

Editorial Board:

Rismag Gordeziani – Editor-in-Chief  
Dimitris Angelatos (Nicosia)

Valeri Asatiani

Irine Darchia

Tina Dolidze

Levan Gordeziani

Sophie Shamanidi

Nana Tonia

Jürgen Werner (Berlin)

Marika Erkomaishvili – Executive Secretary

ფაზისი 8, 2005

ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის  
თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის  
კლასიკური ფილოლოგიის, ბიზანტინისტიკისა  
და ნეოგრეცისტიკის ინსტიტუტის  
ბერძნული და რომაული შტუდიები

© პროგრამა „ლოგოსი“, 2005

ISSN 1512-1046

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Those who wish to publish papers in Phasis, please send your contributions on a floppy disk or by E-mail (formatted in *Microsoft Word for Windows*, using font *Times New Roman*, with no more than 60 000 characters) and a laser-printed copy. If a paper requires specific signs, please give them on the left margin, next to the corresponding line.

Notes should be numbered all from 1... till the last one, and given at the bottom of the corresponding page (as footnotes).

We suggest the following way of giving bibliography:

In case of a periodical or of a collection of papers: author (initials and surname in full), the title of the paper, the title of the periodical, number, year, pages (without p.);

In case of monographs: author (initials and surname in full), the title of the work, publisher (name and city), year, pages (without p.).

The papers will be appreciated in the following languages: English, French and German.

Materials approved by reviewers will be published in the subsequent issue without any editorial, stylistic or orthographic corrections to the original text. Authors will be duly informed on the date of publication, and will afterwards receive one copy of the volume each. Please send us your exact whereabouts: address, telephone number, fax number and E-mail.

### **Our address:**

Phasis  
Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies  
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University  
13 Chavchavadze ave.  
0179 Tbilisi, Georgia

Tel.: (+995 32) 22 11 81/ 25 02 58  
Fax: (+995 32) 22 11 81  
E-mail: [greekstudies@caucasus.net](mailto:greekstudies@caucasus.net)

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	3
<b>Svetlana Berikashvili (Tbilisi)</b> For Alternative Classification of Declension System in Modern Greek	7
<b>Tamara Cheishvili (Tbilisi)</b> On the Genesis and Semantics of "Swan Song" in the Ancient World	17
<b>Nino Dianosashvili (Tbilisi)</b> For the Conceptual Function of the Goddess of Madness in <i>Heracles</i> by Euripides	22
<b>Tea Dularidze (Tbilisi)</b> The Achaean Ambassadorial Mission to Achilles According to the <i>Iliad</i> , Book IX	29
<b>Marika Erkomaischwili (Tbilisi)</b> Literatur im Mythoskontext (Einige Überlegungen zum Medeia-Mythos)	36
<b>Manana Garibashvili (Tbilisi)</b> Catullus' Lesbia as a Poetic Paradigm	43
<b>Lewan Gordesiani (Tbilisi)</b> Der Troianische Krieg in den Linear-B-Texten?	52
<b>Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)</b> The Issue of Descent of the Deity Mars	58
<b>Ekaterine Lortkipanidze (Tbilisi)</b> The Structure of Conflict in the Short Story "Who Was My Brother's Killer?" by Georgios M. Vizyenos	65
<b>Tamar Mebuke (Tbilisi)</b> The Archetype of the Twins in Literature	69
<b>Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi)</b> Literature and Social Context – Women in the Greek Tragedy and in Classical Athens	88
<b>Sophie Shamanidi (Tbilisi)</b> The Minotaur – Punishing or the Punished	104

<b>Ketevan Sikharulidze (Tbilisi)</b> The Symbol and Function of the Golden Fleece According to Caucasian-Hittite Data	115
<b>Tamar Sukhishvili (Tbilisi)</b> Uses of the Somatic Word <i>Hand</i> in Oath, Prayer, Supplication and Revenge Formulae in <i>Iliad I</i>	119
<b>Rusudan Tsanava (Tbilisi)</b> Myth-model of the Substitute Sacrifice and the Classical Epos	124
<b>Michael Vickers (Oxford)</b> <i>Antigone</i> in ancient Greece and modern Georgia	134
<b>Jürgen Werner (Berlin)</b> Der Kyniker Diogenes als "Rasender Sokrates". Zu Wielands Antikerezeption	152
Ein Leben für Troia	
<b>In memoriam Manfred O. Korfmann †</b>	187
<b>Books in Georgian</b>	190
Short Versions	
<b>Irine Darchia.</b> Colour Phenomenon in Greek Tragedy (With Summaries in English and Greek), Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2005	190
<b>Marika Erkomaishvili.</b> The Circe-Myth and its Interpretation in Ancient Literature, Tbilisi University Press, Tbilisi 2002	216
<b>Tea Gamrekeli.</b> Compositional Properties of Constantine Cavafy's Poems, Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2006 (in Greek)	221
<b>Rusudan Tsanava.</b> Mythoritual Models, Symbols in Classical Literature and the Parallels in Georgian Literature and Ethnology, Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2005	227
Notices of Books in Georgian	265
<b>Geschichte der antiken Literatur</b> , Unter der Gesamtedaktion von <b>Rismag Gordesiani</b> und <b>Nana Tonia</b> (Gruppe der Autoren), "Logos", Tbilisi 2005 ( <i>Ekaterine Gamkrelidze</i> )	265
<b>Die Welt der griechischen Mythen</b> ( <i>Ekaterine Gamkrelidze</i> )	267
<b>Essays on Modern Greek Literature</b> (Group of Authors), Ed. by Sophie Shamanidi, Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2005 ( <i>Medea Abulashvili</i> )	270
<b>Nino Lordkipanidze.</b> Argonautenmythos in der Frühgriechischen Kultur, Verlag der Universität Tbilissi, Tbilissi 2004 ( <i>Ekaterine Gamkrelidze</i> )	272

Svetlana Berikashvili (Tbilisi)

## FOR ALTERNATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF DECLENSION SYSTEM IN MODERN GREEK

Since Antiquity the classification of the declension system in Greek language had been essentially changed. Initially the classification of the declension system in Greek Language (Ancient Greek) was based on the so-called linguistic principle i.e. on the stem endings of the nouns. Later in Modern Greek it was connected to the grammatical category of gender i.e. the linguistic principle of classification has been changed to the mnemotechnical one. The issues related with the classification of the declension system in Modern Greek prove quite relevant nowadays. The widespread system of M. Triandafilidis, based on the mnemotechnical principle, is regarded by many scholars as outdated. In their opinion, it does not correspond to the structure of Modern Greek. In contemporary studies, there are a lot of alternative classifications, but none of them is widely accepted today. While classifying any declension system different factors should be taken into account, namely:

- a) the grammatical category of gender;
- b) the stem ending of the noun;
- c) an equal or unequal number of syllables, isosyllabism and anisosyllabism;
- d) the number of case endings;
- e) the ending of one case, e.g. of Genitive, etc.

The author of the most accepted classification, M. Triandafilidis shares the opinion of the well known scholar of the XIX century, A. Thumb which first offered the classification of the declension system in Modern Greek according to gender.<sup>1</sup> A. Thumb was famous German linguist, researcher of

---

<sup>1</sup> Thumb A., *Handbuch der Neugriechischen Volkssprache*, Verlag von Karl J. Brüner, Strassburg 1910, 39-40.

Ancient and Modern Greek, and while distinguishing the types of the Modern Greek declension, he evidently took as basis the practice of German language. The problem is that in Modern Greek the identification of declension types according to the gender of the nouns, is not relevant. Thus according to M. Triandafilidis' system, the first declension includes many different nouns that decline in absolutely different ways, namely:

- a) nouns with endings -ας, -ης and equal number of syllables;
- b) nouns with endings -ας, -ης and unequal number of syllables;
- c) nouns with endings -ες, -ους and unequal number of syllables;
- d) nouns with ending -ος and equal number of syllables;

As mentioned above, these nouns decline differently, and therefore, this classification is too difficult to understand while studying Modern Greek language.

Before I proceed to alternative classifications, I would like to present the declension system of M. Triandafilidis. As mentioned above, this system distinguishes between masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, with equal and unequal number of syllables.

Anisosyllabic nouns differ from isosyllabic ones with an extra syllable in plural a compared to the Nominative singular. In general, the anisosyllabic nouns form their plural by suffix -δες. E.g. ο περιβολάρης – οι περιβολάρηδες.

The nouns of neuter gender have an extra syllable not only in plural, but also in Genitive singular. E.g. το κύμα – του κύματος – τα κύματα.<sup>2</sup>

The first type of the declension includes masculine nouns, which are divided into two groups: first group – masculine nouns with endings -ας, -ης, -ες, -ους, second group – with ending -ος.

The second type of the declension has feminine nouns with endings -α, -η, -ω, -ος, -ου.

While in the third type there are neuter nouns, which are divided into two groups: nouns with equal number of syllables ending with -ο, -ι, -ος and nouns with unequal number of syllables ending with -μα, -σιμο, -ας, -ως.

M. Triandafilidis' system can be presented as the following table:

M. Triandafilidis					
I		II		III	
Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
endings		endings		endings	
-ας, -ης, -ες, -ους	-ος	-α, -η, -ω, -ος, -ου		-ο, -ι, -ος	-μα, -σιμο, -ας, -ως

<sup>2</sup> Τριανταφυλλίδης Μ., Νεοελληνική γραμματική (της δημοτικής), Ανατύπωση της έκδοσης του ΟΕΣΒ (1941) με διορθώσεις, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη 2002, 225-226.

M. Triandafilidis' system had been found successful because of its simplicity. There are three types, which are differentiated through their genders. However, closer study shows that the simplicity is apparent as each type includes a lot of different subcategories. Therefore, M. Triandafilidis' system has a large number of opponents that prefer to turn to alternative classifications. Out of them, the one he mentioned in the first place is that of M. Filintat presented in the book "Grammar of Greek Language" ("Γραμματική της Ρωμαϊκής γλώσσας"). He offers two types of declension based on the opposition of equal and unequal number of syllables and distinguished also a group of nouns with so-called dual declension.<sup>3</sup>

Another noteworthy alternative is the one suggested by A. Mirambel. He based his classification on cases marks and proposed three types of declension: 1. four endings declension; 2. three endings declension; 3. two endings declension. Nouns ending with -ο (masculine, singular) belong to the first declension. According to A. Mirambel, personal pronouns, articles and nouns ending with -ο (masculine, plural) belong to the second declension. All other nouns belong to the third one, including nouns ending with: -ας and -ης (masculine), -α and -η (feminine) and -ι, -ο, -μα (neuter).<sup>4</sup>

The system of A. Mirambel can not be considered successful because:

a) It is not correct to group nouns ending with -ος in the first declension – that is, in the declension with four endings. It should be remembered that -ε of Vocative is the stage of -ο stem ablaut, and it can not be considered as a declensional ending.

b) The third declension unites nouns of different types only because they have two declensional endings. These nouns are declined differently, both in singular and plural. As an example, let us consider nouns ο άντρας (masculine) and το γράμμα (neuter).

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	ο άντρας	το γράμμα	οι άντρες	τα γράμματα
Gen.	του άντρα	του γράμματος	των αντρών	των γραμμάτων
Acc.	τον άντρα	το γράμμα	τους άντρες	τα γράμματα
Voc.	-- άντρα	-- γράμμα	-- άντρες	-- γράμματα

It is true that these words have two endings in both numbers, but they differ from each other by the number of syllables. Also, if the word άντρας has

<sup>3</sup> Τσοπανάκης Α., Νεοελληνική γραμματική, Εκδοτικός Οίκος Αδελφών Κυριακίδη, Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας Ι. Δ. Κολλέρου & Σ<sup>ιας</sup>, Θεσσαλονίκη-Αθήνα 1994, 209.

<sup>4</sup> Mirambel Α., Η Νέα Ελληνική Γλώσσα, περιγραφική και ανάλυση, μετάφραση Κάρτζα Κ., Έκδοση Αριστοτέλειου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, 89-97.



one form for all indirect cases (άντρα), the other one, the word γράμμα is changed only in Genitive (γράμματος). It can be added as well that the endings of cases are definitely different from one another.

It could be correct to mark out separate types of declension or at least some subcategories.

P. Mackridge distinguishes three categories of nouns. The nouns with two case endings belong to the first category. It is divided into two subcategories: masculine and feminine nouns. Nouns with ending -ου in Genitive belong to the second category, which has three subcategories: masculine (and some feminine) nouns with ending -ος, neuter nouns with ending -ο, neuter nouns with ending -ι. In the third category there are some different groups of the neuter nouns, which are divided, mainly, into two subgroups: isosyllabic and anisosyllabic nouns.<sup>5</sup>

The system suggested by P. Mackridge is acceptable because of its usefulness for practical purposes, but there is one weak point: the classification is not based on one principle. Namely, the number of cases, the ending of the Genitive or the gender category is used as a basis for defining the types of declension. It would be better to distinguish the types of declension according to the form of Genitive or to the gender category or to the case numbers.

G. Zoukis in his work "The Grammar of New Dimotiki" ("Γραμματική της Νεοδημοτικής") distinguishes three types of declension. The masculine nouns with endings -ας, -ης, -εξ and feminine nouns with endings -α, -η belong to the first declension. Masculine nouns with endings -ος, -ους, feminine nouns with endings -ος, -ους, -ω and neuter nouns with endings -ο, -ι belong to the second declension, while the nouns of all genders – which historically have been among the nouns of the third declension in Ancient Greek – are united in the third one.<sup>6</sup>

G. Zoukis' classification can not be accepted as it is based on an incorrect linguistic principle and on the outdated patterns of noun declension. Without knowing Ancient Greek it's impossible to be guided by this system.

We can present the three classifications discussed above in the following scheme:

---

<sup>5</sup> Mackridge P., Η Νεοελληνική γλώσσα, Εκδόσεις Πατάκη, Αθήνα 1990, 215-219.

<sup>6</sup> Ζούκης Α., Γραμματική της Νεοδημοτικής, Βιβλιοπωλείον της "Εστίας", Αθήνα 1963, 47-73.

A. Mirambel			P. Mackridge			G. Zoukis		
I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
with 4 case endings	with 3 case endings	with 2 case endings	with 2 case endings	with ending -οο in Genitive	Neuter nouns.	-ας, -ης, -ες; -α, -η	-ος, -ους, -ω, -ο,-ι	nouns of the third declen sion in An- cient Greek
-ος singul- ar	-ος plur al	-ας, -ης, -α, -η, - ι, -ο, -μα	-ας, -ης, -α, -η	-ος, -ο, -ι	-μα, -σμο, -ας			

Alternative classifications are given by A. Tsopanakis as well. He mentions that the declension system of Greek language can not be connected to the gender category. While identifying the declension types he considers not the gender, but the common case endings in different cases.

In the book published in 1956 "Our Declension System" ("Το κλιτικό μας σύστημα") he distinguished six types of declension: first declension – isosyllabic nouns ending with -ας, -ης (masculine), -α, -η, -ω (feminine); second declension – nouns ending with -ος (masculine and feminine) and -ο, -ι (neuter); third declension – anisosyllabic nouns ending with -ς, -ας, -ης (masculine), -α, -η, -ω (feminine); fourth declension – nouns ending with -ς, -ον, -ο, -α (neuter); fifth declension – nouns ending with -εας, -ης (masculine), -η (feminine); sixth declension – nouns ending with -ος (neuter).<sup>7</sup>

Later in "Modern Greek Grammar", 1994 A. Tsopanakis has changed his opinion and have proposed three declensions based on isosyllabism of the nouns: first declension – isosyllabic nouns ending with -ας, -ης (masculine) and -α, -η, -ω (feminine); second declension – isosyllabic nouns ending with -ος (masculine, feminine and neuter) and -ο, -ι (neuter); third declension – anisosyllabic nouns.<sup>8</sup>

This classification can be presented as follows:

<sup>7</sup> Τσοπανάκης Α., Το κλιτικό μας σύστημα, Έκδοση Αριστοτέλειου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη 1956, 123.

<sup>8</sup> Τσοπανάκης Α., op. cit., 213-241.

A. Tsopanakis								
Old Classification (1956)						New Classification (1994)		
Isosyllabic		Anisosyllabic		Archaic		Isosyllabic		Aniso-syllabic
Masc. Fem.	Masc. Neut.	Masc. Fem.	Neut.	Masc. Fem.	Neut.	Masc. Fem.	Masc. Fem. Neut.	Masc. Fem. Neut.
-ας, -ης, -α, -η, -ω	-ος, -ο, -ι	-ς, -ης, -ας, -α, -ου, -ε	-ς, -ον, -ο, -α	-εας, -ης, -η	-ος	-ας, -ης, -α, -η, -ω	-ος, -ο, -ι	-ας, -ης, -ες, -ους, -α, -ου, -ε, -μα, -σιμο, -ας, -ον

The author himself understood the shortcoming of his first system (1956) – absence of common principle – and therefore, he proposed a new one, based on isosyllabism and anisosyllabism of nouns. However, neither this one had the linguistic basis. A. Tsopanakis did not take into consideration the stem endings of the nouns and, accordingly, it can not be understood the presence of nouns with ending *-ω* in the first declension.

Kh. Kleris and G. Babiniotis, linguists of the Athens University have also proposed an alternative classification. They decided on case endings as the basis for the declension system, correspondingly, proposed two types: with two endings and with three endings. The first one is divided into two subcategories – isosyllabic and anisosyllabic. To the first subcategory belong nouns ending with *-ας, -ης, -εας* (masculine), *-α, -η, -ος* (feminine) and *-ο, -ι* (neuter) and to the second one – nouns ending with *-ας, -ης, -ες, -ους* (masculine), *-α, -ου, -η* (feminine) and *-μα, -εας, -ον, -σιμο* (neuter). As concerns the three endings declension type, it includes only isosyllabic nouns ending with *-ος* (masculine and feminine).<sup>9</sup>

This classification can be shown in the following way:

<sup>9</sup> Κλαίρης Χ., Μπαμπινιώτης Γ., Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής, Ι. Το Όνομα, αναφορά στον κόσμο της πραγματικότητας, Εκδόσεις «Ελληνικά γράμματα», Αθήνα 1998, 15-17.

<b>Kh. Kleris, G. Babiniotis</b>							
<b>With Two Endings</b>						<b>With Three Endings</b>	
Isosyllabic			Anisosyllabic			Isosyllabic	
masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.
-ας	-α	-ο	-ας	-α	-μα	-ος	-ος
-ης	-η	-ι	-ης	-ου	-εας		
-εας	-ος		-ες	-η	-ον		
			-ους		-σιμο		

The classification proposed by Kh. Kleris and G. Babiniotis can be regarded as a logical system, which takes into account all factors for indentifying declension types, namely, the number of case endings, isosyllabism and anisosyllabism of nouns, the category of grammatical gender. From the linguistic point of view, this classification is absolutely accurate, but when considered from the practical point of view, it seems somehow confusing and difficult to be understood by students and foreigners.

Another noteworthy classification is the one proposed by Georgian scholars – R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi. It is presented in the grammar book "Ancient and Modern Greek. Comparative Grammar" published in 2001. They believe the classification of Modern Greek declension system requires the use of the linguistic principle which scholars in different European countries widely apply for the identification of Ancient Greek declension types. Thus in Modern Greek, four declensions can be distinguished.

The first declension is characterized by -ας or -α, -ης or -η endings in Genitive singular, the second declension – by -ου ending and the third one – by -ος, -ους endings, while nouns with two possible stem forms – extended and non-extended – belong to the fourth declension.<sup>10</sup>

Accordingly, the nouns (both masculine and feminine) with -α stem of Ancient Greek first declension (e. g. η χώρα, ο ναύτης), the nouns historically belonging to the Ancient Greek third declension, the stem of which are preserved in Modern Greek, but the Nominative is formed and declined according to the first declension of Ancient Greek (e. g. η γυναίκα, ο άντρας), the nouns with -ι and -εσ stem historically belonging to the third declension in Ancient Greek, but declining nowadays in singular according to the Ancient Greek first declension and in plural – according to the Ancient Greek third declension (e. g. η απόφαση, ο ιερέας) belong to the first type.

The nouns (masculine, feminine and neuter) with -ο stem of Ancient Greek second declension (e. g. ο ουρανός, η τροφός, το δέντρο), the nouns

<sup>10</sup> Gordeziani R., Darchia I., Shamanidi S., Ancient and Modern Greek (Comparative Grammar), Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2001, 58 (in Georgian).

historically ending with -ιον (-iv of the Middle Ages) and having the ending -ι in Modern Greek (e. g. το καλοκαίρι), the nouns historically belonging to Ancient Greek third declension, the stem of which is preserved in Modern Greek, but the Nominative of which is formed and declined according to the second declension of Ancient Greek (e. g. το γόνατο) belong to the second type of Georgian scholars' classification.

Neuter nouns with different stems of Ancient Greek third declension (e. g. το φως, το χρώμα), and the ones derived from verbs in the Middle Ages and declining according to the Ancient Greek third declension (e. g. το ντύσιμο) belong to the third type of classification.

And the nouns that decline in singular according to the first declension and in plural extend their stem with -δ- suffix, belong to the fourth or the mixed declension of the system discussed above (e. g. ο μανάβης).<sup>11</sup>

This classification can be presented as follows:

<b>R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia, S. Shamanidi</b>			
<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
nouns with α stem	nouns with ο stem	neuter nouns of the III declension	nouns extended by -δ- in plural
historically the nouns of III declension, declining according to the I declension of Ancient Greek	nouns historically with -ιον ending	nouns composed from verbs and ending with -σμο	
nouns with -ι and -ευ stems	historically the nouns of III declension, declining according to the II declension of Ancient Greek		

In my opinion, this classification is based on the correct linguistic principle, that is, on the stem ending, but it is not quite convenient when used for teaching purposes as it is difficult to understand without knowing Ancient Greek and its declension principles.

To my mind, identification of Modern Greek declension types, alongside the linguistic ones, requires as well consideration of practical purposes. So,

<sup>11</sup> Gordeziani R., Darchia I., Shamanidi S., op. cit., 58-59.

the classification that will facilitate understanding and learning of Modern Greek declension system must be considered the best one.

For this purpose I carried out an experiment: while teaching Modern Greek grammar, I tried to use several systems, namely, the traditional system of M. Triandafilidis, the classifications of Kh. Kleris, G. Babiniotis and the one of R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi. Taking into account the results of the experiment, I can conclude:

a) The students study the declension types easier using the system of Triandafilidis while declining the isosyllabic nouns with *-ος*, *-ας*, *-ης* (masculine), the isosyllabic nouns with *-α*, *-η* (feminine) and the isosyllabic nouns with *-ι*, *-ο* endings (neuter). But at the following stage of studies, while declining the nouns of different categories – such as, nouns with *-ος* (feminine), anisosyllabic nouns with *-ας*, *-ης* (masculine), nouns with *-εας* (masculine), nouns with *-ση*, *-ξη*, *-ψη* (feminine) endings and the nouns with different neutural stems (neuter) – the students have difficulties in perception of this system.

b) The experiment revealed that in spite of the accurate, logical character of Kh. Kleris and G. Babiniotis system, in contrast to the classification of M. Triandafilidis, it is very difficult to remember. It is easy to study the so-called second declension because only the nouns with *-ος* ending (masculine and feminine) belong to it, but the so-called first declension proves quite a problem. As mentioned above, it is divided into two groups: isosyllabic and anisosyllabic nouns. The nouns with *-ας*, *-ης*, *-εας* (masculine), with *-α*, *-η* (feminine) and with *-ο*, *-ι*, *-ος* (neuter) endings declining in quite a different way are grouped together, which is difficult for students to understand and learn by.

In my opinion, the classification of R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi can be considered as the best one, because:

1) It is based on linguistic principle and on the stem ending, which is the characteristic for Indo-European languages and thus it is acceptable for Greek as well.

2) Some forms of Modern Greek language are explained by the data of Ancient Greek, which makes them easy to understand and learn. E. g. the nouns historically belonging to the third declension of Ancient Greek and having *-ι* and *-εῦ* stems, can be used as an example of so-called mixed declension. In singular they are declining according to the first declension of Ancient Greek and in plural – according to the third one. Without knowing Ancient Greek it is difficult to understand the appearance of *-εις* in plural in place of the usual *-εις* ending.

3) It distinguishes the so-called mixed declension which includes nouns extending with *-δ-* suffix.

Despite these positive characteristics, the teaching process exposed certain disadvantages of the system, as students faced some difficulties while studying it.

Namely, the separation of the so-called mixed declension, which I consider as a very good and correct solution, appeared difficult for students to understand and remember. Besides, they were confused by the variety of nouns belonging to the first declension. It prompts to suppose that it would be better divide this so-called first declension into subcategories.

Taking into consideration my teaching experience, I would like to propose my own system, which in general follows the classification proposed by R. Gordeziani, I. Darchia and S. Shamanidi. In my opinion, for practical purposes it would be better to distinguish five types of declension.

The first declension: nouns with  $\alpha$  stem, with  $-\alpha\zeta$ ,  $-\eta\zeta$  (masculine),  $-\alpha$ ,  $-\eta$  (feminine) and  $-\epsilon\alpha\zeta$ ,  $-\eta$  endings, which show their old forms in plural; the second declension: nouns with  $\alpha$  stem, the isosyllabic nouns with  $-\alpha\zeta$ ,  $-\eta\zeta$ ,  $-\epsilon\zeta$  endings; the third declension: nouns with  $o$  stem (masculine, feminine and neuter) with  $-\omicron\zeta$ ,  $-o$ ,  $-i$  endings; the fourth declension: isosyllabic neuter nouns of different stems with  $-\omicron\upsilon\zeta$  ending in Genitive; the fifth declension: anisosyllabic nouns of different stems (neuter) having  $-\omicron\zeta$  ending in Genitive.

My classification can be presented in the following way:

S. Berikashvili						
I			II	III	IV	V
Isosyllabic nouns with $\alpha$ stem			Anisosyllabic nouns with $\alpha$ stem	Nouns with $o$ stem	Isosyllabic nouns of different stems	Anisosyllabic nouns of different stems
Masc.	Fem.	Masc. Fem.	Masc.	Masc. Fem. Neut.	Neut.	Neut.
$-\alpha\zeta$ , $-\eta\zeta$	$-\alpha$ , $-\eta$	$-\epsilon\alpha\zeta$ , $-\eta$	$-\alpha\zeta$ , $-\eta\zeta$ , $-\epsilon\zeta$	$-\omicron\zeta$ , $-o$ , $-i$	$-\omicron\zeta$	$-\mu\alpha$ , $-\epsilon\alpha\zeta$ , $-\omicron\upsilon$ , $-\sigma\iota\mu\omicron$

In the paper, I tried to present all existing alternative classifications of Modern Greek declension system, to state the results of my experiment, to identify the most acceptable system for practical, that is, teaching purposes, and to propose my own classification.

Tamara Cheishvili (Tbilisi)

## ON THE GENESIS AND SEMANTICS OF "SWAN SONG" IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The "Swan Song" is one of the most popular mythologems in literature – a symbol of a poet, a singer; it expresses one's last great deed.<sup>1</sup>

The objective of the research is to trace the formation of the mythologem "Swan Song" in the ancient literature, detect its origin and find out whether the mysterious "song" of the bird truly corresponds to the reality.

First, we can examine the mythic origin of the "swan song" which is connected to the god of music, Apollo<sup>2</sup> and the swan, his sacral bird.<sup>3</sup>

According to the myth, when Leto gave birth to Apollo on the island of Delos, Zeus granted the newly-born god with a herd of swans. The white birds came from the Golden Spring of Pactolus<sup>4</sup> and flew around the island seven times (it is due to this mystical number that Apollo's lyre has seven strings).<sup>5</sup> Since then the swan became a sacral bird of Apollo.

During the winter period the god of light and music used to leave the Delphi temple. The singing swans,<sup>7</sup> tied to the chariot, accompanied the patron to the country of Hyperboreans,<sup>6</sup> taking with them the Fertility and the Sun to the upper northern country.

---

<sup>1</sup> Лосев А., Античная мифология в её историческом развитии, Москва 1957, 276.

<sup>2</sup> According to the mythico poetic tradition, the swan is also associated with Aphrodite, Zeus, Leda, Brahma and Saraswati.

<sup>3</sup> Fank & Wagnalls, Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. by M. Leach, Fank and Wagnalls Publishing Company: New York, 1972, 1091.

<sup>4</sup> O. Keller names two swan species in Greece and Italy: *cygnus olor* and *cygnus musicus* which came to Greece from the North (see Keller O., *Die Antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig 1913, 213-14).

<sup>5</sup> Callimachus, Hymn. in Apollinem, II, 5.

<sup>6</sup> According to Isidore of Seville, in the land of the Hyperboreans, when the kithara-players played, the swans would fly up singing harmoniously (*Etymologiae*, 12.7.19).



Having spent the winter period with Hyperboreans, Apollo would return in spring, again accompanied by the white birds. The swans used to rise from the Pactolus river with regular flap of wings, which would coincide with the rhythm of cosmic temporality. First, male swans were rising near the temple, producing c-f notes; they were followed by d-e of the female swans.<sup>7</sup>

According to "Birds" by Aristophanes (790), whole Olympus was carefully listening to the singing swans near the banks of Hebros.<sup>8</sup> After performing the ritual the birds would fly like white clouds and gradually descend to the earth. After that the people, who had witnessed the ritual, would play paeans, Apollo's ritual songs<sup>9</sup> on the swan-shaped lyre.

The idea of relating the prophetic singing bird to music, presumably, comes from Ancient Egypt, where a swan, a hieroglyph corresponding to music, was a prophetic bird,<sup>10</sup> which, as the death was approaching, uttered unusual and pleasant tunes. Besides, there are a number of Egyptian instruments decorated with the swan body that have become the symbol of music.<sup>11</sup>

In my opinion, the symbols of music and swan existed as far back as the Minoan culture. This is proved by a figure of a "lyre player" called "Apollo"<sup>12</sup>, which is painted on the wall of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos; the body of the lyre, like many other Egyptian musical instruments, is decorated with a white body of a swan.

In Ancient Greece the idea of connecting the swan to the music acquired much broader and more interesting meaning. Apollo, the god of music, lyre, his cult instrument, and muses are related to the mentioned symbols.<sup>13</sup> I think this very relationship accounts for Greek peoples' intention to explain the swan's faculty to sing.

However, it is not the "singing swan" but rather the "swan song" that represents the focus of this paper – the phrase refers to a swan singing right before it dies. Therefore, it would be interesting to find out since when the swan song acquired the meaning of one's last action.

<sup>7</sup> Keller O., *Die Antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig 1913, 214.

<sup>8</sup> Aristophanes mentions the Pythian Swan of Delos in the same comedy (870).

<sup>9</sup> Apollo, a swan and a lyre are depicted on the coin of Kalchedon (III A.D.).

<sup>10</sup> Pierius Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Egyptorum*, Lvgdvni: Apud Paulum Frellon XXXIII 1626

<sup>11</sup> Gadalla M., *Egyptian Rhythm: The Heavenly Melodies*, Tehuti Research Foundation 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Buchholz H. G., Karageorghis V., *Altägäis und Altkypros*, Koeher und Ameleing: Leipzig 1971, 81.

<sup>13</sup> Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica*, 1102-1105 (Where a singing swan glorifies the muses at the round lake of Delos).

A "singing bird" is mentioned by many authors of the ancient period.<sup>14</sup> However, a swan as a singing bird first occurs in Homer's Hymn (XXI.1) alongside with Apollo and his cult instrument.<sup>15</sup> Antique literature presents a singing bird in different ways; in general, it is Apollo's attribute. In classic literature, it denotes one's last deed.<sup>16</sup> In Aeschylus and Euripides works, a swan is linked to the god of music, and a swan song is a funeral song performed before one dies. Both tragedians describe a "Swan Song" as a metaphor for the last action in one's life – in fact, they are the first to offer such an interpretation of the image in fiction.

In the "Agamemnon" (1444) by Aeschylus, Clytaemnestra compares Cassandra with a swan – a bird-prophet which sings before it dies<sup>17</sup> (ἡ δὲ τοι κύκνου δικτὴν τὸν ὑστάτον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον" – "[Cassandra] issued her last song before the death like a swan").

In his "Electra" (150-53) Euripides compares Electra's sorrow with a singing swan's cry (οἶα δὲ κύκνος ἀχέτας ποταμίους παρὰ χεύμασιν πατέρα φίλτατον καλεῖ ... ὁ σε τὸν ἄθλιον πάτερ ἐγὼ κατακλαίομαι "Like a singing swan calls its beloved father [Apollo] at the river bank, I, so much unhappy, am crying over you, father").

The swan's last song acquires a double meaning in ancient literature – on the one hand, a "swan song" is a funeral song performed as the death comes closer, and on the other hand, it is a festive song rather than a funeral one as it is performed to celebrate one's communion with God after the death and to express one's hope to get closer to Him. In "Phaedo" (85E) by Plato the "Swan Song" is discussed for the first time. Socrates tells his interlocutor: "The swans feeling the death getting closer, start singing so loudly and marvelously, as they have never done before. They are happy at only the thought of drawing to the God [Apollo] closer soon, whom they serve... and the soothsaying birds see their happiness in advance waiting for them in Hades and they sing and are so happy on the last day of their lives as never before".

---

<sup>14</sup> Alcman, Lyrica: 2: 368-9; Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 1144; Euripides, Iphigenia Taurica, 1079; Ion, 167; Electra, 150-53; Hercules, 690-95. Aristophanes, Aves, 770. Cicero, Tusculanarum disputationum, 1, 30; Ovidius, Heroides, VII: 1-; Metamorphoses, XIV: 428-34; Fasti, II: 108-10; Marcius Capella, De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae, XII: LXXVII; Horatius, Odes, 11; Aelianus, De natura animalium, XI.1; Lucretius, De rerum natura, 3:6; Callimachus, II, 5 etc.

<sup>15</sup> Euripides in "Ion" (167-74), alongside with a swan's sweet song, mentions other associated symbols of Apollo, lyre and Delos.

<sup>16</sup> Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 1444; Euripides, Electra, 150-53.

<sup>17</sup> Aeschylus: Agamemnon, Ed. with Commentary by E. Fraenkel I-III: III, Oxford 1960, 684-85.

Apart from Plato, Cicero gives the same idea of the swan song, according to which the swans offered to Apollo sing with pleasure as they die for they perceive death as happiness.<sup>18</sup>

Such an interpretation of the swan song is presented only by Plato and Cicero – other authors consider the "Swan Song" in its traditional sense. Aristotle in his "Historia animalium" writes: "Swans are musical and as the death gets closer they mainly sing ... a funeral song."<sup>19</sup>

In Aelianus's words, "the voice of these birds is especially beautiful and sweet at the end of its life".<sup>20</sup>

Whether a swan could indeed sing or not, Ancient authors described it as a singing bird. Therefore ornithologists were eager to find out if such belief was based on true facts.

According to A. Brehm, the sound issued by swans is in most cases a strong scream or a muffled croak, and on rare occasions it resembled the sound of a trumpet. Besides, the birds give out certain sounds by fluttering in the air.<sup>21</sup> According to A. Brehm, there are only several swan species that utter pleasant and sweet sounds, which are especially enjoyable when heard quite at a distance. *Cygnus musicus* is distinguished for its beauty and loud and sweet voice.<sup>22</sup>

F. Willoughby, a XVII century ornithologist, studied the swan's larynx respiratory system. He explains that the structure of a respiratory larynx in the form of a trumpet results in the modulation of the bird's voice.<sup>23</sup>

After examining the swan's larynx, U. Aldrovandus discovered that its sound producing organs are located in the bird's breastbone. Such kind of larynx structure accounts for melodious tunes and creates a wide range of sounds.<sup>24</sup>

In reality, the swan species *cygnus musicus* is distinguished for melodious voice and likewise pleasant sounds that accompany the rhythmical flutter of its wings. This species is normally white. The bird owes the epithet "singing" to its particular voice modulations. Its cry, modulated through combining the sounds "kouh-keh", is pleasant to listen to and sounds like a bell ringing. Individual melodies of the song constitute six or seven notes and ascending and descending keys. The mechanism for issuing sounds is as follows: a swan has

<sup>18</sup> Cicero, *Tusculanarum disputationum*, I, 30.

<sup>19</sup> Aristoteles, *Historia animalium*, IX.12.

<sup>20</sup> Aelianus, *Variae historiae*, I, 14.

<sup>21</sup> The same idea of identifying the swan's song with the bird's rhythmic flutter is expressed as far back as antique times in Homer's *Hymn* (XXI, 1), and Aristophanes (*Aves*, 772).

<sup>22</sup> Брэм А. Э., *Жизнь животных*, Т. I-III: II, Москва 1902, 301-2.

<sup>23</sup> The Ornithology of Francis Willoughby, London: John Martyn 1678.

<sup>24</sup> Aldrovandus U., *Ornithologiae*, Wolfgang Richter: Francfort 1610.

a peculiar phonation apparatus, a larynx, the same as Syrinx. It has two hal-lows which the bird uses simultaneously. The vocal ability of swans is double: a cry and a song. There is only a shade of difference between them. It should also be mentioned that ornithological literature has never described a swan singing immediately before its death. The sounds uttered by *cygnus musicus* are really distinguished for their miraculous rhythm and tunefulness and in this respect differ from those of other swan species, which obviously cannot be called a song, as it was accepted in antiquity.

"The fact that the swans are famous for their singing is universally known... It is possible, that no one has ever heard them singing; however, everyone believes that the swans do sing."<sup>25</sup>

Thus, we see that as far back as antiquity the "Swan Song" acquired the semantics which is universally known today (however, the surviving ancient sources do not mention the word combination "Swan Song"). Since the "Swan Song" is almost universally used in its traditional meaning, it does not matter whether such kind of phenomenon really exists or not.

---

<sup>25</sup> Aelianus, *Variae historiae*, I, 14.

Nino Dianosashvili (Tbilisi)

## FOR THE CONCEPTUAL FUNCTION OF THE GODDESS OF MADNESS IN HERACLES BY EURIPIDES

The goddess of madness is the least known character of the Greek mythology. She is Lyssa, daughter of Nyx and Uranus, (Λύσσα), who used to assault a human and capture him/ her completely. The obsessed could not account for his/ her actions.

Madness is a polysemantic concept. That is why it can be understood in many different ways; however, all of its instances can be qualified as a state when a person is unable to act rationally and adequately – when there is no cognitive link between his ideas, actions and the reality.

This phenomenon has attracted attention in every epoch. Although human reasoning has failed to find its logical explanation, it has been described and examined with the intention to find its source and remedy. In ancient times, Greeks showed special interest in studying the instances of madness. Particularly remarkable is the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. when medicine and philosophy started to examine the cases of human spiritual disorder and when myths and literature presented the phenomenon from various angles. This is the very period when the image of madness was incarnated in tragedians' works and was shaped as a personified goddess.

The word Λύσσα has a double meaning in Ancient Greek – it denotes ferocity and rabies.<sup>1</sup> In the Homeric epics, and in particular, and in the *Iliad*, λύσσα means "fierceness", "fury". It is connected with fight and refers to "furious fight".<sup>2</sup> In Plato's *Leges*, λύσσα is the determinant of ἐρωτική.<sup>3</sup> In

---

<sup>1</sup> Liddell, H.G. Scott, R., Jones, H.S. Mc Kenzie, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1968. RE, Bd. XIV<sub>1</sub>, 69 ff., DELY, III, 651 ff.

<sup>2</sup> II, IX, 239; IX, 305; XXI, 542

<sup>3</sup> Plat. Leg. 839a.

Theocritus' *Idylls*, λύσσα indicates the strength of love experience, and is translated as a "rage love";<sup>4</sup> in Xenophon's *Anabasis*<sup>5</sup> and Aristotele's *Historia Animalium*, we come across λύσσα in the meaning of "rabies".<sup>6</sup> Evidently, λύσσα ("ferocity") in different contexts acquired different senses but everywhere referred to an unbalanced, immoderate state. It seems the word was seeking for its real meaning and found it in tragedy. That is why λύσσα was chiefly used figuratively. It denoted the "loss of reason" or clinical "madness" only in tragedy.

Λύσσα as a character of a play first appears in Aeschylus' drama *Bassarides*. Regrettably, only several of its fragments survived, which are of no real help for those who attempt to study the phenomenon of madness. Lyssa as a goddess of madness is mentioned in Euripides' *Bacchae* – however, not as an acting character. The only surviving play where she acts is *Heracles* by Euripides. She is sent by Hera to punish Heracles, to make him lose his mind and kill his own children. It is believed this amazing scene of madness (which is the object of my research) is one of the reasons that accounts for the survival of the play. I am particularly interested in the following:

What are the properties of the goddess?

What kind is the madness she afflicts?

Why did Euripides choose Heracles as a victim for the goddess and not somebody else?

To identify Lyssa's features, I have singled out several lexical units that characterize Lyssa herself and the madness of Heracles, and help to specify chief properties of the goddess. These lexical units are ὁ πόντος, γῆς σεισμός, κεραυνοῦ οἶστρος, ὁ κλύδων, ὁ μαινόμενος πίτυλος, ὁ πέλαγος, ὁ κυνηγέτης κύων, ὁ Γόργων, ἡ Λύσσα μαρμαρωπός. Each of them will be discussed below.

Lyssa considers herself more fearful than sea waves, an earthquake and a thunder-storm. Heracles, too, compares his madness to sea-waves and to a storm. Amphitryon calls Heracles Μαινομένω πιτύλω πλαγχθεῖς (E. HF. 1189)<sup>7</sup>. It is interesting that ὁ πίτυλος denotes "attack" and "blow" but it also means the "rhythmic splash of oars", and "fall of drops". Thus, in this case, the madness is partially connected with the water. Κακῶν δέ πέλαγος<sup>8</sup> (E. HF.1087) is the metaphor of Heracles' fate.

<sup>4</sup> Theoc. III, 47

<sup>5</sup> Xen. Anab. 5.6.7.26

<sup>6</sup> Arist. Ist. Animal 604 a5

<sup>7</sup> "This frenzy seized him sprinkled with the venom", Euripides, Hercules Distracted, transl. by Woodhull, in: The Plays of Euripides in English, Vol. II, London, Toronto, 1934.

