quellsprachen geordneten lateinischen Lehnwortschatz; Die Arbeit schliesst eine Bibliographie und die Indices.

Erstes Kapitel – Die entlehnte Lexik im Lateinischen. Bei der Erforschung der Etymologie lexikalischer Einheiten sind verschiedene zusätzliche Elemente zu berücksichtigen, wie z.B. Reste der Ausgangssprache, Substrateinflüsse der einheimischen Sprache, die von der Sprache der Einwanderer verdrängt worden ist, Lehnwörter, die durch die Beziehungen mit verschiedenen Populationen entstanden sind und auf die kulturellen und kommerziellen Kontakte hinweisen, sowie die Krigsterminologie u.s.w.

Die Existenz der Lehnwörter in der Sprache hat, natürlich, ihre Voraussetzungen in den Kontakten, die historisch zwischen den Völkern bestanden, die diese Sprachen gebrauchten, denn die Kontakte solcher Art rufen gegenseitige Einflüsse hervor, die den Sprachtausch zur Folge haben.

Das im Folgenden behandelte lexikalische Material ist Folge der Interferenz; die Lexik ist den Interferenzerscheinungen am meisten unterworfen, weil sie am wenigsten strukturiert ist im Vergleich zu den grammatischen oder phonologischen Systemen; deswegen ist sie auch offener gegenüber den Veränderungen und Neuerungen.

Das vorliegende Kapitel behandelt ausserdem die Ursachen, die die Entlehnung neuer Wörter fördern und die Kriterien, mit Hilfe derer man die nichtliterarischen Entlehnungen im Lateinischen feststellen kann.

Einige von diesen Kriterien zeigen den sozialen Bereich der Lehnwörter. Die Art der Kontakte kann ausser des Lehnwortschatzes präziser durch die semantischen Bereiche der Lehnwörter festgestellt werden. Infolgedessen kann man im Lateinischen im Laufe seiner ganzen historischen Entwicklung lexi-

kalische Entlehnungen aus verschiedenen Sprachen und verschiedenen Perioden aussondern, die nach inhaltlichen Merkmalen gewisse semantische Gruppen bilden und dem Wortschatz des klassischen Latein gehören.

Zweites Kapitel – Der Fremdwortschatz und die kulturhistorischen Einflüsse. Das Kapitel behandelt die Frage, wodurch die Gliederung des Lehnwortschatzes in semantische Gruppen wichtig ist. Danach sind Typen der Entlehnungen und Kriterien betrachtet, die zur Feststellung des Alters einzelner Lehnwörter dienen.

Dieses Kapitel behandelt auch griechische Lehnwörter und ihre Typen; die Lehnwörter aus dem Griechischen, die in unserer Arbeit betrachtet werden, stellen hauptsächlich archaische Entlehnungen oder Wörter dar, die aus dem Griechischen durch die Vermittlung anderer Sprachen entlehnt wurden oder selbst im Griechischen fremder Abstammung sind. Die späteren Kulturlehnwörter der wissenschaftlichen und kirchlichen Sprache werden hier nicht behandelt, denn im Rahmen dieser Arbeit wäre das völlig unmöglich.

Drittes Kapitel – Sprachliche Kontakte und Zweisprachigkeit. Das Kapitel setzt sich mit der Theorie der Zweisprachigkeit, mit den Termini "Sprachliche Kontakte", "Bilinguismus", "Diglossie", "Sprachtausch", "Sprachmischung", "Sprachliche Konvergenz" u.s.w. auseinander. Ausserdem ist hier auch der sogenannte "Prestigefaktor" behandelt – einer der wichtigsten Faktoren für die Verbreitung einer neuen Sprache.

Der Terminus "*Sprachliche Kontakte*", den zum ersten mal André Martiné gebraucht hat und später von Uriel Weinreich in der Sprachwissenschaft eingebürgert worden ist, musste den seinerzeit von Schuchardt eingeführten Terminus "*Sprachmischung*" ersetzen.

"*Sprachliche Kontakte*", sowie "*gegenseitige Spracheinflüsse*" und "*Entlehnungen*" bedeuten einen Prozess, während dessen: 1) eine Sprache (von zwei oder mehr Sprachen) "*Geber*" ist, die andere aber – "*Empfänger*", also, wir haben in diesem Fall mit einseitigen Enflüssen zu tun; zudem muss man berücksichtigen, dass die Empfängersprache auch aktiv ist, indem sie einige sprachliche Elemente entlehnt, andere aber nicht; 2) Beide Sprachen beeinflussen einander gegenseitig; 3) Es geschieht eine konvergente Entwicklung bestimmter Sprachgruppen; 4) Man hat mit einem gemeinsamen Substrat zu rechnen.

Der Terminus "*Sprachliche Kontakte*" bezeichnet eine sprachliche Situation, die in der Sprache eines zweisprachigen Individuums mit der Entstehung einer ganzen Reihe neuer sprachlicher Erscheinungen gekennzeichnet ist, wie z.B. Abweichungen von sprachlichen Normen der einen oder der anderen Sprache u.s.w. Diese Erscheinungen könnte man als "*sprachliche Interferenz*" bezeichnen. Der Terminus "*sprachliche Interferenz*" wurde auch von der Pari-

ser Schule eingeführt, aber endgültig wiederum von Weinreich in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur festgelegt.

Die Interferenz zwischen den Sprachen kann auf der phonetischen, semantischen, morphophonematischen und morphosyntaktischen Ebene stattfinden. Bei ihrer Forschung ist es leichter, entlehnte Elemente zu untersuchen, die in der Sprache schon eingebürgert oder in den Texten fixiert sind. Was die Beobachtung der Interferenz während der Rede angeht, ist das viel komplizierter, denn hier haben wir mit einem noch nicht vollendeten Prozess zu tun. Die Forschung solcher Art könnte man nur am Beispiel der lebendigen Sprachen durchführen und die Schlussfolgerungen, die man da bekommt, auf die dokumentarisch bezeugten Sprachen übertragen. Dazu müsste man betonen, dass die Interferenzerscheinungen in der Rede, in einzelnen Redeakten beginnen, wo sie sich mit Hilfe der aus Fremdsprachen entlehnten Elemente einbürgern.

Man unterscheidet die "*mikroskopische*" Untersuchung der Folgen der Interferenz – die synchrone Untersuchung der sprachlichen Kontakte – und die "*makroskopische*" Untersuchung, die eine diachronische Untersuchung der Folgen der Einflüsse einer Sprache auf die andere impliziert.

Beim sprachlichen Kontakt wird die Sprache bevorzugt, die mehr "Prestige" hat; das zweisprachige Individuum bemüht sich, Wörter in der anderen Sprache zu benutzen, die augenscheinlich aus der Sprache mit mehr "Prestige" entlehnt sind, um den sozialen Status zu unterstreichen, den die Kenntnis dieser Sprache bezeichnet.

Ausser dem sozialen Fortkommen kann der Faktor, der das Hervorheben einer Sprache bestimmt, auch das Bestreben des Zweisprachigen zur Aneignung einer Sprache mit einer reichen literarischen Kultur und Tradition sein, die eine bedeutende Rolle in der Entwicklung der Weltkultur gespielt hat. In diesem Fall ist "*Kultiviertheit*" ein Synonym von "*Zweisprachigkeit*".

Die Entwicklung einer Sprache besteht aus der "*Divergenz*" und aus der "*Konvergenz*". Die Erscheinungen, die wir als "*Entlehnung*" oder "*Einfluss*" bezeichnen, gehören zu dem Prozess der Annäherung (Konvergenz). Dieser Prozess ist in den Sprachen so vielseitig und so stark ausgeprägt, wie ihre Neigung zur Divergenz ("*Sprachliche Divergenz*"). Die Konvergenz ruft natürlich die Interferenz hervor, d.h. die Distanz zwischen den Sprachen wird kürzer.

Bei der Forschung der Zweisprachigkeit und der sprachlichen Kontakte muss man natürlich auch die mit diesen Fragen im Zusammenhang stehenden aussersprachlichen – extralinguistischen Faktoren berücksichtigen: die Auswertung des Interferenzgrades und die Untersuchung der Immunität der Sprache, oder im Gegenteil, seiner Neigung zur Interferenz, die Feststellung der Tendenzen, die die Verdrängung einer Sprache hervorgerufen haben. Die

Bewertung der Vorgänge im zweisprachigen Individuum, was die Erlernung der zweiten Sprache hervorgerufen hat, kann man nur mit Berücksichtigung der psycholinguistischen, soziolinguistischen Faktoren und des kulturhistorischen Milieus. Das alles ist auch wichtig, um zu erfahren, warum in die Rede des Zweisprachigen Wörter eingedrungen sind, die nicht adequat im gegebenen kulturellen und sozialen Milieu sind, oder warum die Lexik, die der gewissen sozialen Umgebung entsprechend in der gegebenen Sprache anwesend sein sollte, nicht vorhanden ist.

Man unterscheidet verschiedene Arten der Zweisprachigkeit – die eigentliche Zweisprachigkeit oder den Bilinguismus (wenn das Individuum zwei Sprachen vom gleichen sozialen Status beherrscht und sie bei gewöhnlichen Sprachbeziehungen benutzt) und Diglossie (wenn die Zweisprachigkeit in der Beherrschung zweier Sprachen oder Dialekte zum Ausdruck kommt, die von verschiedenem sozialen Stand sind; eine von ihnen wird bei offiziellen Anlässen gebraucht, die zweite – im alltäglichen Gebrauch).

Wenn wir die von Ferguson vorgeschlagene Differenzierung vom Bilinguismus und Diglossie in der Dynamik betrachten, bekommen wir das folgende Bild der Beziehungen verschiedener Arten der Zweisprachigkeit: bei gewissen sozialen Bedingungen kann der Bilinguismus in die Diglossie übergehen, die im Laufe der Zeit die Absorbierung der Sprache mit dem niedrigen sozialen Stand und ihren Tausch mit einer Sprache vom höheren sozialen Stand zur Folge haben wird. Als Ergebniss bekommt man den Monolinguisimus mit "Substrateinflüssen". Diese Entwicklung des Bilinguismus wird unten am Beispiel der Beziehungen von italischen und der auf der Apenninhalbinsel verbreiteten anderen alten Sprachen gezeigt.

Substrateinflüsse stellen eine besondere Form sprachlicher Kontakte dar, bei dem eine Sprache von der anderen getauscht wird (Sprachtausch). Die Elemente einer Sprache, die in der zweiten überleben, werden als Substratelemente bezeichnet. Um in einer Sprache den Substrat der anderen Sprache zu bestätigen, muss man eine gewisse Zahl von den "Resten" der verlorenen Sprache nachweisen. Für die Bestätigung des Vorhandenseins des Substrats ist auch der Zeitfaktor von grosser Bedeutung: je älter die Überreste einer Sprache sind, ist derer Analyse desto komplizierter. Dazu muss man auch den Substrat und die kulturellen Entlehnungen auseinanderhalten.

Wenn die Entwicklung der im Kontakt stehenden Sprachen in die Richtung geht, dass der Bilinguismus mit dem Monolinguisimus ersetzt wird, bestehen zwei Möglichkeiten – entweder siegt die neueingedrungene Sprache und verdrängt die einheimische (d.h., die einheimische wird für die eingedrungene als "Substrat" dienen); im Fall, wenn die einheimische siegt und die neueingedrungene verschwindet, wird die neueingedrungene als "Superstratsprache" gewertet, die Spuren in der einheimischen hinterlassen

hat. Wenn man mit den Beziehungen der zeitgenössischen Sprachen bei der Zweisprachigkeit zu tun hat, könnte man über Adstrateinflüsse einer Sprache auf die andere sprechen. Wenn eine Sprache unter Einfluss einer anderen verschwindet, wird solch ein Adstrateinfluss zu einem Substrateinfluss. Der Adstrateinfluss ist demgemäss ein Begriff, der zur synchronen Linguistik gehört, Substrateinfluss aber gehört zu der diachronen Linguistik.

Die folgenden Kapitel unserer Arbeit betreffen eben Substrateinflüsse der auf der Apenninhalbinsel verbreiteten alten Sprachen, die im Latein als "Siegensprache" erscheinen.

Viertes Kapitel – Die indoeuropäischen und die nichtindoeuropäischen Sprachen des antiken Italiens. Das antike Italien zeichnete sich von je mit Mannigfaltigkeit der Sprachen aus. Vor der Romanisierung und der völligen Herrschaft des Lateinischen waren auf dem Territorium Italiens Sprachen verschiedener Herkunft verbreitet, von denen wir hauptsächlich das Italische und das Etruskische besprechen.

Unter dem Namen "Italische Sprachen" ist uns eine Gruppe alter Sprachen der Apenninhalbinsel bekannt, die aus der lateinisch-faliskischen und der oskisch-umbrischen Gruppen besteht. Diese Sprachen sind uns in den Denkmälern des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. überliefert.

Heute ist die These von der "italischen Einheit" schon veraltet. In Italien haben wir ein völlig anderes Bild im Vergleich zu anderen Gebieten, z.B. zu Griechenland, wo die linguistische Einheit nur von dialektalen Variationen gestört wird, die unbedeutend sind und durch das literarische κοινή der antiken Kultur vereinigt werden.

Um in dieses "Chaos" eine Ordnung einzubringen müsste man in erster Linie die indoeuropäischen und die nichtindoeuropäischen Sprachen aussondern. Zu den nichtindoeuropäischen Sprachen Italiens gehören das Ligurische, das Retische, das Etruskische und, wahrscheinlich, auch die Inslsprachen.

Die indoeuropäischen Sprachen Italiens könnte man in drei Hauptgruppen gliedern: 1) das Lateinische, das Sikulische, 2) das Umbrische, sabellische Dialekte, das Oskische, 3) das Venetische, pikenische Dialekte (dazu gehören Reste zweier sehr schlecht überlieferter und wenig bekannter Dialekte, möglicherweise mit indoeuropäischen Elementen, aber unbekannter Herkunft), das Messapische.

Wenn man über italische Dialekte spricht, müsste man, vor allem, terminologische Fragen klären: in welcher Bedeutung sollte man die Termini "praeitalisch" und "italisch" benutzen.

Traditionsgemäss gehören der italischen Sprachgruppe Dialekte aller nichtlateinisch sprechender indoeuropäischer Völker an, die das Territorium

Italiens bewohnten, und besonders der "Nichtlatiner", die im Bundesgenosserkrieg (91-88 v. Chr.) teilnahmen. Dieser Gruppe zählte man auch das Lateinische zu.

Den italischen Sprachen im engeren Sinne gehören nur oskisch-umbrische Dialekte zusammen mit sog. "Zwischendialekten". Das sind Dialekte der "sabellischen" Völker – vestinisch, marrukinisch, marsisch, paelignisch u.s.w. Die übrigen nichtlatinischen Sprachen der Apenninhalbinsel werden mit dem Terminus "praeitalisch" bezeichnet gegenüber dem Terminus "italisch". Diese Gliederung hat natürlich nichts mit der Chronologie zu tun.

Wir verstehen unter den "italischen Dialekten" die im zentralen Teil der Apenninhalbinsel und im Thal des Flusses Po verbreiteten Sprachen. Das sind: Lateinisch, Faliskisch, Oskisch-Umbrisch und Venetisch.

Die italische Sprachgruppe kann ihrerseits auch nicht als homogen gelten. Man sondert hier drei Untergruppen aus – Lateinisch-Faliskisch, Oskisch-Umbrisch und Venetisch, von denen Oskisch-Umbrisch seinerseits in die Dialekte der kleinen sabellischen Völker zerfällt. Das sind: Oskisch, Umbrisch, Sabinisch, Volskisch, Marsisch, Marrukinisch, Vestinisch, Paelignisch.

Was die anderen Sprachen der Apenninhalbinsel angeht, sind sie für uns als Nachbarsprachen der italischen Völker interessant, die bestimmte Beziehungen zu den Italikern hatten.

Zum Beginn der historischen Überlieferung stellte Italien ein Territorium dar, wo völlig verschiedene Völker und Sprachen zusammenlebten. Im Norden der Apenninhalbinsel wohnten Ligurer (deren Sprache nur in den "Glossen" und den Toponymen und zahlreichen Eigennamen überliefert ist) und Gallier auf beiden Seiten des Flusses Po (Gallia Cisalpina, Gallia Transalpina). Das Territorium zwischen den Galliern und Veneten hatten die Reten inne, über die wir wegen der mangelnden Überlieferung sehr wenig Nachrichten haben. Dadurch ist auch der Meinungsunterschied bedingt, der über die Reten und deren Sprache besteht. Dasselbe könnte man auch von den Sprachen und Dialekten sagen, von denen wir oben gesprochen haben.

Von einer bestimmten Zeit hat sich auf der Apenninhalbinsel Latein durchgesetzt, aber am Anfang war es nur ein Dialekt von Latium und Rom. Lateinische Inschriften sind uns nicht früher als vom 3. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt.

Nah verwandt mit Latein ist Faliskisch, ein in Falerii (*ager Faliscus* oder *ager Faliscorum*) (heute *Cività Castellana*) gebrachter Dialekt, der sich auch später vom Lateinischen nur wenig unterschied. Ungeachtet des grossen Einflusses des Oskisch-Umbrischen und des Lateinischen (was völlig klar wegen ihrer geographischen Lage ist), zeigt das Faliskische in seinem morphologischen System Verwandtschaft mit dem Lateinischen auf. Es ist uns durch Inschriften angefangen vom 6. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt, die mit der aus dem Griechischen stammenden alphabetischen Schrift ausgeführt ist.

Praenestinisch ist auch ein mit dem Lateinischen verwandter Dialekt. Die bekannte Praenestinische Fibelinschrift, die in das Jahr 600 v.Chr. datiert wurde und als eine der ältesten lateinischen Inschriften galt, ist heute für eine Fälschung gehalten, die im vergangenen Jahrhundert verfertigt wurde.