<sup>8</sup> "Sea of troubles" (E. HF. 1087).

Heracles himself is identified with a vessel (E. HF.631). When the hero recovers reason, he calls himself the "vessel tied" to the shores (E.HF.1094). When he realizes how his wife and children were killed, he returns to life with the help of Theseus and becomes metaphorically similar to "a burdened boat" (E. HF.1424)<sup>9</sup>.

Apparently, the sea, as the blustering element, is regarded as madness in this tragedy, while Heracles is considered as the vessel which found itself in the blustering water element. Connecting water with the madness is not accidental. Ancient Greeks used to think that one of the main reasons that could drive one mad was the sight of the water nymph. According to the tradition, the nymph came out of water only by noon. So, it was not advisable to walk near water in the daytime. It is also a widely-known fact that a rabid animal will not touch water even if it is unbearably thirsty.

Water could do both – drive a man mad or clear his agitated mind (it was believed so in old times). The water is the destroyer of the existing; it demolishes all kinds of forms and leaves nothing from the past. At the same time, it lays the foundation for a new life. Destruction of the old gives it the ability to purify, renew and revive. And that is why washing with water was believed to liberate from guilt and folly as it purified from sins<sup>10</sup> and revived the disordered psychic processes.<sup>11</sup>

Water with its two main functions (to destroy and revive) is connected with Dionysus. The Sea is one of Dionysian elements. According to Plutarch, Greeks considered Dionysus not only the lord of wine, but of all liquids.<sup>12</sup> The cult of Dionysus spread on the island linked the god to the sea element. A magnetic coin proves Dionysus' relation to the sea (one side of the coin has the image of young Dionysus, and the other side – that of a bunch of grapes together with a crater and a dolphin)<sup>13</sup>. Dionysus' name is also related to an earthquake.<sup>14</sup>

Ὁ κυνηγέτης κύων ("a hunting dog", E. HF. 860) accentuates the animal nature of madness. Remarkably, Dionysus himself is called a hunting dog in the *Bacchae*.<sup>15</sup>

Ὁ Γόργων (E. HF. 990) is connected with the characteristics of the above-mentioned madness by its origin and function. The children of the gods of

<sup>9</sup> ναῦς (631), δεσμοῖς ναῦς (1094), ἐφορκίδες (1424).

<sup>10</sup> V.Aen. 11, 717-20.

<sup>11</sup> Vtr. De arch. 8;ib M.Eliade, *Aziastic Alchemy*, Moscow., 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Plut. De Is et Os.

<sup>13</sup> V.Ivanov, *Dionisius and Pradionicity*, Sanct-Petersburg, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> R. Seaford, *Euripides, Bacchae*, Warminster, 1996.

<sup>15</sup> E.Bacch. 1189.

Sea, Phorkids – Ceto and Phorkis, were Gorgons.<sup>16</sup> Gorgon in herself united two ambivalent forces: lethal and renewing<sup>17</sup>.

Λύσσα μαρμαρωπός (E. HF. 884 )<sup>18</sup> is used to stress the Gorgonian nature of Lyssa.

Generally, Lyssa's action in this tragedy is expressed with the verb βακχεύω (E. HF. 899), and the madness through which Lyssa deprives Heracles of reason is called maniva (E. HF. 835, 878). βακχεύειν (E. HF. 899) is a specifically Dionysian term that refers to the communion with the god and in most cases is translated as participation in divine madness, while the word maniva meant Dionysian madness. Maniva, the state ecstasy during the divine service, was believed to be afflicted by Dionysus. It was a means to join the god<sup>19</sup>.

Thus, Lyssa' principal property is ambivalence by which she is related to the most ambivalent god Dionysus. It is natural that Heracles' madness is ambivalent too – when he had the fit of madness, he acquired all Lyssa's properties. Similar to the goddess of madness, Heracles is also called a Gorgon (E.HF.868,990). If Lyssa is a Bacch woman, Heracles is a Bacchus of Hades (E.HF.1119-1120). Lyssa compares herself with κυνηγέτης κύων. Heracles is getting ready to hunt children (E.HF.899). Though κυναγεταιῖ in this line is translated as "chases", the primary meaning of the word is "hunts".

It should be noted that ambivalence and resemblance of Lyssa and Heracles are revealed even through their origin. Heracles' mother, Alkmene, is an ordinary mortal while his father, Zeus, is the supreme deity, ruler of gods and people. Lyssa's mother Nyx is of Chthonic, and father, Uranus, of heavenly origin (E.HF.843-44).

The same can be said about Lyssa' and Heracles' feelings. From the beginning the goddess is calm (E.HF.843-859) and Heracles mind has not dimmed yet (E.HF.922-930). Gradually, Lyssa's quietness develops into madness. The goddess experiences transformation and turns into Fury (E.HF.861-872). Heracles too loses his reason, goes mad and the superman gradually acquires the image of a creature lower than a human being (E.HF.930-1000). Lyssa and Heracles seem to blend with each other.

Apparently, the resemblance is so big that it erases the border between the divine interference and human impulses; madness is fulfilled in Heracles. Thus Euripides transforms Heracles' madness, which most likely existed as

<sup>16</sup> Hes. Theog. 270 etc., 333 etc., Apoll. 11, 4,3.; Met. IV 792 – 802, R.Graves, Myths of Ancient Greece, M., 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Apollod. III-10.3; Diod. Sic. V. 74.6, E.I.999 etc.

<sup>18</sup> "Eyeballs bright (Lyssa)".

<sup>19</sup> K.Gurchiani, Unpublished thesis: Mysteries of Dionisus and their representation in Euripides "Bacchae", Tbilisi, 1999.



an independent phenomenon, into the hero's inward feeling. At the same time, he maintains the traditional pattern of madness according to which some external supernatural divine force influences a human.<sup>20</sup>

Lyssa's possession of Heracles caused his complete transformation. Heracles starts shaking his head, turns violently his blood-spattered eyes, breathes hastily and foams at his mouth (E. HF. 867-68; 932-35). It is followed by his mad laughter, wild dance (E. HF. 836; 87; 879; 892) and roar (E. HF. 870). Lyssa compares Heracles with a bull ready to attack. The hero loses his human image.

A bull was considered as one of the epiphanies of Dionysus. At the same time Dionysus in Antique painting was associated with personified laughter, while the dance that accompanied frenzy i. e. the state of ecstasy, is the ancient ritual action which was a typical feature of the Dionysian cult<sup>21</sup>.

Heracles' madness continues in his imaginary "march". He has a vision that he leaves for Mycenae, and on "arriving" there looks for Euristheus. Then he imagines that he slaughters the enemy's children and destroys the walls erected by Cyclops – in fact, he destroys his own palace and kills his own wife and children. He intends to kill Amphitryon but at that moment Athena appears. She throws a huge stone at Heracles and makes him stop. Heracles falls down and asleep. The theme of killing one's own children is associated again with Dionysus. Disrespect for Dionysus was normally punished with madness and killing of one's own children in such a state<sup>22</sup> – Heracles' behavior (the slaughter of his wife and children) is the climax of his madness. Transition from madness into a normal state is performed through sleeping, which ends the scene of Heracles' spiritual disorder.

It is not accidental that Lyssa is connected with Heracles. Even in mythological tradition there existed the information about Heracles' ferocity. According to the tragedy, the reason of Lyssa's appearance is Hera's anger, which, as the analysis reveals, is motivated by Heracles' origin (E. HF. 20-21; 1261-62; 1307-10).

ὁ ταν δέ κρηπίς μὴ καταβληθῆ γένους

<sup>20</sup> J.Gregory, Euripides and the Instructions of the Athenians, The University of Michigan Press, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> V.Ivanov, Hellenistic Religion of Suffering God (Aeschylus, Tragedies, Moscow, 1989).

<sup>22</sup> Leucippus, together with his sisters, has torn to pieces his own child Hypas, O.Met. IV 1-40; 390-415; Lycurgos cut with an axe his son Drius. Apolod. (III.S.1; 130-140); R.Graves, 1992; about killing of one's own children and Dionysus see R.Shlesier, Mixture of Masks, Maenads as Tragic Models (ed. Carpenter/Faraone), 1993; M.Detienne, Dionysos mis amont, Paris, 1977.

ὀρθῶς ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν τοῦς ἐκγόνους<sup>23</sup> (E. HF. 1261-62) – says Heracles.

The disease that destroys his psychics is in his blood. Thus the victim of Hera is the hero with whom madness is inherent.<sup>24</sup>

The climax of Heracles' madness (killing of his wife and children) marks an end to one particular stage of the hero's life. Heracles was newly born – this time as Amphitryon's son.

σὺ μέντοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆς, γέρον,  
πατέρα γὰρ ἀντὶ Ζηνὸς ἠγοῦμαι σὲ ἀγῶ<sup>25</sup> (E. HF. 1264 – 65).

He transformed into a different kind of man, which is mentioned several times in the final part of the tragedy.<sup>26</sup>

It is interesting that in the mythological tradition, after killing his children, Heracles starts a new life – life "without madness". Therefore, Euripides' idea to picture the madness afflicted by Lyssa through connecting it with that very period of Heracles' life is particularly successful.

The analysis of the text revealed that the chief property of the goddess of madness is ambivalence, the destroying and renewing force. The state afflicted by Lyssa is parallel to Dionysus' madness – the elements they have in common are actions, metaphors and similes; however, the two states have different essence and purpose.

It should also be mentioned that the picture presented in the tragedy strongly resembles the state of madness described by Hippocrates. The treatise *De Morbo Sacro* considers different cases of epilepsy and madness. Heracles' hallucinations, ferocity, excitement, redness and wild movement of eyes, foam at the mouth and loss of reason coincide with the clinical picture described by Hippocrates, while the slaughter committed by the hero is the behavior of a mad person<sup>27</sup>.

Traditionally, the epilepsy and madness have been regarded as divine diseases<sup>28</sup> because during a fit of madness, a man closely resembled the one in the state of ecstasy at the divine service; however, the parallel is based only on physical likeness while the content, the essence of the divine i.e. ritual

<sup>23</sup> "When thus the basis of a family  
Is laid in guilt, the children must be wretched".

<sup>24</sup> H.D.F.Kitto, Greek Tragedy, USA, 1954.

<sup>25</sup> "... Jet, O let not this  
offen thine ear, old man, for thee, not Jove,  
I deem my real sire" (1264-65).

<sup>26</sup> J.Gregory, 1997.

<sup>27</sup> Hp. Morb. Sacr. 7,14,15.

<sup>28</sup> E.R.Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, Berkeley, 1951

madness is an absolutely different phenomenon.<sup>29</sup> The necessary condition for the latter was a group of people who sought communion with the god through the ecstatic state. As concerns individual insanity, it was nearly always regarded as pathology and was called a divine disease only because of its outer resemblance with the ritual madness, which was believed to be the only remedy to cure the psychic disease.<sup>30</sup> Euripides succeeded to the best to render in terms of fiction the nature of madness afflicted by Lyssa.

---

<sup>29</sup> M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, London, 1964.

<sup>30</sup> Plat. *Phaed.* 244 E Ecstatic state had a treating function as well. Aim of the treatment was to transform the lost-way madness gradually into healthy, "right" madness (🗨️ jorqw" manh'nai).

Tea Dularidze (Tbilisi)

**THE ACHAEAN AMBASSADORIAL MISSION TO ACHILLES  
ACCORDING TO THE *ILIAD*, BOOK IX**

An ambassadorial mission is a multifunctional phenomenon in the Homeric epics and plays a highly important role in the development of plot events. The poet mentions heralds, messengers and envoys and assigns them appropriate tasks. These relationships were typical of both gods and humans. At the level of the immortals, it is more or less clear when Zeus (and not only he) is certain to resort to the service of divine messengers; however, the same is not altogether true about the heroes and requires closer consideration. In this regard, Book IX of the *Iliad* is particularly interesting. It pictures the ambassadorial mission assigned and performed by mortals, without the divine interference. The motivation for this representative mission is the following: Achilles, furious at Agamemnon, refuses to fight in the battle. As a result, Achaeans lose. Nestor is the first to make a speech at the meeting of chiefs held in the King's tent. The sage old man reminds the commander of the abduction of Briseis which infuriated Achilles and compelled him to abandon of the battle. However, the circumstances require him back. Apart from Agamemnon's gifts, it is necessary to win Achilles' favor with a friendly word. Nestor recommends the mediators he believes most eligible. What is the principle that underlies the selection of the envoys? Nestor names Phoenix, "dear to Zeus" (δῖφιλος) as the head of the mission, then follow "great" (μέγας) Aias and "divine" (δῖος) Odysseus. They are to be accompanied with Odius and Eurybates who act as heralds. Homer calls all the three heroes "κλητός" which means "chosen", "distinguished", and Odius and Eurybates – "κῆρυξ" (herald).

All the three chosen have their particular missions. They represent a pre-meditated and single unity.<sup>1</sup> The most skilled and versatile of them is Odysseus, and Nestor sends him for his shrewdness; among the selected is Phoenix, a friend of Achilles' father, who can not be turned down; and the third person entrusted with the mission is Aias, the true image of bravery. The son of Peleus highly appreciates his sincerity and straightforwardness. The sage old man takes all this into an account while selecting the representatives. That is why the "diplomatic" Odysseus was accompanied with the other two individuals. However, the following question still remains unanswered: "what was the function of the two heralds – Odysseus and Eurybates – in this mission? Evidently, it was necessary to shape the latter as an official delegation so as to maintain the ambassadorial order, i.e. what in modern diplomacy is called a 'protocol'. According to Tsagarakis, they give royal dignity and sanction to the Achaean petition and witness the event; they come, in other words, to make official the character of a visit to Achilles.<sup>2</sup> The heralds do not take part in the talks as envoys; they have a different function. Nestor appeals to them to carry out the purification ritual (Il., IX, 171-178).

"Spray the water on their hands, keep sacred silence" (Il., IX, 689);<sup>3</sup>

Then follows the act of sacrifice and wine-drinking. Nestor urged the chosen to do their best to persuade Achilles. When the Achaeans reached the ships and tents of the Myrmidons, they found Achilles taking joy in a sweet forminx. Patroclus sat nearby. Once the hero caught the sight of the mission, he jumped to his feet and made his way to them. As he approached the envoys, he said:

"I welcome you, friendly brave men. Perhaps, that is the way it should be; of the Achaeans, you are the dearest to me, the enraged" (Il., IX, 197-98).<sup>4</sup>

Achilles received the "dearest brave men" (φίλτατοι ἄνδρες) with deep respect. His kind attitude to Odysseus, Phoenix and Aias, i.e. the individuals chosen by Nestor, is obvious. Thus, the envoys selected according to his criterion proved acceptable to Achilles, which points to the successful decision and the right choice.

Closer attention should be paid to the way shrewd Odysseus builds his speech and tries to persuade Achilles and dissipate his anger. Odysseus' dip-

<sup>1</sup> Lohmann D., "Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias", Berlin 1970, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Tsagarakis Od., "Phoenix and The Achaean Embassy", Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, B. 116, # 3/4, New Folge 1973, 197. Odysseus quotes these heralds in his report to Agamemnon and the Achaean council (Il., IX, 689).

<sup>3</sup> φέρτε δὲ χερσὶν ὕδωρ, εὐφήμησάι τε κέλεσθε, (Il., IX, 171).

<sup>4</sup> χαίρετον. ἢ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον. ἢ τι μάλα χρεώ, οἱ μοι σκυζομένω περ' Ἀχαιῶν φίλτατοί ἐστων (Il., IX, 197-98).

lomatic skills are exposed in the address that opens his speech. First, he thanked the host for his cordial welcome and noticed that the table laid for the sake of their friendship was flawless – like the supper in Agamemnon's tent. This statement aimed to make a light and innocent mention of Agamemnon's name in order to bring him unnoticeably into the conversation, and at the same time, avoid Achilles' irritation. The speech is one of the best patterns of Homeric eloquence. This is reflected in its composition as well. Odysseus remains Agamemnon's spokesperson although he is personally interested to persuade the great warrior. His speech is not built on emotions. Tsagarakis believes that in his speech Odysseus shows himself ready to negotiate with Achilles but not to supplicate at his knees.<sup>5</sup> He resorts to logical arguments to prove the actual threat and calls on Achilles to come to the rescue of the Achaean army. In Griffin's opinion, the speech is ably delivered, but fails to reach the emotional level on which Achilles now lives and broods.<sup>6</sup> Odysseus recites with surprising accuracy the list of offerings enumerated by the king (IX, 677-88). The presentation of the diplomatic gifts<sup>7</sup> makes the official status of the envoys more convincing. In the conclusion of the speech, Odysseus gives the hero advice – if he does not wish to reconcile with Agamemnon, let him have mercy on the army which will praise him as the god; he also appeals to Achilles not to lose the chance to fight Hector.

Shrewd Odysseus offers a different kind of "reimbursement" – the name and glory of the hero. In contrast with the material wealth sent by the king, the envoy promises the great warrior the reward he believes more appropriate.<sup>8</sup> How does infuriated Achilles respond to his speech and the gifts? Achilles' answer is based on Odysseus' arguments but at certain points proves more complicated thematically. The hero mentions every single offer. He states sternly that he is pleased neither with Agamemnon nor with his gifts. He hates the king as "the gates to Hades" (Αἶδαο πύλησιν); therefore, he will not try to quench his anger. In his comments on the Homeric epic, Monro mentions that the outright rejection of the gifts features Achilles' character and exposes his disposition to allow the Greek army to lose.<sup>9</sup> The scene reveals his uncompromising and adamant nature. According to scholar, in Homeric times, personal feelings mattered far more in the determination of an

---

<sup>5</sup> Tsagarakis Od., "The Achaean Embassy and The Wrath of Achilles", *Hermes*, Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie, 99. Band, Wiesbaden 1971, 258.

<sup>6</sup> Griffin J., *Homer, Iliad*. Book Nine, Oxford 1995, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Irene J. F. De Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers, The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*, Amsterdam 1987, 183.

<sup>8</sup> Lohmann D., "Die Komposition der Reden in der Reden in der Ilias", Berlin 1970, 235.

<sup>9</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, Monro D. B., Oxford 1958, 340.

action than laws or moral values.<sup>10</sup> Once deceived by the king, he did not trust him any more, and refused to respond to any attempt of reconciliation. He would not negotiate unless his own demand was met – he wanted Agamemnon to personally appeal to him to rejoin the battlefield. The son of Peleus hoped the necessity (*ἀνάγκη*) would force the king and his envoys to their knees.<sup>11</sup> When the hero had made up his mind to quit the battle, the king had not ask him to stay (*Il.*, IX, 169-173); now the situation was different. Agamemnon's offering includes three parts: 1. The immediate gifts; 2. Achilles would marry Agamemnon's daughter when back home; 3. The hero would receive the Trojan wealth after its fall. Achilles rejects the gifts one after another, which exposes that his set of values is different. "It must, even more importantly, display the emotional nature, the depth of hurt and anger, which drives Achilles into a position which neither he nor anybody else in the poem wholly understands."<sup>12</sup> Achilles gradually moved from his enraged state to the meditation on his own fate. Homer presents this route with unmatched skillfulness. Remembering his mother's, Thetis' prophecy,<sup>13</sup> Achilles longs for a peaceful life<sup>14</sup> and intends to return to Phthia on the following day (IX, 360). He asks old Phoenix to stay with him. He regards Thetis' oracle as another proof for his decision. The hero addresses the rest of the guests:

"Deliver the message – that is the duty of the chosen" (*Il.*, IX, 422).<sup>15</sup>

The hero calls on the messengers to inform Agamemnon and all Achaeans about his firm decision, which is their prerogative. To deliver a message was an envoy's duty, and it is very important that this mission is already clearly defined in the Homeric epic.

Another important point is how old Phoenix builds his speech and attempts to persuade Achilles, though the hero has already taken the decision and has asked the messengers to tell it to the king. The hero's words should have been understood as his final say, the peremptory decision that rendered

<sup>10</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, Monro D. B., Oxford 1958, 339.

<sup>11</sup> Tsagarakis Od., "The Achaean Embassy and The Wrath of Achilles", *Hermes, Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 99. Band, Wiesbaden 1971, 259.

<sup>12</sup> Griffin J., *Homer, Iliad Book Nine*, Oxford 1995, 21.

<sup>13</sup> If Achilles chose to fight in the Trojan War, he was destined to die but win fame; on the other hand, if he stayed in his homeland, he would live an ordinary, mediocre life.

<sup>14</sup> . . . οὐ γὰρ ἔμοι ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ὄτα φασὶν  
Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι.

"As my spirit can not be compared to anything –  
either to Ilium when it thrived" (*Il.*, IX, 401-402).

<sup>15</sup> ἀγγελίην ἀπόφασθε - τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων-

γέρας, αὐτὸς - privilege, prerogative; see Liddell H. G. and Scott R., *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 345.

the mission unsuccessful; however, Phoenix, the second envoy, proceeds with the talks. He represents the image opposite to that of Odysseus. The old man's speech is emotionally charged and is based on human and paternal relationships. He talks not as Agamemnon's representative, but as Achilles' father's friend who would sit young Achilles on his knees. He starts his address with a rhetorical question:

"How shall I stay here without you, dear son?" (*Il.* IX, 437-38).<sup>16</sup>

He relates how Peleus sheltered him in Phthia and entrusted his son to his care. Phoenix was destined to be childless; so he received Achilles as his own son. He advised the hero not to reject the daughters of Zeus, goddesses of prayers – otherwise, he was certain to incur the Cronid's wrath. According to Fränkel, Achilles has not rebuffed any prayers.<sup>17</sup> In Tsagarakis opinion, Phoenix knows that but in his endeavor to persuade Achilles to give up his wrath he appeals to whatever might bring about the desirable.<sup>18</sup> Though Phoenix' speech is much longer than that of other envoys, its inner structure is easy to trace. It consists of two basic themes: 1. the relationship between Phoenix and Achilles; 2. Meleager's paradigm. After referring to it, he advises Achilles to quench his anger and accept the gifts. The speech of the old man abounds in the words of request and advice that aim at persuading the hero. "Phoenix' role was very delicate because of his relations to Achilles and should be played with diplomacy."<sup>19</sup> Phoenix tries to fulfill his duty with sweet words; the mission of both – Odysseus' and Phoenix' – is result-oriented. The old man should have been well aware of Achilles' character – the latter would gradually proceed from an unconditional decision to a compromise. Lohmann wrote the son of Peleus was wont to plunge from ἀφροσύνη to σωφροσύνη,<sup>20</sup> from one extremity into the other. Phoenix' speech marks the transitional stage in the hierarchy of the mission. Achilles' answer to Phoenix is concise – he starts to consider his decision. The hero softens his position and says he would better decide on his return to his homeland on the following day (*Il.*, IX, 618). Though Phoenix fails to dissipate Achilles' fury and persuade him to join the battle, he succeeds to make him change his re-

<sup>16</sup> πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σείο, φίλον τέκος, αὐθι λιποίμην οἶος (*Il.*, IX, 437-438).

<sup>17</sup> Fränkel H., *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, München 1962, 69.

<sup>18</sup> Tsagarakis Od., "The Achaean Embassy and The Wrath of Achilles", *Hermes, Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 99. Band, Wiesbaden 1971, 259.

<sup>19</sup> Tsagarakis Od., "Phoenix and The Achaean Embassy", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, B. 116, # 3/4, New Folge 1973, 201.

<sup>20</sup> Lohmann D., "Die Komposition der Reden in der Reden in der Ilias", Berlin 1970, 279; Gordeziani R., *The Problems of Homeric epics*, the Tbilisi University Press, Tbilisi 1978, 304 (in Russian).



cent decision. It seems Aias, the third messenger, has no chance to address the hero. Bowra believes when the request failed, Aias makes one last attempt to move Achilles by pointing this out; he shows that the envoys are friends under his roof who demand and deserve respect (*Il.*, IX, 640).<sup>21</sup> His speech reflects the failed diplomatic mission. He mentions the principles of friendship, dignity and bravery, which drive the hero to the other extremity. "A short, bluff speech, it strikes the right manly note. Achilles finds it hard to dissent from the appeal to comradeship. It is just that he can't bring himself to do what he sees to be right."<sup>22</sup> Achilles admits that Aias' appeal was sound and fair. However, he can not overcome his anger towards Agamemnon. He tries to justify his actions by his injured dignity. After Aias' speech, Achilles changes his mind to return home and decides to fight divine Hector only when Hector's army approaches the Myrmidons' ships. Already in his address to Odysseus Achilles stated that he would fight only of his own will. After that, each of them takes wordlessly the double-bottom vessel filled with wine. They offer sacrifice to gods. The ritual marks the end to the mission. Although three different ways were found to quench Achilles' anger, they all proved unsuccessful. Remarkably, none of the gods interfered in the talks in favor of the messengers. As a matter of fact, the envoys failed to persuade the hero; however, the mission cannot be assessed as a failure. Achilles' return to the battlefield can be described as three-staged: 1. the mission of the envoys; 2. paradigmatic Patroclus; 3. the fit of the stress – Patroclus' death. Agamemnon's messengers facilitated the first stage. They were to inform the king about the outcome of their mission. This very duty defines finally the functions of the mission. First, Agamemnon asks his official envoy – Odysseus. The latter has discouraging news; Odysseus adds that Aias and both heralds have the same to tell him. Worried Danaans are gripped with silence. Noble Diomedes raises their spirit and calls on to resume the battle in the morning. "Achilleus will fight again when his *thymos* or the god arouse him".<sup>23</sup>

The ambassadorial mission described in Book IX of the *Iliad* is directly linked to Achilles' wrath – the basic line that runs throughout the poem. Several aspects can be distinguished in the episode. First of all, our attention is attracted by the attempt to find ways to persuade the hero: three heroes are assigned who are to wage talks according to their respective characters. Three different ways are found to persuade Achilles. The episode implies Homer's unambiguous objective to show the importance of envoys' mission in a decisive moment. He singled out three principle points to persuade the hero: per-

<sup>21</sup> Bowra C. M., *Tradition and Design in The Iliad*, Oxford 1930, repr. 1963, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Griffin J., *Homer, Iliad Book Nine*, Oxford 1995, 22.

<sup>23</sup> Stanley K., *The Shield of Homer, Narrative Structure in The Iliad*, New Jersey, 1993, 117.

suasion through offering compensation; persuasion through an appeal and sage advice; persuasion through resorting to friendship and bravery. In this way the poet built the general image of ambassadorial mission and presented all the three envoys as a single team. Another important point connected with the mission is the impact of eloquence, in which the individuals delegated to Achilles are thoroughly skilled. The links between the opposing parties are restored – this is what determines the dramatic essence of diplomatic talks.

Marika Erkomaischwili (Tbilisi)

LITERATUR IM MYTHOSKONTEXT  
(EINIGE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUM  
MEDEIA-MYTHOS)

*O Gaia und alleuchtender Strahl des Helios,  
so schauet doch, schaut auf die  
verderbenbringende Frau, noch ehe  
sie gegen die Kinder erhebt die blutrote Hand,  
die selbstmörderische. Denn sie erwuchs  
von deinem goldenen Samen; und dass eines Gottes Blut  
durch Menschenhand fliesse, davor soll man sich schauen!  
Wohl an, du zeusgeborenes Licht,  
O hemme sie...*

*Euripides, Medeia, 1251-1257<sup>1</sup>*

Medeia, Tochter des kolchischen Königs Aietes ist eine der bekanntesten Heldinnen des antiken Mythos und Literatur. Obwohl mit ihrem Namen mehrere interessante Aspekte verbunden sind, wurde ihr Name höchstwahrscheinlich durch den Mord eigener Kinder bekannt. Es ist interessant, welches Verhältnis zu ihrer Person die Leute haben, die sich als Nachkommen der Kolcher empfinden.

Man könnte sagen, dass Medeia in der georgischen Literatur bis zum 19. Jh. föllig ignoriert wird. Das Thema von Medeia bearbeitet zum ersten Mal Akaki Tsereteli in der Drama "Media". Die Andeutung an die Tochter von Aietes kann man auch in der georgischen Folklore nicht finden. Die georgische Literatur des 20. Jh-s hat sich mehr für Medeia interessiert, obwohl sie (die Literatur) in dieser Hinsicht nichts interessantes geschaffen hat. Haupt-

---

<sup>1</sup> Euripides, Tragödien, I, Medeia, griechisch und deutsch von Ditrich Ebener, Berlin, 1972 (Die Übersetzungen des griechischen Textes werden im Artikel überall nach der Übersetzung von Ebener zitiert).

sächlich kommt eine Tendenz zum Vorschein: das innere Verhältnis georgischer Schriftsteller (und nicht nur Schriftsteller!) zur Verräterin des Vaterlandes und des Vaters, zur Mörderin des Bruders und eigener Kinder ist zu sehr verfeinert und empfindlich. Das von ihr vor Jahrhunderten begangene Verbrechen ist bis heute noch der Verletzung des georgischen nationalen Stolzes gleich.

"Sie ist bis heute in der Welt als Mörderin eigener Kinder bekannt, aber die griechischen Quellen selber bezeugen augenscheinlich, dass die Rache der kolchischen Frau nicht bis zu dieser furchtbaren Exzessivität gegangen ist. Das hat nur Euripides für seine Unsterbliche Tragödie erfunden. Im Gegensatz zu seiner Ansicht, betonen wissenschaftliche Quellen, dass die Kinder von Medeia von den Korinthern ermordet worden sind. Dieser Geschichte (d.h. der Wiederherstellung der Wahrheit über Medeia) ist dieses Buch gewidmet".<sup>2</sup> – Diesen Abschnitt habe ich nur zur Illustration gebracht, denn er widerspiegelt das typische Bild. So sieht im wesentlichen das Verhalten zu der Heldin von Euripides aus, das für die ganze folgende literarische Tradition zu einem Hauptmodell geworden ist.

In der Georgischen Literatur ist sowie die mit Medeia verbundene Lücke, als auch das nicht Vorhandensein der Meeresthematik und der Mangel an Terminologie, die mit der Schifffahrt verbunden ist, augenscheinlich. Georgien ist ein Küstenland, aber in der Geschichtsschreibung findet man kaum eine Andeutung darauf, dass Georgien jemals eine eigene Flotte besaß; es sind auch keine Nachrichten über eine Seeschlacht zu finden... Dagegen besingen georgische Schriftsteller den Paliastomisee oder "dem Geräusch nach dem Meer gleichenden" Gogtscha; das Meereselement, das im Bewusstsein der Georgier hier und da auftaucht, ist zu einer vielmehr zerstörenden, das Unglück bringenden Kraft geworden.<sup>3</sup> Es gibt noch eine Eigentümlichkeit: Kirke, wenn wir die Worte von Plinius benutzen, "war die erste Forscherin der Kräuter". In der westlichen Literaturgeschichte ist eben Kirke die erste, die das sakrale Wissen über Gifte und Salben besitzt. Bei der Forschung der mythischen Gestalt von Kirke wurde schon die Meinung geäußert, dass wenn die Söhne von Helios in der antiken Welt zu den Verbreitern des astrologischen Wissens galten, könnte man die Tochter des Sonnengottes möglicherweise als diejenige ansehen, die den Okultismus und die okultische Wissenschaft verbreitete.<sup>4</sup> Dasselbe könnte man auch von Medeia sagen. Wo ist also das

---

<sup>2</sup> L. Sanikidze, Geschichte einer Kolcherin, 1963, 4 (auf Georgisch).

<sup>3</sup> Diesbezüglich gibt es eine interessante Meinung von K. Jandieri, s. "Georgian National Ballet", Tbilisi 1995, 46.

<sup>4</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang s. M. Erkomaishvili, Der Kirkemythos und seine Interpretation in der antiken Literatur, Tbilisi 2002, 21 (auf Georgisch).

einzigartige Wissen über die Identifizierung und Verdünnung der Gräser verschwunden, das für die westliche Welt immer mit Kirke und Medeia kolchischer Abstammung verbunden war? Das ganze weitere medizinische Wissen der Georgier zeigt, wie bekannt, orientalische Wurzeln auf und ist weniger originell! Diese konsequente "Lücke" ist ziemlich vieldeutig und ruft mehrere interessante Meinungen und Zweifel hervor. Die Forschung in dieser Richtung wäre in der Zukunft vielleicht tatsächlich aufschlussreich, jetzt aber möchte ich die Aufmerksamkeit auf den ewigen Versuch der Rehabilitation der in der georgischen Literatur rezipierten "verletzten Gestalt" von Medeia richten.

Es wäre nicht gerecht, dieses Vorhaben der Georgier als eine Laune anzusehen. In diesem Fall sind georgische Schriftsteller nicht originell. Tatsächlich sondern die moderne wissenschaftliche Literatur sowie antike Quellen die "korinthische Version" des Mythos aus, die Version, in der die Tragödie wiedergegeben ist, die in Korinth stattfand.

"Wir müssen vermuten, dass Euripides die traditionelle Geschichte völlig verändert hat, wo nichts über den Mord der Kinder von Medeia gesagt worden war. Das bezeugt auch die Tatsache, dass in keiner von den voreuripideischen Quellen die Episode von dem bewussten Mord der Kinder bezeugt ist. Durch die Einführung dieses Motivs hat Euripides Medeia zu einer wahrhaftig tragischen Gestalt gemacht. Jeder Versuch der Schriftsteller folgender Epochen, Medeia von dieser Sünde zu befreien, endete im besseren Fall mit der Erniedrigung dieser Gestalt von der tragischen zur melodrammatischen."<sup>5</sup>

Man muss zugeben, dass das Thema der Ermordung von Medeia eigener Kinder, das Hauptmotiv, das die Tragödie von Euripides mit den Worten von Aristoteles "zu einem Tragischsten unter den Tragischen" macht (*tragikwvta-toς*<sup>6</sup>), rief schon in der antiken Epoche eine Diskussion hervor. In der voreuripideischen Tragödie wurde das Motiv der Ermordung der Kinder tatsächlich nirgends widerspiegelt. Ich werde die voreuripideischen Versionen hier nicht darlegen; für die Forschung ist im gegebenen Moment auch die Motivation irrelevant, die Medeia gezwungen hat, dieses Verbrechen zu begehen; also, in diesem Fall ist es uninteressant, was so wichtig bei der Forschung der literarischen Gestalt von Medeia sein würde.

Anderes ist wichtig: war das "Filizid"<sup>7</sup> tatsächlich, oder könnte es ein organischer Teil der traditionellen Geschichte sein? Oder müsste man diese

<sup>5</sup> R. Gordesiani, Griechische Literatur (Epos, Lyrik, Drama), 2002, 398 (auf Georgisch).

<sup>6</sup> S. Arist., Poet., 1453 a 29.

<sup>7</sup> Der Terminus ist als Analogie von "Suizid" geprägt worden und bedeutet die Ermordung eigener Kinder. In diesem Zusammenhang, s. P. Ashton, Honey I Killed the Kids... Some thoughts on Medeia and filicide, Mantis, International Association for Analytical Psychology, vol. 13 N2, 2001 <http://www.iaap.org/english.html> [18.05.05].

Innovation der Genialität von Euripides zuschreiben? Ist die Transformation einer traditionellen Geschichte möglich, wenn das eine oder das andere Element in ihr (in der Geschichte) von Anfang an nicht kodiert oder vorgesehen ist?

Wollen wir noch ein Mal das Mythos betrachten und in dieser Hinsicht folgende Abschnitte analysieren:

Der Ino-Helle-Phryxos-Abschnitt.

Geschichte des Kindermordes.

Geschichte von Apsyrtos.

Wenn wir uns die Geschichte von Ino und Medeia als ein paralleles Schema vorstellen, bekommen wir das folgende Bild:

Athamas scheidet sich von Nephele und heiratet Ino.	Jason hat vor, sich von Medeia zu scheiden und Krëussa zu heiraten.
Ino missgünstet die Stiefkinder.	Krëussa mag die Kinder von Ino und Medeia nicht.
Ino beschliesst die Stiefkinder zu verderben.	(* Das Vorhaben von Krëussa ist nicht zu sehen, aber man kann es vermuten).
Phrixos und Helle flüchten nach Kolchis. Helle kommt um (Durch die Aktivität der Mutter-Stiefmutter kommt die Tochter um).	Medeia tötet die Kinder (Die Stiefmutter wird durch die Mutter ersetzt). <sup>8</sup>

Interessante Zusammenfälle zeigt auch die weitere Entwicklung der Handlung auf. Diesmal werde ich mich mit ihrer Analyse nicht befassen, einfach möchte ich es nochmal betonen:

Hera schickt Athamas und Ino den Wahnsinn. Die verrückte Ino tötet die	Die aus Korinth flüchtende Medeia geht zu Herakles, der im Wahnsinn
--	---

<sup>8</sup> Die Gestalt der bösen Stiefmutter müsste man als Eigentum der Märchen betrachten (Über die Märchenschichten in der Geschichte von Helle-Phrixos s. R. Gordeziani, Die Argonautensage im Lichte der neuesten Forschung, *Λεκτά*, Tbilisi, 2000, 311, 18), auf der Mythosebene aber sind die Mutter und die Stiefmutter gegenseitig ersetzbare Begriffe. In diesem Zusammenhang hat E. Meletinski eine interessante Meinung geäußert: in der Urgesellschaft existierte praktisch keine "Stiefmutter", denn alle Frauen des Vaters gehörten zur Klasse der "Mutter". In der Sprache einiger Stämme, z.B. in der Sprache der Nordwestindianer gebrauchte man den Terminus "Stiefmutter" ("abasto") nur im Zusammenhang mit den Frauen, die von weiten Stämmen stammten. Bzw. musste selbst der Terminus scheinbar als Folge des Zerfalls der Endogamie entstanden sein. S. E.M. Мелетинский E.M., *Женитьба в волшебной сказке (ее функция и место в сюжетной структуре), Фольклор и постфольклор: структура, типология, семантика*, <<http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/meletinsky13.htm>[02.11.05] >

Kinder und stürzt ins Meer. <sup>9</sup>	seine Kinder getötet hat.
--	---------------------------

Die Geschichte von Phrixos und Helle ist bei Euripides nicht erzählt, die Geschichte von Ino aber hat Euripides doch in die Tragödie reingebracht, was den Zuschauer und Leser darauf hinweist, dass er die Tat von Ino im Kontext des Mythos erfasst.<sup>10</sup>

Die mit Hilfe eines gewissen "Stereoeffektes" gelöste *Mis en scène*, ist bei Euripides auch in der szenographischen Hinsicht sehr beeindruckend. Folgen wir Euripides: das fünfte Stasimon beginnt mit dem Lied der Chorführerin (Der Anfang eben dieses Gedichtes geht als Epigraph dem vorliegenden Artikel voran (1251-1259)). Die Chorführerin unterdrückt der Schrei der Kinder:

Die Knaben (im Hause): O wehe! (1270)

Der Chor löst die Chorführerin ab.

Der Zuschauer begreift, dass man hinter der Bühne, im Unsichtbaren, die Kinder tötet. Die Stimmen der verdammten Kinder vermischen sich mit dem Gesang des Chors. Zwischen der Bühne und dem unsichtbaren Haus beginnt der wahrhaftig "tragischste" Dialog:

Erster Knabe (im Hause): o weh, was tun? Wohin entfliehn von Mutters Händen?!

Zweiter Knabe (im Hause): Ich weiss nicht, liebster Bruder! Wir sind doch verloren.

Der Chor: Gehe ich in das Haus? Ich muss helfen den Kindern, verhüten den Mord!

Erster Knabe (im Hause): Ja, bei den Göttern, helft! Es ist die höchste Zeit!

Zweiter Knabe (im Hause): Schon wird des Schwertes Kling gegen uns gezückt. (1273-1278).

Die Szene schliesst der Gesang des Chors:

Von einem Weibe nur höre ich, einem Weib aus der Vorzeit,

<sup>9</sup> Nach einigen anderen Varianten tötet Athamas den Sohn, Ino springt mit dem anderen Kind ins Meer. Die Versionen sind in diesem Fall ein wenig unterschiedlich, aber ich werde sie jetzt nicht ausführlich analysieren, weil sie im Wesentlichen eine und dieselbe mythologische Information enthalten.

<sup>10</sup> Über die Rolle des Chors in der "Medeia" von Euripides s. Ch. Segal, Chorus as Actor in Euripides' *Medeia*. *Crossing the Stages: Production, Performance and Reception of Ancient Theatre* (A Conference on the Ancient Stage) <<http://duke.usask.ca/~porterj/abstracts/segal.html> [06-12-2002]>

das gegen die eigenen Kinder die Hand erhoben –  
 die Ino, mit Wahnsinn geschlagen von Göttern,  
 als die Gemahlin des Zeus  
 aus dem Hause sie jagte zur Irrfahrt.  
 Es stürzte die Arme in salzige Flut  
 zur Sühne dem gottlosen Mord an den Kindern,  
 sie lenkte die Schritte über des Meeres steile Küste  
 hinaus und starb, mit beiden Jungen im Tode vereint. (1282-1289)

Beide Geschichten (d.h. die Sage von der Ermordung der Kinder von Medeia und Ino-Helle-Phrixos), die der Geschichte von Medeia vorangehen und es zusammenfassen, umfassen gleiche Elemente (Zerfall der Familie – Mord der Kinder – \*Wahnsinn<sup>11</sup>). Das sind augenscheinlich Geschichten einer semantischen Reihe und mit der Existenz eines Blocks ist normalerweise das Vorhandensein des anderen gemeint. Beachtenswert ist noch ein weniger bemerkbares Detail: im Fall von Athamas und Ino ist bis zu einem gewissen Moment eine schon geschehene Geschichte erzählt (bis zum Beschluss, Phrixos und Helle ins Verderben zu bringen), im Falle von Medeia und Jason aber (bis zur Ermordung der Kinder) darüber, was geschehen muss, über eine potentiell zu geschehene Geschichte. Danach scheint es eine Inversion zu geschehen: als ob das, was Ino begehen wollte, Medeia verwirklicht. Man hat einen Eindruck, dass für die Zuschauer, die die traditionelle Geschichte gut kannten, das Vorhandensein der ersten Episode im ganzen Block der Sage eine gewisse Vorbereitungsstufe für das letzte darstellt.