Der oskische Dialekt war im Vergleich zu anderen italischen Dialekten am meisten auf der Apenninhalbinsel verbreitet. Es wurde ungefähr von dem Fluss Sangro auf der ganzen südlichen Halbinsel gebraucht, ausgenommen griechische Städte und die den Messapiern und Apuliern gehörende adriatische Küste. Das Oskische ist ein Dialekt der Samniten, der im Samnium, Kampanien, Lukanien, Apulien gebraucht wurde, aber selbst der Name "Oskisch" ist älter und sollte aus der Sprache der vorsamnitischen Bevölkerung von Kampanien stammen.

Das Oskische ist uns durch die Inschriften von Samnium und Kampanien überliefert. Ausser dieser kurzen Inschrift sind noch drei Inschriften, die uns eine gewisse Vorstellung über die oskische Sprache geben können. Das sind: 1) *Cippus Abellanus* – eine von beiden Seiten auf Oskisch beschriebene steinerne Platte, die einen Vertrag zwischen zwei Nachbarstädten – Nola und Abella darstellt. 2) Die zweite grosse Inschrift, die sog. *Agnoneinschrift*, benannt nach dem Ort, wo sie gefunden wurde, ist vom nördlichen Samnium; sie ist auf einer gut erhaltenen, von beiden Seiten beschriebenen Bronzenplatte verfertigt. Das musste eine Weihtafel sein, da sie auf einer eisernen Kette hängt; 3) *Tabula Bantina*, aus einer Nordlukanischen Stadt Bantia, ist auch eine von beiden Seiten beschriebene Bronzenplatte. Auf einer Seite enthält sie einen lateinischen Gesetztext, auf der anderen – seine oskische Übersetzung. Man muss aber betonen, dass diese Fragmente nicht identisch sind und die Übersetzung den Teil des Originals darstellt, der nicht überliefert ist.

Der Überlieferung nach hatten die Umbrier das ganze Norditalien inne, bevor sie von den Etruskern eingeengt wurden. Weil die Volker, deren Sprache der italischen Sprachgruppe angehörte, sich am Anfang tatsächlich von Norden aus auf der Apenninhalbinsel ausbreiteten, könnte es wahr sein, dass die Umbrier den Kern dieser Gruppe darstellten und sie als die Ältesten auf dem italischen Boden galten. siehe Plin., NH. III, 14, 112: *Umbriorum gens antiquissima Italiae existimatur* – "Das Umbrische Volk galt als das älteste in Italien".

Das wichtigste Denkmal in der umbrischen Sprache sind die sieben bronzenen Iguvinischen Tafeln – *Tabulae Iguvinae*, die in 1444 in Gubbio, in einer unterirdischen Grotte, unweit von den Trümmern eines römischen Theaters gefunden worden sind. Fünf von ihnen sind mit der oskischen Schrift, von rechts nach links, die zwei grössten und ein Teil der fünften aber mit dem lateinischen Alphabet von links nach rechts beschrieben.

Das Venetische ist ein besonderer indoeuropäischer Dialekt der "alteuropäischen" Gruppe, der im Nordosten der Apenninhalbinsel gebraucht wurde und durch die kurzen Inschriften von Norditalien des 5.-1. Jh.-s v.Chr. bekannt ist. Sie sind hauptsächlich mit lateinischen Buchstaben beschrieben.

Man könnte sagen, dass das hauptsächlich die auf der Apenninhalbinsel verbreiteten italischen Sprachen sind, die als Folge der Aussonderung des Proto-Italischen und seiner weiteren Zersplitterung entstanden.

Selbst im Latium gab es keine ethnische Einheit. Verschiedene Völker haben politische Vereinigungen gegründet, wie das auch Cicero bezeugt: *ciuitas ex nationum conuentu constituta* – „Der Staat, gegründet gemäss der Vereinbarung der Völker" (*De petit. consul.*, 54). Ihre Einflüsse kann man auch in alten Namen erkennen: *Tities*, *Rammes*, *Lwceres* sind etruskische Namen. Der Name *Roma* ist eine Transkription des etruskischen *Ruma*. *Tiberis*, etr. \square erpe, ist ein etruskischer Fluss, "*Tuscus amnis*", für den es keine indoeuropäische Etymologie gibt ("nihil ejtumolovgon latinum") (Varr. L.L., V, 29). Den Legenden gemäss müsste bei der Gründung Roms auch das sabinische Element bedeutend gewesen sein, also stellte Rom zu Beginn seiner Geschichte ein Zentrum dar, wo sich Völker verschiedener Abstammung versammelten, die ausser der politischen Einheit weder eine gemeinsame Sprache, noch gemeinsame Sitten hatten.

Man muss vermuten, dass vom 8. Jh. v.Chr. zwischen den Protolatinern und den Osko-Umbren in Rom und in der ganzen Grenzzone eine bestimmte Art von sprachlichen Beziehungen zustande gekommen ist – sprachliche Elemente sind vom Protolatinischen ins Sabinische oder Oskisch-Umbrische eingedrungen und rückwärts, d.h. zwischen diesen Sprachen hat die Interferenz stattgefunden: die Elemente einer Sprache sind von den Elementen der anderen verdrängt worden.

Fünftes Kapitel – Die Sprachliche Politik von Rom und die Latinisierung der italischen Völker. Die Latinisierung der Italiker und besonders der Etrusker müsste man als einen langwierigen, jahrhundertelangen Prozess der sprachlichen Annäherung – der Interferenz – vorstellen, der durch die bilinguistische Phase die vollständige Assimilation verschiedener Völker der Apenninhalbinsel und ihre Verdrängung vom Latein hervorgerufen hat.

Für die von Rom eroberten Völker war Latein die zweite oder dritte Sprache. Die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung hat zu verschiedenen Zeiten und in verschiedenen Verhältnissen Perioden der Zwei- oder Dreisprachigkeit von verschiedener Dauer durchgemacht. Der Assimilierungsprozess bis zum Zeitpunkt, wo Latein zur offiziellen *lingua franca* auf der Apenninhalbinsel erklärt wurde, müsste ungefähr 500 Jahre dauern. Von dieser Zeit, nämlich den ersten drei Jahrhunderten der republikanischen Epoche, haben wir einige

Inschriften, die Kontakte des Lateinischen mit anderen Sprachen und die allmähliche Latinisierung von Italien bezeugen.

Das Material, nach dem man über die Verbreitung von Latein auf der Apenninhalbinsel urteilen kann, ist hauptsächlich epigraphisch. Also kann man das Verschwinden der in einheimischen Sprachen Italiens geschriebenen Inschriften und das Aufkommen der ältesten lateinischen Inschriften beobachten, das dem Sieg der Eroberersprache voranging. Die grösste Zahl der Inschriften, die der Übergangsperiode gehören, sind in etruskischer Sprache überliefert. Auch in literarischen Quellen findet man Hinweise dafür, dass die Beziehungen der Römer zu anderen Völkern mit Hilfe der Dolmetscher zustande kamen. Aber nirgends kann man Hinweise dafür finden, dass Rom die Bürger irgendeines eroberten Staates zwang, lateinisch zu sprechen. Deswegen kann man den Latinisierungsprozess beschreiben, aber es ist schwierig, Faktoren festzustellen, die den Sprachtausch hervorrufen könnten.

Ausser der literarischen Quellen und dem epigraphischen Material kann man über den Latinisierungsprozess der Apenninhalbinsel auch aus anderen, natürlich weniger wichtigen, aber zu berücksichtigenden Quellen urteilen. Viele römische Dichter und Schriftsteller der republikanischen Zeit waren der Abstammung nach aus nichtlateinischen Territorien und die Tatsache, dass sie lateinisch schrieben, könnte man als Bestätigung der Verbreitung von Latein in ihren Heimatsorten betrachten.

Der Sprachtausch ist in keinem Fall Zeichen vollständiger Assimilation. Der Prozess der ethnischen Assimilation könnte vor längerer Zeit angefangen haben, aber dennoch könnte die einheimische Sprache eine Zeitlang die vollständige Herrschaft der dominanten Sprache verhindern. So z.B. gehören die oskischen Grafitti von Pompeii zur Zeit, wo die einheimische Bevölkerung sich schon als Römer empfand und nicht als Samniten, aber dennoch haben die sabellischen Völker noch einige Jahrhunderte nach ihrer Eroberung von Seite Roms eigene Sprachen erhalten, was aus oskischen Inschriften der Bürgergenossenkriege (90-89 v.Chr.) ersichtlich ist: Auch die *Tabula Bantina*, die mit lateinischen Buchstaben beschrieben ist, gehört zur späteren Zeit an. Man könnte vermuten, dass das Oskische die zäheste unter den einheimischen Sprachen Italiens sein sollte. In dieser Übergangsperiode bis zum völligen Sprachtausch ist die Zweisprachigkeitsphase (bilinguistische Phase) zu vermuten, die in meisten Fällen jahrhundertlang dauerte auch nach der völligen politischen oder ethnischen Assimilation dieses oder jenes Volkes. So musste es auch z.B. in Süditalien, in Tarent (heute Kalabrien) am Anfang des 2. Jh. gewesen sein: *Bilingues Bruttaces Ennius dixit, quod Brutti et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sint* – "Ennius sagte, dass die Bruttier zweisprachig sind, weil sie oskisch und griechisch sprechen" (Plautus apud Festum 31, 25). Diese und andere Zitate

römischer und griechischer Autoren weisen auf die Verbreitung der griechischen Sprache und Kultur unter den südlichen samnitischen Völkern (Strabo, Geogr., E, 4, 12; Dion. Hal., Fragm. XV, 5).

Der Verbreitung der römischen Herrschaft in Italien und der Vereinigung der italischen Völker zum gemeinsamen Staat folgte die allmähliche Verdrängung der einheimischen Idiome von der Herrschersprache. Es ist schwer zu sagen, ob die Latinisierung ein bewusster Schritt seitens der römischen Politik war. Jedenfalls sind die Meinungen der römischen Autoren zu dieser Frage widersprüchlich. Es gibt nur einen, bei Livius bezeugten Fall, als die anfangs griechische, dann die oskische Stadt Cumae im 180 J. v.Chr. von Rom die Erlaubnis erlangte, statt dem Oskischen das Lateinische als offizielle Sprache einzuführen: Cumanos eo anno petentibus permissum, ut publice Latine loquerentur et praeconibus Latine vendendi ius esset – "Die Cumaner haben in dem Jahr um Erlaubnis gebeten, öffentlich Latein zu sprechen und dass die Verkäufer lateinisch Handel treiben könnten" (T-L., A.U.c., XL, 42, 13).

Die Cumaner waren *cives sine suffragio* – „Bürger ohne Wahlrecht“. Sie waren verpflichtet, bevor sie das Recht für das Benutzen von Latein vom römischen Senat bekamen, ihre Muttersprache zu sprechen. Das wurde zum Hauptargument zum Beweis der These, dass Rom die Latinisation der sich unter seiner Herrschaft befindenden Völker nicht versuchte; aber dieses Zitat aus Livius reicht dafür nicht aus. Man muss dazu auch die Möglichkeit nicht aus dem Auge lassen, dass Rom verhüllt seine Politik durchführte – es machte nichts zur Vernichtung einheimischer Sprachen, aber unterstützte die Verbreitung des Lateinischen als einer Kommunikationssprache; bei Valerius Maximus findet man eine folgende Passage: Magistratus vero priscae quantopere suam populique majestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter caetera obtinendae gravitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi latine responsa darent – "Wie sehr die wahrhaftig alten Magistraten sich bemühten, die eigene Würde und die des römischen Volkes zu bewahren, ist daraus ersichtlich, dass unter anderen Zeichen ihres Ansehens schützten sie auch das mit grosser Beharrlichkeit, dass sie den Griechen nie die Antwort gaben (in einer anderen Sprache) ausser Latein (Val. Max. II, II, 2). Siehe auch die Bemerkung des Scholiasten: Eleganter a Quirino se prohibitum ait Graeca Latine linguae admiscere – "Von Quirinus war es streng untersagt, in das Lateinische Griechisch zu mischen...". Einige Gelehrte finden diese Aussage als „catonisch“ und übertrieben, aber sie widerspiegelt wenigstens teilweise die Tendenzen, die zu der Zeit in Rom gegenüber den eroberten Völkern herrschten (2. Jh.). Natürlich wären römische Magistrate nicht begeistert, griechisch zu reden. Es ist überhaupt weniger glaubwürdig, dass Rom irgendwelche offizielle Angelegenheiten in einer anderen Sprache, ausser Latein führte.

Aber es müsste auch Ausnahmen gegeben haben, wie das ein Abschnitt aus Livius bezeugt (siehe T-L., A.U.c., XLV, 8, 6).

Jedenfalls hat die Erteilung des römischen Bürgerrechtes für die Italiker grössere Veränderungen gebracht und hat zur Schwächung des Nationalbewusstseins und zu ihrem Assimilierungsprozess mit den Römern beigetragen. Das ist in erster Linie daraus ersichtlich, dass statt der Nationalsprache wurde Latein zur einzigen Kanzelarsprache ernannt. Dadurch erklärt sich auch, dass alle überlieferten offiziellen oskischen Inschriften der früheren Zeit angehören, nämlich dem 4., 5., hauptsächlich dem 6. Jh. Mit der Einschränkung der politischen Autonomie wurde den einzelnen Städten auch die Münzenprägung untersagt; alle nicht-römischen Münzen Italiens sind bis zum Ende des Bürgergenossenkrieges geprägt.

Im Unterschied zu dem römischen Imperium führte Griechenland nie eine gewisse „sprachliche Politik“. Das könnte auch Folge der Vernachlässigung der „Barbarensprachen“ sein. Der Meinung von Jürgen Werner nach, haben die Griechen ein sog. „hellenozentrisches“ Bewusstsein erarbeitet, was man mit der Unkenntnis der intellektuellen Leistungen anderer Völker erklären könnte; als Folge dessen betrachteten sich die Griechen als Zentrum der damaligen Welt.

Im Fall von Rom haben wir andere Verhältnisse. Die römischen Autoren erwähnen in manchen Fällen über die Kenntnis der „Fremdsprachen“, aber die Mehrheit der antiken Autoren interessierte sich weniger mit dieser Frage, sowie mit den Fragen, die im allgemeinen Sprache betrafen. Der Meinung von Rom nach, existierten nur zwei zivilisierte Sprachen – Latein und Griechisch; ausserdem waren noch zahlreiche *barbarae linguae*, die für römische Gelehrte von keinem Interesse waren ausser den Fällen, wenn es um Fremdwörter ging. Ungeachtet dessen, dass Rom sich nicht sehr für die Verdrängung einheimischer Idiome bemühte, bestand seine Politik gegenüber diesen Sprachen darin, dass es, inwieweit es möglich war, ihren Tausch mit dem Lateinischen im Westen, mit dem Griechischen aber im Osten unterstützte. Latein setzte sich im Westen als *lingua franca* durch. Gelehrte Menschen in der alten Welt kommunizierten miteinander auf Latein. Natürlich existierte in Rom keine einheitliche sprachliche Politik im heutigen Sinn.

In den für uns bekannten Dekreten und Beschlüssen ist nichts zu finden, was man als eine strenge sprachliche Politik betrachten könnte. Die Mehrheit der eroberten Völker wollte Latein wegen seiner Prestige lernen und auch deswegen, dass es schon zur *lingua franca* auf der ganzen Apenninhalbinsel geworden ist.

Die Sprachen der Nachbarvölker Roms – der Sabiner, Equer, Herniker, Marser, Marrukiner, Vestiner und Pikener sind sehr schlecht überliefert. Der Grund dafür könnte sein, dass sie sehr früh verschwunden sind. Diese Völker

haben erst aufgrund des Bundesgenossenkrieges, d.h. fast 200 J. später als die Sabiner, das Bürgerrecht von Rom bekommen, aber Latein muss hier viel früher eingedrungen sein. Das bezeugt auch die Tatsache, dass während der Bürgergenossenkriege diese Völker die Münzen nicht in einheimischen Sprachen, sondern auf Lateinisch prägten. Die Samniten, Paeligner und andere sabellische Stämme aber, müssten, wahrscheinlich, auch nach einigen Jahrhunderten ihrer Eroberung von Seite Roms einheimische Sprachen benutzen, was, wie gesagt, Münzen mit oskischen Inschriften der Zeit der Bundesgenossenkriege, Inschriften von Pompeii, Graffiti u.ä.m. bezeugen. Wenig ist auch aus dem Volskischen überliefert. Ausser zwei Inschriften, einer aus Vilitrae und der zweiten aus dem marsischen Antium ist dieser Dialekt nur bei Festus bezeugt. Einige Forscher erklären das mit der frühen Eroberung dieses Volkes und ihm 100 J. bis zum Bürgergenossenkrieg erteilten Bürgerrecht.

Dieses Kapitel bespricht im Folgenden die Stellungnahme verschiedener romischer Autoren gegenüber dem Gebrauch der Fremdwörter im Lateinischen, den Gebrauch der Termini *latinitas*, „*llhnismov*“ und *barbarofovno*“ mit der Entstehung der römischen Literatur. In der späteren Zeit war auf der Apenninhalbinsel zweifaches Latein im Umgang. Das war einerseits „raffiniertes Latein“ – *eruditus*, *perpolitus*, *urbanus* – die Sprache der Literatur und der gelehrten Menschen, andererseits war das das „alltägliche Latein“ – *cotidianus*, *plebeius*, *vulgaris*, *inconditus*, *rusticus* – die *alltägliche Umgangssprache*. Ausserdem gab es noch das „dialektele Latein“ – *peregrina insolentia*, in das gallische, etruskische, griechische u.s.w. Wörter gemischt waren. Ungeachtet dessen, dass es zu dieser Zeit Latein sich völlig durchgesetzt hatte, wurden auch einheimische Sprachen hier und da verwendet.