Beim Gespräch über die Geschichten der Reihe des "Filizids" scheint mir in dem Mythos von Medeia noch Eines wichtig zu sein – die Episode mit Apsyrtos.

Im Zusammenhang mit Apsyrtos ist die mythologische Information widersprüchlich. Nach der Mehrheit von Angaben war Apsyrtos zur Zeit, wo Jason nach Kolchis gekommen ist, noch ein Kind oder gar ein Säugling (Ovid, "Metamorphosen", VII, 54). Man hat ihn im Hause des Vaters getötet (Sophokles, "Die Kolchinnen", Fr. 319; Euripides, "Medeia", 167, 1334...). Nach einer anderen Version hat Medeia den kleinen Bruder mitgenommen, die Argonauten haben ihn auf dem Schiff kleingehackt und in den Phasis reingeworfen, um Aietes aufzuhalten (Pherecides, Fr. 73; Apollonios Rhodius,

---

<sup>11</sup> Es bleibt ein Eindruck, dass das Motiv des Wahnsinnes im ursprünglichen Kern des Mythos eine gewisse Rolle spielte. Es ist auch wichtig, dass man in diesem Fall über den Zustand reden muss, der über die Normgrenze steigt oder an der Grenze ist, d.h. über den Zustand des veränderten Bewusstseins und nicht über die klinische Pathologie. Ich denke, es wäre sehr aufschlussreich für die Zukunft, die mit Medeia zusammenhängende mythologische Information unter diesem Aspekt zu analysieren.



"Argonautik", IV, nach der Fussnote 338).<sup>12</sup> Nach Apollonius und einigen anderen Quellen ist Apsyrtos schon erwachsen, obwohl auch bei Rhodius seine Jugend und Naivität unterstrichen sind (vgl. Apollonius Rhodius, "Argonautik", 161-162). Nach Apollonios lässt Medeia ihren Bruder tückisch schlachten, wie einen Opfertier (IV, 468). In dieser Hinsicht bietet uns Valerius Flaccus ein anderes Bild, obwohl die Änderung von Apsyrtos leicht durch die Konzeption des Helden von Flaccus zu erklären ist und muss die mythologische Tradition weniger widerspiegeln.

Also ist Apsyrtos der Tradition gemäss jüngerer Bruder von Medeia. Nach traditionellen Angaben ist seine Todesszene grässlich: Apsyrtos ist ein fast unbärtiger, unbewaffneter und unschuldiger Jüngling, den man wie ein Opfertier schlachtet. In diesem Fall ist das nicht nur ein geflügeltes Wort; der Mord von Apsyrtos enthält tatsächlich mehrere Elemente des Opferungsrituals. Auch das werde ich nicht weiter erläutern; ich wollte nur sagen, dass im Mythoskontext scheint mir die Ermordung von Apsyrtos eine dem Kindermord gleiche Tat zu sein.

Bei Euripides spielt weder die Episode von Phrixos und Helle, noch die von Apsyrtos, so dass die ganze mythologische Information in der Tat von Medeia akkumuliert ist, die die Kinder tötet, denn im anderen Fall würde das im Mythos kodierte "Programm" unrealisiert bleiben. Ich denke, die Geschichte von der Kindermörderin Medeia ist ein gutes Illustrationsmaterial um zu zeigen, was die Mythosforscher meinen, wenn sie sagen, dass der Mythos eine traditionelle Geschichte ist, die uns darüber erzählt, was in illo tempore geschehen ist und immer wiederholt wird. Deswegen ist in der nachfolgenden Literatur jeder Versuch der "Rehabilitierung" von Medeia nicht nur unwahrscheinlich, sondern auch absurd und wird auch absurd bleiben. Die Genialität aber von Euripides muss man im Fall von "Medeia" nicht in der Transformation der traditionellen Geschichte suchen, sondern darin, dass bei dem griechischen Tragiker die richtig gelesene mythische Gestalt mit der Berücksichtigung der mythologischen Information genial zu einer literarischen Gestalt transformiert worden ist.

---

<sup>12</sup> Die Quellen sind nach R. Gordeziani bezeugt. S. Argonauten, Erzählt und kommentiert von R. Gordeziani, Tbilisi, 1999, 109 (auf Georgisch).

Manana Garibashvili (Tbilisi)

### CATULLUS' LESBIA AS A POETIC PARADIGM

According to Apuleius' later note, which evidently survived as a tradition, Catullus' Lesbia was in fact called Clodia, Tibullus' Delia – Plania and Propertius' Cynthia – Hostia (Apology, 10). Such identifications are normally associated with a legend as the poetic image of the beloved is composed of not only and not actual biographic facts. It owes much to the imagination of a poet, imitations, influences and literary traditions. Remarkably, Apuleius does not mention the prototype of Ovid's Corinna as the creative transformation is much more explicit in this regard. All relevant properties suggest that Corinna is a generalized image. However, reader's imagination has always tried to detect a real person under the name.<sup>1</sup>

In general, tradition very often connects love lyrics of a famous poet with a famous beauty. And the poets do not normally mind the spread of such versions as they contribute to their popularity.

Such information should not be taken for granted even if the identification is commonly admitted, as the process of artistic creation remarkably transfigures casual events. Catullus' attribution of a particular property to Lesbia is unobjectionable in terms of artistic dimension and it does not matter for the proper perception of an artistic piece whether she really possessed the property or not.

The efforts of researchers to identify the ladies mentioned by Apuleius were successful only in case of Lesbia-Clodia. Other identifications failed because of scarce historical data.

For a long time, nobody took interest in Clodia mentioned by Apuleius. She was believed to be an ordinary Roman lady of no strict moral, who unawares stimulated the outburst of Catullus' poetic talent and the development of his lyrics into a supreme poetic event.

---

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler A. L., *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry*, Los Angeles, 1934, 121-122.

Researches of the later period (XVIII-XIX cc.) treated the issues with far great interest. Before proceeding to the principal point, the paper will briefly present the actual circumstances which scrupulously restored.

Clodia was a rather popular name among Romans. It is mentioned five times in the surviving inscriptions of Verona, the native town of Catullus. A large number of historical documents were examined and the most reliable one was chosen. However, the picture was not much pleasing.

Lesbia-Clodia was a younger sister of Clodius Pulcher, a well-known public tribune, a figure of disrepute. She was born in 95 or 94 B.C., and consequently was 8-10 years older than Catullus. She was married to her own cousin, Metellus Celer, but their marriage was not happy. According to Plutarch, Clodia even planned to divorce her husband and marry Cicero.

Cicero had close relations with Clodius, but then became a bitter enemy to both brother and sister. According to Plutarch, he changed his mind because of his wife who was jealous of Clodia. Whether at his wife's instigations or not, Cicero starts to revile Clodia and speak of her adultery as of something so far unheard of. He claims her responsible for her husband's death. Cicero also speaks of her incestuous relationship with her brother when she moved to his place after her husband's death. He states that the dissolute woman certainly deserves his hatred and that the feeling is mutual.

Such hostile words about Clodia are not fully reliable, but even if some of the numerous accusations expressed by Cicero are true, one can hardly imagine how anybody could ever love such a woman. Anyway, some time earlier, Cicero himself spoke about the magnificent brightness of Clodia's eyes.

Clodia was a lady of high social rank. She was charming, cultivated and shrewd. Cicero's attitude to this woman resembles that of Catullus. In some of Catullus' poems, which can be attributed to the latest period of his love to Clodia, Lesbia is mentioned with the same reviling words. Such likeness of emotions can be explained by one particular personal trait of the lady – evidently, she evoked strong passion but love relations with her would end with violent break.

It is interesting whether Clodia was really Catullus' Lesbia or not. What can be learned about Lesbia from the lyrics? She was a beautiful woman and unfaithfulness was her typical feature. Nevertheless, Rome abounded in such women – there could be hosts of Clodias. However, Catullus' poem cited below rejects such an assumption:

Lesbius est pulcher. quid ni? quem Lesbia malit  
quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua.

sed tanem hic pulcher vendat cum gente Catullum,  
si fria notorum savia repperit.<sup>2</sup>

Analogically with Cicero, this poem alludes to the incest. It is another point whether it refers to a true fact or not; the principal thing is that the poet repeats the same. Lesbius and Lesbia, Clodius and Clodia – the names are obviously parallel. As regards the suggestion of incest, one should bear in mind the Roman tradition of giving names.

Admittedly, Roman women had no own appellations but bore family names. By mentioning Lesbius and Lesbia the poet means that this couple was either father and daughter or brother and sister. Since the first option is less likely in such a context, they were evidently brother and sister. Besides, the recurrent use of the word "pulcher", which was attached to Clodius' name, removes all doubts over the identity of Lesbia with Clodia. However, the cycle of poems devoted to Lesbia have some details that do not fit Clodia. This may prompt us to regard Lesbia as a generalized image. However, they are too insignificant to affect the principal point.

In purely poetic terms, identification of Lesbia with Clodia is not so much relevant. It only helps a researcher to find out how a commonplace reality can be transfigured into the poetic one. Much more significant are the ways and means the poet uses to shape the image of Lesbia as the artistic reality.

Lesbia's particular popularity throughout all epochs since the ancient period is the best evidence to the great artistic significance of the poetic image. Martialis used to say that Lesbia was much more popular in Rome than Fair Helen herself.<sup>3</sup>

Naturally, Lesbia became a source of inspiration for other poets as well. Tibullus called his first book "Delia", and Propertius – "Cynthia". Both names are pseudonyms and were introduced in the poetry after Lesbia. Although Ovid did not call his book "Corinna", the name more closely resembles Lesbia, as its bearer (Corinna) was a distinguished Greek lyric poetess.

When choosing a pseudonym for the beloved the poets followed the following rule: the number and length of vowels of the pseudonym should fully coincide with those of the real name so that both could freely fit in the same poem. When a poet was presenting a copy of his book to his beloved, it should have the real name. The only name which could not be easily replaced with Cynthia was Hostia. According to one particular rule of Latin versifica-

---

<sup>2</sup> Catull. Carm. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Stoessl F., Catull als Epigrammatiker, "Wiener Studien", 1957, LXX, 294.

tion, sound "h" prevents such substitution. However, it was discovered that its folk pronunciation sounded as Fostia – so it also followed the tradition.<sup>4</sup>

The image of the beloved is created according to Catullus' Lesbia. However, despite a large number of the texts (and Propertius and Ovid offer an almost unlimited array of situations), none of the images acquired the like vividness and popularity – all of them remained Lesbia's pale shadows. Naturally, what matters most is the poetic gift; however, all of the three poets were endowed with rare talent and therefore it is not solely the texture of poems that accounts for such a difference; in fact, their approach to the material is different; Catullus is unsophisticated and ingenuous, he avoids abstract and high-flown reasoning.

As mentioned above, there is nothing that could throw light on Lesbia's image and present it more distinctly – neither her looks nor her character traits are described. One can only have an idea on the features that fit Delia, Cynthia and Corinna. All of them are beautiful and very often give grounds for jealousy. From this angle, they are all alike. But what is it that makes Lesbia so much attractive?

The Lesbia poems constitute one cycle quite easily and naturally. Although chronological properties of certain poems are hard to determine, their general contours are so elaborate and neat that readers can easily orientate themselves in Catullus' poetic world, which at first may seem simple but in fact is overflowing with emotions.

Catullus is infatuated with Lesbia but does not seem sure whether his feeling is responsive. The first poem of the cycle originated with Sappho and represents her poem's most precise translation. Only the final lines belong to Catullus. The poem describes the first wonder of the lover. The look, voice and laughter of the desired, in which others take just careless delight, dim the poet's mind and render him incapable to move.

Allusion to Sappho at the very start of their relationship, alongside the fact that Catullus calls the lady Lesbia already in the first poem, is not accidental; it is motivated by realistic circumstances – the poet means to send this creation to his future mistress. He is sure the lady will immediately recognize his poetic lines and will duly appreciate them. Evidently, Catullus knows she is a connoisseur of poetry and is particularly fond of the Lesbos-born poetess. In such circumstances, his address to her as to Lesbia becomes a subtle compliment.

Thereafter starts the cloudless period of their relationship:

---

<sup>4</sup> Die Gedichte des Catullus, Einleitung von A. Riese, Leipzig, IX.

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,  
rumoresque senum severiorum  
omnes unius aestimemus assis.<sup>5</sup>

The same undisturbed feeling dominates two small poems dedicated to Lesbia's bird. The first one pictures Lesbia playing with it; this naive scene provokes such an intimacy in the reader that Lesbia starts to be perceived as someone very much familiar.

The second one, which describes the death of the bird, is written in light and slightly ironic mood. The image of Lesbia with reddened and tearful eyes in the concluding lines adds worm humor to the end of the poem. Readers' liking for Lesbia increases. These small and seemingly idle "nugae" lead in fact to the world of joy and pleasing nonchalance.

The poet admires the beauty of his sweetheart; however, he never describes it directly. He neither mentions her crystal breast nor compares her with sun and moon. Only once, in the minutes of sweet endearment, he mentions the starry heaven (7, 7-8). Comparing his mistress with other fair ladies fills him with indignation (43 and 86) as beauty is erroneously examined through separate features while the overall harmony and grace is neglected.

However, such peaceful delight does not last long. The period of jealousy, temporary partings and reconciliations starts. Catullus convinces himself that it is better to part in time as what was the best in their relations will never come back:

Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,  
et quod vides perisse perditum ducas.  
fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,  
cum ventitabas qoo puella ducebat  
amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of such emotional calls, his decision is not yet strong. It is not easy for him to pull out Lesbia from his heart for good.

When Catullus is driven to despair, he does not spare reviling words. Once he even calls the aristocratic lady a streetwalker:

Caeli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa,  
illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam  
plus quam se atque suos amavit omnes,  
nunc in quadriuis et angiportis  
glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Catull. Carm. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, 8, 1-5.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 58.

Lesbia, although faithful to her lax morals, is not indifferent towards the poet and always succeeds to make it up with him. The poet regrets his bitter words, and his heart is once again filled with a new wave of admiration (107). He tries to believe the sincerity of Lesbia's vows. However, a faint mistrust is still discernible amid the lines.

Before the ultimate break of their relations the poet writes one of his best pieces in which he addresses Lesbia with words of sheer contempt. This poem stirs disputes among researchers as some suggest the woman it describes is not Lesbia.

Adeste, hendecasylabi, quot estis  
omnes, undique, quotquot estis omnes.  
iocum me putat esse moecha turpis  
et negat mihi vestra reddituram  
pugilaria, si pati potestis.  
persequamur eam, et reflagitemus.  
que sit, quaeritis. illa, quam videtis  
turpe incedere, mimice ac moleste  
ridentum catuli ore Gallicani.  
circumsistite eam et reflagitate  
'moecha putida, redde condicillos.'  
'redde, moecha putida, condicillos.'<sup>8</sup>

As we see, the lady has taken away the poems from Catullus and is not going to give them back. A strange situation, is not it? Why does she need them? Can she be so fond of poetry that life without them proves impossible to her? This should have delighted the poet; however, he is exasperated instead, and does not spare scurrilous epithets towards the lady. One may think the poet's behavior lacks psychological grounds. Hence, the situation seems fabricated, which in fact is by no means typical of Catullus' poetry.

If the fact is true and the poet used it to compose his small masterpiece, it may have only one psychological explanation. The relations between the couple are so strained that every trifle thing can anytime bring them to the end. The lady is much concerned with the fate of the poems: they are dedicated to her. The indignant poet may either destroy them or, if they are too dear to him, find a substitution for the dedicatee – there will certainly be host of those willing. The lady is not going to tolerate this.

Let us bear in mind that poetry was highly prestigious in Ancient Rome. Julius Caesar was rather upset when Catullus wrote about him with the scurrility that the great politician admitted was personally damaging and would

---

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 42, 1-12.

leave its mark on history. Caesar made efforts to have Catullus write a few lines giving him praise, and finally succeeded.

So, one can imagine how important the exalted lines were to an attractive lady as they were dedicated to her. Therefore, this poem undoubtedly belongs to the Lesbia cycle. The lady could be Lesbia only.

One more thing to be mentioned in this regard is Catullus' infallible sense of subtle humor which does not fail him even in such an extremely critical situation.

The final break comes soon. The end of this love story, like its start, leads to the Lesbos-born poetess. The final poem resembles the first one; it is also structured to the Sapphic meter. The cycle is closed.

Among the most remarkable properties of the Lesbia cycle in particular and of Catullus' poetry in general is its ingenuousness matched with the naturalness of situations. Besides, it is free of rhetoric and reasoning.

As stated above, Tibullus' Delia, Propertius' Cynthia and Ovid' Corinna are the images inspired by Lesbia. It was also said that they appear pale when compared to Lesbia – not because we lack information about them; what accounts for the difference is the poetic approach, and the ways and means they are depicted through.

Tibullus' Delia is a married woman Like Lesbia. She, too, gives strong cause for jealousy and her affair with the poet ends for the same reason. However, the poet's spiritual moves in each particular situation are not so vividly expressed as they are with Catullus' poems. The latter responds immediately at the manner, voice and gestures of his beloved, and renders his feelings most ingenuously and directly, while in Tibullus' poems the image of the lady is presented indirectly – a whole set of traditional literary motifs intervene between it and the reader.

"I am the soldier of love" states Tibullus at the very start – the same way as Ovid does later. This means that love is his craft. This traditional statement tarnishes the interest towards the image of his mistress. Love appears to be an artistic intention and not a spontaneous, unforeseen emotion. For example, Catullus' extremely laconic line – *vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus* – which expresses his lust for life and the pleasure of intimacy, develops into a whole literary motif with Tibullus:

*Interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores:  
iam veniet tenebris Mors adoperta caput,  
iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit,  
dicere nec cano blanditias capite.*<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Tib. I, 1, 69-73.



"Let's love each other until the old age and death come" – this theme takes ten or even more lines in pentameter and develops into abstract reasoning, which relentlessly kills the expressiveness.

As for the motive "When I die, mourn over me, Delia", it has no parallel in Catullus' poems. The author of the Lesbia poems is so frankly given to either joy or sorrow that he can hardly effort such sentiments. This motif is elaborate literary-wise, and results not from an ingenuous emotion but from deep reasoning.

Such motifs abound in Tibullus' poems: the locked door of the beloved, appeals to witches for help, the motif of a matchmaker and so on.<sup>10</sup> Their detailed overview is impossible in a concise paper; anyway, the mentioned examples are quite sufficient to throw light on its principal objective. Besides, it does not aim to assess Tibullus' poetry – the latter deserves better appreciation than the above-mentioned may suggest. The paper only aims to state that Tibullus' love story when put to verses does not present an integral emotional unity and the image of Delia is less vivid.<sup>11</sup>

As regards Propertius, his poems present a slightly different picture. Similar to Tibullus, he widely uses traditional literary motifs but resorts to abstract reasoning and rhetoric to a greater degree. On the other hand, his poems abound in thoroughly elaborated love situation. In this respect, his poetry is obviously similar to Ovid's.

Propertius frequently uses the scenes of jealousy between a man and a woman that are accompanied with great deal of reasoning and rhetoric, while Catullus presents jealousy as a particular feeling provoked solely by Lesbia. He is not concerned with its general aspects. He expresses his emotional experience in purely lyrical terms while Propertius reasons a lot about jealousy. Some of the arguments are truly interesting; however, they fail to produce the lyrical impact which the author intends to do. His jealousy and even love torments often remain the rhetoric. This rightly compels to question the very existence of his beloved. Sometimes he is love's slave and sometimes its soldier, while love lyrics are his only craft. Besides, the abundance of various love situations dissolves the image of the beloved and creates the impression that it was invented only to facilitate the realization of the scenes.

Propertius' attitude to his mistress is often indifferent and ironical, which provokes the same indifference and irony in the reader. Catullus sometimes does not spare cynical words towards his love, and even pretends indifference; however, he is never either indifferent or ironic. This is simply impossible: Lesbia is the sense of his life.

---

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 1,2, 9-30, 42- 58, 5, 47-56.

<sup>11</sup> Wheeler A. L., *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry*, Los Angeles, 1934, 89.

One of Propertius' poems presents the following theme: At his friend's request "to yield up" Cynthia to him, the poet does not protest but warns the friend that the lady will torture him and bring him close to death. The beloved ceases to be a living being, is almost identified with a thing; and the reader's attitude is adequate.

Propertius' poems include a lot of brilliant pieces; he is the poet of exceptional talent but his Cynthia fails to make up an integral poetic image, especially the impressive one.

Ovid is another soldier of "Amore", and love is his craft – literally and not metaphorically. He wrote the encyclopedia of love all his life. The "Amores", which pictures Corinna, is its first chapter. Corinna's image, or rather the name, was composed after Catullus' poems; however, it has nothing in common with them but the motifs. For example, Ovid transforms Catullus' small piece about the death of a bird into a sizable poem in which an ordinary sparrow is naturally replaced with a motley parrot.

Ovid does not attempt to conceal the fact that Corinna is the generalized image. The poet does not try to render the genuine feeling of love. Neither love nor jealousy is painful for him; they are mere tools for his craft. He tries to describe every possible situation pertinent to love affair. However, he does not reflect the live emotion, and neither attempts to do so. His poetry abounds in rhetoric which he has studied at a professional level. To his credit be it said that he sometimes raises rhetoric to a true poetry.

Ovid is completely opposite to Catullus, who used to seek in poetry for genuine emotions and for the lines that would provoke live experience.

Ovid's feelings are expressed only in "Tristia" written at the end of his life when he suffered a real torture.

Today, the poetry of three elegists (Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid) and the images of their sweethearts have lost their appeal. Despite the high artistic quality of some of the pieces, they are regarded as the material for philological studies rather than the live sources for poetic delight. Literary motives tarnish, become obsolete and require permanent renewal while genuine emotions, if rendered in fine artistic terms, do not easily yield to changeability of time, break through the frames of a dead language and continue to live even at present. Hence, authenticity and ingenuousness is what accounts for Catullus' and his Lesbia's surprising vitality.

Lewan Gordesiani (Tbilisi)

## DER TROIANISCHE KRIEG IN DEN LINEAR-B-TEXTEN?<sup>1</sup>

Krieg um Troia/Wilios – eine bronzezeitliche Geschichte oder dichterische Phantasie? Trotz dem riesigen Fortschritt in der Troia-Forschung des letzten Jahrzehntes, bleibt diese Frage offen.<sup>2</sup> Natürlich bin ich nicht geneigt, die *Ilias* als ein historisches Werk zu betrachten und da eine genaue Beschreibung eines konkreten Krieges zu sehen. Der Troianische Krieg ist die einzige in der mythologischen Tradition aufbewahrte große außenpolitische Aktion der Achäer. Vermutlich handelt es um ein Idealbild des Krieges, das von Episoden verschiedener Kriege zusammengestellt wurde. Es ist nicht zufällig, dass seine Datierung laut antiken Autoren zwischen 1334-1135 v. Chr. schwankt und die modernen Forscher hier Elemente sowohl der Kriege aus der mykenischen Blütezeit als auch von den späteren militärischen Auseinandersetzungen sehen. So z.B., findet F. Schachermeyr in der *Ilias* Spuren der griechischen Teilnahme in den Seevölkerzügen, die Troia VIIa um 1180 v. Chr. zerstörten.<sup>3</sup> Dazu passt die von Eratosthenes stammende und in der Antike die meistverbreitete Datierung des Troianischen Krieges: 1184/3. Einige Episoden könnten auch die aiolische Kolonisation und Zerstörung von Troia VIIb in Jahre 1050 v. Chr., oder sogar den Kampf zwischen den Ioniern und Aioliern um Homers Heimatstadt Smyrna im VIII. Jh. widerspiegeln.<sup>4</sup>

Und doch meine ich, dass der *Ilias* die Geschichte eines wichtigen Krieges zugrunde liegt, die durch die Details anderer mehr oder weniger erfolgreichen Züge ergänzt wurde.

---

<sup>1</sup> Die Hauptthesen des Artikels wurden im Mai 2002 in Universität Tübingen vorgetragen.

<sup>2</sup> Zum Forschungsstand s. z.B., den Ausstellungskatalog *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*. Stuttgart 2001; J. Latacz, *Troia und Homer. Der Weg zur Lösung eines alten Rätsels*. München, Berlin 2001.

<sup>3</sup> F. Schachermeyr, *Die griechische Rückerinnerung im Lichte neuer Forschungen*. Wien 1983, 32 f.

<sup>4</sup> W. Gauer, *Topographica Homerica. Orbis Terrarum* 3/1997, 68 ff.

Heute ist die Identifikation des homerischen Troia/Ilios mit Wilusa der hethitischen Texten und mit den berühmten Grabungen auf dem Hügel Hisarlik wahrscheinlich nicht mehr strittig. Wie die Grabungen unter der Leitung von M. Korfmann gezeigt haben, war Wilusa ein wichtiger bronzezeitlicher Herrschersitz und Handelsort, dessen Reichtum und Bedeutung mit der Kontrolle über die Handelsrouten (besonders über den Weg zum Schwarzen Meer) verbunden sein sollte. Das Interesse an der Sicherheit dieser Routen war ein stabiler Grund für die Existenz einer Koalition der benachbarten Stadtstaaten, die sowohl dem Hethiterkönig Tudhalias (CTH 142), als auch dem Autor der *Ilias* (B 816-877) bekannt war. Diese strategisch gut gelegene und reiche Stadt Wilusa hätten die großen und aggressiven Nachbarn – Hethiter und Achäer gerne als Untertan gehabt. Die hethitischen Texte berichten uns von den relativ erfolgreichen kriegerischen und diplomatischen Bemühungen der Hethiter in dieser Richtung und den einzelnen Raubzügen der Griechen.<sup>5</sup> Die Erinnerung an einen großen Achäerangriff gegen Troia-Wilusa ist bis heute leider nur im griechischen Epos erhalten, aber es ist klar, dass ein Sieg über so einen ernsten Gegner wie die Koalition von Wilusa war, könnte für die Griechen eine außerordentliche Heldentat sein.

Wann sollte der Krieg stattgefunden haben, der den Kern der Troia-Geschichte bildete? Wahrscheinlich nur in der Blütezeit der mykenischen Paläste. Die Achäer übernahmen die minoische Hegemonie in der Ägäis nach der Santorinkatastrophe um 1500 v. Chr. Kurz danach erscheint das mykenische Material an der Westküste Kleinasiens – Milet, Troia.<sup>6</sup> Die mykenischen Paläste und vermutlich auch das Reich von Mykene wurden um 1200 v. Chr. zerstört. Folglich ist das Datum unseres Krieges in den XV-XIII Jahrhunderten zu suchen. Dem archäologischen Material nach wurde die spätbronzezeitliche Troia zweimal zerstört: Troia VIIh um 1300 v. Chr. und Troia VIIa (VII<sup>i</sup>) um 1180.<sup>8</sup> Diese letzte Plünderung war Ergebnis einer kriegerischen Aktion, aber zu dieser Zeit gab es keinen Großreich der Achäer mehr. So kommt scheinbar nur 1300 v. Chr. – die Zerstörung von Troia VI in Frage. Die Tatsache, dass die Mauern dieser Schicht vom Erdbeben beschädigt waren, spricht nicht unbedingt gegen eine Belagerung der Stadt. Laut F. Schachermayr hat die Dichtung den Beistand des rossegestaltigen Erdschütterers und Erdbebengottes Poseidon in den Holzcross verwandelt.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> S. z.B., T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford 1998, 140 ff., 210 ff., 244 ff., 321 ff., 392 ff.; W.D. Niemeier, *Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor*, Aegaeum 19, 1999, 141 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P.A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7, 1997, 275 ff.

<sup>7</sup> M. Korfmann, *Studia Troica* 14, 2004, 5.

<sup>8</sup> P.A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 253 ff.

<sup>9</sup> F. Schachermeyr, *Griechische Frühgeschichte*. Wien 1984, 114 f.

Obwohl ich diese Datierung nicht ablehnen möchte, scheinen mir auch andere Möglichkeiten beachtenswert. Im Epos sollte ein erfolgreicher Krieg zum völligen Sieg führen – Zerstörung der Stadt, Mord der Männer und Versklavung der Frauen und Kinder. Aber in den XIV-XIII Jahrhunderten könnte ein Krieg auch andere Ziele verfolgen, sei es Kontrolle über die Handelsrouten oder das Einsetzen eines erwünschten Kandidaten zur Herrschaft. Ein Holzross könnte vielleicht auch einen diplomatischen Sieg symbolisieren.

Achäer erscheinen in den hethitischen Texten seit der Wende der XV-XIV Jahrhunderte als eine aggressive und ernstzunehmende Macht. Am Anfang der hethitisch-achäischen Beziehungen stand ein Attarsiya-Atreus.<sup>10</sup> Sein Eindringen ins hethitische Kerngebiet wurde nur durch die Kombination der militärischen und diplomatischen Aktionen verhindert (KUB 14.1). Die Spuren dieser Ereignisse könnte man vielleicht in den kleinasiatischen Abenteuern von Herakles sehen.<sup>11</sup>

Danach waren die Beziehungen von den zwei Reichen mal friedlich, mal gespannt oder sogar feindlich. In den hethitischen Texten sind mehrere Kriege im westlichen Kleinasien beschrieben, keiner davon kann aber offensichtlich mit dem Troianischen Krieg identifiziert werden.

Die Analyse verschiedener Quellen lässt mich an drei mögliche Datierungen denken:

1. um 1300 v. Chr. – Nach den erfolgreichen Zügen von Mursilis II. nach Westen und der Zerstörung von Milawanda-Milet (1316) hatten Pest und politische Schwierigkeiten im Hethiterreich (vgl. CTH 376 § 6ff.) den Achäern Möglichkeit gegeben, an die Rache zu denken. In der Preamble des Muwatali-Alaksandus-Vertrages (CTH 76 §§ 4-6) sind kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen beschrieben, die man heute leider nicht genau lesen kann. Vielleicht war da von der Zerstörung von Troia VI h die Rede. Dazu passt auch die abgerundete Datierung des Duris von Samos ("Tausend Jahre vor Alexander" = 1334). Das ungefähre Datum von Herodotos ("800 Jahre vor meiner Zeit" = ca. 1250) kann für das ganze XIII Jahrhundert gelten.

2. um 1260 v. Chr. – während des Urhi-Tessub-Hattusili-Konflikts hatten die Achäer gute Möglichkeiten, an der Westküste Kleasiens ihre Macht anzusetzen. Ein diplomatischer Versuch die Spannung zwischen zwei Großreichen zu lösen ist im sog. "Tawagalawa-Brief" (KUB 14. 3) erhalten. Ein Hethiterkönig, wahrscheinlich Hattusili III., spricht hier den Achäerkönig

<sup>10</sup> Diese Identifikation stammt von E. Forrer und wurde von F. Schermeier (*Mykene und das Hethiterreich*, Wien 1986, 161 ff.) übernommen.

<sup>11</sup> L. Gardesiani, *Mykenisches Grossreich – Tradition und Realität*, *Phasis* 2-3, Tbilisi 2000, 153.

als "Bruder" und "gleichrängig" – *annawališ* an. Atreus hatte den Status des "fast gleichrängigen" – *kuriwannaš* erlangt (KUB 14. 1), auch im Muwatalli-Alaksandus-Vertrag ist der Achäer noch nicht in der Liste der Großkönige. Seine "Promotion" könnte vielleicht auch mit dem Sieg im Troianischen Krieg verknüpft sein.

3. um 1210 v. Chr. – falls wir der Datierung von Marmor Parium folgen. Ich glaube der Tudhalias-Sausgamuwa-Vertrag kann nicht dagegen sprechen. Wie bekannt, hat der Schreiber den Achäerkönig in der Liste der damaligen Großkönige neben dem Phrao und den Herrschern von Hatti, Babylon und Assyrien genannt, später getilgt (CTH 105 §11). Diese Tatsache darf nicht unbedingt ein Zeichen des Untergangs des mykenischen Großreichs bedeuten.<sup>12</sup> Vielleicht könnte man hier den Moment des Herrscherwechsels sehen. Der neue König, sogar falls er rechtmäßig und problemlos die Macht bekommen hätte, sollte noch seine Position festigen und die internationale Anerkennung erlangen um "Großkönig" genannt zu sein.

Einen indirekten Hinweis für solche Datierung könnte man in den pylischen Linear-B-Texten der Serien PY Aa, Ab, Ad finden, wo ca. 1500 Frauen und Kinder aufgezählt sind.

Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Frauen ist in den Texten nicht genannt. Die meisten Forscher sind jedoch der Meinung, dass es sich um Sklaven handelt.<sup>13</sup> Die Gruppen der Frauen sind unterschiedlich bezeichnet:

durch den Beruf;

durch den Namen des "Herren", wahrscheinlich des Werkstattleiters;

c. durch ihre Herkunft: a-swi-ja, ki-ni-di-ja, ki-si-wi-ja, ku-te-ra-o, mi-ra-ti-ja, ra-mi-ni-ja, ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>3</sub>, ti-nwa-si-ja-o, ki-ma-ra, ko-ro-ki-ja.

Die meisten stammen von den von Pylos recht weit gelegenen Ländern: ki-ni-di-ja, mi-ra-ti-ja, ra-mi-ni-ja, a-<sup>\*</sup>64-ja (a-swi-ja), ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>3</sub>, ki-si-wi-ja, ku-te-ra<sub>3</sub> – Knidos, Milet, Lemnos, Asia,<sup>14</sup> Zephyria (Halikarnassos),<sup>15</sup> Chios, Kythera. Analog zu den knossischen Texten, wo "gekaufte Sklaven" (qi-ri-ja-to do-e-ro : KN Ai 1037, B 822, B 988) erwähnt sind, könnte man auch im

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. F. Starke, *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*. Stuttgart 2001, 37 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Die Idee stammt von T.B.L. Webster (BICS 1, 1954, 11 ff.). S. z.B. auch Я.А. Ленцман, *Рабство в микенской и гомеровской Греции*, Москва, 1963; J. Chadwick, *The Women of Pylos*. *Studies Bennett*, 1988, 90 ff. Vgl. J.T. Killen, *Epigraphy and Interpretation in Knossos WOMAN and CLOTH Records*. *Studies Bennett*, 1988, wo die Frauen als "abhängige Arbeitskraft" bezeichnet ist. Vgl. F.J. Tritsch, *The Women of Pylos*. *Minoica*, 1958, 423 ff.; A. Heubeck, *Lineartafeln*, 50 ff.; Y. Garlan, *Les esclaves en Grèce ancienne*. Paris, 1982, 40.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. heth. Aššuwa, klass. Assos (F. Starke, *Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend*, *Studia Troica* 7, Mainz 1997, 456).

<sup>15</sup> Zur Identifikation Halikarnassos=Zephyria s. Strabo 14.656.

Fall dieser Frauen an die gekauften Sklavinnen denken.<sup>16</sup> Aber im Knossos wurden einzelne "Sklaven" verkauft und selbst beim "Kaufen" wird wahrscheinlich ein Transfer des Dieners von einer Wirtschaftszelle zur anderen gemeint. Es ist weniger glaubwürdig, dass Frauen auf dem Sklavenmarkt zusammen mit ihren Kinder gekauft wurden.

Diese Frauen waren m.E. Kriegesbeute der Achäer.<sup>17</sup> Gerade vor solchem Schicksal hatten die Troianerinnen laut der *Ilias* Angst und die Praxis der Deportation der Bevölkerung nach einem Militärunternehmen – war es ein Räuberzug oder eine Eroberung – ist in den altorientalischen Quellen gut bezeugt.<sup>18</sup>

Die als Kriegesbeute nach Pylos gebrachten Frauen und Kinder bildeten relativ große Gruppen, die der Herkunft nach genannt wurden. Später wurden die Frauen einzelnen Werkstätten oder beruflichen Gruppen zugeteilt.

Im Fall von Milesierinnen dürfte dieser Prozeß auch in den Texten bezeugt sein. Insgesamt sind es mindestens 70 Frauen aus Milet aufgezählt, die wahrscheinlich nicht gleichzeitig nach Messenien gebracht wurden. Die größere Gruppe hatte nur eine Bezeichnung, der Herkunft nach, und die Frauen hatten keine älteren Söhne (Aa 798, Ab 382). Sie waren wahrscheinlich neuerworben. Die kleineren Gruppen der Milesierinnen hatten schon Doppelbezeichnungen und erwachsene Söhne. Im Text Ad 380 sind die Jünglinge "Söhne der Spinnerinnen aus Milet" (mi-ra-ti-ja-o a-ra-te-ja-o) genannt, in Ad 689 – "Söhne der Milesierinnen des Asopios" (mi-ra-ti-ja-o a-so-qi-je-ja).

Im Laufe der Zeit wurden die Gruppen der Landsleute getrennt und anstatt derer ethnisch bunte, rein berufliche Gruppen gebildet. Folglich waren alle Gruppen, sowohl die beruflichen als auch dem Leiter einer Werkstatt unterstellten, hauptsächlich von den Kriegsgefangenen fremder Herkunft zusammengestellt.

Einen indirekten Hinweis dafür könnte man im Text Ad 684 finden. Die Jünglinge sind als Söhne der zur Zeit in Pylos tätigen Weberinnen aus ti-nwa-to bezeichnet, aber auch als Söhne der Ruderer aus a-pu-ne-we. A-pu-ne-we sollte eine Küstenstadt sein. Ti-nwa-to war ein von Pylos und vielleicht auch vom Meer entfernter Ort. Es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass die Weberinnen eines

---

<sup>16</sup> Chadwick 1988, 92.

<sup>17</sup> Weber 1989, 46; J. Latacz, *Der große Nachbar im Westen: die Griechen. Was wussten sie von Troia. Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart 2001, 56.

<sup>18</sup> NAM.RA=ŠALLATU=arnuwalaš.

Ortes die Gattinnen der Ruderer eines anderen Ortes sein könnten. Logischer scheint andere Erklärung: Ruderer von a-pu-ne-we haben von einem Raubzug die Frauen mitgebracht und sie eine Weile für sich behalten, da es im Text Jünglinge von zwei Altersgruppen verzeichnet sind. Später wurden die Frauen von der Palastadministration nach ti-nwa-to geschickt, zur Zeit der Textfassung schon als Weberinnen aus ti-nwa-to zurück nach Pylos gebracht.

Ein Teil der Frauen war nach Pylos infolge der Raubzüge gekommen, aber ständige erfolgreiche Raubzüge der Messenier zu der Westküste Kleinasien, die Versorgung des Palastes von Pylos mit der Arbeitskraft im bezeugten Maße ermöglichten, sind nicht leicht vorstellbar. Als Importeure der Sklaven ins griechische Kernland könnte man die Stützpunkte der Achäer in Kleinasien, in erster Linie, Milet betrachten. War aber Milet und die Umgebung zur Zeit der Verfassung unserer Texte im mykenischen Machtgebiet? Sowohl die hethitischen Texte, als auch das archäologische Material sprechen dafür, dass die Vorherrschaft über Millawanda-Milet in zwanziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts von Ahhijawa auf Hattusa übergegangen ist.<sup>19</sup> Was aber danach geschah, davon schweigen die Texte.

Der größte Teil der Frauen könnte nach Messenien auch als Anteil des pylyischen Königs in der Kriegesbeute eines gemeingriechischen Unternehmens kommen. Ein solches Unternehmen unter der Führung des mykenischen Großkönigs sollte auch der Troianische Krieg sein.

Ohne den Anspruch zu erheben, dass ich den schriftlichen Beweis des Troianischen Krieges gefunden habe, möchte ich doch betonen, dass der größte Teil der ohne Herkunftsbezeichnung genannten 405 Frauen in dem Zeitabschnitt zwischen 1220 und 1210 als Kriegsbeute nach Pylos verschleppt wurde. Man kann nur raten, war das Ergebnis eines großen Krieges oder mehrerer kleinen.

Von den drei Möglichkeiten bevorzuge ich die die letzte und nicht nur deswegen, dass ich die Linear-B-Texte zur Lösung des Troia-Rätsels verwenden möchte. Sie gibt die Antwort auf die Frage, wie es geschehen ist, dass der Krieg, der von den Hethitern ungeachtet blieb oder für ein nicht besonders wichtiges Abenteuer gehalten wurde, von den Griechen höher geschätzt wurde, als alle anderen Siege, sogar z.B. die Eroberung von Kreta. Das war nicht der grösste Sieg, nur der letzte. Entsprechend, wer an die Troia-Geschichte glauben will, darf ruhig weiter glauben, ohne einen archäologischen oder literarischen Beweis eines grossen Krieges zu brauchen.

---

<sup>19</sup> S. z.B., W.D. Niemeier, Hattusa und Ahhijawa im Konflikt um Millawanda/Milet, *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*, Bonn 2002, 298.



Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)

## THE ISSUE OF DESCENT OF THE DEITY MARS

An attempt to identify the functions of Roman deity Mars has been made in many research works.<sup>1</sup> Particular interest towards this god is motivated by his participation in so-called Roman genealogical myths. The father of Romulus and Remus, the main character of one of the earliest patterns of the surviving folk poetry, has for a long time remained in science in the shade of the Greek god of war Ares, and was perceived as his Roman interpretation.

Now "justice is restored", and under the influence of Greek mythology, he re-acquired the role of the god of war for the second time, though his primary function has not been definitely identified.

I believe that obtaining further insight into the essence of the problem is impossible without taking into consideration the "Italian context" of the Roman deity. In this case I mean the pantheon of the peoples living on the Apennines peninsula and participation of Mars' namesake gods in the formation of functions of the Roman deity.

These mythological characters and gods are: of Marsians – Marsia, Marsos, of Auzons – Mares, and Etruscan – Maris.

Let us consider the existing information on each of the deities, which in first two cases is fully based on literary sources.

---

<sup>1</sup> Georg Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultur d. Römer*, 2. Auflage, München, 1912, U. W. Scholz, *Studien z. altitalischen u. altrömischen Marskult u. Marsmythos*, Heidelberg, 1970, E. Simon, *Il dio Marte nell'arte dell' Italia Centrale*, Studi Etruschi, XLVI, 1978, 135-74, G. Hermansen, *Studien über d. Italischen u d. römischen Mars*, Copenhagen, 1940; Attilio Mastrocinque, *Ricerche sulle religioni italiche*, vol. LXI. 1996, etc.