Die Vertreibung der italischen Sprachen und des Etruskischen vom Lateinischen ist nur ein Teil des Romanisierungsprozesses. Den Latinisierungsprozess der italischen Völker müsste man nur als eine Seite der ganzen Romanisierung betrachten. Die Latinisierung selbst bedeutet nicht unbedingt auch die Romanisierung, aber dieser Prozess ist die Bedingung für die völlige Romanisation. Im Romanisierungsprozess ist die Erteilung des Bürgerrechtes den Bundesgenossen auch von grösster Bedeutung, der auch ein Teil dieses Kapitels gewidmet ist.

Man könnte vermuten, dass für Rom die sprachliche und ethnische Uneinheitlichkeit vor dem Bundesgenossenkrieg günstig sein könnte, denn die vereinigte Macht ihm auch eine gewisse Gefahr bereiten würde. Nach dem Bundesgenossenkrieg aber ändert sich die Politik Roms gegenüber den italischen Völkern: Rom unterstützt die Vereinigung der Völker der Apenninhalbinsel und ihre schnelle Latinisierung. Die Erteilung des Bürgerrechtes müsste den Latinisierungsprozess beschleunigen – vor dem Bundesge-

nossenkrieg ging die Latinisierung Italiens sehr langsam vor sich, nach der Erteilung ihnen des Bürgerrechtes aber war dieser Prozess fast in einem Jahrhundert zu Ende.

Die Politische Entwicklung Roms ist in die Richtung gegangen, dass die Notwendigkeit der Entstehung einer Weltsprache klar geworden ist. In den ersten Jahrhunderten der Republik konnte die Sprache der Römer in der kulturellen und kommerziellen Hinsicht nicht mit derer der Griechen, Etrusker und Karthager konkurrieren. Die Formierung des Lateinischen zu einer Weltsprache fing damit an, dass sie zu einer *lingua franca* wurde in den mehrsprachigen Regionen Italiens, wo es keine vereinigende *koine* gab. Nach der Eroberung von Italien ist Latein zum Medium zwischen den Ligurern, Kelten und Venetern geworden. Danach müsste auch die Vereinigung der Italiker unter der Herrschaft Roms die Rolle des Lateinischen als der *lingua franca* hervorheben. Latein war nicht mehr nur die Sprache Roms und Latiums, sondern als Medium zwischen verschiedenen Völkern trug sie zu ihrer kulturellen Vereinigung und der Entstehung der gemeinsamen Kultur unter der Herrschaft Roms bei.

Der Übergang auf das Lateinische hatte auf der ganzen Apenninhalbinsel angefangen, aber die Zeichen der völligen Assimilation waren noch nicht zu sehen: die meisten nichtlateinischen Inschriften gehören eben dem 2.-1. Jh. Die völlige Latinisierung der Italiker und der Etrusker gehört dieser Periode an; Zum Ende des 3. Jh-s ist die Apenninhalbinsel fast völlig römisch. Die Eroberungspolitik von Rom, die auf die allmähliche Unterordnung der Nachbarvölker und der Ausdehnung seiner Herrschaft auf die damalige Welt gerichtet war, hat die Vertiefung der kulturellen, kommerziellen religiösen und anderer Kontakte zwischen verschiedenen Völkern und Sprachgruppen hervorgerufen. Die Widerspiegelung (den Wiederhall) dieser Politik kann man in folgenden Worten sehen: *Ubi cumque vicit Romanus habitat* – "Wo immer der Römer siegt, setzt er sich nieder" (Seneca, Dial. XII, VII, 7).

Zweiter Teil – Semantisches Wörterbuch des lateinischen Lehnwortschatzes. Das Wörterbuch stellt die lateinische Lexik dar, die in semantische Gruppen gegliedert ist.

Dem semantischen Wörterbuch folgen lateinische Fremdwörter, geordnet nach den Sprachen, aus denen sie stammen und eine kulturhistorische Analyse der semantischen Gruppen.

Das Wörterbuch schliesst ein Index der lateinischen Lehnwörter, wo die Lexeme alphabetisch geordnet sind und die entsprechenden Seiten angegeben sind, wo sie zu finden sind.

Semantische Gruppen der entlehnten Lexik als Widerspiegelung kultureller Kontakte und kulturhistorischer Einflüsse. Die Analyse der entlehnten Lexik im Lateinischen ermöglicht es, folgende „semantische Gruppen“ auszusondern:

Götternamen, Religiöse und rituelle Terminologie; Kalendarische Termini; Namen, die die geistigen und physischen Merkmale des Menschen bezeichnen; Körperteile; Medizinische Termini; Wörter, die den Anzug und Schmucksachen bezeichnen; Mit dem Theater zusammenhängende Termini; Namen der Musikinstrumente; Soziale Termini; Verwandtschaftsnamen; Kriegstermini und Namen der Abwehrgebäude; Transportmittel; Termini der Schifffahrt; Landwirtschaftliche Werkzeuge; Geschirr und Haushaltswaren; Wirtschaftsgegenstände; Masse Gewicht und Grösse; Namen von Metall; Bodenschätzen und Steinen; Geologische Termini; Chemische Stoffe; Farben; Namen von Tieren, Vögeln, Fischen und anderen Meerestieren, Insekten, Pflanzen und Pflanzenteilen; Die mit Wein und Weinkultur zusammenhängende Namen; Speisen und Getränke; Namen von Obst, Gemüse und anderen Früchten; Unbelebte Umwelt und meteorologische Termini; Bau- und Architekturtermini. Mit Hilfe dieser semantischen Gruppen kommen kulturhistorische Einflüsse zum Vorschein, die die römische Kultur infolge der Kontakte mit anderen Kulturen erfahren hat.

Die Analyse der Lehnwörter im Lateinischen bestätigt die Tatsache, dass Sprachkontakte, historische Beziehungen und gegenseitige Einflüsse, die in der lexikalischen Interferenz erscheinen, ihre Spuren auf allen Ebenen der historisch im Kontakt bestehenden Sprachen hinterlassen haben – auf der phonologischen, morphologischen, syntaktischen u.s.w.; Die Spuren solcher Interferenz, die als Folge einer substratischen, superstratischen oder adstratischen sprachlichen Einflüsse zum Vorschein kommen, sind besonders augenscheinlich und ausgeprägt eben auf der lexikalisch-semantischen Ebene der Sprache.

Der lateinische Lehnwortschatz ist Folge sowohl der substratischen, als auch der adstratischen Einflüsse. Dabei stammen die substratischen Lehnwörter hauptsächlich aus dem Etruskischen und aus italischen und keltischen (gallischen) Sprachen, d.h. aus Sprachen, die nach einer langen Periode der Zweisprachigkeit von dem Lateinischen verdrängt worden sind. Was die zahlreichen griechischen Lehnwörter im Lateinischen angeht, sind sie hauptsächlich und besonders adstratischer Herkunft und widerspiegeln adäquat den intensiven Einfluss der griechischen Kultur auf die römische. Völlig natürlich erscheint in dieser Hinsicht die bekannte lateinische Sentenz: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio* (Horat., *Epist.*, II, 1, 156-157).

Sophie Shamanidi. *Classical Tradition in Modern Greek Poetry* and George Seferis, Logos, Tbilisi 1999, 230 p.

Scientific significance of the present research. The influence of the classical tradition on modern Europe is among the cardinal issues of the history of culture. Accumulation of respective literature testifies to the growing interest towards it. Literary critics are interested in tracing the causes of the enhanced interest towards Antiquity on one hand, and on the other, identifying the mechanism that determines the growing influence of the classical tradition on the development of the modern culture. Despite the ideological and religious diversity, the issue causes a remarkable interest in all civilized countries; modern world considers Antiquity its common heritage.

Main objectives. The goal of the work is to explore the influence of the classical tradition, and primarily ancient Greek literature, and the history and structure of its creative assimilation in Modern Greek literature. Besides, we offer a detailed analysis of the works of the prominent Greek poet George Seferis, who, in terms of the classical tradition, has acquired a significant value in Greek as well as world poetry.

Scientific novelty of the research. The present work is the first attempt to study all the epochs and explore the works of prominent Modern Greek writers that are significantly relevant in terms of the creative assimilation of the classical tradition. Besides, in this respect, it offers, first in the history of literary criticism, the classification and characterization of each period and the most distinguished writers of Modern Greek literature. Along with tracing the elements of Antiquity – an ancient author, source, plot, certain images and symbols, etc – (what other scholars are usually confined to), the present research attempts to identify their function in works of a writer. The work puts emphasis on the principle novelty introduced by each Greek author in terms of the creative assimilation not only in Greek, but in European literature as well.

Volume and structure of the book. The book covers 230 pages and consists of the preface, three chapters and the conclusion, and a list of bibliography.

Contents of the book. The preface illustrates the scientific significance of the thesis and the methodology of the research. To clarify the peculiarities of reflecting the classical tradition in modern Greek literature, namely in works of G. Seferis, the first chapter presents the main periods of the assimilation of the classical tradition in European literature.

Chapter one – **Main Aspects of Influence of the Classical Tradition on the World Literature** – starts with exploring certain controversial issues

regarding the specification of the essence of ancient culture: the essence of the term *classical* or *ancient tradition*, chronological classification of the ancient civilization, features which serve to identify Antiquity as an integrated cultural unity. Of course, considering the sphere of our choice, our interest is focused on literature. Thus, Chapter One presents the basic stages of the development of the ancient literature. Special attention is paid to the period of the Roman Empire, when first in the world history one culture "totally" creatively assimilated another culture. Rome, which succeeded in expanding its power, chose a specific way in respect of culture – being orientated towards the Greek culture, it tried to merge the latter with the Roman one. Roman literature attempted to imitate, creatively assimilate, and transfer to Latin all what had been formed in Greek literature gradually and consistently. This attempt (that of creative assimilation of one nation's literary traditions by another) enjoyed tremendous success.

Ancient literature prepared an unprecedented basis for the development of literary thinking. In Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic epochs an interesting model of the assimilation of Greek tradition by other nations was formed, and all basic features that are still specific to the European literature in terms of the creative assimilation of the classical tradition were outlined.

Official recognition of Christianity and its proclamation as a state religion boosted the neutralization process of so-called ancient arguments. Antiquity was opposed with the set of new, Christian values. The latter penetrated all spheres of society including, of course, culture and, primarily, literature. Christian philosophers' main target was the prevalence of mimetic principle in art. In V-VI cc., Christianity started to take over in art and literature. Ancient mimetic principles gave up for a while.

The present chapter puts a special emphasis on the Middle Ages, as it is the period of sharp deviation from the ancient tradition and ancient cultural heritage as well as of the attempt to create new ways, new modes of civilization. Of course, the mentioned process differed in various regions. Most general division lay between the East and the West, which cardinally differed from each other with respect to the classical tradition. In the East, the decay of Antiquity is marked with the formation of the Byzantine Empire. As for the West, its prerequisites were the decline of the Roman Empire and emergence of new forces.

Although Byzantium did its best to force the ancient ideology to give up to the Christian principles, it was still due to the efforts of the Byzantine scholars that the ancient heritage was preserved. The attitude towards ancient civilization in Byzantium effected the countries in direct contact with the empire (Syria, Armenia, Georgia, and Arabian Muslim countries).

In Europe, where different processes took place, the chief point of interest was the literature in Latin. The ancient Greek culture was not thoroughly studied (with the exception of certain attempts).

Grounds for a comprehensive meeting of ancient and European cultures were prepared in the late Middle Ages. And the turning point began in XIVc. at the dawn of Humanism in Europe. Society started to acquire a new concept, the common attention was focused on a human being, who was studied synchronically as well as diachronically, i.e. in terms of the history of his development. This approach brought up the question of heredity, and thus Hellenic and Roman cultures, which were often idealized, acquired primary significance. Humanism naturally developed into Renaissance, which implied a total rehabilitation of Antiquity. What characterized the epoch was the renewed discovery of the texts by ancient authors, their publication, and common study of the Greek and Latin languages. In this epoch, national literatures started to appear in Europe. Genres like drama, elegies, epigrams, etc. revived.

With respect to Antiquity, Classicism introduced a new trend that targeted the refinement of taste in the society. Correspondingly, Classicism started to seek new approaches to Antiquity. However, the interpretations of the ancient civilization were often subjective and misleading. Classicism starts the process of interpreting Antiquity, which became rather peculiar to the European culture. Since that several regions in Europe proved to be especially remarkable in terms of realizing and acquiring the classical tradition. They gave birth to a set of trends which fitted ancient tradition in respect of the form as well as the content and conception. Accordingly, we may separately explore the forms of the influence of the classical tradition within Baroque, Classicism, Sentimentalism and Romanticism. Literary activities of these regions stimulated an irrevocable "regenerative" process of Antiquity first in Europe, and then all over the world. Thus, other nations could approach Antiquity directly, without European mediators.

In the following epoch of Enlightenment, Europe intensified and extended the appreciation of both what we may call a tradition and innovation. A serious research in the development of civilization brought up numerous controversies and discrepancies between the epoch of Enlightenment in Europe and different periods of ancient culture. This process stimulated not only creative interpretation of Antiquity, but also its scientific investigation.

Introducing a new trend in artistic culture and literature, Romanticism most interestingly outlined the antinomy between the ancient and modern cultures.

After the Parnassians inspired a new wave in reviving Antiquity in XIX c., the assimilation of the classical tradition came to abound in diverse forms.

It found its place in Realism and Naturalism as well as in a totally different trend – that of Symbolism. Even the representatives of Modernism could not avoid its influence.

It suffices to briefly outline of the creative interpretation of the classical tradition in Europe to illustrate how consistently the old continent first deviated from Antiquity, and then, step by step, comprehensively acquired it.

On the verge of XIX-XX cc., Greece itself proved rather inconsistent and failed to be sufficiently prepared while undertaking the same venture, what, of course, was historically conditioned. This will be illustrated in the following chapters.

Chapter Two – Basic Stages of the Assimilation of the Classical Tradition in Modern Greek Literature – is divided into smaller parts.

The first part – *European medium and Cretan Renaissance Literature* – starts with the discussion of debates over chronological classification of Modern Greek literature that exist in Modern Greek studies.

Considering the issues of our interest, we find it reasonable to investigate the links between the modern Greek literature and the classical tradition with respect to Cretan literature, as the attempts of the literature within the frameworks of the millenium of the Byzantine civilization (whether Byzantine or modern Greek literary works are concerned) to approach the classical tradition is determined by the very norms of the latter. First, the chapter covers Crete's historical and social background in the period, which determined the prerequisites of the Cretan Renaissance, and gives specific features of the latter. We do not share the opinion of the majority of scholars maintaining that the Cretan culture was linked to the ancient tradition only via Europe. The investigation of Cretan literary works in different aspects (usage of proper names, mythological plot and characters, also "archaized" or "hellenized" time and setting, etc.) reveals the affect of the classical literature on the Cretan one, though much more slight than in Europe. It can be qualified as the assimilation of the classical tradition (as non-systematic and chiefly occasional information) via European medium.

The second part – *Preparation to the Creative Assimilation* – covers the period since the fall of Constantinople (1453) till its liberation (1821), which we have divided into three subperiods. The first one is confined to the first, the most critical century that followed the fall of Byzantium, and is marked with spiritual devastation. The fatal century locked the culture-wise-distinguished country in the custody of ignorance. Referring to Greek scholars, this period was marked with spiritual "marasm".¹ Of course it is

¹ Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, τ. Ι, 367.

useless to speak of the creative assimilation in this period. The end of the XVI c. can be considered the second subperiod, or the first stage to the revival of education. The representatives of clergy and secular circles started an intense interference in the education of the society. It is also noteworthy that Greek scholars were aware of Antiquity-related processes in Europe, and the contribution of Byzantine scholars that found a refuge in the European centres. This inspired the Greek people to independently overcome the dominating ignorance. However, relations between the church and the European-type schools became strained, as the school programs did not always harmonize with church ideology and regulation. Moreover, the pedagogical activity of T. Koridaleus was prohibited again by the church. It resulted into the formation of secular educational institutions. This process had the similar effect in Greece as Enlightenment had in Europe. However, there were remarkable differences between the European and Greek types of Enlightenment: the former was preceded by Renaissance, whereas the latter followed the regression period.

Considering the formation of an approach to the classical tradition, XVIII c. is a new period. The epoch of Enlightenment is the most significant in the history of Greek culture. It reached its peak in XVIII c. and in several ways marked a turning point in the intellectual life of Greece. We may call this epoch the third subperiod. Along with many other issues, the growth of interest toward the classical tradition is also related to Enlightenment. This epoch is marked with a remarkable intensity of publishing texts of ancient authors, which aimed at inspiring pride of the great Hellenic past not only in educational centres, but also in other circles of society. The initiators tried to generalize the interest to Antiquity, and let the Greek, who were still suffered the domain of Turks, identify themselves as the heirs of a great culture. One of the most relevant points for Greek people was the problem of self-nomination. Tradition preserved three terms to the post-Byzantine period: *Έλληνας*, *Ρωμίος* and *Γραικος*. After the adoption of Christianity, the Byzantine civilization created a necessary background to differentiate the significance of the mentioned terms. *Έλληνας* came to denote the ancient heathen Greek, whereas *Ρωμίος* and *Γραικος* signified Christian Greek people. Naturally, Greek scholars, who were well aware of the old history, could not have ignored the fact that all the three terms originated from Antiquity. The period of Enlightenment did its best to enable the Orthodox Greek to adopt the term *Έλληνας* as their name with the same easiness as the other two terms.

The analysis of images of ancient Hellenes that were preserved in the Greek folklore also belongs to this period.