Several words should be said about the ethnonym of Marsians. Marsians, ancient inhabitants of Italy, associated their ethnonym with Lidian king Marsyas.<sup>2</sup> In Bayet's opinion, the legend about Marsyas' coming to Italy, which is included in the Roman Caco myth, is an absolutely extraneous element and was created under Greek and Etruscan influence in Capua in approximately the IV century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The other parallel version explaining Marsians eponym is more trustworthy, and links Marsians with Circe's (Medea's) son, Marsos.<sup>4</sup>

Some scholars consider archaism of this version quite convincing since Circe's or Medea's participation (here I mean the goddesses of fecundity in general, whose names were later substituted for Circe) in formation of ethnonyms of different Italian tribes is rather widespread.<sup>5</sup>

In the paper "Circe and Italy" I have already discussed Italian legends about Circe and the motives of their association with Circe. In this paper, along with other goddesses, I considered Marsian goddess Angitia concealed under the name Circe (or Medea).<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, in the opinion of most of researchers, the myth about Marsos, in which he is either Angitia's husband or son, has to do with early Roman epoch, and its appearance in Marsian mythology is not related to an attempt of cultural unification of Italic tribes by the Romans.

What was Marsos' functions? There is no exact answer to this question; however, if one takes into consideration that his mother or wife was a goddess of fecundity and her descendants – Marsians had a reputation of snake-charmers,<sup>7</sup> one can suppose that Mars represented a chthonic and vegetative deity.

There are two different myths about Auzon deity Mares. In accordance with the first version, which is confirmed by Diodor, Mares was considered the son of Circe and Odysseus, the ancestor of Auzons.<sup>8</sup>

According to other myth, the ancestor of Auzons Mares was a centaur who lived 123 years and rose from the dead three times.

<sup>2</sup> Plin., nat., III 108, Silv., VIII, 502-504, Sol., II, 6, Osid., Orig., IX, 2, 88.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bayet, *Les Origines de l'Hercule romain*, Paris, 1926, 214.

<sup>4</sup> Plin., nat., XXV, 11; Gell, XVI, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cesare Letta, *I Marsi e il fucino nell' antichità*, Centro studi e documentazione sull' Italia, Romana. Monografie supplemente degli Atti 3, Milano, 1972, 53.

<sup>6</sup> E. Kobakhidze, *Circe and Italy, Caucasia*, *The Journal of Caucasian Studies*, Vol. 5, 2002, TSU, 70-80. (in Russian).

<sup>7</sup> Sernius, ad. Aen., VII.

<sup>8</sup> Diod., V. 7.

This version of the myth was preserved by Elianus. It is true that Elianus wrote in Greek but he never left Italy.<sup>9</sup> He was born in Palestre (present Preneste), knew the land of Auzons well, and narrated the following:

"Τὴν Ἰταλίαν ᾤκησαν πρῶτοι Αὔσονες αὐτοχθόνες. πρεσβύτατον δὲ γένεσθαι Μάρην τινὰ καλούμενον, οὗ τὰ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπῳ ὅμοια, τὰ τὰ κατόπισθεν δὲ ἕππῳ. αὐτὸ δὲ τούνομα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φασὶν ἵππομιγῆς δύναται. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι πρῶτος ἕππον ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ χαλινόν, εἶτα ἐκ τούτου διφυῆς πιστευθῆναι. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ἑκατόν, καὶ ὅτι τρεῖς ἀποθανῶν ἀνεβίω τρεῖς· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ πιστὰ δοκοῦσιν".<sup>10</sup>

In the opinion of many scholars, Mares is a centaur, and has to do with chthonic powers.<sup>11</sup>

In particular, it should be noted that the age of the centaur (123) is in certain relation with the duration of Etruscan saeculum, which is confirmed by Censorinus.<sup>12</sup>

Mares' threefold rising from the dead is related to another Etruscan character from Palestre – Erulus, who rose from the dead three times, and who is the mythical son of goddess Feronia.<sup>13</sup> Some scholars consider the 3 Mares represented on the Preneste trunk by different epithets reflect this myth.<sup>14</sup>

The Auzon fecundity goddess Marica,<sup>15</sup> whose temple<sup>16</sup> was discovered in Gariliano, has some relation with Auzon Maris.

Compared to Marsian Mares and Auzon Marsos, relatively more information can be found about Etruscan Maris. Besides literary sources, there is also archaeological material at our disposal: vases, mirrors, temples, gothic statues, inscriptions, etc.

The problem is created by the information about Maris which may at first seem unsystematic. At the same time, the existence of two layers, chronological and ethnical ones, is confirmed. Identification of Maris with Ares must be related to a later layer, though it must be said that later in mythological scenes shown on Etruscan vases Ares is depicted not as Maris but as the Etruscan deity of war Laran. I believe that this substitution was made after understanding Ares' cult, unlike the first case when Ares, in my opinion, was mechani-

<sup>9</sup> Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist.* 31, 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Varia Historia*, IX, 16.

<sup>11</sup> U.W. Scholz, mentioned in the work, 72-78.

<sup>12</sup> Censorinus, *De die natali*, XVII, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Studien* 62 f.

<sup>14</sup> G. Hermansen, *Mares, Maris, Mars and the Archaic Gods SE*, Vol., LII, 1986.

<sup>15</sup> *Serv., Aen.*, XII, 164, *Verg., Aen.*, VIII, 47.

<sup>16</sup> Aelianus, *Var. hist.*, IX, 16; E. La Forgia, *Nuove osservazioni sul tempio di Marica*, *Aion. Archst. An.* XIV, 1992, 69-76.

cally identified with Maris because of the similarity of the names in imitating the patterns of Greek art in Etruria (comp. ARES-MARES).

What functions did Etruscan Maris have? In spite of the existing diversity of opinions, most of scholars consider this Etruscan deity as a bearer of vegetative and chthonic powers.<sup>17</sup>

The format of the paper does not allow for a broader consideration of this issue. I only want to note that I am guided by the perception of Etruscan Mares as a chthonic deity, and as an additional argument, I adduce a bronze model of liver found in Piacenza that was used for divination. Among the names of deities listed on it, Maris is mentioned twice in the following forms: Mari and Marisl Laθ, where the first form is a shortened version and the second one is an epithet. In both cases Maris is represented surrounded by deities embodying natural vital powers (Cilens, Erth – delivery patronizing deity, fufluns – the god of fecundity).

Is Maris, like Auzon Mares and Marsian Marsos, related to the genealogical myth or not?

I believe this relation really exists, which is verified by the identification of Maris's parents. In the opinion of some scholars, Maris's mother is Menrva, others believe that it is Turan<sup>18</sup> (the latter must be the goddess of fecundity). I have already expressed my supposition concerning Turan and related her to fecundity and revival powers.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, one of the epithets of Maris turans and Maris – "menita" or "bringing", verified by Maris's images, is also connected with the etymology of the word "turan" (tur – "quest, dedication"). Thus, here the relation of the goddess of fecundity to the chthonic god is also evident.

Scholars call Hercle the father of Maris, based on the mythological scenes depicted on Etruscan ceramics.<sup>20</sup> I, on my part, can add that we can see Hercle beside Maris on the bronze liver model. I will not draw your attention to Hercle since I have already expressed my ideas and arguments concerning him.<sup>21</sup> I only want to point out that Hercle is in direct relation to Etruscan genealogical myth in accordance with which Hercle appears as Etruscan Pater indiges.

According to the existing data, the information about Mars, given in the myths of the peoples and tribes of ancient Italy, can be presented in the following way:

---

<sup>17</sup> Grenier., A., *Les religions, étrusque et romaine*, Paris, 1948, 41; A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etruca*, Graz, 1975, 249-250.

<sup>18</sup> A. J. Pfiffig, mentioned in the work., 249.

<sup>19</sup> E. Kobakhidze, *Turan – The Goddess of Love? MNEME*, logos, Tbilisi, 2000, 127-133. (in Georgian)

<sup>20</sup> G. Hermansen, mentioned in the work, 154-155.

<sup>21</sup> E. Kobakhidze, "Italian Heracles", logos, 2, logos, 2002, 174-182 (in Georgian).

Auzonians  
 Circe – Odysseus (?)  
 ↓  
 Marsos – Angitia  
 ↓  
 Marsians

Auzons  
 Circe – Odysseus (?)  
 ↓  
 Maris – Marica  
 ↓  
 Auzons

Etruscans  
 Uni – Tinia  
 ↓  
 Hercle – Menrva  
 ↓  
 Maris – Turan  
 ↓  
 Etruscans

It is obvious that, out of the three schemes, the Etruscan version is the most complete and least influenced by Greek influence, and, in my opinion, it is a prototype of Marsian and Auzon versions.

What kind of Roman is Mars, how does he correspond to the context of "Italian version" of Mars? Let us compare Italian schemes with the scheme of Roman deities:

Juno – Jupiter  
 ↓  
 Mars – Rea-Silvia  
 ↓  
 Romulus, Remus  
 ↓  
 1-st "Romans"

The scheme clearly shows the relation to Rea-Silvia as fecundity powers (comp. the etymology of the name), and to the fact that Mars appears as the father of the first Romans. This information about Roman Mars, Romulus and Remus should indicate the relation of the existing myth to Etruscan mythological reality, or to Etruscan Mares. Interesting is the trace of relation be-

tween Hercules and Mars in Roman mythology; in particular, it should not be a mere coincidence that Hercules, like Mars had rocks as pagan priests.<sup>22</sup>

In the end, let us consider the etymology of the name. Here scholars' opinions differ and some of them believe that Roman Mars originated from Etruscan Mares, others think the other way. There are those who consider these terms separately.<sup>23</sup> In my opinion, for identification of etymology, first of all, the productivity of the stem should be considered. For instance in case with Mars, the stem of which is Mart, I do not share the idea about the productivity of the stem (here I mean, first of all, verb stems and not the proper names, the productivity of which is secondary).

Etruscan Maris, whose stem should evidently be Mar- (comp. Mari – mar, mars) which is expressed in verb forms: mar, mare, marv, marcne, marcni, etc. The meaning of this verb is related to votic sphere.

In consideration of Maris' etymology, I believe, three circumstances should be taken into account:

1. In my opinion, the word combination Maris turans, which is verified by Etruscan image of Maris, can possibly mean not the son of Turan but a man, a husband (comp. Maritus – a husband, mas, maris – a man) comp. to the song dedicated to marmar – mars.

2. There is a stem  $\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\xi$  in Greek language (young man), the etymology of which is not yet known, and some scholars associate the ancient Greek world with Etruscan Maris.<sup>24</sup>

3. It is interesting that a similar stem exists in Svan language as well. "Mare" means a young man.

I believe in the end it is possible to restore the "mythological core" which the inhabitants of the Mediterranean region of the ancient Greece and Italy "handed over" to Etruscans, and was metamorphosed in their mythology.

I

Zeus – Alkmene – Greek

Tin – Uni – Etruscan

II

Heracles – Medea – Greek

Heracle – Menrva, Catha – Etruscan

III

Maris – Turan (Cavatha) – Etruscan

Greek –

<sup>22</sup> Serv., Verg. Aen., VII, 285; Ovid. Fast., III, 12, 7.

<sup>23</sup> A. J. Pfiffig, Die Etruskische Sprache, Graz, 1969, 249.

<sup>24</sup> In this connection, see E. Kobakhidze, Etruscan Cult Terminology (semantics, genesis), logos, Tbilisi, 2001, 103 (in Georgian).

The story of the marriage of Greek Heracles and Medea in the other world was preserved in Greek mythology.

Thus, Roman Mars represents an example of cult borrowing from Etruscan Maris who, in its turn, is associated to one of well known main characters of a famous genealogical myth of the Mediterranean region.

Obviously, his father Heracles must be Hercle who also was a very important god among the autochthonic population of the whole Mediterranean region. Greek mythology did not preserve the name of Mars. Mars' function is patronizing of chthonic powers, and through his union with the goddess of fecundity the ethnos is born.

Ekaterine Lortkipanidze (Tbilisi)

**THE STRUCTURE OF CONFLICT IN THE SHORT STORY  
"WHO WAS MY BROTHER'S KILLER?" BY GEORGIOS M.  
VIZYENOS**

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the method of structural analysis has been widely applied in a number of humanity fields including literary studies. It is difficult to argue whether every investigation of a structural nature has its effect on philological studies or not; however, it is not inappropriate to note that some of the analyses really show new ways and directions as regards the unbiased and thorough study of the literary processes of various epochs.

Depending on the subject of interest, structure and its constituent elements may be considered in various ways. Each researcher in a particular case may identify the elements of structure necessary to carry out a particular analysis. However, at the same time, the structure of every single piece of fiction includes a set of universal elements, the ratio of which follows the same regular pattern in the micro-system (i.e. in separate parts), as well as the macro-system (i.e. the whole structure of the work). One may speak of a certain universal model of art and literature that marks all epochs and the whole artistic production of a particular age may be regarded as one of its versions. Such model permanently alters – even if an artist is unaware of the process – and every single sphere of artistic activity reflects the changes to a surprising extent.

The paper offers the analysis of a short story "Who Was My Brother's Killer?" which belongs to G. Vizyenos, one of the most interesting Greek authors of the XIX century. The principal focus of the analysis is the structure of the conflict that underlies the story.

The plot starts with the dialogue between Despinio and her two sons at one of the hotel rooms in Constantinople. Mother tells her sons about the death of their brother. Despinio's son, Hristakis, was killed in ambiguous circumstances after he had started as a postman and replaced perfidious and



sly Haralambis from his village, whom he closely resembled by appearance. The victim's parent is determined to revenge.

Search for the murderer lead Despinio to Constantinople. At this moment, a Turk youngster, Kiamil, whom she has saved in past, and his mother enter the hotel room. Mikhailos tells his brother how he first met Kiamil. It was Despinio who long time ago, in a foreign country helped a wounded Turk left to the mercy of fate by taking him to her home and nursing him like her own son. When Hristakis learned that her mother was taking care of a wounded Turk, he did not wish to return home and lived with his uncle throughout that period.

After Despinio arrives in Constantinople to find her son's murderer, the Turk's family helps her a lot. However, the truth is revealed only after Kiamil tells the following story: He eye-witnessed the murder of his blood brother as they were riding to Constantinople. Kiamil himself had a narrow escape. The father of the murdered appealed him to revenge. Wounded Kiamil, abandoned in the foreign land, was sheltered by Despinio, who nursed him like her own son. After Kiamil recovered, he found out who his blood brother's murderer was and ambushed him at the very place of the murder. The sly postman noticed a suspicious person and escaped. Then he managed to have Hristakis replace him as a postman so that he could avoid death. Fifteen days later, when Haralambis was to take the same path, Kiamil ambushed him and achieved his aim. However, he was fated to kill his stepmother's son instead of his blood brother's murderer. Kiamil has been absolutely certain that he took revenge for his blood brother's murder. It is only at the end of the story that he discovers the murderer of his stepmother's son he has been looking for so eagerly is he himself. He becomes responsible before the law for the crime committed; however, Despinio is absolutely unaware of the true course of events. After three years, the released prisoner, whose hearing and speaking faculties are sharply impaired, leaves his homeland and becomes his stepmother's servant.

The structure of conflict is clearly formed in the story and it is characterized by strictly defined static character of opposite arguments.

As a rule, the conflict based on the principle of binary opposition consists of the following items: an argument A (represented by a single individual, a group of people, a country, etc.) with a negative function (it is violent, unfair, cruel, etc.), which is opposed by argument B with a positive function (with the aim to neutralize A). Based on this structure, a conflict may develop in various ways: B may neutralize A, bringing the conflict to an end; or acquire a negative function after the neutralization and be opposed by A or those de-



leads to the tragic outcome through the chain reaction. The first fatal event in the story "Who Was My Brother's Killer?" is the sly postman's (an argument with the definitely negative function) attempt to have somebody else looking like him occupy his position as soon as he realizes that he is in danger of being murdered. This person turns out to be Hristakis, the writer's brother and the son of the central character of the story. The mention of the resemblance<sup>2</sup> is the first occasion that highlights the impact of destiny on the characters' fate. Resemblance in the appearances of Hristakis and Haralambis – two heroes with opposite character traits – lays the foundation for the forthcoming conflict. The second fatal event is the fact that during the whole time Despinio took care of the wounded Turk, Hristakis never appeared at home and stayed in his uncle's house for seven months. Thus, Hristakis and Kiamil never met. This fact became one of the reasons for the forthcoming tragedy. If Kiamil had known Hristakis, he would not have killed him.

The principal conflict of the story is between the postman and Kiamil together with all other characters as victims of the conflict. Owing to the tragic mistake, the Turk kills his stepmother's son. It is interesting how the "hero of the tragedy" will act in the gravest situation from the moral perspective after he realizes his mistake. Kiamil is unable to endure the moral blow and loses common sense, though he does not think about the suicide as of the way-out. He is a victim of the blind and treacherous fate. Despinio, known by her virtue, requires revenge for her son's murder, and thus there are all the preconditions for the defenders of Hristakis' interests to shift the conflict into a new phase, but here we see the static character of functions and arguments. Kiamil is arrested by the police and put into prison for three years. After serving his sentence, Kiamil works as a Despinio's servant. It is worth mentioning that the narrator does not reveal the truth to his mother, thus turning the infinite character of the conflict into the finite one.

As a conclusion, it should be said that the story "Who Was My Brother's Killer?" occupies a significant place not only among G. Vizyenos' works, but also in Modern Greek literature in general. Its chief merit lies with the finite structure of the principal conflict of the story. At the dramatic level of the story, the author adds appropriate dynamics and integrity to the conflict development. At the so-called ideological level of the plot organization, he applies another model, according to which the static character of functions and arguments gives the finite character to the plot that tends to shift the conflict into a new phase.

---

<sup>2</sup> Βιανρός Γ.Μ., *Νεοελληνικά διηγήματα* επίμ. Παν. Μουλλάς, Εκδοτικός Οίκος Ερμής, Αθήνα, 1996, 63.

Tamar Mebuke (Tbilisi)

## THE ARCHETYPE OF THE TWINS IN LITERATURE

The aim of the paper is to study the works of fiction, depicting the theme of a double and to find the archetype that stands behind it. The theme of a double has been widely used in literature by numerous authors with different interpretation that indicates an archetype which finds different manifestation in different cases. The theme is often associated with the quest of a self for origins, identity and unity. Such spheres compose the realm of human soul and relate to those fundamental notions of psychology, which K.G.Young named archetypes. An archetype indicates former images, ancient infinity of images, the ancient means of the Universe. The deeper layers of soul lose their individual non-repeatability, in proportion to the degree to which they increasingly further and further step back into the gloom. Descending increasingly below and approaching a level of the autonomously functioning systems, they acquire even more collective and more universal nature, until they fade in the material substances. Consequently, on the bottom itself "soul" is simply the Universe<sup>1</sup>. It is in the inner sense, standing behind these archetypes (images of archetype) that we should search for the source of the archetypes of human behavior and the source of subjects in fiction, describing this behavior.

It seems natural to look for the source of the archetype of the double in the myths about twins, as the main source of archetypes are myths that preserve and transfer paradigms-images in the imitation of which the entire totality of actions, for which man takes responsibility upon himself, are achieved<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Юнг К.Г. Человек и его символы. М., 1996, 361; Юнг К.Г. Душа и миф. Шесть архетипов. Минск, 2004 (Перевод с немецкого).

<sup>2</sup> Eliade M. Essential Sacred Writings from around the World. Hacourt Australia, 1968.  
Элиаде М. Космос и история. М., 1987 (Перевод с английского).  
Gordeziani R. The Wisdom of Myths. Tbilisi, 2005 (in Georgian).  
Мелетинский Е.М. Поэтика мифа. М., 1976.

The very origin of myths about twins is connected by some scholars<sup>3</sup> with the development of myth and possibility of its reading from the point of view of everyday consciousness. Then discretion of verbal thinking, the concept of the "beginning" and "end", and linearity of time organization were introduced into it. As a result, the hypostases of a united character began to be perceived as different images. In the course of evolution of myths and formation of fiction, appeared tragic or divine heroes and their comic or demonic doubles. A united hero of the archaic myth, represented in his hypostases, is converted into many heroes being in complex (including incest) relations, in the "crowd" of opposite, carrying various essences gods, obtaining professions, biography and a regulated system of relations. As the relic of this process of splitting a united mythological image there preserved coming from Meander tendency in literature to supply a hero with a satellite-double, and sometimes even with a group of satellites.

Myths about twins relate to the Solar form of myths. Myths are Solar if the main character is the Sun. Solar myths also include those myths, in which the hero or heroine reveals Solar features, that is features, similar to the signs of the Sun as a mythological hero. In the extended sense Solar myths relate to astral myths. The most archaic form of Solar myths are myths about twins, in which the Sun and the Moon form a pair of connected and at the same time opposite cultural heroes (frequently brothers), one of whom is subordinated to the other<sup>4</sup> as the Moon depends upon the Sun and shines with his reflected light.

Myths about twins can be divided into myths about twin-brothers (rivals or later – allies), twins – brother and sister, androgyny and zoomorphic twin myths<sup>5</sup>. In the myths about twin brothers, which are characteristic of the dualistic mythology, one of the brothers is connected with everything good, and the other – with everything evil or badly made. In some dualistic twin myths twin-brothers are not antagonistic to each other, and only personify two beginnings, correlated with one half of a tribe.

Myth about the twins – brother and sister, entering into incest marriage (most frequently as a result of persuasions of the sister), is known in almost identical form in many ancient cultures (Egyptian myth about Osiris and Isis, ancient Indian myth about Yama and his twin sister Yami). It is frequently assumed that the incest marriage of twins begins even in the womb of mother;

---

Токарев С., Мелетинский Е. Мифология. в: Мифы народов мира. М., 1980 т.1, 11-20.

<sup>3</sup> Лотман Ю.М., Минц З.Г., Мелетинский Е.М. Литература и миф. в: Мифы народов мира. М., 1982, т.2, 58-65.

<sup>4</sup> Иванов В.В. Близнечные мифы. в: Мифы народов мира. М., 1980, т.1, 174-176.

Иванов В.В. Солярные мифы. в: Мифы народов мира. М., 1982, т.2, 461-462.

<sup>5</sup> Иванов В.В. Близнечные мифы. в: Мифы народов мира. М., 1980, т.1, 174-176.

therefore after generation of twins – the children of different sex – it was necessary to complete a purifying rite (the idea of prohibition of incest is introduced into twin myth itself). The idea about twins as children of the god of the Sky courting their sister – the daughter of the Sun – is widespread. Marriage of two (or several) twins – brother and sisters – is one of the forms of symbolization in twin myths of unification of two mythological oppositions, one of which personifies the brother, and the other – the sister. In mythology twins may act in the form of demiurge-androgyny, one part of which personifies night, the Moon, happiness, the other – day, the Sun, labor. Egyptian gods Gor and Set are sometimes depicted in the form of one figure with two faces. Myth about bisexual essence, connected with the twins, is reflected in the Ancient Greek Orphic tradition and in the dialogues about Atlantis by Plato.

The sources of twin myths can be seen in the ideas about unnaturalness of twins, which the majority of peoples worldwide considered ugly (twins themselves and their parents – monstrous and dangerous). The custom of separation of the parents of twins from the entire tribe (frequently with the subsequent reconsideration and sacralization of twins and their parents) is known among a number of peoples of Africa. As the trace of archaic ideas about the dangerous and fatal force of twins it is possible to consider myths about the encroachment of twins upon the lives of their parents<sup>6</sup>.

Reconsideration of the archaic forms of myths about twins and corresponding to them rites occurs because of the acknowledgement of sacral nature of twins themselves, as well as their parents, mother in particular (along with the biological father, the role of fatherhood is ascribed to mythological essence or totem; this idea of dual fatherhood is characteristic of the developed myths about twins). Twins themselves and their mother were considered as beings who came into contact with supernatural force and became its carriers. Archaic ritual of separating twins, and, first of all, their mother, or both parents from the entire tribe in this case is included in the ritual of respect to sacralized twins and their parents. At this stage of development of the cult the discussion no longer deals simply with the deliverance of tribe from the danger, concealed in the twins and their parents, but also with the realized detachment from the carriers of supernatural force (not always dangerous, but frequently beneficial) by the society that respects them.

Reconsideration of myths about twins by sacralization of them and their parents occurs with the development of the idea about connection of twins with fertility. That is why the societies that worshipped twins practiced the

---

<sup>6</sup> Harris R. Boanerges. Cambridge, 1913.  
Ward D. The Divine Twins. Berkeley-Los-Ang., 1968.

rites that connected their cult with the symbolism of fertility, in particular, with the sacred world trees. One of the main plant symbols of fertility of twins is a doubled fruit.

In mythologies constructed on the binary symbolic classification, two mythological twins serve as the embodiment of these sequences of symbols. Myths about the origin of tribes (or cities) frequently go back to two twin-founders (e.g. Romulus and Remus). In Egypt Ka was considered to be the double-twin of pharaoh.

In proportion to the transformation of the ideas of twins, they lose the antagonism of divine twins, later one of the twins is removed (cf. explicit unimportance of Epimetheus with his twin brother Prometheus). R. Harris connects the complex of ideas about Thomas in the Evangelical literature and in the apocrypha (name of Thomas comes from the semic name of twins) to the early myth about twins<sup>7</sup>.

It seems that in the consciousness of ancient people a single act of generation was correlated to the birth of one soul. When two beings appeared simultaneously, they were regarded as representing bifurcation of a single whole or as different aspects of one soul. Mythology and its reconsideration in literature suggest the same notion. Soul is associated with spiritual light. Castor and Polydeuces (or Pollux) steal brides of their nearest relatives, the daughters of their uncle Leucippus – Phoebe and Helaeira, personifications of bright and pure light. Prometheus brings fire (or spiritual light) to people. A shadow of man was considered to be the carrier of his soul. Mirror reflections had the same value. It is possible to represent anima and animus of K.G.Young as a double of a man, corresponding to the duality of soul or to its dual nature, two parts of which in mythology were initially combined in divine Androgyny that later lost their unity. Since then people seek for their second half to regain the lost unity of their selves. In mythology it is frequently represented as separated male and female beginnings (Yan and Yn in the Chinese mythology), or terrestrial and divine (Castor and Polydeuces) origins that strive for unification, but, never reach it like two brightest stars of the constellation Gemini – when one of them raises, the other sets behind the horizon.

One of the manifestations of the sign Gemini is their interdependence that goes back to the mythological heroes Castor and Polydeuces (or Pollux in the Roman mythology).

Castor and Polydeuces (or Pollux) were known as the Dioscuri (Gr. Dios Kouroi, sons of Zeus) and, according to the prevalent myth were the twin

---

<sup>7</sup> Harris R. Boanerges. Cambridge, 1913.

sons of Zeus and Leda, who were born from a single egg. The ancient Greeks worshipped the Dioscuri as gods of light or as heroes. They were often called Tyndarides (in line with the myth that they were sons of Tyndareus). The ancients' wish to interpret the phenomenon of natural light that rises and sets was represented by the dual nature of the Dioscuri: they were simultaneously immortal and mortal, corrupt and incorruptible, while Castor was said to be the son of Leda's mortal husband and Polydeuces was said to be the son of Zeus.

The Dioscuri appear in several myths, such as the hunt for the Caledonian boar, the expedition of the Argonauts, the campaign against Athens mounted after Theseus kidnapped Helen, the battle against the sons of Aphareus – Idas, and Lynceus – in which Castor was killed and Polydeuce shared his immortality with him<sup>8</sup>.

The mighty sons of Aphareus, brothers of Tyndareus, and Arene hated their cousins, the Dioscuri.

According to Apollodorus the Athenian, their suspicion over some battle spoils they had acquired together led Idas to kill Castor and Polydeuces to kill Lynceus to avenge the death of his beloved brother. Polydeuces then went after Idas, who threw a stone at Polydeuces and knocked him out. Zeus struck Idas with a bolt of lightning and took Polydeuces to heaven.

Pindar tells a slightly different version of the myth. He attributes the cause of the disagreement to the theft of Idas's cattle by Castor. A different version claims that the dispute was caused when the Dioscuri kidnapped Phoebe and Helaeira (personifications of bright and pure light), the daughters of Leucippus who were betrothed to their cousins.

In areas where the Dioscuri were worshipped as heroes, it was claimed that after their deaths, Zeus transformed them into the constellation known as Gemini. The symbol of the Dioscuri was a dokano, two parallel sticks that the Spartans carried with them on their campaigns. Other symbols were their hats in the shape of half an eggshell (symbolizing the egg from which they were born), two amphorae with snakes wrapped around them, two stars (symbolizing the Dioscuri as saviors of seafarers), and the branch of a palm tree (a symbol of victory in races).

The archetype of the Twins in the subsequent cultural tradition and especially in literature is connected with different interpretations of the myths about twins – the theme of the double of man (or one's shadow), the double

---

<sup>8</sup> Gordeziani R. *The Wisdom of Myths*, 2005 (in Georgian).  
 Myth and Legend. Ed. by J.C.Cooper. London,1992.  
 Sfyroera S. *The Essential Greek Mythology*. Athens, 2003.  
 Great Celestial Gods (Narrated and commented by N. Tonia), Tbilisi 1999 (In Georgian).



nature of a man, a man and his soul, mystical interdependence of two people, who perceive themselves as the halves of one whole. A double is often represented as a twin bearing properties that a character lacks.

This archetype is used in the most mystical of Edgar Allan Poe's stories<sup>9</sup>.

One example of such interdependence of people- twin brother and sister – is described in the tale by Edgar Allan Poe "The Fall of the House of Usher". It is considered to be Poe's greatest story and the most complex and interesting of the tales of psychic conflict. The split of the Usher Self is symbolized by the fissure in the outer wall of the house, which also stands for the Usher family, destined to end with the death of Roderick and Madeline. "As twins, the brother and sister aptly represent two of the faculties that make up "the world of mind" as Poe defines it in "The Poetic Principle", dividing the world of mind into its three most obvious distinctions – Pure Intellect, Taste, and the Moral Sense"<sup>10</sup>.

Roderic Usher, a descendant of an ancient family, foreseeing the close death of his twin-sister, and suffering himself from hypochondria and aggravated reaction of feelings to all stimuli – "a constitutional and a family evil, and one for which he despaired to find a remedy", requests his childhood friend to arrive at his ancient estate. As the narrator, who may be standing in the definition of the world of mind for the balancing part in it – the taste, writes: "A letter... from him had lately reached me in a distant part of the country – a letter from him – which, in its wildly importunate nature, had admitted of no other than a personal reply. The MS. gave evidence of nervous agitation. The writer spoke of acute bodily illness – of a mental disorder which oppressed him – and of an earnest desire to see me, as his best and indeed his only personal friend, with a view of attempting, by the cheerfulness of my society, some alleviation of his malady".

During the stay of the friend (the narrator) in the house of Roderic Usher, he learns that Roderic's sister had been suffering from severe and long-continued illness – "indeed to the evidently approaching dissolution" and that was the reason of Roderic's sadness as she had not only been his sole companion for long years, but his only relative on Earth. As they spoke, the lady Madeline passed through a remote portion of the apartment without having noticed their presence and the narrator "regarded her with an utter astonishment not unmingled with dread; and yet I found it impossible to account for such feelings. A sensation of stupor oppressed me as my eyes followed her retreating steps. When a door, at length, closed upon her, my glance sought

---

<sup>9</sup> Poe E.A. Poetry and Prose. McGraw-Hill Education, 1951.

<sup>10</sup> Carlson E.W. Poe on the Soul of Man. Baltimore: Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore, 1999, 17.

instinctively and eagerly the countenance of the brother; but he had buried his face in his hands, and I could only perceive that a far more than ordinary wanness had overspread the emaciated fingers through which trickled many passionate tears".<sup>11</sup> What was that surprised the narrator so much? Was it the striking resemblance between the twins?

And the news of the sister's death was told "with inexpressible agitation". They together transferred her coffin into the vault of the house for two weeks – the period, after which Roderic assigns burial. The death of Madeline caused an observable change over the features of the mental disorder of Roderic. "His ordinary manner had vanished. His ordinary occupations were neglected or forgotten. He roamed from chamber to chamber with hurried, unequal, and objectless step. ... There were times, indeed, when I thought his unceasingly agitated mind was labouring with some oppressive secret, to divulge which he struggled for the necessary courage". During this period it appeared that Roderic's sister did not die but was put into the coffin alive. On rainy nights they hear her moans from the tomb and Roderic says that he had long suspected that Madeline Usher was still alive. He is surprised that his friend hasn't noticed it. "You have not seen it? – but, stay! you shall". Soon he feels her presence behind the door. Then door is opened and Madlen enters the room. "There was blood upon her white robes, and the evidence of some bitter struggle upon every portion of her emaciated frame. For a moment she remained trembling and reeling to and fro upon the threshold – then, with a low moaning cry, fell heavily inward upon the person of her brother, and in her violent and now final death-agonies, bore him to the floor a corpse, and a victim to the terrors he had anticipated".<sup>12</sup>

Though Roderic Usher is sometimes regarded as a murderer of his sister, or as a madman, or as a creative mind in the hypnagogic or visionary state now suffering from a psychic conflict caused by the repression of his Moral Sense or will (entombment of his sister, Madeline), [4] it seems his madness is that state during which man experiences a kind of self-revelation occurring through the emergence of a powerful spirit from the depth of his being. If Roderic is "mad", "it is with the intensity and shock of realizing that in suppressing and, it now turns out, finally weakening his psychic self, he has destroyed the vitality of his creative soul. The suppression of this psychic energy means the death of the whole being".<sup>13</sup> It is too late for Roderic and Madeline as complementary selves to be reunited in a living whole, a mutu-

---

<sup>11</sup> Poe E.A. Poetry and Prose. McGraw-Hill Education, 1951, 113.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 126.

<sup>13</sup> Carlson E.W. Poe on the Soul of Man. Baltimore: Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore, 1999, 20.

ally sustaining relationship. As they cannot die separately, they must die together – symbolically speaking. The soul, which was conceived as a whole entity has to regain it before returning home to eternity.

The tale by Edgar Allan Poe "Ligeia" personifies the accord of beauty and wisdom, "wisdom too divinely precious not to be forbidden", of a person who seeks to achieve an "identity with God" – the goal up to which her husband with his rational mind cannot rise. "If Ligeia symbolizes this potential in him, then her illness and death, reflect his fear and failing in his search for his soul through identity with God". But after the death of Ligeia and marriage to Rowena, he begins to invoke Ligeia, recalling "her purity, her wisdom, her lofty, her ethereal nature, her passionate, idolatrous love". He gave himself up to "passionate waking visions of Ligeia", until he recognized "the full, and the black, and the wild eyes – of my lost – of the LADY LIGEIA!" Thus recovering his psychic energy, he has revived his own spiritual integrity and depth of soul. "Through his Ligeia self, he has discovered his "identity with God".

Thus Ligeia represents the glimpse of the Heavenly beauty of the soul in its integrity, the highest achievements to which a man may strive in terrestrial life and that inspires love that conquers the worm of death. She is Polydeuces who shares his immortality with Castor.

The main hero of the short story "Morella" brought up his daughter, who remained after his wife died while giving birth to her. The girl resembles her mother in appearance and character, however, father couldn't dare to give her a name. When a question about her baptism arises, he gives her the name of her mother – Morella. The girl soon dies, as with the name she had accepted the fate of her mother. When he brings her to the tomb to bury next to her mother, it turns out that the tomb is empty.

In this case the name represents the double. When passed onto a person with similar essence, it carries with itself the fate of the former, thus subordinating it to its own. The return of mother's essence through her daughter, "born immediately after her death, adds another dimension, the idea of psychic continuity or indestructible will, along with the secondary theme of retribution from within".<sup>14</sup>

It may also mean the soul after reincarnation that hasn't become any wiser after the first round and thought it possible to continue its life on the same standing repeating the same way of sansara.

The theme of a double is developed in the short story by Edgar Allan Poe "The Oval Portrait". In the room, in which the narrator has to spend the night, he sees a portrait of refined beauty. Later he learns the story of the portrait.

---

<sup>14</sup> Carlson E. Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 74: American Short-Story Writers Before 1880. Pennsylvania State University, 1988, 303-322.

The artist, struck by the beauty of a girl, decided to paint her portrait. During the sittings the girl fell more and more in love with him, however, the artist didn't notice either her love, or the fact that during the sittings the beauty and physical power pass from the sitter to the portrait. When he finishes the portrait, the power leaves the girl and she dies failing to attract his attention, after transmitting to the portrait together with her beauty and fascination her life. When the work was finished, "for one moment, the painter stood entranced ... but in the next, while yet he gazed, he grew tremulous and very pallid, and aghast, and crying with a loud voice, "This is indeed Life itself!" turned suddenly to regard his beloved: – She was dead!"

Here the sitter represents the soul of the artist (his anima) which exhausts itself in the act of creation and gives all its beauty, power and life to the creation. The story may also be interpreted as the image of an artist who takes all the beauty of the surrounding world to create his masterpiece without caring for the object he is depicting and thus, by his negligence, destroys the essence of it – its soul.

The theme of a double, that is of dual nature of a man, one of which connects him with the initial destination, and the second draws him downward, to the ruin, is developed in a story by Edgar Allan Poe "William Wilson". In this case the double appears in the role of conscience or internal "self", an alter ego of the main hero which makes it possible to draw a parallel with the novel by Oscar Wilde "The Picture of Dorian Gray", where in the role of a double or conscience appears a portrait, being the reflection of the life of the main hero.

The main character of the story William Wilson meets at school with his namesake, who, as it occurs, was born on the same day and in the same year as he himself. Although they were not relatives, William believed "...if we had been brothers we must have been twins;..." Soon the double begins to irritate Wilson by his protective tone and interference in his actions, which later leads to the open hatred. But as the hero confesses subsequently, "I might, today, have been a better, and thus a happier man, had I less frequently rejected the counsels embodied in those meaning whispers which I then but too cordially hated and bitterly despised".

Having crept secretly into the room of his double at night, William studies his appearance while he sleeps and is horrified by his discovery (the double occurs to be he himself), he leaves school the next morning.

During the studies at Eaton, Oxford and the journey through Europe William repeatedly meets his double. "It was noticeable, indeed, that, in no one of the multiplied instances in which he had of late crossed my path, had he so crossed it except to frustrate those schemes, or to disturb those actions, which if fully carried out, might have resulted in bitter mischief ". And when attempting to seduce a woman William felt a hand on his arm and heard a hate-

ful whisper, he gripped his double and stabbed him with his sword. But when he looked into the mirror, which was hanging on the wall, he saw his own mortally pale reflection.

And no longer in a whisper, but loudly and in a voice, which William perceived as his own, the double said to him: "You have conquered, and I yield. Yet, henceforward art thou also dead – dead to the World, to Heaven and to Hope! In me didst thou exist – and, in my death, see by this image, which is thine own, how utterly thou hast murdered thyself"<sup>15</sup>.

The theme of a double nature of a man is treated in a story by R.L.Stevenson "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll And Mr. Hyde"<sup>16</sup>. The story is constructed as intersection of double treatment of the archetype of a double nature of the sign of the Twins. It gives an example of a split personality as well as the destructive nature of intellect, which is not controlled by consciousness and conscience.

As Doctor Jekyll says at the beginning of his letter, the majority of people succeed in combining good beginning with the evil one in themselves. He was pursued by the desire to satisfy his passions, as well as by the desire to live with a highly raised head. " (archetype of freedom of choice, which only in the initial stage allows a man to choose, and then carries him along the way of his choice).

The scientific experiments of Dr. Jekyll lead him to understanding of possibility of physical separation of two beginnings in the man and it becomes possible for him to preserve respectable way of life of Doctor Jekyll, and at the same time with the aid of a special preparation to be transformed into Mr. Hyde and to indulge in all his animal tendencies. And if at first one dose of preparation was sufficient for Dr. Jekyll in order to accept his previous respectable appearance, in the course of time it becomes necessary to increase the dose more and more, since by his true essence he gradually turns into Mr. Hyde with his cruelty, fault and tendency toward obscene behavior and criminal inclinations. The rejection of a feeling of responsibility for his behavior and the feeling of their impunity, lead Dr. Jekyll to the desire to constantly re-embodiment into Mr. Hyde.

The illusion that conscience can be switched off and made to live as an independent being, lead Dr. Jekyll to gradual transformation into Mr. Hyde, who becomes his true essence, since behavior leaves its reflection on the appearance of a man. As a result Dr. Jekyll, after losing the possibility to return his original form and fearing disclosure and scaffold, commits suicide in the form of Mr. Hyde which he had gradually taken.

---

<sup>15</sup> Poe E.A. *ibid*, 147.

<sup>16</sup> Stevenson R.L. *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Wordsworth Classics, 1999.

In the novel by Oscar Wilde "The Picture of Dorian Gray"<sup>17</sup>, a work of art itself begins to be considered as a reflection of soul or as an alter ego of an artist. The novel has annular structure reflecting the basic supposition about the result of a man's actions that affect the man performing them, in the form of consequences of those actions, like Echo.

Painted by Basil Hallward, the portrait of a handsome youth is without doubt a masterpiece of the artist, who found in the image of Dorian Gray inspiration for his work. He counted, that the external beauty is the reflection of internal, spiritual beauty.

As Basil Hallward says, "Every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not the sitter". However, he prefers to see the accord of spirit and body in Dorian Gray.

Possessing only physical, external beauty Dorian values it most of all, since he himself so far, has no deeper merits. Therefore for him the loss of external beauty is equivalent to the loss of himself. And in the external world he also searches for only superficial luster and entertainments. Such was his affair with Sybil Vane, who attracted him by her external prettiness and by her talent of an actress. In the actress, acting each evening different roles, he sees the connection of beauty and skill without being interested in the real person, who stands behind it. She was "like a white narcissus" for him. Therefore after her unsuccessful performance of the part of Juliet, she stops to exist for him (since real Sybil Vane had never existed for him) and even the news about her suicide does not prevent him from going to the opera in the evening.