Though it was marked with an increasing interest toward the classical tradition and, at the end, with a sharp sublime in this respect, still, unlike Europe, the creative interpretation of the ancient tradition was not fulfilled in terms of artistic thought as the latter failed to find the reception of the classical tradition and the ways to regenerate or otherwise revive ancient images and plots. This will be accomplished afterwards: when Greek people return to its glorious past, and the learned society of Greece duly acknowledges the place of the ancient culture in the development of its own history and culture. If we try to classify this period in respect of the assimilation of the classical tradition, we could name it a preparatory period to this process.

The third part – *The Period of Search and Hesitation* – embraces the works of distinguished poets like D. Solomos and A. Calvos as well as the representatives of Heptanesian school and Romanticism. If we study the extent to which the classical tradition is reflected in their works, we will trace three tendencies that dominate in Greek literature in this respect: 1. The pathos nourished by the victory becomes the chief source of inspiration; 2. Orientation to the European literature and the respective values; 3. Two fold approach to its roots – first, via the European mediator; and the second, through the study of Greek authors. To Greek writers of the period, the classical tradition is more a phenomenon that the Modern Greek literature timidly acquires than its organic cultural heritage. As a result, no serious attempts were made to appreciate the classical tradition and specify its due place in Modern Greek literature, with the exception of the debates on language problems. Although Romanticists sighed for the glorious past, they, naturally, never denied the existence of the Modern Greek literature. They had a vague idea of the role of the classical tradition in the formation of the latter. Therefore, no matter what trend it implies, the literature of this epoch tends to so-called informational completeness. There are hardly any allusions that require a profound knowledge of ancient literature and culture, an Antiquity-wise well-educated reader. One is under the impression that while presenting a poetic interpretation of the classical information, the writers, who themselves start to perceive the classical tradition and realize its significance in the world culture, use ancient plot, symbols and proper names not as commonly known elements, but try to acquire the role of renderers of the latter.

Thus, the epoch is marked with the search of approaches to the classical tradition. However, this does not imply the discovery of these ways.

The forth part – *The Main Trends of the Creative Assimilation of the Classical Tradition at the End of XIX c.* – presents the processes in the Greek society that preceded the literary activities of the generation of 80s. In

this period, the Greek, on one hand, acquired the pathos of a sublime that marked the same period in Europe, and on the other hand, faced the necessity to specify their own attitude to the cultural or political values. Since that period, Greek cultural reality abounds in parallels with the European culture, but it also has numerous purely Greek principle elements.

Since II half of XIX c., the European culture became extremely rich in various artistic trends. Parnassians, who were distinguished with their new concepts of "returning" to Antiquity, are especially noteworthy. They denied contemporary life, and "revived" Antiquity in their poetry; they released artistic culture from the Romantic perception. This may have caused Parnassians' popularity among the Greek, who were "overtired" of Greek romanticists' poetry. However, Greek Parnassism differed from the French one; victorious Greek could not acquire a pessimistic poetry. Besides, deeply religious Greek people were reluctant to share the anti-Christian ideas of Parnassians. On the other hand, the return to Antiquity was very important to the Greek as the epoch seriously brought up the problem of national heritage, what we will discuss below.

Besides literary issues, all the rest that marked the study of the Greek civilization on the verge of two centuries in Europe is also relevant. Of course, it was not left unnoticed by the generation of 80s. They came forward with clear ambitions to ascertain their position in the formation of the Modern Greek culture. The Greek community also faced the question of heritage – an issue of special importance to any nation's self-consciousness. The public men of this period were allotted to introduce basic changes in language issues as well. They theoretically proved the viability of Dimotic and almost always resorted to it in their creative activity. Among the most "dramatic" activities of the representatives of the generation was the final formation of the "Great Idea", which ended with 1921 catastrophe.

The generation of 80s was to show the liberated nation the ways to acquire its place in Europe. Thus, two questions should be thought over: 1. How to specify the Greek people's attitude toward the European culture, and find the ways to express the nation's originality; 2. What should be the attitude of the Greek civilization toward the epoch that was universally recognized as one of the most remarkable periods in the history of the world culture, and which had permanently cast a shadow over the Modern Greek. Europeans limited the significance of Greek culture to the ancient civilization. Besides, and the spiritual life of modern Greece was, naturally, very poorly set out against such a background. The Greek faced the problem of overcoming the complex of the glorious past.

Universalism of K. Palamas. This interesting and complex epoch was a background for K. Palamas' literary activity, which was marked with univer-

sality. The latter was clearly expressed in his attitude toward the classical tradition. 1. First in Greek literature, Palamas attempted to theoretically approach the ancient Greek civilization as a whole as well as its single aspects. Along with investigating the ancient literary heritage, he thoroughly studied the theories that existed in his contemporary classical philology; 2. Palamas is the first Greek poet who made serious attempts to introduce the creative assimilation of the classical tradition in his works. His artistic heritage is so rich in ancient plots, symbols and images that it is hard to find any more or less remarkable sphere in Greek culture, or any writer or image that escaped the poets attention.

Palamas' theoretical works offer an interesting inner discussion over the significance of Antiquity for the modern society, and primarily for the Greek; he also dwells upon the approach to the classical tradition. Palamas' theories on the classical tradition that are scattered in numerous publications and fiction may be presented as the unity of three elements: 1. The specification of the essence and definition of Antiquity; 2. What is the wrong attitude toward Antiquity, and how harmful its misunderstanding may be; 3. What should be the right attitude toward Antiquity, and how beneficial it may be to human development.

While specifying the essence of classical Antiquity, Palamas, to our mind, shares the position of his contemporary Archaic studies, though of course, enriches it with his own poetic interpretation. Palamas believes the chief merit of Antiquity is its worldwide significance. The classical Greek tradition is a common treasure, and is accessible to the whole world, regardless of ideology, civilization type, etc. 2. Facing this unfathomable and lofty civilization, people are doomed to errors if they blindly acquire the classical tradition; thus they will become intimidated and will be limited to a mere imitation or reanimation. According to the poet, an incorrect interpretation of Antiquity may deprive a culture of its vitality; while the classical tradition will hinder the development of the culture instead of inspiring it.² 3. Being aware of the significance of the classical Greek tradition to the development of civilizations of various epochs, Palamas presents his idea on the correct apprehension of the classical tradition. He believes that a modern artist or a society should realize that a modern man differs from an ancient one, as the former includes in itself the coexistence of the ancient, Christian and modern cultural traditions. In a society of other faith, another religion will replace the three elements of the triad. An artist should borrow from Antiquity all what will stimulate the development of his contemporary culture, and will not

² see: Γ. Καλαματιανός, *Ο Παλαμάς και οι Αρχαίοι*, Αθήνα, 1959, 108

alienate his art from the requirements and tastes of his contemporary society. In terms of the creative assimilation of the classical tradition, Palamas suggests that a society should create new values in respect to the tradition.

Since Palamas widely refers to the classical tradition, his works comprehensively present the information related to the classical Greece. In respect of the reference to the classical tradition, Palamas' poetry may be divided into three groups: 1. Poems where ancient images and symbols (despite their frequent usage) are not key elements for the concept. They are used as single quotations. Ancient terms are used either with respect to their generally known symbolic meaning, or for comparison, or as a metaphor, etc. 2. Another group of Palamas' poems have passages or parts that poetically interpret concrete images from the classical tradition. Neither they serve as a motif of the poem's concept, but they have their relevant function there. 3. However, we are especially interested in those works that are nourished by the ancient information, and most interestingly illustrate Palamas' creative interpretation of the classical tradition. Among such poems we may distinguish those based on the principle of "informational self-sufficiency". That means that the poet is interested to poetically furnish one motif, one plot, and make its poetical information the concept for his poem. As for the additional information, he presents as much of it as it is necessary to realize his intention. The analysis of these poems shows that in the case of this pattern of poetry, Palamas is confined to the laconic allusion to the key plot elements of the myth. Though in case of a poetic interpretation of the myth, he does not necessarily divert from the elements of a traditional myth, or partly alter it, or basically reinterpret a traditional as confines himself to a subtle allusion to the content elements of the respective myth. Hymns are especially significant among Palamas' works. If we compare hymns to the above-mentioned pattern, the principle of "informational self-sufficiency" is replaced by the principle of "maximum informational completeness". Along with glorifying a god or goddess, Palamas fully presents their deeds.

Palamas, on one hand, crowned the process of assimilating the classical tradition that preceded his poetry, and on the other, introduced a new approach to the classical tradition. Along with assimilating the classical tradition, a writer should find an interesting way to realize it in his works, and at the same time, maintain his poetic originality. In terms of the classical tradition, Palamas offered a unique universalism. If one tries to trace all Antiquity-related names in his works, one will have to compile a huge dictionary with almost all names and notions that are relevant Antiquity-wise.

And still, Palamas' works are marked with one noticeably original feature: no matter how closely he approaches Antiquity, how organically he acquires the classical tradition, there always is a distance between Antiquity and

modern life. It is important for Palamas to ascertain that he is a Modern Greek poet. Though he fully realizes he is an heir of the classical tradition, he is never fulfilled with it alone. He aims at demonstrating the potential of both his poetry and the modern Greek culture, and tries to modify the classical tradition as to serve to the formation of the modern Greek literature. Since Palamas' times, a number of Greek writers managed to trace interesting ways in assimilating the classical tradition. On one hand, they followed the process in common European literature, and on the other, offer something essentially new and interesting that stimulates the development of the Modern Greek literature.

Originality of C. Kavafis' historical orientation. C. Kavafis is especially noteworthy among the poets of K. Palamas' generation. Kavafis' works are marked with a totally new, distinguished apprehension of the classical tradition. Kavafis' "antiquity-based" poems may be divided into two groups: 1. Mythological and 2. Historical.

Kavafis' so-called *mythological* poetry conveys two tendencies: on one hand, the poet borrows a mythological plot, substantially transforms it, but confines himself to the narration of the myth. The interpretation of the myth and understanding its implicit text is up to the reader.

On the other hand, in his other mythological poems, Kavafis is not confined to a mere narration of the myth; He uses mythological information either as an argument for the depicted scene, or as a moral.

And still historical theme dominates in Kavafis' poetry. Any attempt of their exact classification seems useless. To our mind, all these poems have in common a single peculiarity: they offer more or less concrete historical context. Kavafis' so-called historical poems (no matter whether the poet interferes in the plot with his own interpretation) are focused on such an event or a fact that by itself may not inspire a peculiar interest, but within the poem the rendered information acquires remarkable significance. Thus the poet refuses to follow the traditional path of assimilating the classical information, and within the frameworks of his artistic imagination sets off the value of these elements that have escaped others' attention. The analyzed poems show that Kavafis' interest in the classical tradition is focused on certain mythological and historical facts that serve to clarify or assert his idea. He uses the ancient information to create an essentially new poetry. While poetically furnishing the mentioned information, he very closely renders the spirit of the epoch that is described in the poem.

Principles of actualization and idealization in A. Sikelianos' poetry. In terms of the classical tradition, A. Sikelianos' poetry implies two tendencies: 1. Actualization of the tradition in a moderately lofty style; 2. Idealization, which implied forming a certain paradigm not only from Greek images and

symbols but also from the Greek's lifestyles. Though Sikelianos' poetry abounds in the elements related to the classical tradition, which are artistically furnished with various poetic devices, we believe that it is marked with a certain peculiarity – the poet chooses the Antiquity-related information which enables him to give the ancient plot a new direction, develop it according his intention and ideology. Therefore, Sakelianos is more interested in one mythical episode than a complete cycle of myths. He usually borrows these episodes from ancient writers' works, and either obviously or imperceptibly diverts them from or makes them opposite to the initial information.

Sikelianos is proud of being a Hellene. However, he has not made the pride the basic element of his poetry. The classical Greek culture- the greatest expression of the Hellenic genius – does not interest him isolated; the poet sees it as a paradigm, a model for a peaceful co-existence of the mankind. Therefore, any information borrowed from the classical tradition, even if initially pessimistic, sounds optimistically in his poetry. Sakelianos' approach to the Hellenic culture is neither indifferent nor cosmopolitan. He tightly connects the ancient Greek culture to the modern world. Sikelianos' poetry is marked with another interesting trait: he seems moderate in applying ancient images and symbols. None of his poems has excessive ancient notions; on the contrary, he is very economical, and always skillfully expresses an idea of utmost importance within one piece of poetry. Sikelianos' actualization is not placing an image or a symbol in a common context, or making the ancient and elevated ordinary; he charges the former with modern spirit and orientates it to what he feels as lofty ideals.

Antiquity in N. Kazantzakis' disharmonic world. Critics are unanimous to admit the difficulty in fully presenting the way the classical tradition is reflected in N. Kazantzakis' works. The reason is that Kazantzakis' works are comprehensive, and he does not give priority to any particular civilization. His works embrace all the knowledge accumulated to present times. Here coexist symbols, images, notions and religious concepts of different civilizations. Kazantzakis seeks new horizons of truth. For this purpose, he chooses the routs for endless travel in a boundless world, in respect of both geography and ideology (best illustrated in *Odyssey*). But in this process (if priorities are not timely specified) a mortal is doomed to a confusion and failure. The power of Kazantzakis' works is the dramatism that lies between his dreams and abilities. As for the question of our interest, the chief problem is the following: while assimilating the classical tradition, the writer "goes far beyond its limits",³ and, consequently, the tradition as reflected in his works

³ see: Γ. Σταματίου, *Ο Καζαντζάκης και οι Αρχαίοι*, Αθήνα, 1983, 316.

looses its chief quality – clarity. Though Kazantzakis often refers to Homer, Hesiod, Greek tragedy writers, Heraclitus, Plato, uses ancient images and symbols, all these serve not to the creative assimilation of the classical tradition, but to overcoming the boundaries of the latter and transcending to the broader cosmic world. This peculiarity of the writer can be stated as follows: Kazantzakis views the classical tradition as the part of the enormous information that can nourish his literary works. Accordingly, he does not give it a noticeable priority against other traditions. Kazantzakis numerously alludes to Antiquity, not out of his special disposition toward it, but because it is an authentic historical fact in the centuries old human experience.

O. Elytis' surrealist interpretation.⁴ No matter how different Greek writers' approaches are to the classical tradition, one thing is true about them all: the classical tradition is very important to the formation of the Modern Greek literature. However, The writers who chose to create an essentially new poetry have another stand. We mean those innovatory experiments that aimed at freeing literature from old tradition, and finding new ways of artistic expression. Among these artists, surrealists are especially noteworthy. With respect of the classical tradition, we have analyzed O. Elytis' works. Though the poet generally follows the basic principles of surrealism, his poetry does not break off the ancient tradition. He is not a blind follower of the French poetry; He tries to fit surrealism to the Greek reality. In its essence, surrealism is a cosmopolitan, non-ethnic trend; it even seems to contradict to expressing the national spirit in poetry, whereas Elytis is Greek to the core, and at the same time, he is a poet of a worldwide significance. He tries to perceive the world "from the Aegean sea". Therefore, all what is connected to the basis of this world – ancient Greek – naturally enters in his poetry. It is interesting to explore how Elytis manages to remain a surrealist poet, and at the same time so intensively refer to Antiquity, as to become a target of literary researches.⁵ Elytis' works do not offer artistic interpretation of a continuous information, the way it was with other writers. Here allusions and quotations from the sphere of Antiquity bear surrealist marks: so-called classical passage is only an element of the surrealist "mosaic"; at the first sight, they are neither motivated nor developed in the poem, just mingle through one or two lines. Thus, we should focus on three basic forms of reflecting Antiquity: 1. Nomination. Elytis mentions any Antiquity-related symbol or image in a certain context; 2. Allusion to Antiquity. We mean the passages that either

⁴ If we chronologically classify the assimilation of the classical tradition in works of the most distinguished writers of the epoch, Kazantzakis should be followed by Severs. But as we give a special attention to the latter, his works will be analyzed in the next chapter.

⁵ see: Δ. Ιάκωβ, *Η αρχαιογνωσία του Οδ. Ελύτη*, Αθήνα, 1985.

directly refer to the ancient information or raise the association of an allusion to Antiquity; 3. Instances of borrowing formatives, word combinations, or even sentences from ancient literature without any allusions to the source. This way he realizes the theories about language that are given in his letters. He does it after ancient Greek writers who freely used poetic formulas and word combinations of their predecessors.

We finish the review of the assimilation of the classical tradition with Elytis' literary heritage as, we believe, he was the poet who completed the period of the integration of the classical tradition in the modern Greek artistic culture – the period that started many years ago. Elytis' works crowned this process, as the poet fulfilled the integration of the classical tradition into the poetry the principles of which essentially differed from so-called mimetic principles of the Greek literature. Works of the later period, on one hand, share the peculiarities of the mentioned writers' works, and on the other, fully integrate into the processes that characterize the European literature.

The third chapter – **The classical tradition in George Seferis works** – puts emphasis on two moments which are especially remarkable with respect to the problem of our interest: 1. Seferis' as a "theorist's" attitude towards the classical tradition; 2. The way the classical tradition is reflected in Seferis' works. The first part of the chapter – **the essays** – analyses Seferis' letters and essays and presents his ideas on the role of the classical tradition in modern civilization, also his reflections over ancient authors (especially Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato) as well as the Greek culture as a whole, and the role of myths in the latter. The second part – **poetry** – offers the analysis (basically chronological) of all the poems that, to our mind, reflect the classical tradition. Our attention is focused on the function of the "ancient" element within the poetic curve of a poem.

*In Reflections on a Foreign Line of Verse*⁶ Seferis resorts to a well-known poetic device – appearance of a shadow before the narrator or the poet. Seferis tries to present the shadow of Odysseus within the modern temporal context, though the distance between the past and the present remains. This interesting synthesis, so typical of Seferis, appears later. The same principle structures the poem *The Companions in Hades*. In a grotesque manner, the poet describes the lot Odysseus' mean companions after they ate oxen of Helios.

Considering the reflection of classical antiquity, Seferis' *Mythistorema* is regarded as one of the most remarkable poems. It suffices to look through his

⁶ In the thesis we use Keely-Sherrards' translations of Seferis' poems: G. Seferis, *Complete Poems*, Translated, edited and introduced by E. Keely and Ph. Sherrard, London, 1995.

poem to notice richness of ancient images and contextual elements. *Mythistorema* is more concerned with ancient world than with the cultural heritage and symbolics of medieval and modern Europe.⁷ Seferis himself called the above-mentioned work (which can be pertained to the genre of modern poem) "Odyssey but vice versa".⁸ Of course, scholars have more than once paid attention to the creative interpretation of the classical tradition in Seferis' poetry.⁹ But the extent of the influence of the classical tradition as an informational system on Seferis' above-mentioned work have not yet been thoroughly studied. In fact, the poem takes the most relevant impulses exactly from classical antiquity. Let's begin with the poem's title. Seferis himself comments on it as follows: "*Mythistorema* – it is two components that made me choose the title of this work: mythos, because I have used, clearly enough, a certain mythology; istoria (both history and story) because I have tried to express, with some coherence, circumstances that are as independent from myself as the characters in a novel".¹⁰ So, the title unites two meanings – mythos and history. Mythos – as the world of eternal symbols of the past and history – as the real events endured by the mankind.

The poem is divided into 24 parts, which reminds us of Homeric tradition to divide epics into 24 books.¹¹ We may say that the work as a whole is a remarkable synthesis of certain elements of *Odyssey*, *Argonautica* and Greek tragedy. As it is known, Aristotle traced a number of drama details in Homeric epics and considered Homer one of the stimuli of the drama formation.¹²

Mythistorema begins with the clear statement: "The angel/three years we waited for him .../so that the age-old drama could begin again". This reminds us of the prologue to Greek tragedies. With respect to the majority of Greek tragedies, especially those by Euripides, we may draw a parallel with the messenger who declares the most crucial and tragic episode.¹³ In the same

⁷ We use the term *classical antiquity* to refer not only to the Classical period but to every aspect connected with Greek and Roman Civilization (mythology, literature, philosophy etc.).

⁸ Γ. Σεφέρης, *Μέρες Α'*, Αθήνα, 1975, 15.

⁹ Π. Μαστροδημήτρης, *Η αρχαία παραδόσεις εις την ποιησιν του Γιώργου Σεφέρη*, Αθήνα, 1964. Ε. Κύλη, *Μύθος και Φωνή στη σύγχρονη ελληνική ποίηση*, Αθήνα, 1987. Δ. Μαρωνίτης, *Η ποίηση του Γιώργου Σεφέρη, Μελέτες και Μαθήματα*, Αθήνα 1989. Δ. Μαρωνίτης, *Διαλέξεις*, Αθήνα, 1992. D. Ricks, *Η σκιά του Ομήρου*, Αθήνα, 1993, etc.

¹⁰ George Seferis, *Complete Poems*, Translated, edited and introduced by Edmund Keely and Philip Sherrard, London, 1995, 277.

¹¹ see: Α. Αργυρίου, *Δεκαεπτά κείμενα για τον Γιώργο Σεφέρη*, Αθήνα, 1990, 124.

¹² see: Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1448^b36..., for interpretation of the Aristotle's text, see: Aristotle, *Poetics*, Introduction, commentary and appendix by D.W. Lucas, Oxford, 1978, 77, 92 etc.

¹³ see: A. Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, Göttingen, 1972; A. Brown, *A New Companion to Greek Tragedy*, London and Canberra, 1983, 125.

way, the ending of *Mythistorema* bears an interesting resemblance to the majority of exodoi which in Greek tragedies sum up past events and make a certain generalization: "Here end the works of the sea, the works of love". And still, the beginning and the ending of Seferis' poem resemble not only tragedies but also the principle of the beginning and the ending of Homeric poems. The starting point is the statement of the principle motive or theme, as for the ending, it is not the ending in the general meaning of the word as it implies a further continuation of the action.¹⁴

The principle theme, that runs through out the poem is a voyage with an interesting synthesis of the pathos of *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*. As it is known, classical philology admits that a probable epic on Argonauts which has not survived to our times influenced *Odyssey*. The latter, in its turn, had an influence on *Argonautica* by Apollonius Rhodius.¹⁵ Thus, *Odyssey* and *Argonautica* linked to each other already in ancient Greece. They are united by what the travellers had experienced, what might have been most exciting and encouraging. But the most remarkable is that, as in case of *Odyssey*, the travellers better felt the insignificance of the border between death and life, hope and despair. We may say that this pathos is fully reflected in *Mythistorema*, but in the latter the voyage is carried rather in chronological than in geographical area.

In the first poem the above-mentioned lines destroy the distance in time: the past and the present actually converge and all what happened within the frameworks of "the age-old drama" is old in essence and, at the same time, goes on up to the present. The following lines point out the travel and the roaming, so familiar to Hellenic world starting with *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*. There are no exact time indications for the voyage. It seems to be a travel started in the past and still going on.

The following lines attract our attention: "...strangers /plunged into mist by the immaculate wings of swans that /wounded us". A debate was held among the poet and the scholars about these lines.¹⁶ To our mind, the phrase "the immaculate wings of swans that /wounded us" provokes associations

¹⁴ It is admitted that the action in Iliad and Odyssey tends to go on even after the formal ending of the epics, see: P. Гордезиани, Проблемы гомеровского эпоса, Тбилиси, 1978. As for the termination of the action in *Mythistorema* see: Mario Vitti, Φθορά και Λόγος, 72.

¹⁵ The issue of the correlation between *Odyssey* and *Argonautica* is specified in K. Meuli *Odyssey und Argonautica*, Berlin, 1921.

¹⁶ Some scholars admit that the line "the immaculate wings of swans" is consciously or unconsciously determined by Herodotus IV, 31-32 and presents a poetic image of snow, see: Π. Μαστροδημήτρης, Η αρχαία παραδόσις εις την ποιησιν του Γιώργου Σεφέρη, Αθήνα, 1964, 10-11. But Seferis himself did not agree with such an interpretation.

with the Stymphalian birds which, shot out their feathers, tipped with steel so as to resemble arrows, at strangers.¹⁷

The second poem is saturated with ritual spirit. It presents quite an old symbol that of a "well" and a "cave" which indicated the gates to the underworld. As we know, "caves" are mentioned several times in *Argonautica* as well in *Odyssey*. Thus, the usage of these symbols may be called a certain poetic ritual as they help to abolish distance in time and link the present and the past.

The epigraph to the third poem "Μέμνησο λουτρῶν ὅς ἐνοσφίσθης" is a quotation from the Aeschylus' tragedy *The Libation Bearers*, 491 where Orestes in his speech at Agamemnon's tomb reminds his father of the bath where he had been killed by his wife Clytemnestra.¹⁸ The address "πάτερ" is omitted from the quotation on purpose. The epigraph is organically related to the text of the poem. Here the poet speaks about the feelings of the narrator who is presented "with the marble head in ... hands". The phrases "I look at the eyes: neither open nor closed / I speak to the mouth which keeps trying to speak / I hold the cheeks which have broken through the skin" arouse associations with the sufferings of murdered Agamemnon: his mouth could never say what he wanted to, his eyes could never see the children who came here to revenge. But the narrator can change nothing about it: "That's all I'm able to do".

This poem can provoke different associations. We may identify the narrator with the Greek nation itself, which restored its links with its roots comparatively late because of its endless capture. After the liberation, "awaking" the nation found itself with its vigorous past – "with the marble head in my hands" which exhausts ("it exhausts my elbows...") and puzzles him ("...I don't know where to put it down"). A modern Greek wants to hear a voice of his great ancestor, the voice he was unable to hear: "I speak to the mouth which keeps trying to speak".

The ancient spirit is fully introduced in the poem *Argonauts*. In the very first line the author originally attempts to insert in the structure of his poem Plato's prosaic text without any changes using an interesting principle of deviding Plato's sentences into lines. However, in this case we are more interested in the function of these lines in this concrete poem and in *Mythistorema* as a whole than in the way of transforming Plato's prosaic text into a poetic one. The quotation is from Plato, *Alcibiades*, 133b, where it is discussed how to interpret the famous exhortation carved on the Delphian

¹⁷ Ap. Rhod. II, 1020...

¹⁸ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 315.

temple "Know thyself".¹⁹ Here Plato states through Socrates' words: "και ψυχή ει μέλλει γνώσεσθαι αυτήν εις ψυχήν αυτή βλέπτεον... ". We think this is the key phrase for the whole poem, because *Odyssey* as well as *Argonautica* can be considered a travel maintained for self-knowledge. In this case it may refer to the most concrete (Argonauts, Odysseus, the poet himself), more general (the Greek nation) as well as the most general (the mankind). In our opinion, this way of starting the poem unambiguously points out the principle pathos of *Mythistorema*. After the quotation from Plato's *Alcibiades* there comes a very interesting line: "the stranger and enemy, we've seen him in the mirror".²⁰ Here, we believe, Seferis means that its impossible to know yourself unless you know your opposition – "the stranger and enemy". After the above-mentioned lines the narration is carried on in Seferis' way of synthesizing concrete and general. Seferis speaks about companions who "...didn't complain /about the work or the thirst or the frost /they had the bearing of trees and waves... they sweated at the oars with lowered eyes /breathing in rhythm /and their blood reddened a submissive skin". These lines are exactly nurtured by classical world and echo *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*, but they also may express the Greek people's striving. The following lines show that the poet seems to be beyond the chronological frameworks: "Sometimes disconsolate women wept /lamenting their lost children /and others frantic sought Alexander the Great /and glories buried in the depths of Asia". Here, as it is generally admitted, the Asia Minor catastrophe is reflected.²¹ Alexander the Great is the symbol of what the Greeks wanted to achieve and what brought them to the catastrophe. Our attention was attracted by an interesting gradation: at first, the theme of *Argonautica* is more conspicuous in the poem, then there is a synthesis of the themes of *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*, and in the end *Odyssey's* spirit prevails. It is a common knowledge that the phrases "The companions died one by one, /with lowered eyes. Their oars /mark the place where they sleep on the shore" corresponds with *Odyssey* (XI,75-78).²² The shadow of Elpenor asks Odysseus to plant his oar on his grave to perpetuate his memory. To our mind, the poem *Argonauts* reflects the main body of the whole poem, because there is a beginning of an endless voyage, a definite aim, the voyage full of danger and the inevitable

¹⁹ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 315.

²⁰ It is interesting that the "mirror" is a relevant detail in *Alcibiades* respective passages: 132e, 133a.

²¹ Δ. Μαρωνήτης, Η ποίηση του Γιώργου Σεφέρη, Φιλέταιρος Οδυσσέας, 60-62.

²² Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 316

end: "Their oars /mark the place where they sleep on the shore." The poem ends with the poet's remark: "No one remembers them. Justice".²³

There is no reference to antiquity in the fifth poem, but it comes to be a certain continuation of the last line of the poem D': "No one remembers them. Justice". This is, chiefly, a hesitation, whether they really knew their friends or not, whether it was all hopes or reality. This hesitation is well represented by the opposition of the lines: "We didn't know them", "we'd known them since early childhood".

The next poem comes to be an interlude. The initials M.R. are those of Maurice Ravel.²⁴ The poem represents a brilliant impressionistic inset, where only the line "...the broken /statues and the tragic columns" reminds us of the ancient world.

Considering the reflection of the classical tradition, *South wind* seems to imply no direct reference to classical antiquity. Everything depicted here concerns the narrators themselves, but the poem seems to be quite a natural, integral part of *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*. The title *South wind* itself speaks to the same, as it implies clear indications for the sailors.

In the next poem Seferis once again comes back to the theme of searching souls: "What are they after, our souls, travelling /on the decks of decayed ships". He most interestingly introduces a tragic picture of misery of women and children refugees. And, though there is no answer to the question what the souls seek, there is an obvious striving for search. It leads us to what is combined with pain. The poem raises a number of associations. We may consider it the reflection of the catastrophe of the "Great Idea", the criticism of a vain striving for the "... country that is no longer ours /nor yours. "

The theme of the narrator's loneliness beautifully links the 9th poem to classical antiquity. Some remarkable symbols enter in the poem. On the one hand, it is the image of Odysseus, which emerges in the narrator's consciousness along with the night's stars ("The night's stars take me back to Odysseus"). He is alone like Odysseus "among the asphodels" facing the souls of the dead (*Odyssey*, XI, 539). On the other hand, the following lines refer to another ancient image. Now the narrator's aim is "...to find among the asphodels /the gorge that knew the wounded Adonis".

The following poem carries on the theme of loneliness, aloofness, but the loneliness of a man transforms into the limits of a place, topos. Seferis introduces a mythopoetic image of "black Symplegades", evidently taken

²³ for the interpretation of the last line of *Argonauts* see: Δ. Μαρωνίτης, Φιλέταιρος Οδυσσεύς, 61, Mario Vitti, Φθορά και Λόγος, 84-85

²⁴ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 316.

from Euripides *Medea* (1-2).²⁵ Though there is an obvious correspondence with Euripides, we should say, that the image of black Symplegades is typical of ancient sources. Sometimes they are referred to by a synonym "Κυάνας".²⁶ Here the image of black Symplegades, on the one hand, revives the theme of *Argonautica* and, on the other hand, acquires a new function, as Seferis presents them as the limits of the place or the country.

After the brilliant surrealist poem IA', which has a function of an interlude, the poet comes back to the theme of the poem I'. In the IB' (*Bottle in the sea*) the travellers' intention to "moor the ship" and "splice the...oars" as well as the phrase "the youngest", who "won it and disappeared" take us back to the world of *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*. It is generally admitted that the word "the youngest" refers to Elpenor (Homer uses the epithet "νέοτατος" for Elpenor, *Odyssey*, X, 552).²⁷ To our mind, there is a very interesting synthesis of the information of *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*. The phrase "Here we moored the ship to splice the broken oars, / to drink water and to sleep" reminds us of the episode from *Argonautica*, when Heracles broke his oar and the Argonauts had to land to splice a new one and the phrase "The youngest won it and disappeared" provokes associations with Hyllas, who was sent to bring water, was pulled down by the water-nymph into the pool and was never seen again.²⁸

The poem *Hydra* arouses associations with the events relating to the battles for the independence of Greece. It is a common knowledge that the island substantially contributed to naval forces that helped to win independence for Greece.²⁹ The only thing that connects the poem with the theme of voyage are the following lines: "White sails and sunlight and wet oars /struck with a rhythm of drums on stilled waves".

After the poem *Hydra* there comes a four-line poem which can also be considered an interlude, if there is no symbolics in the phrase "Three red pigeons". It can be associated with ancient literature only if we see in these words a certain reflection of the pigeon, let free by Argonauts in Symplegades.³⁰

The epigraph to the 15th poem – Quid πλατανών opacissimus? is from Pliny, *Letters*, 1.3, where he asks his friend "What about that shadiest of plane

²⁵ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 317.

²⁶ W. Pape, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, Bd. II, 1911³, Braunschweig, 1458.

²⁷ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 317.

²⁸ Ap. Rhod. I, 1207 -1208, I, 1257-1260.

²⁹ George Seferis, Complete Poems, 278.

³⁰ Ap. Rhod. II, 561-562.

trees?"³¹ But Seferis makes one interesting alteration: the word "platanon" that entered in Latin from Greek, is presented in its original Greek form *πλατανών*.³² The author seems to refer to the Greek origin of the Latin word which was quite rarely used even in ancient Greek language. Its widely used form was *πλάτανος* or *πλατάνιστος*. What unites the epigraph and the poem itself? We believe the poem, which at first sight can be considered a love poem, has a bit more to express than a mere striving for an imaginary object, here a woman. As we had no opportunity to get acquainted with the comments on the point, we shall try to present some of our observations. To our opinion, the most noteworthy detail is the plane tree, which recurrently appears and can be duly considered a key element of the poem. If we come back to Pliny's letter, we shall see that Pliny calls upon his addressee to give up everyday routine, ask somebody else to take care of it and create something that will immortalize his name. Seferis underlines two aspects: 1) serenity brought by sleep, some sort of uncertainty and 2) ephemerality, oblivion, failure of dreams. In fact, the poem expresses dissatisfaction not of a concrete man, but the whole generation of mortals. Does it not resemble the opposition presented in Pliny's letter, the opposition of everyday routine and the creative heritage of a man that perpetuates his name, what Pliny's addressee failed to accomplish.

In the 16th poem there is an attempt to fully transformate the passage from Sophocles' *Electra*.³³ The aged servant of Orestes' tells Clytemnestra the fabricated story of Orestes' death. He begins his story with the description of Orestes' glorious victory in the chariot-races at Delphi: *Αργείος μεν ανακαλούμενος, όνομα δ'Όρέστης, του το κλεινόν Ελλάδος Αγαμέμνονος στρατεύμα αγείραντός ποτέ (693-696)*. The very formula *όνομα δ'Όρέστης* is used as an epigraph to Seferis' poem, which presents Orestes' monologue: Orestes describes the competition, but unlike Sophocles, the pathos of this poem is not a demonstration of joy caused by a victory. It expresses the pain, torture, feeling of helplessness experienced by the "first" man: "and I feel my knees give way over the axle/ over the wheels, over the wild track/ knees buckle easily when the gods so will it...". It is remarkable that what in Sophocles' tragedy is supposed to be fabricated (Orestes' participation in the competition), Seferis presents as a real story making Orestes his contemporary character.³⁴ In the end of the poem Seferis introduces one more mythical image – the Eumenides – which is organically linked to the myth

³¹ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 317.

³² Δ. Δημητράκης, *Μέγα Λεξικόν όλης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*, τ. Ζ, Αθήνα, 1964, 5857

³³ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 317.