After turning away from his own soul, he ceases to note it in others and only after having noted the changes in the portrait he is terrified by the fact, that the connection of a soul and extrinsic ethos of a man is real and the appearance is capable of reflecting behavior and thoughts of a man. However, this leads him to the realization of the fact that from now on he no longer bears responsibility for his behavior. Now his portrait will bear the entire burden of his sins and passions, and he will only observe how the life of a man creates his soul.

After refusing to balance his life and tendency toward the external beauty and sensual enjoyment by the basic component of soul – the conscience, he, nevertheless, could not completely exclude its existence, therefore, when the artist Basil Hallward, before his departure to Paris, arrived to have a talk with him about what opinion was formed about him in the society, Dorian Gray

---

<sup>17</sup> Frenzel, Elisabeth *Stoffe der Weltliterature*. Stuttgart, 1976, 538-543.

Wild O. *Selections in two volumes*. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1979 vol.1, 77-346.

decided to show him the portrait. It now seems to him, that Basil Hallward, who had painted the portrait, was guilty of what had occurred with him.

After showing the artist the face of his soul, Dorian kills him as the Higher Creator, who created him according to his Own Image and as a reminder of it put soul in his body. Blackmailing another friend, he destroys all evidences of his crime.

Fear of inevitable payment after death causes in him a thirst for life. And a quotation from the Holy Scripture, given by Lord Henry "what benefit is to a man to gain the whole world, if he loses his own soul?" leads him to the realization of the erroneousness of his choice.

In front of the portrait, Dorian Gray re-estimates his values, since regardless of the fact whether you have sold your soul or not, it bears in itself the concept about the Good and the Evil. He begins to hate his own beauty. His beauty has ruined him, beauty and eternal youth, which he had gained for himself. If it were not for them, he thinks now, that his life would be pure. Beauty proved to be only a mask, youth – a mockery. Indeed youth, at best, is the time of immaturity, naïveté, the time of superficial impressions and unhealthy thoughts. Why was he to bear it? The death of his own soul torments him, the dead soul in the living body. He blames the portrait for everything that happened. Against himself he sees only one piece of evidence – the portrait. This portrait is conscience, and it must be destroyed. He took the knife, by which he had earlier killed the artist, and stabbed the portrait with it. However, soul is immortal. And on entering the room people saw "hanging upon the wall a splendid portrait of their master as they had last seen him, in all the wonder of his exquisite youth and beauty. Lying on the floor was a dead man, in evening dress, with a knife in his heart. He was withered, wrinkled, and loathsome of visage. It was not till they examined the rings that they recognized who it was".

The theme of a double or, rather, a countless multiplicity of personalities that compose a man, is treated in Hermann Hesse's novel "Steppenwolf" ("Der Steppen Wolf")<sup>18</sup>. It is believed to be in part an autobiographical novel exploring the mid-life crisis of Hermann Hesse.<sup>19</sup> The main hero of the novel Harry Haller (whose initials H.H. are the same as Hermann Hesse's) experiences suffering from incapacity to achieve inner harmony and to combine in himself the highly developed intellect with animal instincts (or wolf) and tendency toward the bourgeois way of life that may balance them, but is

---

<sup>18</sup> Hesse, Herman. *Der Steppenwolf*. Frankfurt am Mein, 1972.

<sup>19</sup> Березина А.Г. Германн Гессе. Ленинград, 1976 Лейтес Н.С. *Немецкий роман 1918-1945, Пермь*, 1975. Corbett, Bob. *Steppenwolf* by Hermann Hesse. San Francisco, Rinehart Press, 1963, Павлова Н.Т. *Типология немецкого романа. 1900-1945. М., 1982.*

plagued by his inability to accept the bourgeois and unintellectual, mediocre life. According to the author, Haller is a genius of suffering who manufactured in himself in accordance with some theses of Nietzsche, a brilliant, unlimited capability for suffering in many respects caused by upbringing based on suppression of his will. However, because of the strength of mind and pride of the pupil, they succeeded only in producing in him the hatred for himself. "... his entire life was an example of the fact that without love for oneself it is impossible to love the neighbor, and that hatred for oneself is exactly the same and leads to accurately the same isolation and the same desperation as the acknowledged selfishness".

As a person brought up in a certain culture, Haller felt that human life becomes hell where two ages, two cultures or two religions overlap. Harry belonged to those who felt the presence at the verge of two ages as a torture, as the hell because of his personal defenselessness. Only listening to magnificent music, reading compositions of great philosophers or being with the beloved one it was possible for him to rise in his spirit to the skies and to see God at work.

"Alas, it is difficult to find this divine track inside this life which we conduct, with this so contented bourgeois, this soulless age, at the sight of this architecture, this work, this policy, these people! How can I not be a steppenwolf and a pitiful recluse in this world, whose purposes I cannot share, whose happiness doesn't stir me!"

... es ist schwer, diese Gottesspur zu finden inmitten dieses Lebens, das wir führen, inmitten dieser so sehr zufriedenen, so sehr bürgerlichen, so sehr geistlosen Zeit, im Anblick dieser Architekturen, dieser Politik, dieser Menschen! Wie sollte ich nicht ein Steppenwolf und ruppiger Eremit sein inmitten einer Welt, von deren Zielen ich keines teile, von deren Freuden keine zu mir spricht!

As a way out, Harry began to search for solitude and he reached it, but "it was amazingly quiet and enormous as the cold quiet space where stars rotate". And it began to seem to him, that what they call culture, spirit, soul were phantoms that had never existed and something unrealizable. And he reaches the point where desperation and hopelessness make him seek for death. H.Hesse assumes, that there are quite a lot of people like Harry. All these people combine two natures, two souls, two essences, two beginnings – divine and diabolic ones. Many artists belong to this type of people. However, in the rare minutes of happiness these restless souls feel such inexpressible beauty, "the foam of instantaneous happiness will rise now and then highly and dazzlingly above the sea of suffering.... Thus, by precious flying foam above the sea of suffering appear all works of art, where one suffering person



for an hour rose above his own fate to such a height, that his happiness shines, like a star, and by all who sees this radiance, it seems to be something eternal, it seems to be their own dream about happiness".

"So entstehen, als kostbarer flüchtiger Glücksschaum über dem Meer des Leides, alle jene Kunstwerke, in welchen ein einzelner leidender Mensch sich für eine Stunde so hoch über sein eigenes Schicksal erhob, daß sein Glück wie ein Stern strahlt und allen denen, die es sehen, wie etwas Ewiges und wie ihr eigener Glückstraum erscheint".

And the reflections whether a man is not simply an animal, allotted with certain reason, but the child of gods, to whom immortality is promised, leads Harry from the sensation of loneliness of Gethsemane garden to the thought about suicide. And he perceives those who commit the suicide as people destroying themselves in order to return to the beginning.

The notes of "Steppenwolf" represent the descent into hell, into the chaos and darkness of the soul, undertaken with firm intention to traverse hell and to measure swords with chaos.

Harry gets a council to glance into the chaos of his own soul (to descend to hell), so that the man and the wolf would get to know each other and he could balance his spirit and his instincts. However, the descending opens to him an enormous number of polar oppositions of his soul and he understands, that the famous line from "Faust" by Goethe – "Two souls live in my breast!" only partly reflects the real situation, since Faust forgets Mephistopheles and many other souls, which also live in him. To the steppenwolf it is necessary either to put an end to his hateful life, or to re-mould himself in the fatal fire of the renovated self-appraisal, to tear away the mask and to move towards his new "self".

Encounter with his soul (anima) – Hermine, whose name he has to guess only at the end of their acquaintance before he kills her (or destroys his past "self"), opens to him the many-sidedness of his own soul. Before their meeting he was only a subtle specialist of poetry, music and philosophy, and everything else in his personality, the entire chaos of other abilities, instincts, aspirations he regarded as a burden and the realm of steppenwolf. But Hermine, who looks like his childhood friend Herman, is a prostitute, ready to adapt to everything and to get pleasure from all sides of life (at the end of the novel Harry kills her for it). She is like the soul itself, ready to react to all stimuli if she isn't controlled by the "ego". She teaches Harry to see and receive other aspects of life, that the ideals exist not in order to be reached, that people live not to abolish death, but to fear it, and then to love again, and that is why life is sometimes so fascinating. She tells him that Devil – is the Spirit, and people are his unhappy children. So that Harry would learn the happiness of love, she brings to him her friend Maria and now Harry only rarely recalls

his beloved Erika. She tells him about the importance to understand the value of one's life, time and space because money and authority belong to small and low-brow, mediocre people, and nothing except the death belongs to the others, who are actually people. Only eternity is the reign of truth. Eternity is the deliverance of time, recovery of innocence, its reverse transformation into space.

As the symbol of the confusion of the age and mind there is jazz music in the novel represented by a saxophone player Pablo. It, like the age and the state of Harry's soul, is the mixture of different styles and trends. It is opposed to the world of immortals – the reign of permanent values where Mozart and Goethe live.

Invitation of Harry to the Magic Theater, the purpose of which is to make him see the world of his soul, is accompanied by the announcement, that Hermine (his soul) is in hell. And Harry sees in the mirror himself, and inside himself he sees a lost and frightened-looking wolf, and then – a countless number of Harries. He understands, that overcoming time, release from reality and whatever else they call our melancholy, is nothing else, but the desire to get rid of our so-called personality. It is the prison, in which a man is. Harry is present at different enactments of the Magic Theater: this is hunting automobiles, as the symbol of contemporary world, with understanding that those who are killed by you are you yourself, and the construction of personality, consisting of many selves, and taming of steppenwolves, and passage through "love", when all girls can be yours, and when they kill by love.

In order to paint Harry Haller's (Steppenwolf's) state of mind, to portray his personality, Hesse re-sorted to Jungian psychology, particularly the principals of "ego", "animus/anima" and "self". "Harry Haller is his "ego", Hermine is his "anima". Pablo and Maria are his "self". Hermine is the feminine for Hermann. In Jungian psychology, this is the feminine principal present in the male consciousness or the inner personality in communication with sub-conscious. Hermine is in effect the inner voice of Harry Haller helping him to unify his "ego" and "self". She encourages the intellectual and serious side of Harry – "ego" – to recognize and accept the sensual and animal (Steppenwolf) side of his personality – the "self". The Magic Theater becomes a metaphorical extension of Harry Haller's mind. All that Harry loathes about the mediocrity of the bourgeois, all that he loves about Mozart, Goethe, Novalis and Nietzsche, all the passions he feels for past loves and Hermine – in essence, all that comprises Harry – is distilled and fused as one"<sup>20</sup>. Harry Haller, however, is unable to integrate the opposite and multiple pieces into his psycho-

---

<sup>20</sup> Corbett, Bob. *Steppenwolf* by Hermann Hesse. San Francisco, Rinehart Press, 1963. Texte, Themen und Strukturen. Düsseldorf, 1992.

logical make up. Unity of the personality is attainable by emulating the immortal (Mozart, Goethe, Nietzsche, Novalis) sense of humour or adaptability wherever confronted with rigid conformity and resistance to change.

And only the conversation with Mozart, as the representative of the reign of immortals, helps him to understand, that no technology is capable to kill the original spirit of music, but only to demonstrate the helplessness of technology, and its own soulless beginning. While listening to the radio, you hear and see the eternal fight between the idea and its manifestation, between the eternity and the time, between the divine and the human. The desire to ascend the scaffold and to carry punishment for your behavior is cowardice in its essence, since the purpose of man is to live. Man must live and must learn to laugh. To listen to cursed radio-music of life and to honor the spirit concealed behind it, one must learn to laugh above its bustle. And Harry sees saxophonist Pablo standing behind Mozart and with amazement he begins to guess the meaning of the game and experiences readiness to begin it again. "A glimpse of its meaning had stirred my reason and I was determined to begin the game afresh. I would sample its tortures once more and shudder again at its senselessness. I would traverse not once more, but often, the hell of my inner being. One day I would be a better hand at the game. One day I would learn how to laugh. Pablo was waiting for me, and Mozart too".

The novel by T. Mann "Doctor Faustus: The Life of the German Composer, Adrian Leverkühn as told by a Friend" ("Doktor Faustus. Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde")<sup>21</sup> (21) narrates about a brilliant musician and composer Adriane Leverkuehn (whose prototypes were Friedrich Nietzsche and a modernist innovator, composer Arnold Schoenberg, whose twelve-tone scale became that of the novel's protagonist) is one more treatment of the archetype "freedom of choice", based on a dual nature of a man (the archetype of the Twins) and on his tendency to realize the possibilities placed in him, which by no means can always be connected with the realization of the positive beginning in the man and his desire to serve the good and people. T.Mann treats freedom of choice as indifference. The novel shows that activity, deprived of love for people, is on the service of the evil forces. The action of the novel occurs in parallel with the actions of World War II and the ending of the novel tells not only about the spiritual fall and physical corruption of the body of the main hero, but also about the moral and intellectual fall of Germany, that selected the way of evil by serving Devilish forces. "Yes ... we are lost. That is to say: the

---

<sup>21</sup> Манн Т. собр.соч. в 10 т., т.5 М., 1960 Mann, Thomas: Doktor Faustus. Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde / Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus. Frankfurt / M.: Fischer 1997, S. 633.

war is lost, but that means more than a lost military campaign, in fact it means that we are lost, lost is our substance and our soul, our faith and our history. It is over with Germany; ... an unnamable collapse, economical, political, moral and spiritual, in short, all-encompassing, is becoming apparent, – I don't want to have wished for what is looming, because it is despair, it is madness".

Adrian Leverkühn (the name means "live audaciously") intentionally plays out his own life-story along mythic lines resembling the German medieval morality tale of Faust, who sold himself to Mephistopheles and illustrates the corruption of art by evil. "As Leverkühn, impassioned by demons, develops artistically toward a fated reckoning day, German society simultaneously develops politically toward its catastrophic, fascistic fate"<sup>22</sup>. "Doctor Faustus" is thus simultaneously a comment on the political developments, a warning, an attempt to come to grips with Germany's high-flying, yet so easily destructible philosophical and moral compass and a cry of despair in the face of utter madness. "T.Mann's central point remains the parallel between his country's fate and that of his novel's protagonist, both ending in ruin and madness-induced stupor after their deal with the devil has run its evil course"<sup>23</sup>.

Transformation of man, proceeding in the flow of his life can occur depending on the way selected by a man and leads either to his transfiguration – this is the way of Anderson's mermaid, experiencing pain in the legs and sacrificing her essence for achievement of the highest essence – love, happiness and immortal soul, or conducts a man experiencing pain in the head (like the migraines of Adrian) downward if because of his purpose, let it be as high as creation, he refuses to serve people and love, since abstractly existing creations does not exist. So God in the six days of creation created everything, looking at which He could say, that it was Good and all His creations were subordinated to one objective – the creation of man as the crown of the universe, on the basis of love for him, so that they would serve him.

The protagonist of the novel (Adrian Leverkühn) rejects love at each stage of his development. The selection of theological department by a talent-

---

<sup>22</sup> Andreotti, Mario. *Neue Wege in der Textanalyse*. Bern/Stuttgart, 1990.

Koopmann, Helmut: "Doktor Faustus" als Widerlegung der Weimarer Klassik. In: H. K.: *Der schwierige Deutsche. Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns*. Tübingen: 1988, 109-24.

Klüger Ruth B.: *Thomas Manns jüdische Gestalten*. In: R. K.: *Katastrophen. Über deutsche Literatur*. Göttingen: Wallstein 1994, 39-58.

Kurzke Hermann Thomas Mann: *Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*. 3. Aufl. München: Beck 1997, 269-83, Сухов В. Томас Манн. собр. соч. в 10 т., т.5, М.1960, 5-62 ; . Wißkirchen, Hans: *Verbotene Liebe. Das Deutschland-Thema im "Doktor Faustus"*. In: H. W. / *Thomas Sprecher* (Hg.): "Und was werden die Deutschen sagen?" *Thomas Manns Roman Doktor Faustus*. 2. Aufl. Lübeck: Dräger 1998, 179–207.

<sup>23</sup> Morton, Frederic. *Doctor Faustus by Thomas Mann*. Kirkus Associates, LP., 1997.

ed student was caused by his pride and haughtiness, and not by the desire to serve God. His liaison with a prostitute Esmeralda represented a conscious rejection of flesh love, the ability to answer by the same feeling the love of the opposite sex and may be regarded as his baptizing by a Devil (that is why applying to doctors end with the death of the first one and the arrest of the second) and causes syphilis which sparks a burst of musical creativity but will later constitute the outward cause of his madness. A secluded farm house is selected as a constant place of residence. His love for Marie Godeau ended by Adrian sending an also enamored with her violinist Rudolf Schwertfeger to woo to her instead of him and is, in the opinion of the friend of Adrian and narrator Serenus Zeitbloom, the beforehand foreseen sacrifice and the readiness to lose both – the beloved one as well as the friend.

And conversation with the Devil Sammael (in German – the angel of poison), who gave Adrian Leverkühn 24 years for creation ("since our goods are impulses and illumination, such sensation of freedom, liberty, estrangement, confidence, ease, might, celebration, that the one under our patronage ceases to trust his own feelings; add to this the enormous admiration by what is made, when it is easy to neglect the external, outward enthusiasm, – the horror of self-admiration, yes, yes, sweet trembling before your own self, when you seem to yourself to be a Godchosen tool, a divine monster") with the condition not to love anyone is, in the essence, a conversation with his alter ego ("...by each third word you give away your unreality. You tell me the things, which I know myself and which go from me, and not from you"). Unlike Goethe's Faust, whose temptation has physical reality and ends by the choice to serve people, Adrian Leverkühn's temptation is completely in the realm of allegory and imagination.

The inserted short stories of the novel – 1) about anabaptist Beissel who reached the heights of creative work in America in the field considered heretical in his native land, 2) about Heinz, the enamored rural fellow who sacrificed his beloved girl in exchange for the return of male power, since he was not able to understand that true love assumes cleanliness, 3) a short story about the tragic fate of Ines and 4) no less tragic story of the love of her sister Clarissa, 5) a story of Pope Gregorius demonstrate the examples of anomaly of love, necessary for the hero to confirm the confidence in his own choice.

Love for the nephew Nepomuk, the junior son of his sister Ursula (an angelic child of love), given to his care for the period of treatment of his sister and to whom Adrian becomes very attached in apparent violation of his agreement with the devil, ends with the tragic death of the child from meningitis, and writing by Adrian of a symphonic cantata the "The Cry of Doctor Faustus". He intended to compose music that would take away the last part of

the 9-th Symphony by Beethoven – "Ode to Joy" ("Ode an die Freude"), but composed "Lied an die Trauer" instead.

He invited all his friends to the premiere, desiring to confess to them before the performance. However, the blasphemous confession occurs to be beyond the forces of the author and leads to his mental collapse, withdrawal of friends, an attempt at the suicide before the arrival of mother, as the source to which a soul returns after passing its way, and death.

The stories based on the archetype of the Twins show the authors' search for internal accordance and harmony. They demonstrate the quest of integrity and spiritual peace, which are so hard to find in our life, and which we remember as the lost Garden of Eden – from where we all originated. The fall of man may be regarded as the loss of integrity, the state of harmony with oneself and the outer world, lack of the feeling of shame and dissatisfaction with oneself when one part of your soul reminds you about your origin and the second attaches you to your lower terrestrial instincts and inclinations. But like ancient heroes Castor and Polydeuces, in spite of their different origin, they both possess immortality and strive to be unified.

Ketevan Nadareishvili (Tbilisi)

## LITERATURE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT – WOMEN IN THE GREEK TRAGEDY AND IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

Women issues in the ancient world are subject of current interest in classical philology. Though a lot of problems connected with women in antiquity have caused of debates, woman's social status in Classical Athens and its relationship with women characters of the Greek tragedy seems to be one of the most controversial problems<sup>1</sup>.

Study of the issue means, on the one hand, to define the social status of a woman in Classical Athens and, on the other hand, to explain the discrepancy between the low social status of Athenian women if such is admitted and the images of the women of the tragedy, what is considered to be an unprecedented case, paradox from the point of the relations of art and life<sup>2</sup>. Investigation of the above-mentioned controversial issue is of a great importance. First, the elucidation of the issue would make clear how a woman was presented in the artistic and social context of Classical Athens. This would give us the possibility to discuss out ancient models of gender relations, the origins of women emancipation. On the other hand, such discussion appears to be a relevant problem as it concentrates on the relations between literature and social context, a question regarded as very important in the present-day cultural studies. Discussions over these questions started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars have somehow agreed on the first issue – the social status of Athenian wo-

---

<sup>1</sup> Richter D. C., "The Position of Women in Classical Athens," *CJ* 67, 1971, 1-8. Pomeroy S.B., "Selected Bibliography on Women in Classical Antiquity", *Arethusa* 6, 1973, 127-157. Pomeroy S. B., *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves, Women in Classical Antiquity*, New York, 1975.

<sup>2</sup> Gomme A. W., "The Position of Women in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries in Athens", *CP* 20, 1925, 1-25.

man, while the discrepancy between social status of woman in classical Athens and women images of the Greek tragedy still remains arguable<sup>3</sup>.

We believe, that the most appropriate theory to study the discrepancy, or we would rather call it interrelation, between the social status of woman and the powerful female characters of the tragedy is the theory of so-called "social conflicts" according to which the nature/ objective of the tragedy was to present "social conflicts", struggle of various cultural values. The tragedy did not render the clash between the main social institutions straightforwardly, but through artistic codes, ciphers it represented a symbolic area for the expression of the "social tensions"<sup>4</sup>. According to this theory, the main social strain lay in the tension between the two most important institutions of the classical epoch – oikos and polis.

Commencing from the complexity of the problem we investigated the issue step by step dedicating a voluminous study to it. In this article we have tried to present briefly the main results of our survey.

Based on the chief postulate of the "social conflicts theory" in studying the problem of the aforementioned discrepancy (or interrelation), first of all we have tried to develop our own methodology. In our opinion in order to explain this discrepancy and to study the conception of a woman presented in the Greek tragedy, it would be appropriate to consider the female characters in a broader context, i.e. the gender system of the tragedy, and to link the latter to the social milieu, namely to the conflict between the oikos and the polis<sup>5</sup>.

In order to find out how the gender system of the drama reflects the tension between these institutions, we considered it relevant to use the binary opposition – woman: domestic × man: public. The supporters of the theory of

<sup>3</sup> Foley H. P., "The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama" in (ed.) Foley H. P., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, New York, 1986<sup>3</sup>, 127-168.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw M., "The Female Intruder: Women in the Fifth-Century Drama", *CP* 70, 1975, 255-266; Bouvrie S. des, *Women in Greek Tragedy, an Anthropological Approach*, Symb. Osl. Fasc. Supplement 27, 1990; Arthur M. B., "Liberated Women: The Classical Era" in (edd.) Bridenthal R., Koonz C., *Becoming Visible, Women in European History*, 1977, Boston, 60-89; Segal C. P., "The Menace of Dionysus: Sex Roles and Reversals in Euripides' "Bacchae", *Arethusa* 11, 1978, 185-202; Thomson G., *Aeschylus in Athens. A Study in the Social Origins of Drama*, London, 1966<sup>2</sup>; Vernant J. P., "Tensions et ambiguïtés dans la tragédie grecque" in Vernant J. P., Vidal-Naquet P., *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1973, 19-40; Zeitlin F., "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality and the Feminine in Greek Drama" in (ed.) Winkler J. J., Zeitlin F. I., *Nothing to Do with Dionysus: Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, Princeton University Press, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> The relationship between these spaces appeared to be complex, as they were complementary and antithetical to each other simultaneously. Goldhill S., *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1986, 144 ...; Arthur, 1977, 190.



"social conflicts" regard this opposition as particularly successful<sup>6</sup>. Along with it we also used another binary opposition: female: nature × male: culture, which also presents the way the gender system of the drama reflects the conflict between the main cultural values of the classical period.

Prior to studying the gender system of the tragedy using these binary oppositions we researched the social status of women in classical Athens. Based on orators' speeches as our main source, we explored the Athenian legislation of the classical period to identify the status of women.<sup>7</sup>

Our study revealed, that woman's state was ambivalent<sup>8</sup>. Woman was deprived of rights in every sphere of the family context. Despite this fact, she accomplished two most important functions for the welfare of oikos. Woman was ousted from the public area; nevertheless, Greeks most seriously considered her civil rights. Consequently, woman, declared as a marginal subject, fulfilled the foremost interests of polis. Woman, deprived of rights, was the key subject for oikos – one of the main institutions of the social context of Athens. For this very reason, Greeks found it highly important that women accomplished their civil rights and duties, which, on the whole, was directed to the "welfare of the state, laws and faith" (Demosthenes, LIX, 114).

After investigating the status Athenian women had in law, we analyzed their daily life<sup>9</sup>. In this respect we studied the following problems: 1. The question of women's segregation; 2. Women and labor activities; 3. Women in the religious sphere.

The study of these problems revealed, that the daily life of women as well as their legal status was of ambivalent nature. In certain cases, women depict-

---

<sup>6</sup> Foley, 1986; Zeitlin, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Most valuable was the whole corpus of Demosthenes' court speeches: Demosthenes, *Orationes*, ed. S. H. Butcher, v. 1 -2, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966<sup>2</sup>. Demosthenes, *Orationes*, ed. W. Rennie, v. 3, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. . Also speeches of Lysias and Isaeus. Isaeus, *Discours*, ed. P. Roussel, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960<sup>2</sup>. Lysias, *Discours*, ed. U. Albin, Florence: Sansoni, 1955. For the interpretation of the Athenian legislation concerning family matters see: Harrison A.R.W., *The Law of Athens. Procedure*, Oxford, 1971; Harrison A.R.W., *The Law of Athens. The Family and Property*, Oxford, 1968; Mac Dowell D.M., "The οἶκος in Athenian Law", *CQ* 39, №1, 1989; Mac Dowell D.M., *The Law in Classical Athens, Aspects of Greek and Roman life*, London, 1978; Hignett C., *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1950. Lacey's book "The Family in Classical Greece", London, 1968 is still one of the most significant surveys about the Greek family.

<sup>8</sup> See Gould J., "Law, Custom and Myth, Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens", *JHS* 100, 1980, 39-59; Just R., "Conceptions of Women in Classical Athens", *Journ. of the Anthrop. Soc. of Oxford* 6. n. 3, 1975, 153-170.

<sup>9</sup> See especially Blundell S., *Women in Ancient Greece*, London, 1995; Lacey, 1968; Ehrenberg V., *The People of Aristophanes. Sociology of Old Attic Comedy*, Oxford, 1951<sup>2</sup>. Burkert W. F. M., *Greek Religion Archaic and Classical*, Oxford, Basic Blackwell Publisher, 1985.

ed activities despite the fact, that they were deprived of their rights. The cultural ideal also required of them to lead a passive life.

Correspondingly, we may claim that the social context of classical Athens was characterized with tension in connection with woman. The stereotypes established as a result of radical sex policy required revision. On the one hand, the cultural ideal and the norm that limited women's rights and unconditionally assigned them to the family space encountered certain problems; on the other hand, the marginal position of women envisaged by the legislation became questionable. Only after having all this considered, we can regard the social status of Athenian women as low. In Our opinion, the research of the women's social environment in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Athens enabled us to turn to Greek tragedy proper in order to investigate the above discrepancy/interrelation between the social status of women and their images in tragedy.

From Aeschylus' works We thoroughly analyzed the "Oresteia", as we believe the trilogy is the most important cultural document in any exploration of the social status and functions of woman presented in Greek literature.<sup>10</sup>

Regarding the trilogy two questions were studied: 1. The formation of the new model of relations between the male and female forces; 2. What do the female and male systems of values imply and how the complex interrelations of private and public spaces are represented through female and male gender roles.

The public space in the "Agamemnon" is represented through the actions and speeches of male characters – the herald, Agamemnon and the army (the latter is not an acting character of the play). It should be mentioned that the chorus of Argos old men – a male character – understands the service to the public space differently from the mentioned male characters and regards them critically. The survey revealed, that from the author's perspective, Agamemnon and the army carry out public interests in a wrong way as their service to the public area represents the extreme military domination<sup>11</sup> (such an impression is produced not only by sacrificing Iphigenia, but also by the behavior of Agamemnon and the army in the course of the whole war, their hybris). While analyzing Agamemnon's role, we accentuated another circumstance as well, which also caused Agamemnon's defeat. The commander not only fails to understand the service to the public space correctly, but he is also inclined

---

<sup>10</sup> Smith S. H., *Twentieth-Century Plays Using Classical Myths, a Checklist*, in: *Modern Drama* XXIX, 1986, 1; Zeitlin F., "The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the "Oresteia," *Women in the Ancient World, the Arethusa Papers*, edited by J. Peradotto and J.P Sullivan, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, 159-194.

<sup>11</sup> Gagarin M., *Aeschylean Drama*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976.

to barbaric values – to the luxury and satisfaction of his desires, which is associated with the female phenomenon and correspondingly prevents the male to fulfill his cultural role<sup>12</sup>.

Clytemnestra represents the female perspective of the tragedy. We have considered the dispute held in classical philology over her character. Scholars argue over how to regard Clytemnestra – as an androgenic female or as the woman different from ordinary ones, as she knows much more than they do and can check her emotions.<sup>13</sup> We analyzed in detail the passages, that present Clytemnestra from this point and draw a conclusion, that Aeschylus purposefully pictures Clytemnestra as a masculine female, which is testified by: a. Insistent accentuation of the intellectual abilities of the queen; b. Acceptance of the masculine part in the intercourse with her partners; 3. A string of Clytemnestra's activities: infidelity to her husband, choosing her sex partner on her own; premeditation and accomplishment of her husband's murder. However, the analysis showed, that the system of the queen's values is chiefly comprised of female ones – for example, she perceives the war, the public space, from the female perspective. Agamemnon's wife is insistent while explaining how greatly matrimonial relations suffer, on the one hand, from the war and its requirements (sacrificing Iphigenia), and on the other hand, from husband's abandonment of the family space.

The study of Clytemnestra's character revealed, that she is a complex image, i.e. she is not presented from the start as an altogether negative woman. The queen's intellect, her superiority over her partners and her powerfulness, as well as Aeschylus' critical attitude to the male values implied in the "Agamemnon" prompts to regard Clytemnestra, to a certain extent, as the "shrewd political rebel" against the existing regime<sup>14</sup>. However, along with it, Clytemnestra's image is gradually associated with the wild world. At first, this takes place at the mythopoetic level. Cassandra connects her with the dark, monstrous female forces. Eventually, it is Clytemnestra's own activities that altogether turn her into the negative phenomenon – she kills her husband, kills Agamemnon, who neglected family interests. But in fact, through this deed, the queen herself becomes the violator of oikos' interests. Remarkably, according to the Aeschylean gynecocratic myth, Clytemnestra's activities, as of the negative female phenomenon, do not end with the murder of her husband; the queen usurps the power, and, eventually, she and her lover Aegis-

<sup>12</sup> Podlecki A. J., "Aeschylus' Women," *Helios* 10, 1983, 23-47, 31-47 and Blundell, 1995,174.

<sup>13</sup> Zeitlin, 1984; Pomeroy, 1975; Foley, 1986,151; Blundell, 1995,174; they regard Clytemnestra as a masculine female, for the opposite viewpoint see: Lefkowitz M. R., *Die Töchter des Zeus, Frauen in alten Griechenland*, München, 1995,146.

<sup>14</sup> Zeitlin, 1984,175.

thus establish tyranny in Argos, which is regarded as the "rule of two females" – the gynecocracy.<sup>15</sup>

In the following plays of the trilogy Aeschylus offers his own interpretation of the gynecocratic myth. The playwright establishes a new principle of relations between the female and male forces. He presents the way to create a new system, at the end of which on the basis of agreement the hierarchical model of sex interrelations is built.

Aeschylus had to resolve certain problems in order to establish the new interrelation between the sex forces – the principle of subordinating woman to man. First of all, he had to present Clytemnestra – the female force – as an extremely negative phenomenon in order to justify her future subordination. And in fact, in the "Libation Bearers" the queen is presented as the mother-tyrant, who neglects not only matrimonial relations, but also those between mother and children. She makes her children's life unbearable and poses obstacles to their future. Besides, Clytemnestra is a dangerous force at the public level as well; at first, she creates the so-called "ritual" deadlock, and then the social one as well, which means, that under her rule, the social order is rendered invalid.<sup>16</sup> We carried out a particularly thorough analysis of the well-known ode of the "Libation Bearers", which scholars call the "misogynic" ode. After reciting various criminal deeds committed by women towards men, the chorus links Clytemnestra's story with the myth of the Lemnian women – the myth, that tells how wives murdered their husbands, which resulted in the total extermination of men and the absolute domination of women. Through this association, Aeschylus gives a warning – Clytemnestra, the uncontrolled force in general, represents a danger to the whole society. Such an ideology prepares the ground not only to justify Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra, but also to accept future subordination of women to men.

On the other hand, the male force should also be subjected to alterations for the establishment of the new system. It should no more be the subject for criticism – such as was the character of Agamemnon in the previous play. The new male character – Orestes is presented as a positive force in the "Libation Bearers". Aeschylus succeeds to offer such an image of Orestes by means of uniting several factors: Firstly, Orestes is the person, who fulfills the god's order, and who gradually acknowledges, that the murder of Clytemnestra – the killer of her husband, the mother, who rejected her children, the tyrant of Argos – is his duty. Secondly, Orestes is well aware of the fact that the task is very hard to accomplish. He regards the murder of his mother as an unholy act, a blasphemy, and feels the necessity for purgation. Thirdly, Orestes fights

---

<sup>15</sup> Zeitlin, 1984; Gagarin, 1976; Grossmann G., *Promethie und Orestie*, Heidelberg, 1970.

<sup>16</sup> Zeitlin, 1984, 145...

for the interests of both spaces – for the restoration of oikos as well as for the liberation of polis. And the character, which protects the interests of both spaces, is presented as the winner at the end of drama as a rule.

Nevertheless, these two points – positive presentation of a male and negative of a female – did not prove sufficient for the establishment of the new model of relations of the sex forces. It was necessary to solve the conflict that existed within oikos between its two institutions – blood ties and matrimonial bonds. Clytemnestra, the murderer of her husband, who revenged for Iphigenia's death, represented blood relationship; while Orestes, who took vengeance upon his mother for his father's death, claimed the priority of matrimony. Aeschylus had to resolve this conflict by means of attaching preference to either of the institutions, i.e. to one of the sex forces. The murder of Clytemnestra did not serve a solution to the dilemma, as the murder, according to the Aeschylean conception, did not indicate the elimination of the negative female force. On the contrary, after Clytemnestra's death, the negative female force is represented by even more negative phenomenon – incarnations of Clytemnestra – the Furies (Erinyes).

The conflict is resolved in the final play of the trilogy the "Eumenides". Under the verdict of the Areopagus, the significance of a male parent to the child was admitted superior and matrimonial bonds were declared more important, than blood relationship; correspondingly, Orestes was acquitted and the superiority of the male over the female was ultimately acknowledged.

The final step was the transformation of the Furies, who represented the negative principle, altogether dangerous to life. The Furies became Eumenides – the benevolent forces. By means of such a transformation, the political power of women was transferred to the sphere of religion, cult. Thus, the female force was subordinated to the male force, and the system of patriarchal relations, the patriarchal family prevailed.

The study enabled us to draw the following conclusion regarding the interrelations between this trilogy and the women of Athenian society: Through picturing Clytemnestra, the dominant female, the author presents the most difficult conflict, which existed in Athens of that epoch between two institutions of oikos – matrimony and γένη – blood relationship. Besides, Clytemnestra's image serves to show how much problematic was the phenomenon of the uncontrolled female force to Greek consciousness in that period. Greeks believed, that this force impeded the functioning of the society, and on the broader scale, prevented the progress of the society. In order to realize the significance of the phenomenon and its danger, it should have been represented by the most powerful force, the most powerful character.

The Aeschylean conception of woman implies the necessity to subdue, tame, and curb this force, which in fact is accomplished through the transformation of the Furies in the end of the tragedy.

The Aeschylean conception of women echoes traditional suggestions about the female nature. At the same time, the playwright himself introduces new cultural clichés, which to a remarkable extent determined the main tendencies of the attitude towards woman in classical Athens.

Of Sophocles' works we chose the tragedy "Antigone" as this play very clearly reveals the basic confrontation between the private and the public spheres through the functioning of its gender system. Among other problems our study also investigates as to what extent the characters of Creon and Antigone are identified with the institutions of family and state.

The research conducted made it clear, that Antigone stood for one aspect of *oikos* – blood ties, γέννη. The accomplishment of the interests of this type of relationship was, as evidenced in Aeschylus' tragedy, connected with the female force. Through her sacrifice to blood relationship, she, in fact, gave up the other aspect of *oikos* – marriage, i.e. – deprived herself, as a woman, of the generative function<sup>17</sup>. In our opinion, this conflict, which existed in Antigone's female role, was the echo of the very important inner tension between two institutions of *oikos* in that period. Out of these two aspects of *oikos* – the rival of polis, the new civil institution, was that of blood relationship, and the admission of the latter's primacy would mean the acknowledgement of the predominance of the female generative function, and of the female phenomenon on the whole – that of mother, the earth, the nature.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the conflict of these institutions of *oikos* can be considered with respect to the opposition – nature × culture as well.

Antigone's religious stand is treated separately. In fact, this position can be analyzed with regard to Antigone's devotion to blood relationship, as she observes the rite of burying the dead at the price of her life paying tribute to her blood kin – her brother. While observing the rite, Antigone believes, that gods are her allies and therefore, the human law, or more precisely, the tyrant's command is of no importance to her.

We have also studied Creon's conception of family, which scholars regard as the political perspective of family and which viewed family as a disciplined unity like polis. Besides, Creon's position completely denies the importance of blood ties. Moreover, he regards the devotion to kin, and love

---

<sup>17</sup> Sorum Ch., "The Family in Sophocles' "Antigone" and " Electra", CW, vol. 75, № 4, 1982, 201-211,205.

<sup>18</sup> Segal C. P., "The Menace of Dionysus: Sex Roles and Reversals in Euripides' "Bacchae", *Arethusa* 11, 1978, 185-202,187.

likewise, as the phenomenon, loyalty to which proves harmful to the state interests<sup>19</sup>.

The study of Creon's relationship with the public area gave an interesting picture. Creon's wrong position does not reveal itself in the tragedy from the beginning. As the drama starts, Creon presents himself as the servant of polis. The genuine nature of Creon's rule is gradually exposed – first, as he encounters Antigone, and then during his dialogue with Haemon. His confrontation with his son evidences, that the Theban ruler represents not the state, but one particular type of authority – tyranny. For this very reason, Creon failed to see, that the mutual complementarity of these two institutions was inevitable.

In our study a special attention is paid to the problem of Antigone's gender role inversion. Although Antigone asserts family interests, the traditional female sphere, she has to accomplish this by a masculine type of behavior. Antigone intrudes into the public area. Such a masculine behavior on the part of a woman is unacceptable for Creon. Most unbearable for the king is the fact, that a woman defied his command. He declares unambiguously, that he is not going to tolerate women's domination over him. Creon believes, that Antigone, as his son's bride, can be freely replaced with another woman. He does not regard woman as an individual. According to the conception, which finds male semen more important for the continuity of the generation, naturally, any women will do.

The lot, that fell to the central characters at the end of the tragedy, in our opinion, apparently, points to what Sophocles believed to be the right attitude towards the public and domestic areas. In the finale, both protagonists revise / change their positions. Antigone admits the existence of another duty. She says, that she went against the will of the citizens and performed the burial solely for her brother's sake; that she would not do this in case of husband or children (Ant., 907). At the end of the drama, Antigone is physically destroyed. Evidently, Sophocles did not consider it right to serve to one area at the price of neglecting the other.

Creon not only revises, but also changes his position altogether. The Theban king acknowledges the necessity of protecting family interests as well as of observing the divine laws. However, his remorse was late. He is punished; he loses his son and his wife. His wrong service to the public area inflicts harm on the city – the corpse left unburied offends gods and profanes the city. Creon, left alive, is ruined morally. The following conclusion may be drawn – one will be successful, and one's service to the domestic and public areas will be right only if one admits the interests of both areas.

---

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Knox B.M.W., *The Heroic Temper*, p. II, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 93...

We started the analysis of Euripides' dramas with the tragedy the "Alcestis". The tragedy proved challenging, as it provided quite interesting material for the investigation of the relationship of the literary fiction with social norms. We posed the problem in the following way – how is Alcestis' behavior to be understood – was her self-sacrifice for her husband's sake, and in a broader meaning, wife's extreme devotion to husband a norm in the author's contemporary society, or was it the matrimonial ideal set by the society?<sup>20</sup>

The study showed, that Alcestis' behavior and Admetus' appraisal of such self-sacrifice make up two perspectives – male and female – of the drama. For the male perspective, the subject was Admetus, and it did not treat the king's deed critically. As for the female perspective, it was altogether directed to Alcestis and acknowledged the queen as the only and the best wife, while considering Admetus guilty. We traced how the male perspective altered in parallel with the development of the play. The change of Admetus' position was especially remarkable. The king realized, that Alcestis' – his wife's self-sacrifice brought him only unendurable life and the name of a coward.<sup>21</sup> The revised appreciation of Alcestis' and Admetus's behaviors, the emotional chaos caused by Alcestis' death, and, especially, the king's tragic realization lead us to a certain conclusion – Alcestis' behavior, and in its broader understanding, the extreme devotion to husband, should not have been the norm of matrimonial relationship in Euripides' contemporary epoch. Along with it, we believe, that the drama also implies Euripides' attitude as well. The tragedist not only rejected this cultural ideal, but also treated it with the criticism typical of him. This is demonstrated in depicting Admetus humiliated and gripped with the complex of guilt.

The interpretation of "Alcestis" throws light on Euripides' conception of matrimonial relationship and woman's role in marriage. It runs all through the tragedist's dramas that deal with sex relationship – the proper functioning of a family, of a household is possible if the roles and importance of both subjects are admitted. We have also compared the play "Alcestis" to the "Odyssey" with respect to the parallels between the motifs, plot elements and the images of Penelope and Alcestis. Despite certain similarity, Alcestis and Penelope, Odysseus and Admetus are quite different from each other. Together with the significant artistic and ideological factors, which cause these differences, what strikes the eye is, that in partner relationship, woman's role undergoes obvious decline. This, on its part, is the response to the fact, that in the classi-

---

<sup>20</sup> Vellacot P., *Ironic Drama, A Study in Euripides' Method and Meaning*, Cambridge, 1975, 102.