³⁴ Δ. Μαρωνήτης, *Η ποίηση του Γιώργου Σεφέρη*, Γραφή και Ανάγνωση, 78.

about Orestes. Seferis applies the epithet "black" to the Eumenides, i.e. former Erinyes transformed by Goddess Athena, though it hardly fits the Eumenides any more.³⁵ This may lead us to the thought that to Seferis' mind the essence of the Erinyes never changes, and even their transformation into the Eumenides did not help.

The poem called *Astyanax*, where a proper name appears only in the title, presents quite an interesting symbol of a child which becomes a victim of warriors, lustful of battles. As it is known, Astyanax, a naive child, son of Hector and Andromache, was killed by Achaeans after the fall of Troy.³⁶ The poem consists of three parts. The first one (1-6) arises associations with the Trojan war. The symbol of the plane tree again appears here. In our opinion, it may allude to the plane-tree, by which the Achaeans were warned about Gods' oracles on the date of terminance and the outcome of the Trojan war. (Iliad, II 284...). Seferis finds an interesting way of relating this event to the birth of the boy. "The boy who saw the light under that plane tree, /one day when trumpets resounded and weapons shone /and the sweating horses /bent to the trough to touch with wet nostrils /the green surface of the water". It is interesting that Calchas' oracle at Homer is based on the horrible image of the Dragon eating a newly born nestling (νήπια τέκνα) from the plane tree (Iliad, II 311...). The second part of the poem (7-11), to our mind, is the generalization of the lamentations and wars that sacrificed the generations of ancestors and, on the other hand, caused so much joy and so many supplications. The third part is a certain warning for other children to avoid Astyanax's lot. Let's consider the poet's words: "take with you the boy who saw the light /under the leaves of that plane tree /and teach him to study the trees".

The 18th poem has a double function: on the one hand, it refers to the theme of destruction (which we may associate with the destruction started with Troy and ended with the Asia Minor catastrophe) – "Whatever I loved vanished with the houses /that were new last summer /and crumbled in the winds of autumn", on the other hand, it is a certain intermedium to precede an extremely lyric poem. In the latter it is difficult to see any concrete allusion to classical antiquity. Though the last phrase "they're a burden for us/ the friends who no longer know how to die" may be considered a repercussion of the theme of the "companions", "friends", developed in previous poems.

³⁵ for the interpretation of Aeschylus *Eumenides* see: A. Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1972, 126-134.

³⁶ Ποιήματα, Σημειώσεις, 318.

The poem *Andromeda* without any nomination introduces the image of Andromeda, who, according to the myth of Perseus, was rescued by the hero from terrible tortures.³⁷ If we consider the myth, we may easily connect the lines with the pain experienced by a sacrificed woman. The quotation from Aeschylus *Agamemnon* (958) "The sea, the sea, who will be able to drain it dry?" from the speech of Clytemnestra justifying Agamemnon's treading on the purple carpet leading into palace, also attracts attention.³⁸ The function of this quotation in the poem is particularly interesting. As it is known, the image of the inexhaustible sea in *Agamemnon* is used by Clytemnestra to illustrate the wealth of their palace. As for Seferis' poem, in our opinion, the quotation has two planes: on the one hand, it may refer to the emotions of a man chained to the sea-side cliff and facing the violent sea, and on the other hand, the quotation may serve to generalize the idea of inexhaustible pain, lamentation, grief. It is remarkable that Seferis presents Andromeda's mythical image only when she is being tormented and says nothing about her rescue or even her hope. The impression is that counter to the traditional myth about Perseus, Seferis emphasizes the inexhaustibility of her grief.

The theme of the following poem is "death", "silence", "smile", which seem so incongruous with each other. The poem presents an integral link between the past and the present, the death and those alive.

The 22nd poem, in our opinion, beautifully illustrates difficulties in the formation of self-awareness among the Greek (or generally in the mankind) as viewed from the present. The phrases: "wandering among broken stones, three or six thousand years /searching in collapsed buildings that might have been our homes /trying to remember dates and heroic deeds" obviously point out that long is the period and numerous are the events and symbols which should be perceived if one wishes to know oneself.

The next to the last poem is a certain approach to the ending, which, according to this poem, tends to be "optimistic": "a little farther, /let us rise a little higher. "

The last poem is the exodus of this truly great drama of *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*. The past and the present are again united, the image of asphodels, the idea of perpetuating the past is again introduced as an eternal circulation. There is even a certain wish, a will for those who are bound to come in future: "let them not forget us, the weak souls among the asphodeles". And, in the end, the poet calls for serenity: "We who had nothing will school them in serenity".

³⁷ Ποήματα, Σημειώσεις, 318.

³⁸ Ποήματα, Σημειώσεις, 318.

The brief comments presented above unambiguously testify that the influence of the classical tradition prevails in Seferis' poem. We may say that, if the composite *Μυθιστόρημα* is split into its constituents "μύθος" and "ιστορία", in terms of a concrete orientation the privilege is definitely given to mythos. With respect to the classical tradition Seferis reveals an unusual depth, in its creative interpretation the poet demonstrates rare colourfulness and exalted attitude towards classical antiquity. To make the above-mentioned more evident, we shall make an attempt to sum up the intensity of reflecting the classical tradition from different aspects. Let us start with the ratio of the terms related to the classical tradition that occur in the poem (proper names, certain notions, etc). Eight proper names out of the ten used in the poem are connected with the classical world (Αργοναύτες, Μεγαλέξανδρος, Οδυσσέας, Άδωνις, Ορέστης, Αστυάναξ, Ανδρομέδα, Ευμενίδες). As for geographic names, they are scarcely specified in the poem. All the four mentioned geographic names (Ασία, Συμπληγάδες, Υδρα, Μαραθώνας) are more or less related to the ancient tradition and two of them directly aim at reflecting classical antiquity (Συμπληγάδες, Μαραθώνας). The same is true about the level of notions. In our opinion, the notions that enter into the poem from antiquity are: άγγελος, πανάρχαιο δράμα, ασφοδίλια, έρεβος, πλάτανος etc. The choice of epigraphs is also interesting. Below their poetic function will be discussed in detail. Here we shall only state, that there are four epigraphs in *Mythistorema*, three of which are borrowed from ancient sources (Μέμνησο λουτρών οις ενοςφίσθης, Quid πλατανών opacissimus?, Όνομα δ'Ορέστης). But the citation of ancient authors goes further. Seferis quotes Plato's *Alcibiades* (133 b), he also presents a free interpretation of line 958 from Aeschylus *Agamemnon* in modern Greek. The paraphrases of the information from ancient sources are typical of Seferis. As mentioned above, there are two implicit allusions to Elpenor, we also believe the same is true about Stymphalian birds, the plane tree, by which the Achaeans were warned about the oracle of Gods, and Hyllas, who went out for some water and disappeared.

Of course, while dwelling our attention on the classical tradition, we should bear in mind that ancient names, symbols and notions embrace quite a long epoch starting with so called Age of Heroes up to the Late Antiquity. While reflecting the classical tradition, it is interesting to find out the period Seferis concerns himself with. It is obvious that in *Mythistorema* Seferis refers to the Mythological epoch. The majority of the characters and nominated events is related to the themes of mythology.

Another point of interest is the emphasis on the mythological past at the level of heroes in the poem dedicated not only to mythology but to history as well. To our mind, two aspects are of special relevance: first, the most vivid

images of sea roaming and travel are *Argonautica* and *Odyssey* and, secondly, it is very important for Seferis to raise his images to many-sided symbols. Evidently, the poet attached much more importance to mythos than to concrete historical personalities or events.

Which cycles of myths or local legends prevail in the poem? As we see, the author uses the cycle of Argonauts, the Trojan cycle and Andromeda's episode from the myth about Perseus. What attracts our attention is the total absence of the Theban cycle, so productive in the modern European literature. On the other hand, there is certain reanimation of Elpenor's image, which after Homer was not considered a relevant status-symbol for the interpretation of the classical tradition neither in the ancient nor the following period.³⁹

The selection of quotations from classical sources requires special attention. The author chooses the quotations which had caused no special interest in the European literature. In the poem they serve to render quite a concrete poetic conception. We are by no means mistaken to say that the epigram of the third poem "Μέμνησο λουτρών οἰς ενοσφίσθης" became no source of inspiration either in the ancient or the following period. In this phrase Seferis saw much more than a mere meaning of the sentence. In *The Libation Bearers* the function of this phrase is to remind the reader of the murder of Agamemnon in the bath. In this case the quotation itself acquires a symbolic meaning in the poem. It may refer to the tragic lot of Agamemnon (the noblest King of the Heroic epoch of Greece) as well as of his fatherland.

The way of quoting Plato is also very interesting. Seferis does not paraphrase the quotation to fit his poem. He inserts the exact phrase from Plato's prose into the structure of his poem. So far we have not come across any other author who would pay so much attention to the mentioned phrase from Plato's *Alcibiades*.⁴⁰ However, Seferis chose a truly suitable quotation to express the spirit felt throughout *Mythistorama*.

In this respect the epigram of the 15th poem is also noteworthy. It is a citation from Pliny which in the original bears no other function than that of a mere greeting formula. Seferis charged this seemingly ordinary phrase with the meaning of a phrase-symbol (especially by means of replacing the Latin "platanon" with the Greek πλατανών). His "shadiest of plane trees" might be a symbol very close to the understanding of a plane tree in the old Greek world, where it was considered a tree of sorrow and grief.⁴¹

³⁹ see: Γ. Σαββίδης, *Μεταμορφώσεις του Ελπίνορα*, Αθήνα 1990

⁴⁰ Of course, with the exception of Plato's commentators.

⁴¹ see: J. C. Cooper, *Lexikon Alter Symbole*, Leipzig, 1986, 144. In the Ancient world the symbol of the plane tree was quite relevant. On the one hand, it indicated sorrow and on the other hand, it was an indispensable attribute of a sacred place: Herod. V 119, VII 27, 31.

The epigram of poem ὄνομα δ'Ορέστης – originates from Sophokle's *Electra*. The phrase in *Electra* is used in rather an ordinary context. In our opinion, Seferis created quite an interesting symbol out of this phrase. We may call it the symbol of a winner, the first man. The pathos of the poem is determined by musing over his lot and actual abilities.

There is another case of citation in the poem *Andromeda*. As mentioned above, the author cites a phrase from Aeschylus *Agamemnon*. If we consider the aphoristic nature of this phrase in *Agamemnon*, it will be interesting to observe to what extent the initial meaning of the phrase is preserved after the citation. In our opinion, Seferis definitely altered the purpose of the phrase. In *Agamemnon* the sea is a general image of inexhaustibility, which Seferis skilfully fitted to a concrete situation depicted in *Andromeda*. The poet preserved the meaning of inexhaustibility of the sea, but denied it its function to refer to endless wealth. We believe Seferis attached to it a more general meaning and made it closely related to the actual context.

With respect to Seferis' creative interpretation of the classical tradition, the most remarkable, to our mind, is his using the ancient information as a subtext for his poem. Subtext underlies the whole poem *Mythistorema*, but there are cases when each part of the poem has its own subtext.

If we consider the poem as a whole, the subtext of its carcass is obviously the model of an ancient tragedy with its prologue, episodes and exodoi. However, it is structured with respect to Homeric epics, traditionally divided into 24 books.

As for the imaginary and quite relative "action" of the poem, its subtext is definitely *Argonautica*, on the one hand, and *Odessey*, on the other. The combination of these two informational sources is certainly motivated. The imaginary ship of *Mythistorema* and its crew are very relevant, as relevant as Argo and its crew were. On the other hand, Seferis' companions share *Odyssey's* lot starting with ship wrecks and catastrophes and ending with the loneliness of Odysseus.

As we have already mentioned, not only the poem as a whole and its subtext are important to the poet, but certain key parts and their subtexts as well. We shall point out three poems that seem relevant in this respect: *Astyanax*, *The name is Orestes* and *Andromeda*.

The subtext of *Astyanax* is not only the Homeric epics, but the whole Greek tradition on the violent murder of Astyanax. It was reflected in other genres too. We may find it in epics as well as in Euripide's *Trojan women*. It is noteworthy that Seferis raises Astyanax's image to the symbol of a helpless child and makes a small amendment to the ancient plot, while relating the birth of the child to the plane tree. Seferis attaches even more importance to the plane tree than it is shown in Iliad, and the phrase "take with you the boy

who saw the light /under the leaves of that plane tree /and teach him to study the trees" may be understood as a certain warning to make children safe.

The subtext of *The name is Orestes* is definitely Orestes' aged servant's story from Sophokles *Electra*. As mentioned above, the aged servant of Orestes tells Clitemnestra a fabricated story of Orestes' victory and his death. Seferis changes the falsehood into reality. More than that, this false story is transformed in Orestes' monologue. The aim of this transformation is to reveal not the pride brought by victory, but the helplessness of a man in the face of global, universal laws.

The subtext of the poem *Andromedais* is a myth about Perseus. It is remarkable that Seferis refers only to that episode of the myth, which shows Andromeda's hopeless state. Thus he alters the whole pathos of the myth, and what ends well in the Greek tradition becomes a symbol of endless, inexhaustible pain and sorrow.⁴²

So, considering the creative interpretation of the classical tradition we may maintain that Seferis is among the most remarkable poets. The poem which illustrates the fate of mankind and Greece in particular through out centuries, is chiefly orientated on classical tradition, though the plot and motivation of the poem offered a wide range of other symbols as well, so numerous in the history of civilization.⁴³

It is noteworthy that, unlike other literary men of his age, Seferis makes no attempt to modernize terms, symbols, images related to the classical tradition and to present them in the frameworks of everyday life. More than that, Seferis generalizes them in almost a classical way and thus comes closer to the spirit of classical culture.

And, finally, what captures our attention are the organic links between the remote past and the present. Two planes run through out the poem: what it was (and, as already mentioned above, it is chiefly confined to classical antiquity) and what it is (of course, often merged with the author's glance into the future, realized with nothing but dreams and best wishes). Seferis succeeded in his attempt to fit the classical tradition as an integral part to his modern poetry and thus he revived ancient symbols and notions.

Chronologically, *Mythstorema* is immediately followed by Seferis' two poems *Santorini* and *Mycenae*, which are united under a common title *Gymnopaïdia*. Gymnopaïdias were popular rituals, frequently mentioned in ancient Greek sources since V c. BC. Seferis has thorough information about

⁴² In our opinion, it's not ruled out that in this case Seferis refers to the preserved fragments of Euripides' *Andromeda*, namely the prologue to the tragedy, which presents feelings of the woman chained to the cliff.

⁴³ A brilliant example of such literary work is the poem of T. Eliot *The Waste Land*.

Gymnopaïdias, and is well aware of their essence and symbolic meaning. He felt the exalted and, at the same time, tragic spirit of the ritual, and to maintain and intensify the latter, chose for its "setting" Santorini, the most tragic isle of Greece. The poet combined two aspects: the isle, which is doomed to sink, and the dance of naked men, who also face death in the war. Thus Seferis revived the vigorous and, at the same time, tragic spirit of Gymnopaïdias. The poem *Santorini* is interestingly linked to *Mycenae*. What immediately captures our attention is a recurrent use of the word "hands", and the word "stones" as a poetic detail in both poems. However, to our belief, the most relevant is the scene of dance, which is developed in *Santorini* ("in the midday sun"), while in *Mycenae* it is night ("flooded with the light of an invisible moon"). This temporal aspect of the poems invites us to think that the second poem summarizes all what was said in the first one. In *Mycenae*, we find remarkable the passage in which, without any concrete reference, the poet alludes to the tragedy of Arctus' descendants: "...I / who've followed so many times/ the path from killer to victim /from victim to punishment / from punishment to the net murder, / groping / the inexhaustible purple / that night of the return / when the Furies began whistling / in the meagre grass..." The lines are clearly associated with Orestes. Absence of direct citation generalizes the poem's meaning.

The poem *Description* contains several terminological pointers ("Symplegades" and "the Golden Fleece"), which enable us to relate the poem to the myth about Argonauts. The poem also silhouettes the image of Medea. Moreover, it may be perceived as the description of Medea. The following passages are especially noteworthy: "Here I gazed at the moon dyed in the blood of a young she-wolf". If we identify the moon with the source of Medea's sorcery, and the wolf with Medea herself, we will understand the phrase as an interesting interpretation of Medea's vindictiveness.

With the poem *In the manner of G. S.*, the poet summarizes his literary heritage, not so large by that time. He emphasizes the reflection of the classical tradition in his poems.

From the cycle *Five Poems by Mr. Stratis Thalassinis*, our attention is captured by the poem *All Things Pass Away*, which relates to Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and *Fires of St. John*, which has the image of Herostratos.

From the cycle *Notes for a 'week'*, we have analyzed the elements of Antiquity in the poems *Monday*, *Wednesday*, *Saturday*. Likewise the poems *The Last Day*, *Interlude of Joy*, *Narration*.

In terms of Antiquity, the poem *The king of Asini* is interesting in many ways. Discrepancy between the significance of Asini testified by the materials of excavations and its underestimation in the classical tradition must have

stimulated the creation of the poem. At the first sight, the poem has scarcely any allusions to the ancient tradition. However, Seferis employs an interesting way: borrowing the ancient place name and making up the word combination *King of Asini*, he creates the symbolic image of the hypothetical governor of the place. All the rest gets impulses from this image, which has acquired the significance of a symbol. The king of Asini becomes a symbol of the oblivion of past days, and at the same time, of perpetual links between the times, the devastation of a prosperous city, and its turning into a desert place, and also of a secret soul that revives the image of what was here long ago and at the same time so recently. Seferis borrows from Antiquity what was not emphasized by Homer, and as an opponent of the great writer, revives this oblivious image, charges it with the symbolic meaning, and, like Homeric formulas, we remember it as *The king of Asini* – the symbol of the vanished past.