<sup>21</sup> Very stimulating observation of these perspectives is presented in Luschnig, see Luschnig C. A., *The Gorgon's Severed Head. Studies of "Alcestis," "Electra" and "Phoenissae"*, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, ed. Brill E. J., Lieden, New-York, Köln, 1995.



cal period, the social status of woman altered compared to the heroic epoch, the alteration being directed towards the decline.

While discussing Euripides' "Medea" we have treated several questions: First of all, we decided to reveal whether the character of Medea deals with the social problematic of Euripides' times. From one point, this seems a bit curious, taking into consideration that Euripides was considered as a "carrier of feminist ideas" exactly due to the artistic interpretation of "Medea". And yet the problem existed because a group of scientists completely excluded the daughter of Aetes from the world of Greek women, as they considered the main sign of Medea's image was her magic nature and foreign origin<sup>22</sup>.

The research showed up that in some cases Euripides really points out Medea's magical nature. The finale of the tragedy – Medea's disappearance with the help of Deus ex Machina – raises a lot of questions. Like a number of scientists (Cunningham, Knox), we also think that a final episode of this kind and the interpretation of Medea's image in the episode is a mark of qualitative changes taking place in the soul of the heroine<sup>23</sup>. Those changes are considered to be the transformation of Euripides' Medea into so-called "non-human essence". To our opinion, the introduction of the magic plast of Medea is needed to emphasize the irrational power, "non-human essence" of Colchian woman. Due to the high surplus of the irrational, Medea is identified with the wild force, the force that was associated with female origins in Greek imagination. Moreover, Medea of Euripides not only stands side by side with "dangerous and destructive" women, but also by her deep artistic and emotional influence greatly strengthens the negative image of a woman, the woman conception considering female force dangerous for the civilization.

On the other hand, our survey revealed, that Medea's foreign origin is not the reason to exclude her altogether from the circle of ordinary Greek women. For example, Jason expects from Medea-wife the wifely obedience typical for the Athenian women. Only in the final scene, when Medea has already killed her children, Jason draws a demarcation border between his wife and Greek women.

We have also discussed Medea's image as a heroine – the follower of the heroic code. A number of features of the daughter of Aetes, her speech, moral principles, etc, form this very plast<sup>24</sup>. The following episodes present Medea in heroic terms: the scene of Medea's exposition; the scene where

---

<sup>22</sup> Schmid W. –Stählin O., *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, B. III, München, 1940; Grube G. M. A., *The Drama of Euripides*, London, 1941.

<sup>23</sup> Cunningham M. P., "Medea ἀπὸ μηχανῆς", CP, 1954, v. 49, #3, 151-160; Knox B. M. W., "The *Medea* of Euripides," YCS 25, 1979, 193-225.

<sup>24</sup> Medea as a heroic figure is discussed thoroughly in Knox, 1979.

Medea speaks with the Chorus, after meeting Creon; and the dialogue of Medea and Chorus, after Medea's meeting with Aegeus. The last episode, where Medea ends up her speech with the heroic credo, is to be especially mentioned.

We hold that the above-discussed features of Medea may not be considered as an obstacle for suggesting, that the heroine had reference with social problematic of Euripides' time. To explain the resemblances and differences between Medea and ordinary women, we discussed the attitudes of Medea and ordinary women towards "family problems". On the other hand, the attitudes of both Medea (a woman) and Jason (a pragmatic man) towards these problems are fixed in the research. The analysis showed the following results: female characters – the Chorus of Corinthian women and the nurse offer Medea their condolences and blame Jason, though they think that Medea's mourning and suffering is superfluous. Most of all, disagreement between Medea and the Chorus appears in the speech where Medea declares about the plan of killing her own children. The murder of children appalls them. The Colchian woman dares to reject the most Sacred, the sense of life. According to the Chorus, such kind of an action goes far beyond the unhappy story of an ordinary woman and transfers to other dimension.

Study of the position of Jason towards "family problems" showed that in marriage issues he pays attention mainly to public facade – political alliance formed by marriage bonds and to prosperity and careless life as well. Private life and love seem less valuable for him. Children for Jason are useful and important attributes for providing a respectable position of the head of the oikos. The analysis revealed the differences between the female and male systems of values concerning "family problems".

The research, that was carried on provides with the possibility to make the following conclusions: at the beginning Medea expresses the interests of the family space (Medea served as the best wife for Jason), and it is Jason who rejects his own family. He is seeking for the higher status and public recognition with the help of the new family circle. Medea refuses to obey the rejection of the family interests, she takes a revenge in her family space, but in her own space Medea acts in heroic terms, that is typical for another sphere – public sphere. The transmission of the public space habitual model into the private space is a clear evidence of her connection with the public space. When the habitual model that is typical for one definite space is utilized in another, absolutely different space regulated with its own laws, it may cause a catastrophe, destruction of the space where these models were transmitted.

The analysis of the gender system of the tragedy ascertained the dislocation of the female and male values including an explosive, dangerous element. According to Euripides' conception, improperly allocated female and

male values may cause a catastrophe identical to that described in the tragedy "Medea". It seems that the dramatist questioned the relevance of marriage norms of his time and considered their new interpretation as vital.

So far, Medea's relationship with Athens's social reality is clear, but at the same time her difference from other women is also evident. This difference is created with the combination of her nature, character, origin, past history, strong rejection of betrayal, and the final act of the tragedy – killing of her children. This very paradoxical coexistence in Medea's image (on the one hand, the woman who is connected with Athens' social problematic and on the other hand the woman who is different from ordinary Athenian women) creates the problematic character of her artistic image that was an obstacle to discuss the heroine in the social context.

From this point of view Medea's artistic image is an evidence of difficulties, which appear while studying the relationship between artistic image (literature) and life. Artistic image is a complex multi-planned phenomenon formed of many parts, the different aspects of which are the codes deciphering cultural values of the epoch.

In the tragedy "Iphigenia in Aulis" the complex relationship of the private and public spheres is presented through the gender system of the play. Besides, here Euripides put a special emphasis on the importance of the subjective, private factor in fulfilling the sexes' cultural role.

The character of Agamemnon in this play is the example of complexity imposed on the male gender role. Discussing the relation of Agamemnon with private and public spaces we found out, that the two roles of Agamemnon (head of the family and commander of the army) continuously influenced each other. This influence relied on the following aspects. The first aspect – the conflict between the spaces was an objective circumstance. Though this fact itself was not the necessary condition for the character's failure. Orestes is an example of how the person can act for the interests of both spaces. From Euripides' viewpoint, the dilemma of Agamemnon was caused mainly by the subjective factor – his character was not able to establish the balance between his two roles. The main reason of this was the disharmony in his soul. According to the cultural stereotype declared by the Chorus, the virtue of harmony was necessary for the male gender. The author believed, that Agamemnon's ambitious nature, unlimited selfishness and private, careerist goals interfered him to gain this harmony.

Besides, the analysis revealed that characters' devotion to this or that space was not firm<sup>25</sup>. This very instability indicates, that preference made in

---

<sup>25</sup> For the problem of instability of the characters in the play see: Griffin J., "Characterization in Euripides: "Hippolytus" and "Iphigenia in Aulis", in: Characterization and Individuality in

favour of one or another space was based on the subjective factor. In case of Agamemnon, when he considered that the duty of an army commander was not as important as family interests, he believed, that war was a useless event, based on irrational impulses and aimed to satisfy only one's own goals. But later on Agamemnon's opinion about the war changes and he speaks about high, patriotic goals of the war.

In our survey we discussed the character of Clytemnestra, as the system of women values is very important in her image. Clytemnestra's gender role shows how the results of the war and its influences are reflected in the family space. Besides, the queen pays quite a big attention to proper fulfillment of woman activities. She follows the established female norms unless the system she supported betrays her (the sacrifice of her daughter)<sup>26</sup>.

The character of Iphigenia in the tragedy is the example of the restriction imposed on the female gender role, whereas her deed, perpetrated at the end of the play, reveals that a woman's cultural role bears a potential useful for the society.

In the light of the relationship between woman and society, the artistic image of Iphigenia is especially important in Greek tragic corpus. Iphigenia gives life for her motherland acting from her own will. She transforms the necessity (her sacrifice for the success of the war) into the private wish. In her last speech Iphigenia mentions those values that she considers the most important, and she is ready to give her life for them. According to Iphigenia, the unity of the citizens is more important, than the life of an individual; man's life is more valuable, than that of a woman. God's will is higher, than human's. It's impermissible for Greek people to be subordinated to barbarians. As these are the values of social space, the scientists suggest, that by her speech and action Iphigenia assumes the male role<sup>27</sup>. They suppose, that Iphigenia's concentration on her future fame can serve as the confirmation for this opinion. It seems to us, that in Iphigenia's case we can speak about the inversion of the gender role. This is confirmed first of all by the fact that the virgin acts to protect male values.

Besides, the character of Iphigenia could be discussed from a different point of view and considered to be an ideal woman. She is an exceptional figure in the Greek tragedy. This is a woman who acts within the frames of social space, but unlike other women she does not do any harm to that space,

Greek Literature, Oxford, 1989, 128-149, 142; also Snell B., "From Tragedy to Philosophy: "Iphigenia in Aulis" in: Greek Tragedy in Action, London, 1978, 396-405, 397.

<sup>26</sup> Gamel M. K., Introduction to "Iphigenia at Aulis" in: Women on the Edge, Four Plays by Euripides (edd.) Blondell R., Gamel M. K., Rabinowitz N. S., Zweig B., New York, London, Routledge, 1999, 305-328, 347.

<sup>27</sup> Gamel, 1999, 316.

on the contrary, she appears to be the rescuer of the space. The fact that Iphigenia agrees to admit the sacrifice reduces the tension of the conflict. As Foley discusses very convincingly, her action is benevolent for her motherland because she serves to the social space from the religious sphere, the only sphere where women were permitted to participate. Iphigenia is an ideal character, ideal woman who gave her life for the public interests of her own free will. She was able to make proper contact with the gods through her "love policy"<sup>28</sup>.

Euripides' "Helen" is an especially interesting play from the point of relations between literature and art: the raise of the interest to the family space in society (the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century) is followed by the appearance of love plot in literature. "Helen" by Euripides based on such a plot is a clear example of the deep interrelation of these spheres.

The plot based on love motifs provides us with remarkable material concerning the functioning of the gender system. It is very important to reveal the innovation that dealt with gender roles of men and women. The analysis of the play displayed that men and women have different systems of values and consequently their attitudes towards the essence-points of the play are different. But in our opinion, one point is especially important here: Euripides did not suggest that these different values were completely irreconcilable. Moreover, the final scene proves that a person will gain success if he/she uses female and male values to supplement each other. The success does not include only the result. The combination of the values is necessary first of all for the perfect functioning of a person. Helen's help, the involvement of women values and means was necessary for the revival of the lost identity of Menelaos. What about Helen, she had to escape from Egypt and return home to gain the name of the devoted wife and thus to identify herself, and that was impossible without Menelaos's help, without male force. It seems to us, that Menelaos and Helen could escape the inevitable disaster only because they inactivated the values and means of both sexes at the same time<sup>29</sup>.

Finally, the analysis carried out with the purpose of explaining the discrepancy between the low social status of Athenian women and women images in the Greek tragedy, enabled us to draw the following conclusions:

1. Instead of "discrepancy" we propose to use another term, namely "interrelation", as more appropriate. Alongside the scholars of "social conflicts theory", we assume, that the Greek tragedy is the genre of literature, which does not mirror the social context directly; neither does it reflect straightforwardly the tensions peculi-

---

<sup>28</sup> Foley H., *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*, Ithaca, 1985.

<sup>29</sup> For a different interpretation of the final scene see Segal Ch., "The Two Worlds of Euripides' "Helen", *TAPA* 102, 1971, 553-614.

ar of women social role. These tensions -ambivalence occurred in every sphere of Athenian women's life – are represented in the tragedy, which stands as a symbolic arena for the reflection of the social problems through artistic codes and ciphers characteristic of its artistic milieu.

2. The interrelation between powerful women images of the tragedy and the social status of Athenian women is indeed very interesting. The very fact of the existence of significant women images isn't merely accidental. Notwithstanding their low social status, women in Athenian society had important social functions. Tensions between the two main Athenian institutions – the family and the state were central for the society of the classical epoch. Consequently, women holding a leading position in one of these institutions, i.e. family, were likewise interesting and important for the tragedy as well.

3. In our opinion, the discussed tragedies revealed the extent to which women's role was important in Athenian society. "Oresteia" by Aeschylus showed the significance of a proper definition of women's place for a normal functioning of a civilization on the whole. The trilogy depicted the complexity embedded in the institution of the family itself – the tension between a blood relationship and marriage. Sophocles developed this problem further in his tragedy "Antigone", where it was a woman defending blood relationship, the main rival of the polis – a newly established social institution. As for Euripides, in his tragedies interfamilial conflicts do not have a public nature any more. The "Alcestis", "Medea", "Helen" reveal the importance of a private space, of personal experience for a human existence as a whole. And more importantly, they show, that improperly assigned female and male values contain explosive, dangerous elements. The tragic poet also revealed the perspective born by woman cultural role – the possibility of woman's benevolent service for the society, which at the same time can be considered as an expansion of a woman's social role.

In the tragedy, the central medium for the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Athenians, very interesting processes take place with regard to the interrelation of literary and social contexts. The tragedy follows cultural norms. Besides, it essentially reflects the social changes of the late V century B.C., focusing attention particularly on the private space. Thus, the tragedy contributes to the creation of the new cultural clichés. The reciprocal process – tragedy influencing social life and visa versa – proves once again that it is very important to research the ways of interrelations between these spaces in order to study the current processes in both spheres.

Sophie Shamanidi (Tbilisi)

## THE MINOTAUR – PUNISHING OR THE PUNISHED

Ancient mythology abounds in different images of monsters; however, the Minotaur holds a particular place. If other monsters are normally treated negatively in ancient tradition, the image of the Minotaur invites double approach as early as ancient times. First of all, there was no common consent on the very existence of the monster: antiquity offers two versions: according to the first one, the Minotaur did exist, and his slaughter was among Theseus' renowned deeds, while the second version says the monster did not exist and was invented to either facilitate the understanding of certain notions, or is merely the product of someone's fancy.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The first version is more reliable. According to the most popular version of the myth, the Minotaur (or the Asterius) was the son of Pasiphae and Poseidon (or the bull sent by him). He had the body of a man and the head of a bull. Minos, in shame at the existence of this monstrosity, commissioned Daedalus to construct a labyrinth and had Pasiphae's child shut up there (Apollod. 3.8-11). (Interestingly, Pasiphae asked that very Daedalus to help her gratify her passion for the white bull. At her request, Daedalus cut out a wooden cow and covered it with skin. Pasiphae got into it to await the excited bull – as a result, the Minotaur was born). The Labyrinth was so tricky that Daedalus himself was nearly lost in its corridors and found the way out with difficulty (Ovid. 8.130). The Minotaur, shut up in the Labyrinth, was fed on boys and girls whom Athenians offered to the beast as a tribute (Apollod. 3.213, Diod.Sic. 4.77.1). On the third occasion, the Minotaur's "menu" included Theseus; however, the monster failed to digest him – the hero killed it with the help of Ariadne and even succeeded to escape (Apollod. E1.7-1-9, Diod.Sic. 4.61.4). Plutarch, too, was familiar with this version (Plutarch, 15.1, 17.3, 19.1). According to Pausanias, the struggle of Theseus and the so-called Tauros (bull) of Minos was depicted on the frieze of the Acropolis (Paus. 1.24.1). Theseus' killing of the Minotaur is mentioned by Hyginus as well (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 38). As stated above, according to the second version, the Minotaur did not exist. Plutarch, referring to Philochorus, says that Cretans had no idea about the story and that the Labyrinth was just a palace which was impossible to escape. Athenian boys and girls used to be shut up there – they were then offered as a prize to the winners of the competitions held in honor of Andro-

The 20<sup>th</sup> century artistic culture treats the Minotaur in even more diverse ways. In this epoch, the image became the object of a deep conceptual perception. In certain cases it was transformed into the creator's prototype or alter ego; on other occasions, it became the general symbol of a human desperate from the vanity of the world and so on. Naturally, all this has affected the approach to the Minotaur's function.

It is quite difficult to consider all 20<sup>th</sup> century interpretations of the Minotaur's image as their number proves unexpectedly big. The paper will focus only on those ones that obviously tend to rehabilitate the Minotaur.

The revival of the myth about the Minotaur and the Labyrinth is connected with the development of the surrealist trend. As early as the outset of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, André Masson offered Albert Scira, publisher of a popular surrealist magazine *Le Minotaure*, to design the cover of the magazine. Scira liked the idea but committed the job to Picasso. The magazine, with Picasso's Minotaur on its cover, was published from 1933 till 1939 and evidently, the spirit of the epoch was best demonstrated through that very image of the Minotaur shut up in the Labyrinth. The theme of the Minotaur was widely borrowed by artists of that period. Among them were Henry Matisse, Max Ernst, Giorgio de Chirico, etc. However, its most vigorous and unusual interpreter was Pablo Picasso. He dedicated to it a series of paintings. Picasso's Minotaurs are quite peculiar. The painter presented the beast either affectionate, or wild and lustful, or sad and frustrated with its own ugliness, or meditative. Despite such diversity, the paintings are distinguished for two principal points: 1. in the image of the Minotaur, they accentuate the sexual-hedonistic principle and 2. the image is somehow identified with the author's own self. Picasso cardinaly changes the traditional attitude to the Minotaur and presents it as the creature that corresponds to the principles of his life.<sup>2</sup>

From Picasso's paintings, the Minotaur penetrated literature which added new touches to his transformed image. Among the first writers who created the Minotaur's altered image in literature is Jorge Luis Borges. Evidently, his story *The House of Asterius*<sup>3</sup> compelled a number of modern poets and prose-writers to dedicate literary works to the image of the Minotaur.

---

geos, Minos' son. Among the winners was Minos' chief commander called Tauros, who was notorious of ill-treating the gift. Presumably, he was associated with the Minotaur through the name "Tauros"; or, may be, the story generated the myth. Correspondingly, the version, according to which the offered young men and maidens died because they were lost in the Labyrinth and not because they encountered the Minotaur who devoured them, existed already in antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> Picasso and the Myth of Minotaur, Art Journal, winter, 1972-73, XXXII/2.

<sup>3</sup> Хорхе Луис Борхес, Проза разных лет, Москва 1984.



The paper does not aim to discuss in detail Borges' fiction; readers are sufficiently well aware of his works. It will highlight only those points that make Borges' Minotaur different from its ancient prototype. These very properties are, as a rule, accentuated by the writers of the subsequent period. 1. Borges' Minotaur is a lonesome creature;<sup>4</sup> 2. The Minotaur, similar to a lonely individual, entertains himself all alone; sometimes, he plays hide-and-seek all by himself, and sometimes wonders in the labyrinth or jumps down from its top); 3. His favorite pastime is talking with the imaginative Minotaur – in fact, with his own self – another trait typical of a lonely individual; 4. Analogically with the myth, nine youths and maidens appear in the labyrinth once in nine years; however, in this case, they are not victims sacrificed to the Minotaur; they come into the labyrinth to be "rescued from the evil" by the creature; 5. The Minotaur is aware that some time his "deliverer" will appear; after he finds this out, he does not feel lonely any more; he expects, he tries to imagine his rescuer – "will it be a bull or a man? Or a bull with a human head?"<sup>5</sup>

The myth about the Minotaur holds a central place in Friedrich Dürrenmatt's works. This is testified not only by *The Minotaur*, which the author called the ballad, but his extended comment, which states in detail his ideas about the myth of the Minotaur and the Labyrinth, and how much important they are to the writer.<sup>6</sup> If Borges' character is a sensible creature and understands that death is his deliverance and deliberately awaits it, Dürrenmatt's Minotaur is naïve. He is enclosed in a glass labyrinth, and his image is everywhere.<sup>7</sup> He is unaware of the life outside; more than that, he can hardly identify himself with his own images. He believes the world consists only of the creatures like himself, and does not even suspect the existence of someone different: of a stranger who can hurt him because of his own phobias. The

---

<sup>4</sup> Although the myth pictures the Minotaur as the only tenant of the Labyrinth, it makes no allusions to its loneliness.

<sup>5</sup> Three years before his death, in 1983, Borges, old and blind, arrived in Crete: "Este es el laberinto de Creta. Este es el laberinto de Creta cuyo centro fue el Minotauro. Este es el laberinto de Creta cuyo centro fue el Minotauro que Dante imaginó como un toro con cabeza de hombre y en cuya red de piedra se perdieron tantas generaciones. Este es el laberinto de Creta cuyo centro fue el Minotauro que Dante imaginó como un toro con cabeza de hombre y en cuya red de piedra se perdieron tantas generaciones como María Kodama y yo nos perdimos. Este es el laberinto de Creta cuyo centro fue el Minotauro que Dante imaginó como un toro con cabeza de hombre y en cuya red de piedra se perdieron tantas generaciones como María Kodama y yo nos perdimos en aquella mañana y seguimos perdidos en el tiempo, ese otro laberinto", Atlas, 1986.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Dürrenmatt, *Erzählungen*, Berlin 1986.

<sup>7</sup> The writer purposefully resorts to alliteration and recurrence of words with the same root (Spiegelbild, Spiegelbilder, widerspiegel) to make up the impression of multiplication and alteration.

Minotaur tries to play with a strange man who enters the labyrinth, but the man is frightened and stabs a knife into the beast. The kindly Minotaur, who has never ever in his life hurt anyone, and has never known pain, is embittered and before dying, tears to pieces the young men and maiden dancing round him in the ecstasy of happiness. Moreover, the intimidated Minotaur stops to trust his own reflections – he shakes his fists at them, and seeing the same responsive gesture from the mirror, he crashes violently into it and breaks the glass. In the end, the Minotaur is killed by his "counterpart": despite all the adversities and confusions he had to face, he still welcomes amiably the other Minotaur, a guest to the Labyrinth, and starts to dance, which in fact turns into his death dance – the guest draws a dagger and thrusts it into the dancing Minotaur ... under the bull's guise is Theseus.

The ballad is not Durrenmatt's only work based on the theme of the Minotaur. As stated above, the writer devoted an extended comment to the great conceptual importance he attached to the myth about the Labyrinth and the Minotaur. After having considered its many different versions and interpretations, he concluded that the Labyrinth and the Minotaur are the symbol of paradoxicality. For instance, what he admitted as the Minotaur's only fault is his being the Minotaur: "Die Schuld des Minotaurus besteht darin, Minotaurus zu sein, eine Ungestalt, ein schuldig Unschuldiger; und darum ist das Labyrinth mehr als ein Gefängnis – es ist eine Unbegreiflichkeit -, es hält uns allein durch diese seine Eigenschaft gefangen und wird darum auch als seine letzte Paradoxie davon unabhängig, ob der Minotaurus existierte oder nicht, weil ein jeder, der es betritt, zum Minotaurus wird". He perceived the Labyrinth and the Minotaur as politically relevant images. The writer, desperate from the vanity of the war, identified himself with the Minotaur, the inmate of the Labyrinth. That was his way of protesting against his own birth, as the world he was born to was the Labyrinth for him, the physical image of the "mythic world", which he failed to understand. All related to the Labyrinth were either the members or parts of that paradoxical world. Therefore, he identified himself with those sent to the Labyrinth to either tear up others or become lost, and also with Daedalus, its designer, as well as with Theseus. The writer felt increasingly helpless in the face of the Labyrinth; "he, who designed the Labyrinth, knew all", but those who found themselves in it, are hopeless like the author himself, whose unceasing efforts to approach the outlet were all vain: "Am Ariadnefaden seines Denkens beginnt er, nach dem Minotaurus zu suchen, in den verschlungen Gängen beginnt er zu fragen, zuerst, wer denn Minotaurus überhaupt sei, später, ob es ihn überhaupt gebe, und endlich beginnt er zu überlegen – wenn er ihn immer noch nicht gefunden hat -, warum denn, wenn es den Minotaurus nicht gebe, das Labyrinth überhaupt sei: Vielleicht deshalb, weil Theseus selber der Minotaurus ist und

jeder Versuch, diese Welt denkend zu bewältigen – und sei es nur mit dem Gleichnis der Schriftsteller -, ein Kampf ist, den man mit sich selber führt: Ich bin mein Feind, du bist der deinige". With regard to the artistic and philosophical interpretation of the mythological image, Durrenmatt exceeded the rest of writers as he developed the image of the Minotaur, paired with that of the Labyrinth, into the generalized symbol of the paradoxicality of the world. Thus he perceives all (but the creator of the Labyrinth) as the "characters" of the paradoxical world – they have to exist therein having no slightest idea of it. Durrenmatt's appeal is the protest of a man who feels he is guilty only because he was born to this world.

Although the Minotaur is not the central character of *Theseus*<sup>8</sup>, a story by André Gide, I will still dwell on it, as the story presents quite an interesting image of the "monster". On entering the labyrinth, Theseus comes across the sleeping Minotaur. "The hero" is enchanted with its beauty: "Fortunately, the Minotaur was asleep. I had to hurry. But something stopped me: the monster was beautiful... the man and the beast combined harmoniously in him ... One fights best when one hates. But I could not hate him," says Theseus. The very title of the story reveals that it is the reception of the myth about Theseus and does not aim at endowing the Minotaur with a special function – such a presentation of the "monster" is targeted at exposing Theseus' negative properties.

Nikos Kazantzakis' play *Kouros*<sup>9</sup> offers an altogether different and original interpretation of the well-known myth about Pasiphae's child by the bull. Its characters are Minos, Ariadne, Theseus, the Minotaur, the Captain and thirteen young men and maidens. Like the majority of Kazantzakis' works, the play is difficult to understand as it is filled with controversies. All the characters have double images and their positions are difficult to identify: Ariadne, on the one hand, implores Theseus not to kill her brother, and on the other hand, she herself helps him escape from the Labyrinth; at first, Theseus rejects the maiden's love, but when he understands he can achieve his own goals through Ariadne, he starts to treat her differently; Minos sees in Theseus sometimes the enemy, and sometimes the rescuer; as regards the Minotaur, as the play starts, he is the fearful monster, and in the finale, he turns into a good-looking Kouros. In his letter to B. Knosis, Kazantzakis wrote the following about the characters: "Minos is the last product of the great civilization, and Theseus – the first flower of the new culture, while the Minotaur is the primordial essence of subconsciousness which possesses all, and in which the three major stages of development, the beast, the human and the god, have

<sup>8</sup> Andre Gide, *Theseus*, <http://spintongues.vladivostok.com/Gide.htm>

<sup>9</sup> Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, *Κούρος*, Θέατρο, τ.1, Αθήνα 1964.

not so far separated. And Ariadne is the love herself".<sup>10</sup> A young philologist, Z. Vacheishvili, offers quite an interesting interpretation of the play.<sup>11</sup> In his opinion, Theseus is the symbol of Christ. Like Jesus, he is ready to sacrifice himself; he goes down to Hades of his own will to fight the Minotaur – the Death. Besides, the researcher points to a number of details that bear allusions to the Gospel. He links Ariadne, an ambiguous character, to the image of Mary Magdalene, which in Kazantzakis' works is represented in a double way – as a temptress and as the person who helps the Son of God gain the victory over the evil. The Minotaur's metamorphosis can be interpreted as the apokatastasis of the soul – the sinful soul acquires back its initial state and is reconciled with God. Whether such an interpretation is acceptable or not, one thing is beyond doubt – Kazantzakis offers an altogether unusual interpretation on the myth, and his Minotaur stands apart from the rest of its artistic images.

The Labyrinth can be of different kind: made of stone, glass or even books. The characters of Umberto Eco's novel *The Name of the Rose*<sup>12</sup> are lost and die in the labyrinth of books, while monk Jorge bears allusion to the Minotaur – although it has a concrete and real prototype.<sup>13</sup> In the library, the same fate awaits all the characters, who are after banned (tabooed) books: they all die from the poison on the book pages – the poison kills those who wish to know more than monk Jorge finds it admissible. The monk, after his secret is revealed, commits suicide by eating the poisoned pages of Aristotle's

<sup>10</sup> Ελένη Καζαντζάκη, Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, ο ασυμβίβαστος, Αθήνα 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Vacheishvili, *The Struggle Between Civilizations and N. Kazantzakis' Tragedy Kouros*, Kutaisi 2003 (in Georgian).

<sup>12</sup> Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, 1980.

<sup>13</sup> According to U. Eco's *The Postscript to the Name of the Rose*, which in fact represents comments on the novel, the protagonist is Jorge Luis Borges, who continued to head the Argentine National Library despite his total blindness. Remarkably, in his description of the library offered in the essay *The Library of Babel* the word "library" can freely be replaced with the world "labyrinth" as it better fits the description: "El universo (que otros llaman la Biblioteca) se compone de un número indefinido, y tal vez infinito, de galerías hexagonales, con vastos pozos de ventilación en el medio, cercados por barandas bajísimas. Desde cualquier hexágono se ven los pisos inferiores y superiores: interminablemente. La distribución de las galerías es invariable. Veinte anaqueles, a cinco largos anaqueles por lado, cubren todos los lados menos dos; su altura, que es la de los pisos, excede apenas la de un bibliotecario normal. Una de las caras libres da a un angosto zaguán, que desemboca en otra galería, idéntica a la primera y a todas. A izquierda y a derecha del zaguán hay dos gabinetes minúsculos. Uno permite dormir de pie; otro, satisfacer las necesidades finales. Por ahí pasa la escalera espiral, que se abisma y se eleva hacia lo remoto. En el zaguán hay un espejo, que fielmente duplica las apariencias. Los hombres suelen inferir de ese espejo que la Biblioteca no es infinita (si lo fuera realmente ¿a qué esa duplicación ilusoria?); yo prefiero soñar que las superficies bruñidas figuran y prometen el infinito... La luz procede de unas frutas esféricas que llevan el nombre de lámparas. Hay dos en cada hexágono: transversales. La luz que emiten es insuficiente, incesante".

*Treatise on Humor*. Although the work makes only a faint allusion to the point of my immediate interest, it still stirs associations with the Minotaur, the Labyrinth and their innocent victims.

Borges' *The house of Asterius* inspired Georgian poet Archil Sulakauri to compose a poem *The Minotaur* (1994).<sup>14</sup> It starts with an epigraph that quotes the last phrase of the story: "Will you believe, Ariadne?" Theseus said. "The Minotaur did not even attempt to fight me." Similar to Borges' story, the poem is written in the first person, and in fact, represents the Minotaur's monologue. The beast is confined to the Labyrinth "with hundred gates", all of which are entrances and none is an exit. The Minotaur, wondering in its corridors, would come across dead bodies with unnaturally tortured expression – the one that results only from the fear of solitude. The Minotaur understands that solitude is he himself, that Athenians sacrifice the young men and maidens not to him but to the god of solitude which is within him: "Gods made me a man with a bull's head, a monster in fact, but breathed into me the spirit of loneliness. They made of me such a fearful image of seclusion, and enclosed within myself solitude – in the same way I am confined to the Labyrinth". Through killing the Minotaur, "the solitude imprisoned in him was returned to the humankind". Similar to Borge's character, neither Sulakauri's Minotaur offers resistance to Theseus. He knows in advance that he will be killed by the Athenian hero, but like Borges' and Durrenmatt's character, he expects death as the deliverance. The ending of the poem proves likewise interesting: "By the way: it should not be so much difficult to go to the Minotaur when one has in hands the thread of Ariadne".

The poem *The Minotaur in the Labyrinth*<sup>15</sup> by a Russian poet Alexey Alyokhin was composed in approximately the same period. However, unlike its Georgian counterpart, which does not aim to make the mythical event appear modern, it is set in the 20<sup>th</sup> century environment and represents a grotesque of the ancient myth. The setting for the poem is the Soviet Union, and the Minotaur is the manager of the Labyrinth. Despite the properties Sulakauri's and Alyokhin's poems have "in common", it is impossible to trace any kind of influence; however, they are interrelated with remarkable typological links (which can not always be explained by their common prototype – Borges' story): in both cases, the Minotaur is a definitely amiable and positive character; he is cheerless and lonely. Besides, the young men and maiden

---

<sup>14</sup> Archil Sulakauri, Collection of Works, in 3 volumes, vol. 1, Tbilisi 1997 (in Georgian). The comparative analysis of Archil Sulakauri's And Borges' works is given in the paper by K. Gardapkhadze *The Minotaur by Archil Sulakauri and The House of Asterius by Jorge Luis Borges*, Tbilisi 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Алексей Алехин, Вопреки предвещаниям птиц, Москва 1994.

that enter the Labyrinth are rather scared and even faint at hearing the name of the Minotaur: "The young men and girls ... desperate from the fear of my image, were lost in the dizzy vortex of the Labyrinth, and intimidated, dashed against the corridor walls" (Sulakauri); "...I used to receive visitors who almost fell faint at the sight of a young manager in an austere blue suit", "...And I noticed how the girls from the typing pool turn pale as they meet me in the corridor" (Alyokhin). In Alyokhin's poem, the outcast Minotaur would howl at night. The howl was audible outside as well, which enabled cheating captains to frighten young sailors by composing fearful fables about the Minotaur. Likewise, in Sulakauri's poem, the stories about the Minotaur's mischief are attributed to malicious gossip. The Minotaur rejects the rumors as if he has slaughtered and devoured boys and girls: "That is not true! The boys and girls, horror-stricken in advance, desperate from the fear of my image, were lost in the dizzy vortex of the Labyrinth, and intimidated, dashed against the corridor walls". The final part of Alyokhin's poem is different from all other versions: "Last fall, under the press of the production plan<sup>16</sup>, he was directed to the slaughter-house, so that they could pay out the premium to sambist<sup>17</sup> Theseus who represented the region".

Another artistic work inspired by Borges' story is Victor Lyapin's play *The Happy Eyes of the Minotaur*<sup>18</sup>. The play accentuates the same points; however, the genre it belongs to requires sharper plot elements and more distinct properties of its characters, who are more in number – the Minotaur, Ariadne, Pasiphae and Theseus. The Minotaur is lonely not because he has been shut up in the Labyrinth, but because he is God (the Son of God) and humans are unable to understand him. His dream is to meet another Minotaur, the one like him, whom he will speak to and will be understood. The play includes three scenes: the first one starts with the Minotaur's auto dialogue: he is alone and speaks to the imaginary Minotaur: "I have been waiting for you so long... I will never ever be alone... At last you have come... My sufferings are over..." – this is how the real Minotaur addresses the imaginary one. He awaits someone who will rescue him from the solitude. In the finale, Theseus kills (rescues!) the Minotaur. However, Theseus avoids killing him with his own hands and tries to deceive him: "I am the Minotaur... your elder brother. I've come to your rescue, to save you from the solitude, from stupid people, from the labyrinth that crumbles. I will give you back your sky... I

---

<sup>16</sup> In the Soviet Union, the government used to assign standard production plans for all industries. Overproduction was encouraged with a subsequent bonus.

<sup>17</sup> A sportsman practicing sambo – samozashchita bez oruzhiya (Rus) – a self defense without weapon; an international style of wrestling employing judo techniques.

<sup>18</sup> Виктор Ляпин, Счастливые глаза Минотавра, <http://lia-victor.narod.ru>

will fix a dagger in the rift of the hill... and you will throw yourself down from its top and right on the point of the dagger". The Minotaur: "And then, I will no more be alone? I will get back my starry sky...". Theseus: "Farewell to you, Minotaur!" The Minotaur: "Farewell, Theseus!" The playwright introduced into the play the elements of incest (Ariadne, the Minotaur's sister, and Pasiphae, his mother, are both in love with him), of jealousy (Theseus, being in love with Ariadne, wants to kill the Minotaur), and of revenge (Pasiphae wishes to get rid of Ariadne, her rival); however, they are intended to add more tension to the plot and have nothing to do with the central motifs of the play – the solitude, seclusion and the deliverance from it.

The theme of the Minotaur has not lost its relevance. A few years ago, a novel by Steven Sherill *The Minotaur Takes a Cigarette Break*<sup>19</sup> was published. The plot is rendered in modern terms. The setting is a small town in one of the US states. The legendary Minotaur, who works as a cook in a roadside restaurant, is a lonely and miserable creature. He tries his best to come into contact with the people around, to join average people in the rhythm of their life, and to find his own place. Though the Minotaur is no more shut up in the labyrinth and can communicate with the outer world – he has friends, even a girlfriend – he can not get rid of the feeling of loneliness: he is confined to his own micro cosmos, the invisible Labyrinth. Recollections of the tragic past and uncertain future prospects make his complex and faceless life even more burdensome.

Another recent edition based on the similar theme is *The Helmet of Horror*, an audio book by Victor Pelevin.<sup>20</sup> It offers quite an interesting interpretation of the Labyrinth theme. Its characters are engaged in on-line chat. The author presents the on-line network as the Labyrinth, and the characters as its captives. Due to individual character traits or certain circumstances, each of them faces his/ her own labyrinth to go through. Although my opinion of the text is far from being high, one thing is beyond doubt: if today anyone ever attempts to offer a new reception of the Labyrinth myth, Pelevin's version (i.e. presentation of the Labyrinth as an on-line network) seems the best as its reinterpretations similar to those mentioned above would nowadays appear commonplace and mediocre.

The works considered above form only one part of the artistic production that reflect the image of the Minotaur. However, their number enables us to state with certainty that the 20<sup>th</sup> century was quite prolific at developing the theme. The question that naturally raises sounds as follows: what accounts for such popularity of the myth in the 20<sup>th</sup> century artistic culture? Why was it

---

<sup>19</sup> Steven Sherill, *The Minotaur Takes a Cigarette Break*, 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Victor Pelevin, *The Helmet of Horror, The Myth of Theseus and Minotaur*, 2005.

transformed in this way? Why do modern authors try to find positive traits in the ruthless and perfidious monster and provoke readers' sympathy for him? If the tendency to "deheroize" even the traditionally greatest heroes that runs throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century literature can be explained by certain arguments, it is interesting to find out the causes that generated the opposite tendency – authors' attempt to make readers sympathize with the traditionally negative character.

I propose to distinguish three aspects that could compel artists to resort to the transformation – personal, psychological and philosophical-religious.

The first one – personal – reflects the conflict between the artist and the environment: the artist is not known, he is not understood, and all he creates encounters aggression. He is enclosed in his micro cosmos and feels outcast. Although the artist repeatedly attempts to break through the isolation and become assimilated with the outer world, he still faces negative appreciation – he is different (does not resemble others), and correspondingly, he is negative. Even if an artist is "accepted" and widely recognized, the public attitude towards him is often antagonistic because he is not forgiven his unusualness (like the Minotaur who is the descendant of the god). He believes he will be rescued by his "counterparts", only the one like him will understand him. However, such a hope frequently appears illusive as he never meets his "kin". The Minotaur does not resist Theseus who comes to kill him – this, in fact, equals suicide as the Minotaur, the offspring of the god, can easily defeat a mortal (Theseus). The Minotaur's deliberate and easy acceptance of death may even reflect the strong and widespread tendency among the 20<sup>th</sup> century artists to commit suicide.

The second aspect – the psychological one – that may also contribute to the transformation of the monster – is the hard social and political environment which the 20<sup>th</sup> century artists had to endure. People, exhausted with revolutions, civil and world wars, social hardship, totalitarianism and dictatorship, gradually lost humane qualities and came to resemble a monster, while technological advancements placed individuals in isolation and deprived them of the notion of social intercourse – forced them to forget how to communicate with their kin. Compared to the brutality of humans turned into beasts (like the characters who enter the Labyrinth in Durrenmatt's, Kazantzakis' and Gide's above-mentioned works), the monstrosity of the real monster is somehow tarnished and the beast appears far more naïve and harmless than human beings.

And finally, let us consider the third aspect which can be called philosophical-religious. It corresponds to the basic postulate of different religions (ancient, Christian, Buddhist) – a human is punished immediately at his/her birth for the original sin. It was not the Minotaur's fault that it was shut up in



the Labyrinth and recognized as the "monster". What accounts for the punishment are the sinful circumstances of his birth, and he was to pay for that; to put it in Durrenmatt's words, he was "Ein schuldig Unschuldiger" – "an innocent offender" punished because of others' misdeeds.

P.S. The paper was already written when J. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* was screened. It also touched the theme of the Labyrinth: to fulfill one of the tasks, Harry Potter was to enter the maze. Professor gave him advice: Do not be afraid, there is no danger in the maze – it comes from the people who enter it. These words reminded me of Kavafis' *Ithaka*: "Lais-trygonians and Cyclops,/ with Poseidon – you won't encounter them/ unless you bring them along inside your soul,/ unless your soul sets them up in front of you". Does the Minotaur exist after all? Or is he the product of our imagination? Or, may be, he is the result of the "invented" phobias that people carry in themselves. If one succeeds to overcome the phobias, one may pass through its Labyrinth without even catching the glance of the Minotaur.

Ketevan Sikharulidze (Tbilisi)

## **THE SYMBOL AND FUNCTION OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE ACCORDING TO CAUCASIAN-HITTITE DATA**

In recent years interesting works have been dedicated to the ethno-cultural relations of the Kartvelian-Hittite world. The interest of the scholars is particularly deepened by the fact that that Hittite realm was founded and existed near the settlement of Kartvelian (Caucasian) tribes. This fact gave rise to the cultural contacts of the representatives of these worlds.

Juxtaposition of the rituals described in the Hittite written sources with the Kartvelian (and Caucasian in general) folklore and ethnographic material certifies the relations of these historic neighbors and may help reconstruct some ancient mythological and religious notions of Caucasians.