The poem *Stratis Thalassinos Among the Agapanti* has number of allusions to *Odyssey*. The line "and the pouch of the winds empties" may refer to the Aeolus' sack (κ 17...).

The so-called ancient part – the conceptual basis – of the poem *An Old Man on the River Bank* is constituted by Heraclites' famous statement πάντα ρει (As commonly known, it reflects a fragment from Plato's *Cratylus* (402b)). To our opinion, Seferis goes far deep in respect of the poetic interpretation of Plato's statement. He illustrates the phrase "everything changes" by introducing the image of the river Nile: "that was once a god and then became a road and a benefactor, a judge and a delta; /that is never the same...". Then he names the qualities of Nile that remain the same: "and yet always remains the same body, the same bad, and /the same Sign, / the same orientation". In the original text the notions to illustrate the first idea start with the latter δ, whereas those related to the second start with ζ (και ήτανε κάποτε θεός κι έπειτα γένηκε δρόμος και δωρητής και δικαστής και δέλτα / που δεν είναι ποτέ το ίδιο.../ κι ωστόσο μένει πάντα το όδιο σώμα, το ίδιο στρώμα, και το ίδιο Σημείο). To our mind, this reflects one aspect of the linguistic debates from Plato's *Cratylus*, namely, the opposition of two aspects: 1. The constituent sounds of a word can not reflect the idea of the word; 2. The constituent sounds of a word reflect the idea of the word.

After thoroughly analyzing ancient elements in the poem *Last Stop*, we give a close consideration to *Thrush*. The usage of Plutarch passage as an epigraph refers to the prophecy that Odysseus seeks in the Kingdom of Souls, and which clearly indicates to danger that awaits Odysseus in future. *Thrush* consists of three parts.

Along with reflecting song X of *Odyssey* and presenting the images of Circe and Elphenor, the poem interestingly silhouettes the theme of the house.

In spite of a huge number of existing houses, the house that stands in one's native country is unique. The poem *Sensual Elpenor* is an exception in Seferis' poetry as it is the only case when the poet places the ancient image in the frameworks of XX c. Though the poem does not name the participants of the dialogue, but according to Seferis, she is Circe, or "resembles" Circe. We can draw parallels between the Homeric information about Elpenor and the features of "modern" Elpenor of Seferis. The poem offers the image of Elpenor as depicted in *Narration*. However, if the character of *Narration* arises both the reader's and the poet's sympathies, hedonistic Elpenor is rather irritating, pretentious, aggressive, and at the same time, wretched. The ending of *Thrush* is not the logical termination of the theme started in the first chapter – the theme of return; it ends with *véκνυα*. It is directly related to the epigraph and consists of two parts: *The wreck "Thrush"* and *The light*. The first part of the poem is related to the XI song of *Odyssey*. The described setting of the poem resembles the Kingdom of Souls, and in respect of the compositional organization, it seems to repeat *véκνυα*. of *Odyssey*. After seeing the vision of Elpenor, Odysseus hears different voices "emerging from the other side of the sun, the dark side". Similarly to *Odyssey*, the image of the old man enters here as well (to be more specific, "the voice of the old man"). However, in Seferis' poem, the supposed Tiresias' words are the paraphrase of Socrates' words. To our mind, along with the famous phrase (42) from *Apologia* it also implies the Socrates' choice in *Crito*. Tiresias' transformation into Socrates shows that in this poem temporal limits are by no means relevant for Seferis, and the author easily transfers from one temporal dimension to another. The first chapter ends with the words: "Countries of the sun yet you can not face the sun. / Countries of men yet you can not face the man". We may only presume that the quotation refers to the distance that exists between the kingdom of Souls and this world, and what is so well presented in *Odyssey*. Though the sun exists, those in the Kingdom of Souls can not see it; neither can they communicate with people. *The light* has the pathos of returning home. As Seferis comments, he uses the light as a synonym to Odysseus' home. As for the citation, five lines of the poem (57-61) include translations from three ancient sources (Aesch. PV. 89, Hom. II.VI 58, Soph. OC. 1679-82). The poem has the poetic image of Marathon, the runner, and Marathon-related tragic events. The poem also offers the image of Oedipus. Though he is not nominated and is referred to as "the old suppliant", the direct statement of the names Eteocles and Polynices testifies to his identification.⁴⁴ Antigone, whom the author addresses, should be the

⁴⁴ In one of this letters, Seferis refers to Oedipus as to a "suppliant". see: Δοκίμης, Β, 136.

daughter of Oedipus as two aspects are underlined: first is forgetting everything but love (as commonly known, Antigone, facing death, is thinking that she is dying unmarried), and second, the phrase "the tyrant in man has fled" may stir associations with Creon as he, who drove Antigone to death, was himself bitterly punished.

The poem *Agianapa* carries on, though fragmentarily, Seferis' beloved motif of νέκυια. As admitted, the very first line of the poem relates to Iliad (XVIII, 61). "And you see the light of the sun, as the ancients used to say". Το φως του ηλίου refers to Homer's φάος ηελίοιο. To our mind, the repetition of "Strange, here I see the light of the sun" in the end of the poem outlines the difference between Homer's and Seferis' kingdoms of souls. The following lines continue the theme: "It was the blood that forced them to talk, / the ram that I slaughtered and spread at their feet ", and definitely alludes to *Odyssey*, song XI. The following line: "but that red carpet was not the light" reminds us an episode from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, when Clytemnestra lies a red carpet for her husband back from the war. To our mind, Seferis' words are related to this symbol as in his poem "that red carpet was not the light". Consequently, we may think the phrase is a warning for those who identify the red carpet with light or hope. The occurrence of the phrase in νέκυια. context may associate it with *Odyssey*, namely, the episode when in the Kingdom of Souls Agamemnon tells Odysseus the story of his violent murder (λ 405- 434).

After analyzing the poem *In the Goddess's Name I Summon You...*, which is nourished by the information from Herodotes (I, 199), we consider the poem *Helen*. The three quotations from Euripides *Helen* that form the poem's epigraph are very relevant to it. The epigraph implies that 1. Teucer came to Cyprus according to Apollo's will; i.e. the Greek's settlement in Cyprus is the realization of Apollo's will; 2. Helen never went to Troy, and the reason of the war was her shadow; 3. It is amazing that people go to such extremes because of "a cloud", "a phantom". The leit-motif of the poem "The nightingales won't let you sleep in Platres" (1,9,53) divide the poem into three parts. It is impossible to understand the phrase without considering the part of chorus in Euripides' *Helen*. It invites a nightingale to sing melancholic tunes, as a reminder of war waged for Helen's phantom (1107-1164). There are several direct or indirect references to this part of chorus. In our opinion, the poet referred to this version of the story to show the senselessness of war. Seferis uses quite a number of names and notions from the Greek mythology: Helen, Teucer, Ajax, Proteus, Priamus, Hecuba, Aphrodite, Troy, Salamis and Scamander. The poet translates or paraphrases certain phrases from Euripides tragedies. He also tries to revive the spirit of Antiquity by using epithets. Many images or notions acquire (or revive its) symbolic meaning. Thus Helen and Helen's phantom are the symbols of men's fatal striving, Troy symbolizes

senseless bloodshed, as for Teucer, he refers to the Greek's settlement in Cyprus, etc.

The poem *Pedlar from Sidon* has two planes: mythological, connected with Hermaphrodites, and real, related to a pedlar who arrived in Cyprus. The title of the poem presents the main character – a pedlar from Sidon, while the epigraph refers to the son of Aphrodite and Hermes – Hermaphrodites. Both planes are connected with Cyprus. It is the real setting for the action in the first case. As for the links between Cyprus and Hermaphroditus, the author seems to be aware of two existing ancient traditions about the latter. He employs both. The author related the modern character of the poem to the mythological one (so far having one gender according to Ovidius) by physical resemblance. The pedlar had "crimson lips"; his clothes as described in the poem also emphasize his good looks. The last two lines of the poem "a naked youth that glides, / uncertain, on the effeminate couch / between concave Hermes and convex Aphrodite" is a brief resume of Ovidius' myth, besides, it directly refers to the epigraph of this poem, and gives the author's full impression of the hermaphrodite spirit felt on the island.

The poem *Pentheus* is inspired by Euripides *The Bacchae*. Seferis perfectly grasped Pentheus' tragism. While he tries to think soberly and perceive the irrational with his mind, he is asleep, as he can not comprehend the genuine. This "sleep filled him with dreams of fruit and leaves" as he is against Bacchae's follies as well as Cadmus' and Tiresias' exaltation and their readiness to follow the women's example. And he is determined to assert his "truth" by dressing as a woman and joining them to curb their orgies. When he awakes from his dream and sees his mother and relatives determined to chop his body, he can not manage to pick "even a mulberry" i.e. admit his believe in Dionysus. Consequently, his disbelief and belief "the two together" caused the fact that the Bacchae ripped him. Seferis offers one of the most interesting poetic interpretations of the tragedy that constitutes Euripides *The Bacchae*. As for associating Pentheus with Cyprus, to our opinion, we should refer to the fragment from the chorus' part that names the places the ritual was performed. Cyprus is among these places (392-395).

The epigraph to the poem *Salamis in Cyprus* is a fragment of the chorus part (894-986) from Aeschylus' *The Persian*. Similarly to Aeschylus, Seferis charges Salamis of Cyprus with the same meaning as Salamis of Greece. The quotation from the same play $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma \tau\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ (447) is the key phrase of the poem. In Aeschylus' tragedy, the island is the symbol of Persians' defeat on one hand, and on the other, the Greek's glorious victory. The phrase, when first occurred in Seferis' poem, conveys the information about the tragedy of Cyprus, so its function here is negative. Secondly it occurs at the end of the

poem, and serves as a warning, or a hope that there is an island where an even a great empire was defeated; thus this time its function is positive.

The poem *Euripides the Athenian* embraces all the known facts from Euripides biography. The poem *The cats of St. Nicolas* has only one allusion to Antiquity when the poet refers to the myth of Aphrodite's in order to specify the location of a certain beach of Cyprus. The epigraph is interestingly linked to the poem itself (Asch. Ag 990...). Despite an apparent calmness, the chorus is overwhelmed with some kind of foreboding on Agamemnon's return. Seferis' poem also implies ambiguity: though people managed to get rid of the reptiles, cats, which killed them and saved the people, also died. The poet seems to feel a certain controversy between the apparent calmness and inner tragedy, which is implied in this local myth. We may presume that the poem considered the quotation from one of his favorite tragedies the best epigraph to express his feelings.

From *Three Secret Poems* we closely consider several poems. The most remarkable is *On Stage*. The title compels us to perceive the expected action as staged. The second part of the poem leads us into the atmosphere of amphitheatres. And the lines "and on the stage the light dimmed / as though for some celebrated murder" prepares us to the drama which is presented in the next poem. The protagonist of the "celebrated murder" is Clytemnestra. To a certain extent, the "plot" of the poem is related to the Aeschylus' trilogy, especially *The Libation Bearers*. The poet presents Clytemnestra right before her death. Clytemnestra gets up from her bed where she will never lie again, comes out from the bathroom, where she murdered Agamemnon. To denote a bathroom, Seferis uses the term λουτρό, which several times occurs in *The Libation Bearers*. It is also interesting that the principle moment of the revenge starts when the servants appear with Orestes' things; the servants appear in all decisive moments as it happens in Seferis' poem. But the chief guarantee of the revenge is the soil – γη □ which is mentioned with δίκη. "Soil" is used three times in Seferis' poem, though it may be a mere coincidence. Clytemnestra's breast is also an important detail in *The Liberation Bearers*. In the most dramatic moment, when Orestes is going to kill his mother, Clytemnestra shoes him her breast, which he used to suck (896...). But neither this prevents Orestes to fulfil his revenge. Clytemnestra's "breast" was the reason of Agamemnon's death. May be that is why Seferis uses the word "stones" in connection with her nipples. In *Libation Bearers* Clytemnestra herself follows Orestes to the palace to face death. Correspondingly, Seferis' Clytemnestra obediently accepts death. The last phrase of the poem "am I not the sea?" is definitely related to the well-known phrase from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (958). The author wants to underline that Clytemnestra is not inexhaustible as a sea; she is an ordinary mortal.

After considering Seferis' poetry with respect to the classical tradition, we may make the following conclusions: 1. The statistic data show the abundance of the classical elements in Seferis' poetry. The poet refers to considerable number of ancient authors, introduces 56 ancient images and numerous notions and quotations (the poet usually uses the quotations are not so popular as to acquire the status of a maxim). Seferis ignores the genre of comedy. He prefers heroic epics and tragedies (especially Aeschylus and Euripides). Consequently, this fact alone shows that Seferis gives priority to the epic and tragic spirit of the Greek literature as opposed to the lyric or comic genre. Even statistic data alone reveal the following peculiarity of Seferis' poetry: the poet has definite priorities in the classical literature (authors, quotations, symbolic images, notions). He is more interested in concrete texts, quotations, works than to a general conception on a certain ancient image or event.

Among the most remarkable issues is Seferis' attitude towards a myth. His mythical world is confined to the ancient Greek myths and their interpretation in ancient literature, chiefly in Homers' and the tragedians' works. Such a wide application of the mythological information in Seferis' poems is motivated by his desire to freely transfer in time and space, link the past and the present, the concrete and the general, the fate of Greece and the mankind. As in mythology, Seferis abolishes the border between the real and unreal, finite and infinite, animate and unanimated. Though the poet either directly or indirectly refers to the myth, he does not aim at narrating it; none of his works present the myth in its traditional structure. However, Seferis does not alter the specific moments of the myth. He does not transform the myth (it is noteworthy that Seferis is reluctant to change any information that is preserved in the classical tradition); he uses them to create new contexts for his modern poems, the contexts that would fit the modern outlook. Similarly to the mythological thinking, Seferis never puts the question – Why? while poetically reviving the myth in a poem. Everything is self-evident. Therefore, while reading Seferis' poems, one does not have the feeling that the myth is artificially inserted in its structure. The mythological information is an integral part of the structure. In Seferis' poems even inanimate objects often become unique, they achieve the degree of animation so peculiar to the mythological thinking.

The principle orientation of Seferis' way to assimilate the classical tradition is to introduce the ancient (chiefly mythological) images with regard to the ancient Greek literature. Though the poet employs different ways to render the information, they have one common peculiarity: an image is presented and developed in several poems, whereas they are implicitly present through out the whole poetry (the thesis considers the most relevant

images: Odysseus, Circe, Elpenor, Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Orestes, Medea etc.).

As mentioned above, with respect to the classical tradition, Seferis gives priority to epics (chiefly Homer) and the Greek classical tragedy at all levels. Thus he emphasizes the relevance of the mythological world. Seferis' poetry is marked with both the tendency to reflect the comprehensive interrelations of the universe as a system, and the peculiarity of drama to emphasize the tragic spirit of the events. The poet presents the adventures of Greece, a human being, and the universe as the endless odyssey in time and space. As for the concrete troubles that a man endures in the world during this odyssey, Seferis identifies them with the conflicts in Greek tragedies. To express these two lines, the poet takes the following models as prototypes: Homeric epics (chiefly *Odyssey*) and the classical Greek tragedy. He merges the two lines, what marks his poetry with epic and dramatic character.

Seferis generalizes the classical elements of his interest up to the Greek and universal level. His way of assimilating the classical tradition is quite original. He truly "assimilated" the classical tradition and made it the intrinsic part of his poetry. Sometimes allusions to Antiquity are so subtly, unexpectedly, fragmentally implied in his poems that it is impossible to perceive the intention of the poem without thoroughly considering both the source and the poem. Consequently, unlike other Greek poets, the question of subtexts acquires a specific relevance in Seferis' works. If we view his poetry as a system distinguished with wide range of "activity" space, time and events, we should consider its subtext Homeric epics, namely *Odyssey*. In case of passages, single poems or a collection of poems, the subtext is the Greek tragedies as their "action" is specified in terms of temporality, space and conflict. The unity of these principles is presented with its full intensity in *Mythistoema* and partly in *Thrush*. When we dwell on the epic and tragic subtext, along with the concrete texts we consider the epic and tragic meaning of the episodes as well. This clarifies that epic episodes of Seferis' poetry may be dramatically colored, whereas dramatic episodes may become an intrinsic property of the epic world.

The principle links between Seferis' poetry and the Homeric epics and the Greek tragedies is determined by the poets desire to effect the reader with the power of the experienced feeling. Therefore, it is difficult to trace the passages in his poetry where the poet tries to influence the reader through didacticism, or by imposing on him his own interpretation of a certain idea, or by emphasizing a certain conception. He only offers the reader the poetical realization of his outlook, feelings, sensations, and lets him make conclusions or interpretations on his own. Similarly to Greek tragedies, Seferis makes the

reader feel the tragedy of the pictured events and causes the feeling of catharsis in them.

Conclusion. The systematic assimilation of the ancient Greek and Roman culture in Europe virtually started in the epoch of Humanism. Hence the classical tradition was among the basic components in the formation of the new European culture.

However, in Greece the assimilation of the classical tradition enjoyed a different development. While Europe "rediscovers" Antiquity, Greece (after the fall of Byzantium and during the Turkish domination) forgets about the classical tradition for several centuries.

We may regard the Cretan renaissance as an attempt to approach the classical tradition, as it reflected the latter to some degree while taking after the European prototypes.

In Greece, the process of acquiring the classical tradition is related to the rehabilitation of enlightenment, though the degree of differentiating the old and the new is still weak. By and by Antiquity is more closely and comprehensively approached, but instead of the creative assimilation, the process more resembles "copying" the ancient.

The liberation of Greece in I half of XIX c. stimulated the progress of assimilating the ancient information. This period outlines two tendencies: relatively moderate, which is confined to a mere "resorting" to the classical tradition; and radical, which resembles an actual "surrender" to the latter.