This time the paper will accentuate the symbol and ritual function of the Fleece, which must have played an important role in the religious system of the people residing in Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

In the legend about the Argonauts scholars pay particular attention to the symbolic importance of the Golden Fleece and plenty of opinions have been expressed on this issue. As a rule, the question of the fleece is discussed in respect with Colchis. The adventures of Jason and his friends take place in the realm of Aetes. The plot has no analogy in the Caucasian folklore because it is a part of Hellenic culture; it originated from Greek mythology and expresses Greek people's interests. The myth glorifies the heroism of the Hellenic boatmen; however, as the epos and mythos contain the historical elements as well, it also reflects the fragments of the Caucasian mythological and religious notions.

Both the folklore and the customs of the Caucasian people have preserved the fragments of worshipping sheep/goat and its hide. It embodied abundance and fertility. It is well described in fairy-tales where the sheep resists the poverty – it fills with its products every corner of a house and leaves no room to

poverty. In ancient customs of the Kartvelian and North Caucasian peoples, the participants used to wear masks and hide of a sheep/goat as a symbol of fertility (J. Rukhadze, 1999, 80).

In the Caucasian customs connected with sowing and plough, the key role belonged to a man dressed in a sheep hide personifying a sheep or a goat. His clothes and actions are obviously related fertility. This custom used to be called "walking with a goat's image". A man with a goat's mask used to walk from yard to yard escorted by others. In Kabardian rituals the central participant was Azhi Khapa – the dancing goat.

The archeological material, mural paintings and the artwork with the images of a sheep or a goat point to the importance of the sheep cult. Therefore, it is not surprising that Georgian words "tskhovreba" (life) and "matskhvari" (He who gives life – metonymy of Jesus) derive from "tskhvari" (a sheep). They originated in the period when sheep breeding was the leading branch of agriculture and occupied an important place in mythological and religious notions owing to its high productivity.

This information proves exceedingly valuable with regard to the symbolic implications of the Fleece mentioned in the legend about the Argonauts. The oral tradition and ethnographic material of the Caucasian peoples were recorded in the XIX – XX centuries. By that time, the old religious system, where a sheep/goat stood for a deity, had long been lost, and its fragments had acquired a grotesque shape; however, on the basis of these traces, one may be certain about the authenticity of the information from the Greek legend which says that a fleece that hang on the tree in Aetes' sacred orchard was under special protection. Owing to its particular (protective) role, a dragon was introduced in the legend. The beast had an important function in the ancient Caucasian religious system. Owing to the fact that the fleece was identified with deity bringing wealth and prosperity, Greeks perceived it as gold itself (in mythology, gold was the symbol of deity and fertility). Consequently, the fleece was called "golden" in the Greek legend.

For the better understanding of the symbol of the fleece, parallels should be drawn with the Hittite rituals – in particular, with the royal ones that employed a fleece. According to the texts, a fleece – a sheep hide – was displayed in the Hittite capital of Hattusa. It embodied the deity Inara or was her symbol. The principal function of the fleece was to protect the city. It was connected with fertility, in particular, with crops, i.e. agriculture. On festivals the fleece was taken from the capital to different cities. This must have embodied the encirclement of the sacral territory.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards it was brought

---

<sup>1</sup> In my opinion the symbol of a sheep hide or a deity used to define the border of the territory which belonged to this deity and it used to protect the welfare of the population. The chief

back to Hattusa and the rituals in honor of the cereals deity were held for three days. Apart from it, in the city KILAMI, a ritual sheep hide was put on a fellow. He led eight other fellows and howled as a wolf. That was the magic of fertility (similar elements were used in Caucasian rituals and "Berikaoba").

If one assumes that a sheep hide had the same importance in Colchis, the reason and aims of the task Aeetes set to Jason will become clear. He assigned the Greek prince to plough the land which had not been an ordinary plot of land but the field of Ares, the war deity. This means that Jason on the one hand had to show his skills in agriculture (in finding means of existence for his people) and on the other hand, he had to resolve the conflict peacefully and thus protect his people. Apparently, it was the necessary condition to become the king. In this respect parallels can be drawn with the Hittite spring rituals called Haššumaš which represented the initiation of a prince.

This ritual is particularly interesting because it involves yoking of bulls and performing the ritual plough of land. Perhaps, the initiation of a prince had similar elements in Colchis; so Aeetes' trial was equivalent to his coronation – lets us bear in mind that the ultimate goal of Jason's visit to Colchis was to obtain the royal power.

In this respect, particularly interesting is the Hittite ritual of enthronement, which was occasionally performed by the incumbent king. His aim was to maintain and prolong his power. In the course of the ritual, the king conversed with throne. The ritual text makes it clear that the throne was the king's ally as it had brought him power from the sea. However, the text points as well to the conflict between them. The king expels the throne from his country and says to it: "Go beyond the mountains, to your house, protect it from within the mountain . . . you don't come to my home, and I won't come to yours." In this ritualistic dialogue there is a conflict between the nether world and the earth (the middle world in tripartite system), which correspond to the king and the throne.

In scholars' opinion, this conflict resembles the plot of the fight between the god of thunder and the snake (V.Ardzinba, 1982,87). The text does not say what the throne embodied, but as it appears from the sea and, correspondingly, represents the nether world, it may be connected with a snake or a serpent i.e. it corresponds to the royal power. It is assumed that similar to the

---

priests and accordingly, the executor of the will of the deity was the king who had to take care of his people. The symbol of the deity of fertility at the same time provided the strength of the royal power. That's why it is not accidental that taking the fleece from city to city was the part of the royal ritual. Apparently, this function of the hide generated one episode in fairy-tales: a crafty hero cuts the hide in narrow stripes and thus expands the plot of land given to him as a present. From the history of religions it is known that part of the ritual that has lost its function, continues its existence in narrative folklore as a plot or a motif.

Elamian tradition, the Hittite royal throne was shaped as a spirally twisted dragon or bore serpentine images. This can be related to a sacred mystery. The snake/ dragon endowed the king with its power; that is why he calls it "the ally". He received the royal power from the snake and expects his protection. This information came from Hattians, but Hittites either did not understand the sacral essence or as the time passed Hattian mystery mixed with religious elements of Indo-European tribes (Hittites were the best compilers), which altered the old plot; as a result, the classic model of snake fighting was developed. The traces of the archetype plot are observed in the Hittite religion and Caucasian folklore (K. Sikharulidze, 2002,152).

Taking into consideration the analogy with the Hittite mythological religious notions, one can assume that in Colchis the fleece, the hide of the sheep, was believed to be the patron of not only the country, but also of the royal power, it is by no means accidental that the fleece was protected by the dragon. From this point of view, it is important that the image of the fleece is engraved on the megalithic monuments discovered on the territory of the Caucasus. It is similar to the ancient mythological religious plot (the serpent giving royal power to the king protects the fleece – the patron deity of the king and his country). It is possible that some elements of the mythological religious system of the Kartvelian tribes were shaped in the consequence of the relations with Hattian-Hittite world, which were reflected in the legend about the Argonauts. In the description of the Hittite royal rituals it is said that the fleece used to be taken out of the city through the gates which at the same time was the site where the king administered royal justice. From this point of view, particular attention should be paid to the words "bche" ("councilor") which also means "entrance" and "bchoba" ("discussion", "argument"). Apparently, the language has preserved the archaic custom which is lost to daily practice but revived in Christianity with a deeply symbolic sense of "gates".

In the Hittite ritualistic texts there is more interesting information in respect with the Kartvelian and in general, Caucasian mythological notions. Research of these parallels may provide additional arguments to certify the existence of common cultural traditions of the people residing in Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

Tamar Sukhishvili (Tbilisi)

## USES OF THE SOMATIC WORD *HAND* IN OATH, PRAYER, SUPPLICATION AND REVENGE FORMULAE IN *ILIAD I*

Somatic words belong to the ancient lexical fund and the phraseological expressions formed by the participation of these words reflect many archaic semantic and morphological features that are valuable for the development of the history of language and thinking. In this paper I shall attempt to focus on the formulae of oath, prayer, supplication and revenge (anger). Hinting on the parts of the body in the above-mentioned phrases appears to be a usual practice closely connected with ancient imaginations, e.g. common revenge formula *I'll drink your blood* seems to be emerged from the ancient mythopoetic tradition: blood is a life symbol, it is a carrier of the human soul (cf. in Homer a soul flies away from the wound by blood, etc.). This formula is a metaphor implying a great desire of revenge, of annihilating (mainly referring to an enemy). Numerous examples of the formulae of oath, prayer, supplication and revenge (anger) can be found in Homer's poems. I turn now to considering the formulae containing the somatic word *hand* on the evidence of *Iliad I*.

There is a variety of word combinations and phraseological expressions formed by the word *hand* in general. This word appears to be very fruitful in the word creation process. It is to be mentioned that there are quite many formulae of this kind in *Iliad I*. This is not unusual. The song deals with the anger of Achilles and if we decide to find out the key word for this song it should be the very first word of the poem μένος (anger, passion). The whole composition of this song turns round the main point i.e. μένος.<sup>1</sup> Here is the list of the somatic words represented in the formulae of oath, prayer and anger in the 1<sup>st</sup> song of "Iliad": χεῖρ (hand), αἷμα (blood), λύθρον (defilement from

---

<sup>1</sup> B.B. Powell, *Homer*, Oxford, 2004, 66-113.

blood), θυμός (life, heart, anger), φρήν (mind, heart), νόος (mind), ἀνθερεών (chin), γόνυ (knee)...

Having observed the given formulae one can reveal some notable details. Here I would like to cite the opinion of J. Vandryes about the metaphorisation of the somatic elements. He speaks about the frequency of somatic words regarding the process of metaphorisation and mentions that the metaphor of *hand* is one of the most widespread examples. According to the scholar, hand is the main human instrument; a man usually does his work by his hands and there is a variety of jobs done with the help of hands.<sup>2</sup> Having considered the above-mentioned opinion the frequency of the metaphorical phrases containing the word *hand* becomes evident (cf.: Monkeys do not have hands, they have body parts for catching the things. A hand is a human attribute; the attribute of the creature that has speaking ability i.e. cognition<sup>3</sup>).

The 1st song of *Iliad* offers us a clear depiction of the functional diversity of the word *hand*. The priest fills a bowl for sacrifice with his hands; hand plays an important role in the ritual of prayer. Archaeological finds i.e. human figures with their hands raised prove the same. "Greeks rarely knelt in prayer; the usual practice was to extend the hands to the gods".<sup>4</sup> Chryses prays to Apollo the following way – χειρᾶς ὀρεγνύς. Pulleyn pays attention to the given form and notices that the form ὀρεγνύς is unique in Homeric prayer. In other passages ὀρέγων (delivered from the same stem) is found in prayers (*Il.* 15.371 and *Od.* 9.527). The scholar assumes that the latter (ὀρέγων) form was common but ὀρεγνύς was chosen just because it fitted the metre at the end of the line... Other authors used the following forms for the prayer: ἀναπτᾶς, ἀνασχῶν.<sup>5</sup>

Another episode I want to focus on is as S. Pulleyn calls it *the first example of full physical supplication of a god in Greek literature*.<sup>6</sup> It is the episode of Thetis asking Zeus to help her son Achilles. She slips down before Zeus, her left hand placed on his knees and her right hand held up to cup his chin. Thus she makes her plea to him. The passage is debatable. It is a kind of a mixture of prayer and supplication; the language is prayer, the action is supplication.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> J. Vandryes, *Language (in Russian)*, Moscow, 1937, 203.

<sup>3</sup> M. Heidegger, *Was heisst Denken?*, Tübingen, 1954, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Homer *Iliad I*, edited with an introduction, translation and commentary by S. Pulleyn, Oxford, 2000, 215.

<sup>5</sup> Homer *Iliad I*, 215.

<sup>6</sup> S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1997, 57.

<sup>7</sup> J. Gould, *Myth, Ritual Memory, and Exchange (Essays on Greek Literature and Culture)*, Oxford, 2001, 22-78.

S. Pulleyn, 56-70.

One can find the given episodes as indicating the differences between Homer's conceptions of human and god. Human world is regulated by the definite rules, while the world of gods has the rules of its own. Human symbolic actions (prayer, supplication) differ from god's ones. It should be noted that Achilles prays to his blood mother – the goddess Thetis as ordinary mortals do. This detail might denote the distance between mortals and gods.

Thus, *hand* is a significant part of the body that appears in supplication and prayer. In supplication the ritual act depends essentially upon physical contact with parts of the body (knees and chin) which are regarded as having a peculiar sanctity.<sup>8</sup> The gesture of rising up one's hand in prayer shows a desire of divine power perception. The hand has a function of a mediator, as well as a kind of a medium. From this point of view the function of a *hand* as an orientator is significant in ancient Greek expressions. A hand helps one to find direction and location. When Greeks wanted to say: where? In what direction? – they did ask in the following way: *ποτῆρας τῆς χεῖρος*;<sup>9</sup> But it should be said that this feature is not characteristic of Greek cultural area only, as such expressions as "on the left hand" or "on the right hand" are common for other languages.

Apart from the prayer and supplication gestures some impressive gestures of anger can also be found in *Iliad I*. In the episode of quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, Achilles replies to Agamemnon's cruel words with the gesture of anger. He places his hand on his sword (this is his first reaction) that is followed by the verbal formula of anger.<sup>10</sup> Placing one's hand on the sword, gun and etc. seems to be a common gesture of anger or revenge. It is a sudden furious reaction that is widely used in phrases in various languages. This very gesture denotes the main symbolic meaning of a *hand* – strength, power. Taking the sword in one's hand or placing one's hand on it is a demonstration of power. It is worth mentioning that hand is a symbol of power beginning with the ancient times. And significant examples on the given issue can be found in Homer's poems.

The formulae of oath and threat reveal the following meanings of the lexeme *hand*: 1. Hand is a protector; a person who takes an oath believes in his own physical abilities and promises others to protect them with his power i.e. with his hand; 2. Hand is an instrument of a certain kind of punishment leading to justice in the whole world (e.g. when Odysseus threatens the bridegrooms); 3. Hand is an instrument of violence.

---

<sup>8</sup> J. Gould, 26.

<sup>9</sup> H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968.

<sup>10</sup> For the commentary see especially Homer *Iliad I*, 186-187.



Before Calchas explains to Achilles the reason of Apollo's anger, he asks him to take an oath as a security guarantee. ... σύ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μοι ὄμοσον ἢ μὲν μοι πρόφρων ἔπessin καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξιν (*Il. I. 76-77*). ("And you pay attention and swear to me that you will indeed readily help me with words or with [the strength of] your hands"). And Achilles promises him: "I swear by Apollo, never shall any man lay hands on you" (*Il. I. 186-91*). It may be argued that the given phrases contain two symbolic ideas. The first is of *hand* as a symbol of power struggling for justice. It is the source of punishment aimed to revive justice that is destroyed. Here I have to mention that Calchas's request (asking Achilles to protect him by his hand) reminds us of Chryses's prayer to Apollo; Chryses asks the god to protect him by means of his arrows and thus help him revenge on Danaans (in this case a hand and an arrow introduce the same idea). On the contrary, *hand* is an instrument of violence; Agamemnon asks his heralds to go to the hut of Achilles, take Briseis by the hand and bring her to him: Χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηρον (*Il. I. 323*). The word ἐλόντ' (αἰρέω, to own, to catch smth.) indicates that Agamemnon just wants to demonstrate his power. Pulleyn pays attention to this passage: "Why does Agamemnon specify this physical contact? The heralds could presumably just say "Come with us". Perhaps the thought is that Briseis will need some physical persuasion to leave Achilles. It is also possible that the imposition of the hand (cf. *mancipatio* in Roman Law) was a formal legal gesture denoting acquisition".<sup>11</sup> I find the latter version more acceptable as the text in question does not provide enough arguments for proving that Briseis was somehow bound to Achilles. Besides, the word χεῖρ (χειρός) seems to support this opinion. Agamemnon is very angry and the verbal expression of his action i.e. taking her by hand only emphasizes and strengthens his emotions.

What conclusion can be drawn from the given examples? The two definitions of *hand* (justifiable and violent powers) are quite vivid. There are some valuable remarks on this issue: "Eide has pointed out that, of the five epithets applied to hands in Homer, namely παχύς, στιβαρός, βαρύς, θρασύς, ἄπυτος, the first two describe the hand in action, whereas the other three are more emotionally laden and denote the hand as an instrument of harm. Thus, the metrically equivalent formulae χειρὶ βαχείη and χειρὶ βαρείη are not in fact interchangeable."<sup>12</sup> In my opinion the above mentioned orientation-definition scheme may help us to make some points clear. A hand is an instrument of finding the orientation as it shows the direction. It is also an orientator of one's prosperity, and it may actually be discussed as a moral orienta-

<sup>11</sup> Homer *Iliad I*, 208-209.

<sup>12</sup> Homer *Iliad I*, 148-149.

tor, as that of the moral choice. Homer's characters, gifted with the freedom of choice, have to decide themselves whether to use their power for justice or violence. Though it must be also mentioned that there exists a supreme power over that of a man's i.e. Big Hand (Χεὶρ Μεγάλη, *Il.* 15. 695). The given expression can be found in as the symbol of divine power, Zeus in Homer. Although the physical power is not enough to achieve the main goal; Calchas asks Achilles to protect him by his hand and words (χείρ - ἔπος). In another episode Thetis asks Zeus to protect Achilles by his word and deed (ἔπος - ἔργον). χεὶρ and ἔργον appear to be semantic correlates in this case, as they both are the opposites of ἔπος (word) and this opposition is discussed as one concept. One may consider the unity of word and deed as the most important guarantee of security as well as the basis for human perfection and harmony. Thus, it can be concluded that the words directed towards Achilles emphasize the distinguishing features of his character.

Rusudan Tsanava (Tbilisi)

## MYTH-MODEL OF THE SUBSTITUTE SACRIFICE AND THE CLASSICAL EPOS

The legends on the willful and voluntary sacrifice and the related rituals are widely known in the folklore of all ethnos and people.

The ritual of the willful sacrifice, as it is presented and disclosed in the Georgian-Caucasian material, is studied by ethnologist I. Surguladze. In his article: "The willful sacrifice in the Georgian myth and ritual, and its cultural-historical aspects"<sup>1</sup>, the researcher analyzed the information concerning the facts of bull sacrifice as regards to St. George – the material left by missionary Archangelo Lamberti (XVII c.), Chardin (XVII c.) and Vakhushti Bagrationi (the particular detail stressed the point that a sacrificed bull was taken to the sanctuary *not by force*). The said ritual existed till the middle of the XIX c. and was popular among the entire population of the western Georgia.

The idea of sacrificed animals that enter the sacrifice area and altar voluntarily, under no compulsion and not by force, are widely spread in the entire Caucasia. Apparently, these animals that approached a holy spot voluntarily are chosen for sacrificial and create the grounds for establishing a ritual rhythmically repeated in time.<sup>2</sup>

Such attitude towards a concept of sacrifice as regards to animals is not limited by the instances of animals or birds, and the way of the believers' thinking and mentality was the same in the cases of their willful self-sacrificial, or the cases when they sacrificed a piece or a part of their body, afflicted wounds to their bodies or sacrificed their first-born children.

I. Surguladze reviews the instances of voluntary self-sacrificial in Armenia, Russia and on the territory of Western Europe. A similar theme is studied

---

<sup>1</sup> Surguladze I. Myth, Cult and Ritual in Georgia, Tb. 2003: 154-174

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 157.

and reflected in the works of I. Tolstoy dedicated to the materials concerning the classical period of Greek history.<sup>3</sup> We can summarize this issue: the fact that the diverse ethnic cultures spread and dispersed on immense territories and space are characterized by the systematic similarity of rituals cannot be merely explained by simple borrowing or lending. In spite of the modifications, the invariant version that reflects the essence of a ritual is preserved in all instances. It is obvious that in the religious thinking of the society it represented a universal bond the origin of which can be traced back to the layers of ancient past. The archaic origin of the ritual is indisputable. It is created and developed in the immense cultural environment.

It must be acknowledged that the ritual of an unforced animal sacrifice represents a peculiar category of willful human sacrifice. This problem is analyzed by I. Surguladze in his article "The Substitute Concept in the Georgian Myths"<sup>4</sup>. The researcher points particular attention to the issue of a Georgian folk verse "Menatsvle" ("A substitute") that was interestingly interpreted by V. Kotetishvili who considers it to be a ritual song<sup>5</sup>. I. Surguladze follows this line of V. Kotetishvili's reasoning and writes that the researcher disclosed a custom of "natsvaloba", i.e. of substitution, that had existed in Georgia. According to that custom, by charms or magic, the mother or some kin or relative tried to substitute their own selves for the ailing baby – in order to save the beloved child; instead, they were ready to depart and occupy the child's place in the netherworld. The existence of this custom in the Georgian highlands is confirmed under the name of "tavshemovla" or "shemovleba" which signifies "making a round (or a circle)"<sup>6</sup>. The analysis of the said ritual prompts an idea to the researcher that it reflects an orderly system of beliefs existing in the ancient past; according to the Georgian term, that system can be called a "substitution institute". The said custom was widely spread in the ancient world, and it was founded on a wider mytho-religious concept of the netherworld – and also on the principles of communicating with that world. I. Surguladze provides parallels from mythology of Greeks, Sumerians and other ethnoses.

On the social plane the substitution element was effective in the context of the sacral kings. Special rituals were revived that were aimed at the restoration and soundness of the tribe-chiefs or kings; along with the said custom

---

<sup>3</sup> Толстой И. И. Чудо у жертвенника Ахилла на Белом острове. В сб. Статьи по фольклору. М.-Л. 1966 19-23.

<sup>4</sup> Surguladze I. The Substitute Concept in the Georgian Myth. In: Myth, Cult and Ritual in Georgia, Tb. 2003: 169-174.

<sup>5</sup> Kotetishvili V. Folk Poetry, Tb. 1966: 80, 361-362.

<sup>6</sup> See: Makalatia S. Khevsureti, Tb. 1935: 235. Mindadze N. Folk Medicine in Georgia, Tb. 1961: 71-73.

there also existed another one that introduced the sacrifice of a kin of the king – or in some cases, even the life of the king's son; yet, in the end, the said ritual was shifted to the sacrifice of a slave. It seems obvious that in the said environment, the decisive role was attributed to the idea of a willful sacrifice; at least, as regards to the issue of animal sacrifice – the idea is definitely confirmed in the mundane practice and conventional existence. So, there are grounds to spread this idea on the issue of human sacrifice as well."<sup>7</sup>

It is possible to provide a number of examples when the case of the "substitute sacrifice" can be traced in the materials on mytho-ritual vision and ideas in a variety of cultures and ethnoses.

I believe that the substitute sacrifice ritual is particularly interesting the way it is disclosed in the Hellenic epic. In view of the said matter I am providing now the analyses of several episodes; they include the stories of Elpenore ("Odyssey"), Butes (the "Argonautica"), Mysenus and Palinurus (the "Aeneid"), and in my opinion they epitomize the idea of a substitute sacrifice. In addition to this point I underline another issue of the fact that they remained unburied. I have also to point out this matter as well: the concept of unburied represents one of the ancient mytho-ritual models. Thus, it is obvious that these two archaic rituals – of unburied corpses and of a substitute sacrifice are closely related in the analyzed episodes.

### Elpenore

When Odysseus escaped from Circe and started preparations for departure together with his companions, young Elpenore (who was not particularly bright, and neither brave) was awakened by the noise from his sleep on the "flat roof of a holy house (ιεροῖς ἐν δώμασιν)<sup>8</sup> of Circe. Being awakened so suddenly after the night of heavy drinking (οἰνοβαρείων)<sup>9</sup>, the youth failed to

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 172.

<sup>8</sup> δῶμα, τό - according to one meaning, the term signifies a flat roof, a so-called bani. In the XI canto a "megaron" is used in the same context (Κίρκης δ' ἐν μεγάρῳ καταλέγμενο, X, 62).

<sup>9</sup> Homer mentions the matter of being drunk in other episode of the "Odyssey": Odysseus makes Polyphemus drunk with the wine he, the descendant of King Laert, was given by Maron, the priest of Apollo. Homer dedicates 15 lines to the matter of this wine (IX, 197-212). So, in a sense, Apollo played some role in the death of Polyphemus. The god's hatred of the Cyclops has very deep roots. Apparently, the wine was viewed as a "punishing drink" and is related to the wrath of gods. It should also be noted that in the discussed episodes, the dead Elpenor comments on his fate in the following way: ἄ σε με δαίμονος οἶσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος which means "an evil demon and wine ruined me". When Elpenor, already in the kingdom of Hades, experiences the opening of the inner vision, he clearly defines that he was destroyed by Demon and Wine (wine as the means for the demon). As regards the matter of "inner vision", it is certainly present in the episode when Elpenor knows that Odysseus shall visit Aiaia when he is back in the world of living and the sun.

recollect that he had to descend a **long staircase** (ἄψορρόν καταβήναι ἰὼν ἐς κλίμακα μακρὴν)<sup>10</sup>, and instead of coming down he just made a step from the roof, **fell down** on the ground, broke his spinal chord<sup>11</sup> and died. Odysseus leaves Elpenore's body *without a due ritual of wake*, and heads for Hades, leaving the *unburied* and unattended corpse behind. The first soul that meets Odysseus in the netherworld is the soul of Elpenore. He tells Odysseus his story and pleads not to leave his body unburied; apart from that, Elpenore explains to Odysseus the way he prefers to be buried: to mound a grave mound on the seashore and drive an oar into the mound.

Immediately after his return to Aiaia from Hades, Odysseus sends his companions to Circe's house ordering them to bring Elpenore's body. This episode is followed by the scene of a burial ritual. It must be noted that Circe learns about Odysseus's return from Hades only after Elpenore is buried.

The story of Elpenore is uncovered in three cantos: X (551-561), XI (51-816) and XII (9-16) – 47 verse lines altogether. No doubt that Homer considered this information of particular importance, otherwise he would hardly describe it so extensively. Bravery is not characteristic of his nature, but he cannot be viewed as good for nothing either<sup>12</sup> – and these features do not present his image positively; the only detail that makes him different from all the others is his age: he is the youngest among all the other characters. There is also another detail worth consideration: the story of Elpenore is set in the most complex episodes of Odysseus's voyage, i.e. his descent into the netherworld.

### Butes

A story that is included in the narrative of the "Argonautica" of Apollonius of Rhodes describes the following:

The Argo ship on its way back from Colchis, passed an island of Sirens. The sirens represent creatures that are a mixture of semi-birds (οἰωνοῖσιν IV, 898) and semi-maidens (παρθενικῆς, IV, 899). They used to observe the area from a steep shore and when spotting a ship, they tried to attract sailors with their singing. A number of sailors fell a prey to their plot and ended their lives rotting and stagnated (τηκεδόνι φθινύθουσαι, IV, 902). They followed this scheme again, and on taking a glimpse of the Argo, began their singing; yet, Orpheus succeeded to cover the sound of their singing by his forminx. Never-

<sup>10</sup> This phrase is repeated unchanged in the XI canto.

<sup>11</sup> Likewise, the XI canto repeats the issue of the broken spinal chord.

<sup>12</sup> See the matter of Elpenore, as a creative image of the so-called "unnoticeable man", in R. Gordeziani, "Greek Literature (Epic, Lyrics and Drama of the Hellenic Epoch), Tb. 2002: 121.

theless, Butes, the son of Teleontes, jumped into the sea and swam to the island of Sirens. Yet, Aphrodite managed to save him: she pulled him out of the maelstrom and sent him to the island of Lilibeum where he settled and lived ever after. Apollonius of Rhodes does not provide some further details concerning successive episodes and adventures, but according to other sources, after settling the boy on the island, goddess Aphrodite made him her own spouse and even bore him a child, a boy she called Erix.<sup>13</sup>

This narrative is especially interesting because of a few details: sailors are attracted by the Sirens' song and fell a prey to their singing willingly and voluntarily. Apollonius of Rhodes notes that the Sirens used to damp and rot the bodies of their victims and prey – apparently because they devoured the decayed corpses. After saving Butes from the Sirens, and making him her spouse, the goddess certainly became the "possessor" of the youth; in fact, Aphrodite can be viewed as the person in charge of life-or-death of Butes.<sup>14</sup>

The story of Butes differs from the other three plots – the stories of Elpenore, Mizenus and Palinurus. The episodes concerning the fates of the latter are similar in the same point and on the same issue: all three of them died and pleaded for their burial. I underline the detail that in the Apollonius of Rhodes's version, the Argonauts believe that Butes died. The sailors are very upset but incapable of providing their lost friend any help, they continue their trip – and this is the way the writer describes the episode. Correspondingly, Butes is never again mentioned in the "Argonautica" – whether among the dead or the living characters. In my opinion, there is a strong resemblance with the myth of Iphigenia: goddess Artemis substituted a deer for the maiden the sacrifice ritual and set Iphigenia in Tauris and made her a priestess of her temple. This seems indisputable that we are dealing with the instance of changing one form of a sacrifice to another one.

In spite of the fact that the story of Butes does not represent a complete picture of a myth model (because the scene does not provide a death-scene or a death-episode), I consider the first part of the ritual very important; even for the fact that the said episode is preserved in a great work of epic. It is acknowledged that the mytho-ritual systems of Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, and of Vergil, are founded on the same principles.

---

<sup>13</sup> Serv. Comment, Aen. I, 570; Apld. II, 5, 10; Diod. IV 32.2; Paus. III 16. 4; IV 36, 4; IV 36.4; Hyg. 260.

<sup>14</sup> The Greek mythology has another instance of Butes, the son of Boreas. Dionisus drove him mad because he dared to rape maenad Koronida. After loosing his wits and reason Butes jumped down into the well and drowned (Diod. V, 50).

### Mysenus

The well-known VI song of Aeneid uncovers the following story: Aeneas visits Sibyl, the priestess of the god Apollo to learn from her what she foresees and what awaits him in future. After learning what the fortune telling stated, Aeneas begs Sibyl to teach him the possible way to reach the domain of Hades and meet there his own father. Sibyl sets to him two conditions: one – to get a golden twig, and the other – to bury the body of a killed warrior whose unburied corpse depressed the sailors. Aeneas could approach Sibyl with his wish only after fulfilling these two preconditions. So, Aeneas is induced to return to his kin and clarify the matter.

The dead warrior proved to be Mizenus, a hero of Eolide, a famed *trumpeter*<sup>15</sup>. He used to summon the warriors by the sound of his brass horn that excited the soldiers to the fight.

"Sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha,  
Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,  
Aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,  
Inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda." (VI, 171-174).

I want to pay attention to some particular details of this piece: 1. Mizenus blows not his usual brass *lituus* but *concha*, i.e. a conch; as it is known, a conch is the instrument favored by Triton. 2. Mizenus dared to challenge gods for competition and was duly punished for that – the way the mortals (Tamjrisi, Arakhne) had always been punished for their impertinence in fighting with deities. 3. According to the commentator,<sup>16</sup> the words "si credere dignum est" that appear on the 173<sup>rd</sup> line, clearly signify the shifting of narration to the myth plane. 4. Triton throws a "foolish" Mizenus from the cliffs into the roaring billows. The analyses of poetic images draws the following picture: the rocky sea shore is beaten and struck by waves that explode into a white foam. Standing on the edge of a cliff, Mizenus appeals to gods and challenges

<sup>15</sup> Vergil uses two terms to express the idea of a horn: *lituus* – is a horn with the bell turned upward, while *tuba* was a special horn used in the battle as a signal for soldiers. According to a commentator of Aeneid, there is a difference between *tuba* and *lituus* but Vergil uses both words as synonyms: in the VI canto (line167) Mizenus's instrument is mentioned as *lituus* but on the 233 line of the same part he uses *tuba* when describes the instrument that Aeneas stuck into the grave mound after burying Mizenus (arma viro remumque tubamque). Vergili Maronis Opera (with a commentary), Lond. 1888: 444.

Being an exceptional trumpeter, Mizenus first fought side by side with Hector, always carrying his lance and horn. After Hector's death Mizenus became Aeneas's guide and companion. In the poem there is a scene where Mizenus signals an attack to the Trojans standing on a hill slope (III. 239-240).

<sup>16</sup> P. Vergili Maronis Opera, p. 447: according to the commentator, the death of Mizenus a mythological story that took place in the "timeless time" – using M. Eliade's term.



them to compete with him. Enraged by the fact that Mizenus dared to challenge Triton to play "his own" instrument – concha on his own "ocean-grounds", the god hurls him down from the cliff and kills him.

Mizenus's death deeply affects all. The narration then switches to the detailed description of the burial ritual but suddenly the episode that describes the preparation for the last rites, is unexpectedly stopped – and instead of that the narrative switches to the forest where Aeneas follows two doves (185-212) sent by Venus. There he finds the tree with a golden twig and he takes the twig with him. Meanwhile, the Trojans lament the death of Mizenus and Aeneas joins them in the lamentation and wake (213-235). After the body is burned on the ritual fire, a burial mound is erected, and the cape is named after Mizenus.

The story of Mizenus covers 46 lines of the poem "Aeneid", and this episode is included in the scene where the descent into the netherworld is described. So, Sibyl orders Aeneas to return and bury Mizenus.

Vergil cannot be attributed to the category of authors that favor the overloading of the poem by extra properties or additional accessories. The story of Mizenus is linked with two decisive points: banning access to the netherworld (if he fails to bury the body, Aeneas shall not be allowed to enter), and finding a golden twig (if Aeneas fails to present the golden twig, he shall not be allowed to enter the netherworld). The tree with a golden twig grows in the holy forest that Hecate herself passed to priestess Sibyl to protect.

"... nec te

Nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis" (VI. 117-118).

### The story of Palinurus

Palinurus was an experienced helmsman of the flagship of the Trojan fleet (Aen. III, 21; 514-519). The V canto of Aeneid describes the death of that hero. He was doomed and condemned by the *deity of sleep* (Somnus V, 838) – overcoming him in slumber the god let the sleeping sailor *fall* into the water together with the broken helm (Cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas V, 859). As for the deity, he flew up in the sky (Ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras V, 861). Meanwhile, the ships approached the rocks (scopulos) where the sirens lived, once so menacing and covered by whitish bones (multorumque ossibus albos V, 865). Aeneas took the helm of the ship in his hands but was greatly upset by the fate of Palinurus who was to be left unburied on the white sand in foreign country (Nudus<sup>17</sup> in ignota, Palinure, iacebus

<sup>17</sup> In the commentator's opinion, in this context, *nudus* has the meaning of "unburied"; to support this opinion, he quotes an excerpt from Sophocles's "Antigone" where σῶμα γυμνόςαντες

harena V, 871). The VI canto tells a story of Palinurus's soul meeting Aeneas. The soul is suffering because it is deprived of the right to enter the kingdom of souls. Sibyl explains to Aeneas that Charon takes in his boat to cross the river only the souls of the buried people; so, the souls are forbidden to cross the river till the bones are not buried and covered by earth (VI, 325-6). Therefore, the souls have to spend a century wondering along the river bank and only after hundred years are passed, they are allowed to approach the swamp they longed to get to. The soul of Palinurus approaches Aeneas and tells his story: he says that he was not thrown from the ship by the deity and the god was not involved in his drowning (*nec me deus aequore mersit VI, 348*).

Due to Notos, Palinurus faced his fate and whims of the waves for three days. On the morning of the fourth day Palinurus was taken to the shore of Italy. He tried to climb the steep shore covered by rocks and cliffs (*Presantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis*<sup>18</sup> V, 360), but the pitiless and cruel people (*gens crudelis*) attacked him – clumsy and uncomfortable in wet heavy clothes (*veste gravatum*) – with swords (*Ferro invasisset*) in hands. Now the waves and wind roll the corpse along the beach. Palinurus appeals to Aeneas, entreats him and makes him vow – in the name of daylight and heavens, in the name of the memory of his father and Iulus, to save him from the terrible fate and *bury him, cover his body with earth* (*mihi terram inice VI, 365-6*). He asks Aeneas to go to the Velinum bay, or to try some other trick he may know if taught by the mother-goddess (*diva creatrix*<sup>19</sup> VI, 367).

Sibyl reproaches Palinurus for he dared to approach her while still unburied (*inhumatus*), but reassures him that soon he will find his rest. His bones (*resp. soul*) will be soothed and calmed (*ossa*<sup>20</sup> *piabunt*), then buried and a burial mound will be erected; a special holiday and celebration shall be established and in addition to that, the place shall be named after his name.

The story of Palinurus is uncovered in two cantos (V, VI) and it has a lot in common with the story and the closing days of Elpenor (partially, of Miz-enus, too). Palinurus fell into the sea according to the wish of the deity of

(Ant 409) *nudus* is used in the same meaning as in the cited example. *Nudus* (*nudo*) and γυμνός, i.e. "I am baring myself" – in the sense of burying, is interesting from another point of view: it is possible that the meaning of "getting rid of the flesh" is also implied. *Ignota*, or being buried in the foreign land was considered a tragic event, but the corpse left unburied beyond the borders of the native land was viewed as a complete disaster. P. Vergili Maronis, *Aen. Ibid.* II, 422.

<sup>18</sup> The "Aeneid" commentator cites Servius's comments and states that *mons* in this instance is used in the sense of *saxum*. Vergili Maronis *Ibid.* 472.

<sup>19</sup> *diva creatrix* is quoted in the VIII song (534); the analysis of this detail helps to deduce that the mother-goddess mentioned in the VI song is Venus, Kytheria. See: Vergili Maronis *Ibid.* III, 136

<sup>20</sup> According to the commentator, *ossa* = *manes* P. Vergili Maronis. *Ibid.* II: 474

sleep. It happened not far from the Island of Sirens; yet, in case he could die closer to the island, his bones would "join" the mass of the "white bones" and we would face a standard version of the myth, but Vergil prefers to complicate the narrative. So, Palinurus reaches an Italian shore, meets a crowd of the savage people and falls from the cliff after being stabbed by their sword. Semantically, both instances: falling from the ship-deck into the sea, and falling from the cliff into water – have the same meaning. It is possible to interpret this case as the desire of the author to represent Palinurus as the eponym of some cape of Lukania. The episode that takes place in the netherworld deserves particular attention due to its likeness to the story of Elpenore where the hero tells his own story of his death and pleads for his burial.

If the episodes where are involved Elpenore (Palinurus) and Mizenus are summarized, the following picture will appear:

All the three characters fall from a high spot and die.

The matter of the unburied heroes creates immense feeling of discomfort among the protagonists of the poem.

The burial ritual is described scrupulously (to the point of similarity with the last rites and the burial scene of Patrocles).

All the three persons: Elpenore, (Palinurus) and Mizenus were not in normal condition when they fell. Elpenore was sleepy and drunk, and Mizenus – elated by the sounds of singing; so, the similarity is also in the details that their death was preceded by an inordinate state.

In case of Elpenore, there are no signs that prove that he managed to engage anybody, although during his encounter with Odysseus, he says that he became a victim of Demon (and wine). In the case of Mizenus, it is obvious that he was punished by Triton's rage.

It must also be noted that the burying ritual is carried out after the return of Odysseus and Aeneas from the netherworld. Elpenore explains Odysseus all the details to be observed at his burial. Apparently, in "Aeneid" this function is fulfilled by Sibyl (see episode of Palinurus, VI, 379). Can we assume that the "right" way to carry out the burial (i.e. the way the souls need it to be done<sup>21</sup> and the way that pleases the gods) can be attributed to the heroes who had underwent the initiation? – Which means that they came out from the netherworld where they are instructed of the ways they are to follow and observe in reality. If the matter is viewed from this angle, one can assume that these three episodes represent the first sacral rituals, and all the successive burial rituals should be carried out in the similar way.

---

<sup>21</sup> It is instructive to make here a parallel with "Iliad" where the image of the soul of Patrocles appears to Achilles in his dream and asks the victorious hero to bury him.

The discussed episodes represent the so-called "insets, included stories". An epic narrative is capable of embracing and "bearing" a number of episodes. An epic narrative itself is created from a variety of stories but the cases that are analyzed in the paper represent another matter. Both, Odysseus and Aeneas have to worry about their dead companions in the conditions of utmost responsibility – in another sacral space, after descending into the underworld (or prior to that), and later as well. Butes in the "Argonautica" fell from the ship when sailing near the Island of Sirens (muses of the "beyond-world"). Definitely, all the three authors (Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, Vergil) attribute a special function to the meeting with the soul of the deceased companion. This insets show that the peculiar features of their deaths - along with the strict demand of the burial, shows that deceased represent the category of the "substitute sacrifice". They substituted for particular individuals (for instance: Elpenore – Odysseus, whom Circe was reluctant to free and let him leave the island), or the substitution concerned the aim that the people are anxious to reach (e.g. the Argonauts strive to get the Golden Fleece and then come back safely home: the Trojans – under the guidance of Aeneas, want to reach the promised land – the shores of Italy).

I think that comparing the Greek and Georgian sources offered the possibility to restore a scene of a particular ritual. This ritual was interestingly reflected in the creative and epic works of the period of antiquity and Hellenic culture.

Michael Vickers (Oxford)

*ANTIGONE IN ANCIENT GREECE  
AND MODERN GEORGIA*

Sophocles' *Antigone*, in which a girl defies her uncle's command that her brother should be denied a decent burial, has attracted a variety of critical reaction (Steiner 1984). In the nineteenth century, for Hegel, the *Antigone* was 'the most accomplished of all aesthetic works of the human spirit'; Kierkegaard created an analogy between the tragedy of Antigone and his tortured personal circumstances, while Hölderlin took her to be 'a terribly impatient human being'. In the twentieth century Anouilh was inspired to show Antigone as a martyr of the French Resistance. In August 2001, the British newspaper *The Guardian* carried a review of a production at the Edinburgh Festival of Jean Anouilh's version of *Antigone* by the Marjanishvili Theatre. The reviewer called it a 'beautiful production of this tragedy of conscience and resistance in the face of absolute power' and described it as 'about as extreme an example of political theatre as you will get. It lives again here [in Edinburgh] in a restrained, heartbreaking production of extraordinary power that makes you feel as if every word uttered is part of a continuing debate about the future of Georgia. To see it played in that country, before an audience that could apply its meanings to their everyday lives and their own struggles for democracy in a world where power seems only to corrupt, must be extraordinary. To see it [in Edinburgh] is incredibly moving'. There has in fact been a tradition of productions of *Antigone* in Georgia and all, whether Tumanishvili's 1968 Rustaveli Theatre production at a time when there was anti-Soviet activity in Czechoslovakia, or Nana Janelidze's 2002 amalgamation of Sophocles and Anouilh's *Antigones* in Kutaisi produced as feeling was mounting against the activities of what have been called 'the Shevardnadze and Abashidze clans', all have been indisputedly political.