The principle sublime starts in 80s of XIX c. when, after considering and originally interpreting Parnassians' conceptions, K. Palamas worked out his own ideas about the essence of the ancient tradition and its creative assimilation the Greek literature.

Palamas' contemporary distinguished writers and those of the following generations offered independent, original ways of assimilating the classical tradition.

In respect of the creative assimilation of the classical tradition, C.Kavafis is especially interested in the historical or pseudo-historical events related to the Hellenic epoch or the period of Roman domination, and their usage to illustrate his ideas.

In the same process, A Sikelianos resorts to the principles of actualization and idealization, which help him to illustrate the relevance of realizing his Delphic idea.

N. Kazantzakis regards the classical tradition as an element of the huge history and spiritual experience of the mankind. He tries to abolish its borders and place the most relevant ancient elements in his world of human values and symbols.

O. Elytis presents an original way of incorporating the classical tradition into surrealist poetry. In his poems, the Antiquity-related elements maintain their distinctness.

Mythological world is indispensable for G. Seferis to create his poetic dimension. The dramatic aspect of his poetry is based on the texts of Homer and classical tragedians. Similarly to other writers' works, Seferis' most modern poetry incorporates with the classical tradition. The creative interpretation of the latter enables the poet to share the odyssey that has been realized throughout the whole existence of the mankind. In Seferis' poetry the odyssey never becomes comic; it always remains the phenomenon of serious emotions. By organically merging his poetry with the classical tradition, the poet seems to abolish all borders between the past and the present, the Greek and a human being in general, mythological and historical realities.

Though in terms of assimilating the classical tradition the Greek literature was too late to come back to its roots as compared to the European literature, in several decades it managed to find completely new, comprehensive and original ways of realizing this process, the ways that are relevant not only to the modern Greek literature alone, but to the world literature as well.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Rismag Gordesiani. Griechische Literatur. Bd. I, Epos, Lyrik, Drama der hellenischen Epoche, Tbilisi, Logos 2002, 568 S. (in georgischer Sprache).

Im XX Jahrhundert sind in georgischer Sprache zwei wichtige Handbücher im Bereich der altgriechischen Literatur erschienen: Grigol Zereteli, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, 2 Bde, 1927-1935, Simon Kauchtschischwili, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, Bd. I, 1950², Bd. II, 1949. Ausserdem hat S. Kauchtschischwili auch Geschichte der Antiken Literatur (erste Ausgabe 1961) verfasst. Das Buch von G. setzt diese Tradition fort.

Der erste Band enthält Epos, Lyrik und Drama bis zum Ende der klassischen Epoche. Im zweiten Band, dessen Ausgabe 2003 vorgesehen ist, werden andere Literaturgattungen der hellenischen Epoche und die griechische Literatur der nachklassischen Epoche behandelt.

Inhaltsübersicht: Vorwort. Einführung (enthält folgende Abschnitte: Zur Stellung der griechischen Literatur in der alten Welt. Die internationale Bedeutung der altgriechischen Sprache. Die Perioden der griechischen Literatur und Kultur. Die griechischen Mythen. Die griechischen literarischen Dialekte. Das System der griechischen Metrik. Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung und Herausgabe der griechischen Literatur).

Erster Teil – Epische Dichtung – enthält folgende Kapitel: Zur Deutung des Epos als Gattung. Homer (Abschnitte: Legende und Realität über die Person des Dichters. Inhalt der Ilias. Inhalt der Odyssee. Die homerische Frage. Die Einheit des homerischen Epos. Zur Geschichte der Frage. Die dramatische und strukturelle Einheit der Ilias. Die dramatische und strukturelle Einheit der Odyssee. Zur Wechselbeziehung der Ilias und der Odyssee. Homer und die Geschichte. Das Problem der Formierung des homerischen Epos. Sprache, Stil, Poetische Technik. Hauptaspekte der

Weltauffassung: Kosmogonie. Götter. Menschen und die menschliche Gesellschaft. Die Prinzipien der Individualisierung der Helden. Tradition und Neuerung. Zur Erhaltung und zu den Einflüssen der homerischen Epen auf die Weltkultur). Hesiod (Abschnitte: Biographische Nachrichten. Theogonie. Werke und Tage). Epos der nachhomerischen und nachhesiodischen Periode. Die homerischen Hymnen. Das komisch-parodische Epos.

Zweiter Teil – Lyrik – enthält folgende Kapitel: Zur Deutung der Gattung. Elegie und Iambos. Archilochos. Kallinos. Semonides. Tyrtaios. Mimnermos. Solon. Theognis. Hipponax. Epigramm. Melos. Einzellied. Alkaios. Sappho. Anakreon. Chorlied. Alkman. Stesichoros. Ibykos. Simonides. Pindaros. Bakchylides.

Dritter Teil – Drama – enthält folgende Kapitel: Die Geburt des Theaters. Die Welt der Tragödie. Aischylos (Abschnitte: Leben und Werk. Perser. Sieben gegen Theben. Hiketiden. Prometheus Desmotes. Orestie: Agamemnon. Choephoren. Eumeniden. Tradition und Neuerung. Zur Geschichte der Wiedergabe der Erbschaft von Aischylos und zu deren schöpferischer Aneignung). Sophokles (Abschnitte: Leben und Werk. Aias. Antigone. Trachinierinnen, Oidipus Tyrannos, Elektra, Philoktet, Oidipus auf Kolonos. Sophokles – Gipfel der klassischen Tragödie. Zur Geschichte des Textes). Euripides (Abschnitte: Leben und Werk. Alkestis. Medeia. Hippolytos. Hekabe. Andromache. Herakliden. Hiketiden. Herakles. Troaden. Elektra. Iphigeneia im Taurerland. Helena. Ion. Phoinissen. Orestes. Iphigeneia in Aulis. Bakchen. Einige Aspekte der Weltanschauung und der Dramaturgie. Zur Wiedergabe und Bewertung des Textes). Rivalen und Nachfolger der drei grossen Tragiker in der klassischen Epoche. Satyrspiel. Die klassische und die neue (gegenwärtige) Tragödie.

Die Welt der Komödie (Abschnitte: Anfänge. Zur Deutung der klassischen Komödie. Struktur und bekannte Namen der altattischen Komödie. Magnes. Kratinos. Krates. Eupolis. Pherekrates). Aristophanes (Abschnitte: Leben und Werk. Acharner. Acharner als Stück-Paradigma. Reiter. Wolken. Wespen. Friede. Vögel. Thesmophoriazusen. Lysistrate. Frösche. Ekklesiazusen. Plutos. Die Eigentümlichkeiten des komischen Theaters von Aristophanes (zusätzliche Bemerkungen). Zur Geschichte und Bewertung des Textes. Andere komische Dichter-Rivalen von Aristophanes. Ameipsias. Phrynichos. Telekleides. Hermippos. Platon. Die Mittlere Komödie. Alexis. Antiphanes. Eubulos. Anaxandrides. Araros).

Die kleineren dramatischen Formen (Phlyaken, Mimos, Pantomimos).

Andere Formen der poetischen Tätigkeit in der klassischen Epoche (Abschnitte: "Avantgardistische" Tendenzen. Die Dichterinnen der klassischen Epoche. Verschiedenes).

Das Buch berücksichtigt die neueste Fachliteratur, gibt Angaben über Ausgaben der Texte, Lexika, Scholien aller behandelten Autoren.

G. stellt kritisch die wichtigsten Theorien und Interpretationsversuche dar, nicht selten gibt er eigene Beobachtungen und Forschungsergebnisse im Hinblick auf die literarischen Prozesse im klassischen Griechenland, die Wirkungsgeschichte der klassischen Tradition in der Welt. Dieser umfangreiche Band (etwa 60 Druckbögen) könnte man als den ersten bedeutenden Versuch im XXI Jahrhundert betrachten, die griechische Literatur neu darzustellen.

Maia Danelia

Rismag Gordesiani, Irine Darchia, Sofie Shamanidi.
Altgriechisch und Neugriechisch (Vergleichende Grammatik), Tbilisi, Logos 2001, 260 S. (in georgischer Sprache).

Das Buch ist auf Grund der Vorlesungen entstanden, die seit 1997 im Institut für klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Staatlichen Universität Tbilisi sowohl für Studenten der Abteilung Klassische Philologie, als auch für Studenten der Abteilung Neogräzistik obligatorisch sind.

Es besteht aus sechs Hauptteilen: Erster Teil: Einführung (enthält: Hauptetappen der Geschichte der griechischen Sprache). Zweiter Teil: Phonetik (enthält: Alphabet. Vokale. Konsonanten. Zwei Traditionen in der Aussprache bei der Lektüre der altgriechischen Texte. Aspiration. Akzent. Atona oder Prosklise. Enklitika. Interpunktionen. Der Wandel $\alpha > \eta$. Vokalkürzung. Vokaldehnung. Kontraktion. Endphoneme. Euphonische Endkonsonanten. Elision. Krasis. Aphairesis. Liquiden und Nasale. Zusammentreffen von Konsonanten. σ – Spirant. Der Halbvokal f . Gemeinindogermanisches j . Spiritus asper und Aspiraten. Ablaut). Dritter Teil: Formenlehre (enthält: Substantive. Genera. Zahl. Artikel. Deklination. Kasus. Kasuszeichen. Erste Deklination. Kontrakta. Zweite Deklination. Kontrakta. "Attische" Deklination. Dritte Deklination. Liquiden- und Nasalstämme. Labial- und Gutturalstämme. Dentalstämme. Stämme auf $\mu\alpha\tau$ -. Stämme auf $\nu\tau$ -. Stämme auf σ -. Stämme auf ι -. Stämme auf $\bar{\upsilon}$ -. Stämme auf $\epsilon\upsilon$ -. Stämme auf ω -. Einsilbige Stämme auf ou -, av -, $\epsilon\upsilon$ -. Unregelmäßigkeiten der dritten Deklination. Die altgriechischen Eigennamen im Neugriechischen. Zu den Eigentümlichkeiten der Akzentregeln im Neugriechischen (Substantiva). Zur alternativen Klassifikation des Deklinationssystems im Neugriechischen. Adjektive. Allgemeines. Adjektive der zweiten und der

ersten Deklination. Dreiendige Adjektive. Deklination der dreiendigen Adjektive der ersten und der zweiten Deklination im Altgriechischen und im Neugriechischen. Zweiendige Adjektive. Partizipien und Ordinalzahlen. Kontrakta – zwei- und dreiendige Adjektive. Adjektive der "attischen" Deklination. Adjektive der dritten und der ersten Deklination. Dreiendige Adjektive. Stämme auf *υ*. Stämme auf *υ*. Stämme auf *υτ*. Partizipien. Zweiendige Adjektive. Stämme auf *ου*. Stämme auf *εσ*. Einendige Adjektive. Adjektive auf *-ης, -ια, -ι*. Nichtgleichsilbige Adjektive auf *-ης, -α, -ικο*. Zweistämmige Adjektive *μέγας, μεγάλη, μέγα*, und *πολύς, πολλή, πολύ*. Formenmangelnde Adjektive im Neugriechischen. Komparation der Adjektive. Der erste Typ der Komparation. Der zweite Typ der Komparation. Die suppletive Komparation. Die defektive Komparation. Die umschriebene Komparation. Zusätzliche Bemerkungen. Das Adverb. Die von Adjektiven und Partizipien gebildeten Adverbien auf *ως* und *α*. Die altgriechischen Adverbien auf *-α*. Adverbien auf *-ω*. Adverbien – Kasusformen von Nomina und Pronomina. Adverbien auf *-δον, -δην, -τι, -ει, -ξ*. Adverbien mit Suffixen der Adverbialen des Ortes. Die eigentlichen Adverbien. Die Adverbien mit Artikel. Die Komparation der Adverbien. Die suppletive Komparation der Adverbien. Korrelation der Adverbien. Das Pronomen. Allgemeines. Die Personalpronomina. Die Possesivpronomina. Die Reflexivpronomina. Die Determinativpronomina. Die Demonstrativpronomina. Die Relativpronomina. Interrogativ- und Indefinitpronomina. Die Pronomina negativa. Das Rezipropronomen. Korrelation der Pronomina. Das Numerale. Zur Klassifikation der Numeralia im Altgriechischen und Neugriechischen. Die Bildung der Kardinalia und Ordinalia im Altgriechischen und Neugriechischen. Die Deklination der Numeralia. Deklination des Numerales "eins" im Altgriechischen und Neugriechischen. Zu den Eigentümlichkeiten bei der Wiedergabe der Numeralia im Altgriechischen und Neugriechischen. Bruchzahlen. Zahladverbien. Zahladjektive. Zahlsubstantive. Zahlzeichen. Die Wiedergabe der Prozente. Das Verb. Personen. Numeri. Modi. Tempora. Verbalaspekt und Tempus. Genera im Altgriechischen. Genus Verbi und dessen Ausdrucksformen im Neugriechischen. Deponentia. Infinitiv. Partizip. Verbaladjektive. Die Formenbildung der Verben. Verbalstamm. Tempusstamm. Die starken und schwachen Tempora im Altgriechischen. Themavokale und Kennvokale. Modus- und Personalzeichen, Endungen. Das Augment. Das syllabische Augment. Das temporale Augment. Die Reduplikation. Der Akzent in den finiten Verbalformen. Der Akzent in den infiniten Verbalformen. Der Akzent in den finiten und infiniten Verbalformen im Neugriechischen. Die *μ*- Konjugation. Die Bildung der Tempusformen im Altgriechischen und Neugriechischen. Die Klassifikation der Verben. Präsenssystem. Die Bildung des Präsensstammes – Verba vocalia. Die Bil-

dung des Präsensstammes – Verba muta. Die Bildung des Präsensstammes – Verba liquida. Das thematische Suffix ν . Thematische Zeichen $-\sigma\kappa$ und $-\iota\sigma\kappa$. Präsentien und Reduplikation. Präsentien mit der $-\epsilon$ -Erweiterung. Die Mischklasse. Das Aoristsystem. Der starke Aorist. Das Futursystem. Das Perfektsystem im Altgriechischen. Das Perfektsystem im Neugriechischen. Der Aorist des Passivs im Altgriechischen. Der Aorist des Passivs im Neugriechischen). Viertes Teil: Syntax (Abschnitte: Die Kasusfunktionen. Die Kasus. Der Nominativ. Genetivus possessivus. Genetivus subiectus. Genetivus obiectus. Genetivus materiae. Genetivus generis. Genetivus pretii. Genetivus causae. Genetivus criminis. Genetivus partitivus. Genetiv der Landesbezeichnung. Genetiv für Bezeichnung der Adresse, des Ausgangs- und Endpunktes. Genetivus qualitatis. Der ablativische Genetiv. Der Genetiv zur Bezeichnung der Abstammung. Genetivus comparationis. Genetivus absolutus. Dativ der Gemeinschaft. Dativus mensurae aut discriminis. Der instrumentale Dativ. Dativus causae. Der Akkusativ. Akkusativ – Kasus des direkten Objekts. Accusativus duplex. Accusativus relationis. Accusativus temporis. Accusativus loci. Der Akkusativ des Ausdrucks des inneren bzw. synonymischen Objekts. Der Vocativ. Präpositionen $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ – $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ – $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi$) – $\epsilon\kappa$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ – $\pi\rho\sigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ – $\epsilon\nu$, $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ ($\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$) – $\sigma\upsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$) – $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ – $\sigma\epsilon$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ – $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}$, $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ – $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ ($\gamma\iota\alpha$), $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ – $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ – $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ – $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ – $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$ – $\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$, $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ – $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ – $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$, $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$ – $\pi\rho\sigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$ – $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$.

Die uneigentlichen Präpositionen $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu$ – $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ – $\pi\lambda\eta\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ – $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ – $\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ – $\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$ – $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\acute{\upsilon}$ – $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\acute{\upsilon}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ – $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ – $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$), $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ – $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$). Die Konjunktionen und Partikeln. Das Verbum infinitum. Der Infinitiv. Das Partizip. Die Verbaladjektive). Fünftes Teil: Anhang. Die Hauptarten der Wortbildung. Sechster Teil: Die epigraphischen und literarischen Textmuster zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. Ausgewählte Bibliographie. Register der lateinischen grammatischen Termini. Altgriechisches Wortregister. Neugriechisches Wortregister.

Das Buch folgt dem traditionellen Prinzip des Aufbaus der altgriechischen Grammatik, aber gibt in jedem konkreten Fall die Ergebnisse und Gesetzmässigkeiten der Transformation im Neugriechischen. Nicht selten schlagen G., D. und S. eigene Variante der Klassifikation im Neugriechischen vor. So z.B. versuchen die Verfasser im Neugriechischen die Substantiva in vier Deklinationen zu gliedern: I Deklination. Alle altgriechischen Substantiva auf α . Alle Substantiva der altgriechischen III Deklination, die im Neugriechischen im Nominativ auf α , $\alpha\varsigma$, η oder $\eta\varsigma$ enden. II Deklination. Alle altgriechische Substantiva auf \omicron , die im Neugriechischen im Nominativ auf $\omicron\varsigma$, \omicron ($<\omicron\nu$), ι ($<\iota\nu$ $<\iota\omicron\nu$) enden. Einige altgriechische Substantiva der

III Deklination, deren Endung im Neugriechischen in -ος bzw. -ο transformiert wurde. III Deklination. Substantiva, hauptsächlich Neutra, des Altgriechischen auf -τ, -εσ, -ντ, -ν, Substantiva, die im Mittelalter entstanden sind. Kennzeichen dieser Deklination ist -ος im Gen. Sg. IV Gemischte Deklination. Im Singular folgt sie der I Deklination, im Plural zeigt sie hauptsächlich einen mit -δ erweiterten Stamm.

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