What I hope to show you in the next hour or so is that things were no different in ancient Athens. I hope to be able to persuade you that the original performance, which is the one that matters most, was every bit as political as any subsequent performance in Georgia, Poland or Ireland (which have between them seen a score or more productions of *Antigone* in the past quarter century). To look at Sophocles in this way has been taboo, ever since Wilamowitz in 1899 stated that that ‘no Sophoclean tragedy has any immediate connection with a contemporary event’. ‘no Sophoclean tragedy has any immediate connection with a contemporary event’.<sup>22</sup> This attitude, which is still prevalent today, was reinforced by E.R. Dodds’ influential dictum that ‘it is an essential critical principle that *what is not mentioned in the play does not exist*’ (italics original: Dodds 1966, 40; 1973, 68; 1983, 180). It may be a source of satisfaction to some scholars to work thus blindfolded, but I do not share their enthusiasm. When we begin to push at what are in fact open doors, many interesting things emerge.

It has been said that ‘inexhaustibility explains [the] classic status [of *Antigone*]’ (Morrison 2003), and there is no end either to the problems of interpretation within the play itself. Perhaps the most notorious is the status of Antigone’s speech just before she goes off to prison (904-20). The problem was very well expressed by Goethe in 1829, in these words:

There is a passage in *Antigone* which I always look upon as a blemish, and I would give a great deal for an apt philologist to prove that it is interpolated and spurious.

After the heroine has, in the course of the piece, explained the noble motives for her action, and displayed the elevated purity of her soul, she at last, when she is led to death, brings forward a motive which is quite unworthy, and almost borders upon the comic.

She says that, if she had been a mother, she would not have done, either for her dead children or for her dead husband, what she has done for her brother. ‘For,’ says she, ‘if my husband died I could have had another, and if my children died I could have had others by my new husband. But with my brother the case is different. I cannot have another brother; for since my mother and father are dead, there is no one to beget one.’

This is, at least, the bare sense of this passage, which in my opinion, when placed in the mouth of a heroine going to her death, disturbs the tragic tone, and appears to me very far-fetched to save her too much of dialectical calcu-

---

<sup>22</sup> ‘Es ist auf das schärfste zu sagen, dass keine sophokleische Tragödie eine unmittelbare Beziehung auf ein Factum der Gegenwart enthält’: Wilamowitz 1899, 59; cf. Müller 1967, 245: ‘Grundsätzlich muss jedes zeitgeschichtliche Moment an Conception und Durchführung der sophokleischen Tragödien gelegnet werden.’

lation. As I said, I should like a philologist to show us that the passage is spurious. (Otto/Wersig 1982 [28 March 1827], trans. J. Oxenford).

Goethe was not the first to make such an observation, but his was the most influential. The lines are often deleted by editors, and paradoxically by those who want to see Antigone as the heroine, played by the most important actor. But Antigone has comparatively few lines in any case and to rob her of these is to give her even less to say. In fact, as we shall see, Sophocles has portrayed the mentality of an adolescent with exquisite accuracy, and any parent having a row with a teenager, then or now, would recognize the situation and the quality of Antigone's reasoning.

### *Antigone as a production of 438 BC*

But the fundamental problem is the date of the *Antigone*. It is conventionally dated to one of the years 443-441 BC, but powerful arguments exist for 438 BC, when we know in any case that Sophocles won a dramatic victory. More support may be found for a date of 438 in the way the outline of the plot, involving an unburied corpse, seems to echo the events after the fall of Samos to Pericles in 439, when prisoners were crucified, clubbed and left unburied (Plut. *Per.* 28.2). These events were so shocking that Thucydides chose to pass them over in silence, and Plutarch to dismiss the reports as irresponsible Samian propaganda. Modern scholars are divided between those who go for the 'plaster saint' version of Pericles' career, according to which he could do no wrong, and those who accept that something rather nasty happened to the Samian prisoners. Assuming for a moment that Pericles did punish the captives, the law would in fact have been on his side. The Samians had been traitors, and thus did not merit burial (Lewis 1988, 47-8). The cruel punishment to which they were subjected (*apotympanismos*: whereby they were tied to boards and exposed until they died) existed, strange to say, because it absolved the perpetrators of the charge of murder in that the victims, like Antigone in the play, in effect committed suicide (Calder 1968, 400, n. 48). Nevertheless, it was held in some quarters that Pericles' action was somehow 'not cricket'. Perhaps exception was taken to Pericles' allegedly having hit the dying men (who had already been exposed for ten days) over the head with clubs.

Some confirmation that Pericles was guilty of awful things may be found in an anecdote that has Cimon's sister Elpinice chiding Pericles for his cruelty after the commemoration of the Athenian war dead (Plut. *Per.* 28, 5-7). According to Plutarch, Pericles' Samian victories 'wonderfully flattered his vanity' (*θανμαστόν δέ τι καὶ μέγα φρονῆσαι*); he claimed that since he had successfully besieged Samos in eighteen months his victory outranked the Greek

achievement at Troy which had taken ten years to achieve (*ibid.*). I shall presently be suggesting that Sophocles might have wanted to diminish Pericles' reputation while at the same time distancing himself from the excesses (with which he was still, however, being associated centuries later [Strab. 14.1.18]).

It is a commonplace to say that Sophocles was a personal friend of Pericles. But even a superficial reading of the relevant sources reveals that their relationship perhaps had an edge to it. One of Pericles' 'very few recorded sayings' (Plut. *Per.* 8.7) was a rebuke to the playwright (who had cast lustful looks at a young cup-bearer) that 'a general ought to keep not only his hands clean, but his eyes' (*Per.* 8.7; Cic. *de Off.* 1.40; Val. Max. 4.3. ext.1). And in the context of another homo-erotic encounter, in which he outwitted a foolish youth, Sophocles said 'I am practising strategy (μελετῶ στρατηγεῖν), gentlemen, because Pericles said that while I could write poetry, I did not know how to be a general (στρατηγεῖν)' (Ion *FGrH* 392 F 6 *ap.* Ath. 13.603e-604e). Neither of these tales (which are the sum total of the testimonia) suggest friendship; rather, they suggest the polite face of a fundamental antipathy. Pericles' personal tastes ran in a completely different direction. It will be argued later that Sophocles' position was highly unsympathetic towards Pericles; in particular on account of what Pericles is said to have done to the Samian prisoners after the war.

R.G. Lewis has shown how vulnerable is the traditional dating to 443-441 BC, and how Sophocles was probably too busy to have written three tragedies and a satyr play and seen them into production before 439.<sup>23</sup> He did not serve as general in 439/8, and perhaps then having more time for writing composed the works that won the dramatic competition for 438 (*Arg.* 2 Eur. *Alc.*; Lewis 1988, 43). This, on balance, is the likeliest date for *Antigone*.<sup>24</sup> The implications would be considerable, and, *pace* Wilamowitz, there will have been a substantial influence of contemporary issues on the plot. The audience did not go to the theatre to learn yet more of the history of the House of Laius, any more than we read *Animal Farm* to learn about the everyday lives of country folk. Rather, they went to see dramas that were simultaneously couched in myth and which might also play allusively on current events, often *via* personalities who were at the forefront of everyone's minds. One would not claim that there was a one-to-one correspondence between Sophocles' charac-

<sup>23</sup> At some time before 443 BC all but one of a board of *hellenotamiai* were executed. The event probably took place before 443 (Lewis 1988, 37) and 'was unlikely to encourage negligent in-souciance in later boards' (*ibid.*).

<sup>24</sup> The sources allow for a second generalship in either 438/7 or 437/6 BC against the Anaeans, for which the base was Samos (Lewis 1988, 40-1). This might be Sophocles' 'appointment as general on Samos' earned by 'esteem from his production of *Antigone*' (*Arg. Ant.*).



ters and historical figures, but that his rich and subtly symbolic language and plotting would have inevitably recalled situations well known in their day, some of which are preserved in the anecdotal record relating to Pericles and his extended family. The year 438 was a time of general unease at home and abroad, and there is good reason to believe that Pericles was unsure of public reaction to the Samian war which, it was popularly believed, was started at the urging of his mistress Aspasia, the woman for whom he had cast aside his wife, the mother of his sons Xanthippus and Paralus.

### The tragedy of Creon

In the play, by far the biggest part is that of Creon. He has most lines to deliver and, unlike Antigone, is on stage for most of the action. There are powerful arguments for his having been the protagonist, and for the role having been played by the leading actor (Frey, 1878; Calder 1968, 390). It has often been noted that Creon's insistence that the interests of the state should always come before those of family (182-90) resemble the views that Thucydides puts into Pericles' mouth (at 2.38-46 and especially 2.60). But there is more to say on this particular point, for just as Creon's first speech (162-210) contains obtrusive references to himself and his personal opinions ('*ἐγώ, ἐμός, κ.τ.λ.* occur nine times ... often in emphatic positions,' Griffith 1999, 156), the same is true of Pericles' second Thucydidean speech, where *ἐγώ, ἐμόν, ἐμοί* occur twelve times between them (*ἐγώ* 2.60.2, 2.61.2 [*καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἶμι ...*], 2.62.1, 2.62.2; *ἐμέ* 2.60.4, 2.60.4, 2.64.1 [twice]; *ἐμοί* 2.60.2, 2.60.5, 2.64.2; *ἐμόν* 2.61.2). If Demosthenes could quote a passage of *Antigone* at length (194-214: Dem. *de fals. leg.* 247), we can be sure that Thucydides knew the play well enough to study it in order to gain an impression of Periclean style, if that is indeed what it enabled him to do.

According to Aristotle, Pericles' oratory was characterized by the frequent use of striking metaphor. He left no writings (Plut. *Per.* 8.7) and while extant examples of his sayings are few, they are impressive: the Samians were 'like children who have been given food, but cry nevertheless' and the Boeotians 'like holm-oaks that batter their limbs against one another' (Arist. *Rhet.* 1407a). Aristotle, in analyzing the different kinds of metaphor begins with 'those by analogy, such as when Pericles said that the youth fallen in battle was like the spring taken from the year' (*Rhet.* 1411a). A recent account of Creon's language is identical: Creon 'habitually starts out and ends his speeches with generalizations, and relies heavily on analogies and abstractions, often in the form of simile, metaphor or *γνώμη*. His use of harsh metaphors drawn from coinage and metalworking, from military organization and warfare, from the commanding and steering of a ship, and from the breaking

and yoking of animals, lends an especially rigid and domineering tone to his utterances' (Griffith 1999, 36). This is borne out by Plutarch who cites Ion of Chios, who knew Pericles and was less than impressed with his lack of social graces: 'Pericles was overbearing and insolent in conversation, and his pride had in it a great deal of contempt for others' (Plut. *Per.* 5.3), which corresponds closely to the Creon of *Antigone*.

More Periclean evocations in Creon's language include the frequent use of the words *φρονεῖν* ('to be resolute'), *νοῦς* ('mind'), *δίκη* ('justice') and their cognates. These are all significant words closely associated with Pericles: the relevant testimonia are replete with references to his *φρόνημα* (his 'resolve', e.g. Plut. *Per.* 5.1; 8.1; 10.7; 17.4; 31.1; 36.8; 39.1; Stadter 1989, 75); *Νοῦς* ('Mind') was central to the thought of Pericles' favourite philosopher, Anaxagoras (Plut. *Them.* 2.5); and Pericles' constant concern was for *δικαιοσύνη* ('honesty' or 'incorruptibility': Plut. *Per.* 2.5), given that 'he had so much opportunity for gain' (Stadter 1989, 193). Another frequent word in *Antigone* is *μηχανή* and cognates and compounds (79, 90, 92, 175, 349, 363, 364); if Pericles is in the frame, they would be allusions to his novel skill with siege-engines (*μηχαναί*) recently seen to good effect at Samos (Plut. *Per.* 27.3).

Another linguistic peculiarity of Pericles' own diction was, judging by speeches in Thucydides, the use of expressions such as *περί βραχέως* ('for a small matter'), *διὰ μικρόν* ('for a trifle'), *ἐπι βραχείᾳ ... προφάσει* ('on [no] small plea'), *τὸ ... βραχύ* ('the small matter') – all within a few lines of each other in the *Histories* (1.140.4- 141.1). Creon seems to use something of the sort, in urging brevity on Antigone at 446: *σὺ δ' εἶπέ μοι μὴ μῆκος, ἀλλὰ συντόμως* ('Tell me, not at length, but briefly') and in his reference to 'a little curb' (*σικκρῶ χαλινῶ*: 477) with which recalcitrant horses might be broken. In addition, the observation of the Chorus at 1327 *βράχιστα γὰρ κράτιστα τὴν ποσὶν κακά* ('Briefest is best when trouble is in the way') perhaps marks them out, polymorphically as extensions in some way of the Periclean characterization: perhaps to indicate the more reasonable side of Pericles' character. If so, this reinforces the view that the play is principally an evocation of Pericles and that Creon is the main character in it. But perhaps I should say a word or two in passing about 'polymorphic characterisation': it is a device whereby different dramatic characters might represent different facets of an historical individual's personality, and I have argued elsewhere that it was widely used by ancient dramatists (*PoS passim*). In modern times, the technique was used by the psychotherapist and playwright Nikolai Nikolaivich Evreinov (Carnicke 1991), and the Irish poet W.B. Yeats (Kiberd 1996, \*\*\*).

Repetition was another well known feature of Pericles' way of speaking. Thucydides made his Pericles say: 'Face your enemies not just with φρονήματι ('confidence') but with καταφρονήματι ('a sense of superiority')'(2.62.3) and Creon is especially prone to repetition after successive disasters have fallen upon him: *ὁὐ φρενῶν δυσφρόνων ἀμαρτήματα* ('woe for the sins of a dispirited spirit': 1261, on seeing the body of his son) neatly combines Periclean φρόνημα with repetition, while *φεῖδ φεῖδ, ἰὼ πόνοι βροτῶν δύσπονοι* ('woe, woe for the toilsome toils of men': 1276) combines both repetition and allusions to πόνος ('toil') that were apparently such a prominent feature of Pericles' oratory that Thucydides artfully packs his last speech with a series of references to πόνος (2.62.1, 2.62.3, 2.63.1, 2.64.3, 2.64.6; cf. Boegehold 1982, 154-5).

The encounters between Creon and the guard, the 'low class citizen soldier' (Griffith 1999, 165), perhaps reveal Sophocles' view of Periclean democracy, in that the guard stands as a representative of the kind of people who formed Pericles' constituency. It is ironic that the guard outwits Creon, but significant that he lives in fear of him. The threat of being crucified alive (*ζῶντες κρεμαστοί*: 309) must have been a real one if the tales of the recent Samian excesses were true. If the role of Creon somehow, however allusively, resonates with recent actions of Pericles, then the historical statesman's power clearly rested on something more than statesmanship, and Haemon's thoughts at 688-99, on how the citizens were afraid of Creon's very frown again illustrate the likely role of fear during Pericles' ascendancy.

Pericles was moreover extremely careful with his money. His family 'complained at his exact regulation of his daily expenses, which allowed none of the superfluities common in great and wealthy households, but which made debit and credit exactly balance each other' (Plut. *Per.* 16.5; 36.2.). He was also very much aware of the pitfalls of corruption, and for the most part managed to avoid them (Plut. *Per.* 15.3-16.9). This probably lies somewhere behind Sophocles' portrayal of Creon as mean-minded and as one who naturally assumes, on several occasions, that his interlocutors are venal and only interested in monetary gain (221-2, 310-2, 1045-7, 1327) – which gives a slightly perverse, but perhaps accurate, spin on Pericles' incorruptibility. Then, Creon's 'coldness' has been remarked upon (Brown 1987, 146); we might well compare what has been called the 'bleakness' with which Thucydides' Pericles consoled the relatives of the dead in the Funeral Speech (Gomme in *HCT* 2.143 [on Thuc. 2.45.2]).

Creon's language 'sometimes reminds one of sophistic debates' (Long 1968, 53), and 'the *Antigone* reflects contemporary political and intellectual language more obviously than any other Sophoclean play' (ibid.). All very true, but the 'intellectual fussiness' (Brown 1987, 147) is easily accountable for in terms of recent philosophical debate at Athens. Long has a revealing passage:

The Guard, ever eager to show his sophistication, tries to locate the source of Creon's anger, asking if it is his ears or his ψυχή which are distressed (317). When Creon angrily retorts, *τί δὲ ῥυθμίσεις τὴν ἐμὴν λύπην ὄπον*, the Guard calmly distinguishes the anger which he causes in Creon's ears from the anger Creon's *φρένες* feel towards the perpetrator of the crime (319) (1968, 53).

This is all too reminiscent of the kind of distinction made when 'some athlete accidentally killed Epitimius of Pharsalus with a javelin ... and Pericles spent the whole day arguing with Protagoras whether in strict accuracy the javelin, or the man who threw it, or the stewards of the games, ought to be considered the authors of the accident' (Plut. *Per.* 36.5). Pericles is again somehow in the frame, and the plotting resonates with allusions to his discussions with philosophers that were common gossip if only because his fractious son Xanthippus had publicly ridiculed them (Plut. *Per.* 36.5-6).

Next there is what is 'perhaps the coarsest line in Greek tragedy' (Brown 1987, 168) at 569: when Creon tells Ismene who is pleading for Antigone's life 'Others have furrows that can be ploughed'. If Creon does somehow 'come forward' as Pericles, this is a highly appropriate, for it aptly, if somewhat invidiously, resonates with the character of one who was 'was much given to *aphrodisia*' (Clearch, *FHG* 2.314 *ap.* Ath. 13.589d), and who was called 'King of the Satyrs' on the stage (Hermippus *PCG* 47.1 *ap.* Plut. *Per.* 33.8). We noted earlier that there might have been some kind of tension between Sophocles and Pericles arising from the former's pederastic tastes. Pericles' inclinations lay in another direction, and Sophocles in effect says 'there are plenty more where she came from' (Griffith 1999, 216) thus indirectly drawing cruel and crude attention to the string of women whose company Pericles enjoyed (for a list [of at least 10], see *PoS* 135).

If Creon is on the stage for most of the play, there will be long periods when he is silent. He is thus a 'silent, menacing presence' at 582-625 (Brown 1987), and it is likely that he remains silent on stage after the argument with Haemon while the Chorus sing their hymn to Eros and Aphrodite (Griffith 1999, 255). Creon actually states 'I would not be silent (*σιωπήσαιμι*) if I saw ruin rather than safety (*σωτηρία*) coming to the citizens' (185-6). This is an-

other way in which the characterisation of Creon will have set up resonances with the public image of Pericles, for whom silence in public was apparently a typical feature: Pericles quietly endured criticism (*πράως καὶ σιωπῆ*) and obloquy (*σιωπῆ*). The description of Creon as *στρατηγός* in line 8 is moreover in keeping with a Periclean characterization, for Pericles had held the position more frequently than any other Athenian (indeed in most years since 448/7 (Develin 1989, 81-93); Creon's entry from the field at 155, probably in armour (Calder 1968, 393), will have presented the opportunity to show him helmeted in the manner familiar from Pericles' portraits (Richter 1965, 1.102-4, figs 429-43).

### The Chorus

It was suggested above that the Chorus might be viewed as a polymorphic extension of the Periclean symbolism with which the figure of Creon is imbued, introduced perhaps to give a more nuanced picture of the protagonist. If this is indeed the case (and it would certainly bear out Aristotle's observation that the Chorus should be 'part of the whole and take a share in the action ... as in Sophocles' [*Po.* 1456a]), it will account for the rationalism and humanism of what has been called the 'highly problematic' (Brown 1987) First Stasimon (332-75). If it relates 'to the intellectual climate in which Sophocles and his audience lived' (Burton 1980, 101), it will be one largely engendered by Protagoras who taught in Athens between 454 and 444 BC (Morrison 1941; Guthrie 1969, 3.63-8). This is doubtless why Pericles 'shared the secular views of his teachers and friends. He was free of the common superstitions of his time, and he sought natural, rational explanations for the phenomena he observed in the world around him' (Kagan 1990, 178). The theme of *ἄτη* that pervades the Second Stasimon (582-625) and which can afflict a family over generations well corresponds to the Alcmaeonid curse with which Pericles' family was troubled (Thuc. 1.126-7), and will inevitably have brought it to mind. The bold imagery of the language ('earthquake; sea-storm; a plant harvested as it strains towards the light; the glittering residence of never-sleeping Zeus; a foot stepping on hot embers' Griffith 1999, 219) has much in common with Pericles' frequent use of striking metaphor we have discussed already, not to mention his practice of 'adorning his oratory with apt illustrations drawn from physical science' (Plut. *Per.* 8.1-2), and will again have created suggestive echoes. The Chorus' hymn to Eros and Aphrodite in the Third Stasimon (781-800) is appropriate if oblique allusion is made to a Pericles who 'was much given to *aphrodisia*', and if Creon remains silently on stage during the song it is indeed likely that 'its tenor and significance may be cru-

cially affected' (Griffith 1999, 255). The fates that befall Danae, Lycurgus and Cleopatra and her children in the Fourth Stasimon in a crescendo of cruelty (944-87) may well have a 'far from obvious' bearing on Antigone's situation (*ibid.* 283), but they are highly pertinent in the context of a tragedy that probably took as its starting point the stories told about Pericles having taken 'the trierarchs and marines of the Samians to the agora at Miletus, bound them to planks, and after they had been left for ten days and were in a miserable state, knocked them on the head with clubs and cast out their bodies without burial' (Plut. *Per.* 28.2).

### Haemon

So much for Creon. What about the other characters – Haemon, Creon's son; Eurydice, his wife; and above all Antigone and Ismene? Does their characterization resonate with any historical individuals? If it does, and if Creon 'comes forward' as Pericles, we might well guess that the allusions are to other members of Pericles' extended family. That this sort of investigation is supposed to be off-limits to scholars only adds to the interest of the exercise.

To take Haemon first. It is clear that Creon's relationship with his son is not a happy one. Their encounter on stage is an early example of a debate 'across the generation gap' (Strauss 1993, 48-7, 134-6; cf. Handley 1993; *PoS* 42-58). Their discussion begins politely enough, with Haemon saying appropriately placatory things in the hope of gaining his father's goodwill. But Creon's refusal to allow Haemon even to consider marrying Antigone after what she has done is met with increasing frustration on the young man's side. Their disagreement culminates with Haemon declaring that his father will never set eyes on him again, and suggesting that he should 'Rave, living with those of your loved ones who are willing <to put up with you>' (Griffith 1999, 252). All this closely parallels Pericles' rather public quarrels with his eldest son Xanthippus, who was at least nineteen in 438, and quite possibly older (Stadter 1989, 326), and as a young man had quarrelled bitterly with his father. Their differences were essentially over money, but Xanthippus also spread rumours that Pericles had had an intrigue with his daughter-in-law, Xanthippus' wife. Their quarrel was to be unresolved down to the time of Xanthippus' death in the plague of 430/29 BC (Plut. *Per.* 36.3). Xanthippus' wife was 'young and spendthrift', and he initially fell out with his father over the latter's stinginess. We hear of Xanthippus being so angry with Pericles over one financial issue that he 'was enraged and abused his father, sneering at his way of life and his discussions with the sophists' (Plut. *Per.* 36.4). Plutarch actually tells us who one of the 'sophists' was, namely Protagoras

(36.5), which serves as a possible chronological marker, inasmuch as Protagoras was in Athens until 444 (Plut. *Per.* 11.5; Diog. Laert. 9.50).

When Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema was composing his *Phidias and the frieze of the Parthenon*, Athens now in Birmingham City Art Gallery, he read his Plutarch very carefully, and having noted that Pericles' suffered from a congenital malformation of the skull, gave Xanthippus a similarly shaped head (Vickers, forthcoming). We do not have any direct information concerning the way Xanthippus spoke, but if Haemon's language resembles that of Creon (as it seems to), then allusions may be there which intensify any possible Periclean reference. The metaphors at 712-18, about yielding and unyielding trees are precisely the sort of thing we hear about in the minute corpus of authentic Periclean utterances; at least 'holm-oaks battering their limbs against one another' (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1407a) belong to the same register. Then Haemon's pleonasm at 763-4, where he says 'Never will you see, looking with your eyes, my face again', is the kind of Periclean utterance that we have just seen Sophocles exploiting. Then the scandalous stories about Pericles' carrying-on with his daughter-in-law may ultimately lie behind Creon's statement at 571 to the effect that he would not like 'evil wives for [his] sons', and Ismene's enquiry at 574, as to whether Creon 'will rob [his] son of this woman', is perhaps similarly based on the public image of the Periclean ménage.

### Aspasia

But there is probably yet another woman lurking behind what Sophocles makes Creon and Haemon say to each other. Creon warns his son not to 'dethrone [his] reason for pleasure's sake' and end up with 'an evil woman to share [his] bed and home' (648-51). This sounds very much like an oblique allusion not so much to Xanthippus' domestic arrangements as to Pericles' own, all the more effective in the mouth of a Creon. For it was said of Pericles that 'it was thought that he began the war with the Samians in order to please Aspasia (Plut. *Per.* 24.1-2; cf. 25.1). Similarly, Creon's criticism of his son taking second place to a woman (746) and the charge that his son is 'a slave to a woman' (756) are probably intended to put a hypocritical spin on the accusations.

If Creon does 'comes forward' as a metaphor of Pericles, his wife Eurydice will somehow have evoked Aspasia. Eurydice is not on stage for long, but the way in which she describes her dallying by the doorway of her house at 1185-1188 looks like an oblique allusion to Pericles's practice of never to have gone in or out of his house without embracing and kissing Aspasia pas-

sionately (*Per.* 24.9; cf. *Ath.* 13.589*e*); and if we know this, we can be sure that Sophocles did. We may even charge Sophocles with his own act of cruelty in making Eurydice die a gruesome death; but the curse on Creon that Eurydice utters with her dying breath (1304-5) will have been even crueller, in that it was perhaps the most powerful way – all the stronger for being allusive – in which Sophocles could truly hurt the main target of his criticism who valued his relationship with Aspasia above all else.

Creon has recently been called ‘an ordinary, self-centred, unimaginative man, invested with more responsibility than he can carry’ (Brown 1987, 7): an immense contrast, but probably a deliberate one, with the hero of Samos who had carried, but left unburied, all before him. To make a character on the stage reproduce Pericles’ stock phrases and peculiarities of speech, and to make him interact with recognisable members of his household was a clever, but hardly unparalleled, means of criticism. The mythological veneer enabled the playwright to be if anything more direct in his criticism, while at the same time distancing himself. Or rather, he does not distance himself, but engages in an analysis of what happened that is richer and more evocative (and safer) than any explicit account of Pericles’ cruelty might have been. The dramatic stage was very much part of Athenian political life, and once it is realised that a dramatic festival was the occasion for the pouring of libations by the generals, for the display of the annual tribute, for the praise of civic benefactors, and the parade in armour of war orphans (Goldhill 1987), then we can easily understand how plays might have a political resonance, and how the stage – whether tragic or comic – might be the place where things could be said that were impossible to say in other contexts.

### Alcibiades

But there are other family members to consider. Ever since 447 BC, Pericles had been joint guardian of Alcibiades and Cleinias, the son of the war hero Cleinias who had died at Coronea.<sup>25</sup> Both boys were a handful. The single reference we have to Cleinias tells us a lot about both. Pericles was afraid ‘that Cleinias would be corrupted by Alcibiades, took him away, and placed him in the house of Ariphron – his fellow guardian – to be educated; but before six months had elapsed, Ariphron sent him back, not knowing what to do with him’ (*Pl. Prot.* 320.a). Relations between Pericles and his delinquent wards can never have been easy. Stories were told about the infant Alcibiades’ wilfulness and obduracy: of his having held up a cart driven by a

---

<sup>25</sup> An unpublished inscription (described by Develin 1989, 429) has Alcibiades proposing legislation in 422/21 BC, which implies that he was already thirty years old, and thus born in 452/51 BC.



peasant that threatened to disturb a game of knucklebones by lying down in front of it and refusing to budge (Plut. *Alc.* 2.3-4); of his having as a boy (*παῖς ὦν*) run away from home to the house of an admirer; of his having taken a mistress when under age, ‘suffering terrible things, but performing worse’, and – most significant, this – boasting that ‘dressed in women’s clothes ... he attended symposia undetected’ [Lib. *fr.* 50.2.12-13].

It was only with the greatest reluctance that I admitted even to myself that there may somehow be an evocation of Alcibiades in the figure of Antigone. But odd as it sounds at first, the idea not only works, but enables us – as we shall presently see – to explain away the major difficulty with the play, namely the bizarre speech to which Goethe took such exception. Rather than being thoroughly un-Sophoclean, it is part of Sophocles’ skilful character-building. The willful, headstrong, Antigone has much in common with Alcibiades, who will have been fourteen in 438 and presumably already boasting about dressing as a woman.

Just as the character of Creon might be held to incorporate invidious echoes of Pericles, that of Antigone embodies many personality traits peculiar to Alcibiades. For all that he was very young, these will have been well known to the audience. Even as a child he was one of the richest individuals in Athens, was the object of widespread attention from would-be admirers (Plut. *Alc.* 4-6), and was an influential arbiter of taste. For example, while still a schoolboy he caused the playing of the *aulos* to go entirely out of fashion (Plut. *Alc.* 2.5-7). It is not that Alcibiades had a bad teacher; he was taught by the famous Pronomus (Ath. 4. 184d; cf. Paus. 9.12.5). Significantly, this information comes in a book entitled *Euripides and Sophocles*, and it is difficult to explain why such a question should have been discussed there unless a tragedy was in question. ‘Let the children of the Thebans’, Alcibiades used to say, ‘play the *aulos*, for they know not how to speak’. This is where I think Sophocles was extremely clever, to evoke the cross-dressing Alcibiades in the person of Antigone, who was very much a ‘child of Thebes’.

Alcibiades’ notorious childhood seems to be alluded to early in the play, for Antigone’s third sentence may be translated as ‘What is this proclamation (*κήρυγμα*) they say the general (*τὸν στρατηγόν*) has just published to the whole city?’ This can be read as an oblique allusion to a story told about Alcibiades’ boyhood described by his contemporary Antiphon (*fr.* 66 Bl. *ap.* Plut. *Per.* 3.2) in these words:

Alcibiades as a boy (*παῖς ὦν*) ran away from home to the house of one of his admirers Democrates. When Ariphron proposed to have [his disappearance] proclaimed (*ἐπικηρύττειν*), Pericles [the *στρατηγός par excellence*] forbade it, saying that if he was dead, he would only be

found one day sooner because of the proclamation (*διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα*), while if he was safe, he would be disgraced for the rest of his life.

And Plutarch, as so often, purports not to believe the story ‘which [was] written by an enemy with the avowed purpose of defaming his character’. But if Sophocles did somehow have Alcibiades in mind in composing *Antigone*, he was not in the business of putting his youthful escapades in an especially favourable light. ‘As a boy’ would make Alcibiades very young here: probably younger than fourteen, and if so, the event will have been prior to a performance of *Antigone* in 438 BC. The notion of ‘proclamation’ is repeated in Plutarch’s account of Alcibiades’ shameful escapade; the same image is repeated in Antigone’s description of how Creon has made a proclamation (*κηρύξαντ*: 32; cf. *προκηρύζοντα*: 34) directed at ‘you and me – me, mark you,’ she adds with what has been called ‘fierce pride’ (Brown 1987, 139).

Antigone’s essential irrationality has been generally overlooked (Collinge 1962 is a notable exception), as has Alcibiades’ psychological make-up. This last-mentioned gap in scholarship is now being filled; Dr Daphne Briggs, a child psychotherapist, and I gave a paper to the Oxford History of Childhood Seminar in the autumn of 2004 in which between us we investigated the psychological make-up of the infant and pubescent Alcibiades (Vickers and Briggs forthcoming). I well remember Dr Briggs’ reaction, when I first told her some of the anecdotes concerning Alcibiades’ childhood; ‘There’s an insecure little person’, she said. His problems will have begun in the first year of his life. He was an insecure baby who very early discovered self-coping mechanisms. His wild oscillations in behaviour suggest that he had a disturbed history of attachment, and had problems holding the world together, problems that will have been the more acute when he was a teenager.

This perhaps helps us understand the full force of the exasperated Chorus’ verdict on Antigone at 875: ‘Your self-willed anger (*αὐτόγνωτος ... ὄργα*) has brought about your ruin’, which is a strikingly vivid definition of an impassioned adolescent state of mind. Antigone’s unflinching obduracy was probably based on Alcibiades’ ‘constant need to win and come first’ (*τὸ φιλόνηκον ἰσχυρότατον ... καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον*: Plut. *Per.* 2.1). Plutarch gives a fine example of this when he tells of the infant Alcibiades refusing to give way to a wagon (Plut. *Alc.* 2.3-4), and another of Alcibiades’ eccentric sense of personal rectitude when he knocked on a schoolmaster’s door and when he discovered that he did not possess a copy of Homer, beat him up (*ibid.* 7.1-3); yet another in the anecdote of how Alcibiades once bought a very fine hound for a very large sum, and proceeded to cut its tail off, to universal disapproval. When his friends told him how sorry everyone was for the dog, Alci-

biades replied ‘Then what I want has come about. I want the Athenians to talk about this, rather than that they should say something worse about me’ (*ibid.* 9).

We have already had occasion to note Goethe’s reservations about lines 904-20; how they were a blemish only waiting for an apt philologist to demonstrate that they are spurious; how Antigone, on the point of death, ‘brings forward a motive which is quite unworthy, and almost borders upon the comic.’ Goethe had in fact been anticipated by A.L.W. Jacob (1821, 351-68), but other ‘apt philologists’ were not slow to respond, and the lines in question are often deleted (especially by those who wish to see Antigone as heroine and protagonist; e.g Müller 1967). They are more frequently defended, however, but often with tortuous logic (Hester 1971, 55-8, for a long bibliography; Brown 1987, 199-200; Griffith 1999, 277-9). But if Alcibiades does somehow lie behind Antigone, the audience will have expected ‘unworthy motives,’ and have known that ‘the comic’ was Alcibiades’ special forte: *βωμολοχία* (‘horseplay’) was a charge justly laid against him in Plutarch’s summary of his career (*Alc.* 40.3).

Antigone’s narrative bears a close relation to a tale told by Herodotus (3.119) who was given a large sum of money by the Athenians for his readings, perhaps in 445 (Plut. *Mor.* 862b; Eus. *Vers. Arm. Ol.* 8<sub>3</sub><sup>3</sup>), when Alcibiades was seven. What we get in Antigone’s speech is in part a childish recollection of lectures that Alcibiades had either heard or heard about, and in part an attempt by Sophocles to replicate Alcibiades’ manner of speech as well as his thought processes. Even later in life, Alcibiades ‘stroved to find not only the proper thing to say, but also the proper words and phrases in which to say it; and since in this last regard he was not a man of large resources he would often stumble in the midst of his speech, come to a stop, and pause a while, a particular phrase eluding him. Then he would resume, and proceed with all the caution in the world.’ This perhaps accounts for what has been described as the ‘self-consciously rhetorical’ quality of the speech (Brown 1987, 200).

It has been said that ‘the logic’ of speeches in tragedy ‘can be far-fetched, but it ... cannot ... be absent altogether’ (*ibid.*); but this does not allow for the possibility that Sophocles was making Antigone speak like an impassioned teenager. What the Chorus call her ‘folly in speech and frenzy at the heart’ (603: *λόγου τ’ ἄνοιακαὶ φρενῶν ἐρινύς*) has been taken as a sign of one who might be mentally unbalanced (Collinge 1962, 51), but it could equally well be understood as a brilliant evocation of normal, impassioned adolescent reasoning. For those who had ears to hear (and given the build-up to the characterization), Alcibiades might have come to mind, not to mention their own

offspring. Any perceived mental imbalance, however, can be put down to Alcibiades' character that was described by Plutarch (who had access to far more sources than we do) as full of 'many strange inconsistencies and contradictions' (*ἀνομοιότητα πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ μεταβολάς*: *Alc.* 2.1). Mikheil Tumanishvili recognised this aspect of Antigone's character when he described his 1968 production as 'a confrontation of two standpoints, two opposing beliefs; two vehicles driving fast along the highway. One of them is clear about the destination it heads for, the second disturbs everything by weird zigzagging, creating a threat of a crash'.<sup>26</sup>

If this interpretation is correct, one immediate consequence is that an Antigone based on a disturbed teenager notorious for his irregular way of life will scarcely have moved an Athenian audience to pity. The sight of a Creon broken as the result of his insistence on a zero-tolerance attitude towards the law will, however, have been moving and instructive, not least for the principal *κωμωδούμενος* (or whatever the precise term might be for tragedy). Pericles' inhuman activity on Samos had been held up to public scrutiny and was attacked for its cruelty. The results of his indifferent guardianship of Alcibiades (whose education was entrusted to a Thracian slave: *Pl. Alc.* 1.122b2) are also laid at his door. We can only assume that some of this criticism was effective and that Pericles' policies were less harsh in the future. Sophocles' strictures had less influence on either Alcibiades or the audience, for events of the last quarter of the fifth century BC were rendered even more chaotic and unpredictable by Alcibiades' fickle and unstable character, and by the ready reception his crazy schemes were given by the Athenian public.

This reading, which I believe to have been close to what Sophocles had in mind, bears closely on the extremely personalised politics of Periclean Athens. It was but a few years since Thucydides son of Milesias had attempted to rally opposition to Pericles, but once Thucydides had been forced into exile, that opposition had mostly withered away. Some of it appears to have survived, however, in Sophocles' critical play. But the important thing to note is that Sophocles' method is in principle exactly the same as that of countless modern playwrights, in Georgia and elsewhere, who have used the story of Creon and Antigone as a vehicle for criticising overweening authority.

### Bibliography:

- Brown, A. 1987. *Sophocles*: Antigone. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.  
 Burton, R.W.B. 1980. *The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

---

<sup>26</sup> Rustaveli Theatre Archive; information from Nato Tvalchrelidze.

- Calder, W.M., III. 1968. 'Sophokles' political tragedy, *Antigone*.' *GRBS* 9: 389-407.
- Carnicke, S.M. 1991. *The Theatrical Instinct: Nicolai Evreinov and the Russian Theater of the Early Twentieth Century*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Collinge, N.E. 1962. 'Medical terms and clinical attitudes in the tragedians.' *BICS* 9: 45-53.
- Develin, R. 1989. *Athenian Officials 684-321 BC*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Dodds, E.R. 1966. 'On misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*.' *Greece and Rome* 13: 37-49. Reprinted 1973 in E.R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress and other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief*, 64-77. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1983 in *Oxford Readings in Greek Tragedy*, edited by E. Segal, 177-88. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fisher, N.R.E. 1992. *Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Frey, K. 1878. 'Der Protagonist in der Antigone des Sophokles.' *NJbb* Abt.1, 117: 460-64.
- Goldhill, S. 1987. 'The Great Dionysia and Civic ideology.' *JHS* 107: 58-76.
- Griffith, M. (ed.). 1999. *Sophocles Antigone*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grote, G. 1870. *A History of Greece*, new ed. London: John Murray.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. 1969. *A History of Greek Philosophy*. Cambridge, University Press.
- Handley, E.W. 1993. 'Aristophanes and the generation gap.' In *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis: Papers from the Greek Drama Conference, Nottingham 18-20 July 1990*, 417-30, edited by A.H. Sommerstein *et al.* Bari: Levante editori.
- Hester, D.A. 1971. 'Sophocles the unphilosophical.' *Mnemosyne* 24:11-59.
- Jacob, A.L.W. 1821. *Sophocleae Quaestiones*. Warsaw.
- Kagan, D. 1990. *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Landucci Gattinoni, F. 1997. *Duride di Samo*. Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull' Antichità Classica Monografie 18. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider.
- Lewis, R.G. 1988. 'An alternative date for *Antigone*.' *GRBS* 29: 35-50.

- Lloyd-Jones, H. 1957. 'Notes on Sophocles' *Antigone*,' *CQ* 7: 12-27.
- Long, A.A. 1968. *Language and thought in Sophocles: a study of abstract nouns and poetic technique*. London: Athlone Press.
- Mackenzie, C. 1937. *Pericles*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Morrison, B. 2003. 'Femme Fatale.' *The Guardian* October 4.
- Morrison, J.S. 1941. 'Protagoras in Athenian public life.' *CQ* 35: 1-16.
- Müller, G. 1967. *Sophokles, Antigone*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Otto, R. and P. Wersig. 1982. *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens / Johann Peter Eckermann*. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag.
- Podlecki, A.J. 1998. *Perikles and his Circle*. London: Routledge.
- Pritchett, W.K. 1953. 'The Attic stelai.' *Hesperia* 22: 225-99.
- Pritchett, W.K. 1956. 'Attic stelai, Part II.' *Hesperia* 25: 167-210.
- Pritchett, W.K. 1961. 'Five new fragments of the Attic Stelai.' *Hesperia* 30: 23-29.
- PoS = Vickers, M. 1997. *Pericles on Stage: Political Comedy in Aristophanes' Earlier Plays*. Austin, Tx: Texas University Press.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1965. *Portraits of the Greeks*. London: Phaidon.
- Stadter, P.A. 1989. *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Strauss, B.S. 1993. *Fathers and Sons in Athens: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War*. Princeton: NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tompkins, D.P. 1972. 'Stylistic characterization in Thucydides: Nicias and Alcibiades.' *YCS* 22: 181-214.
- Vickers, M. 2001. 'Aristophanes *Frogs*: nothing to do with literature.' *Athenaeum* 89: 187-201.
- Vickers, M. (forthcoming). The *dramatis personae* of Alma-Tadema's *Phidias and the frieze of the Parthenon, Athens*. In *Festschrift for A. Ovidiah*.
- Briggs, D. and M. Vickers, forthcoming. 'Juvenile crime, aggression and sexual abuse in classical antiquity: a case study.' In *Oxford History of Childhood 2* (ed. G. Rousseau and L. Brockliss).
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von. 1899. 'Excuse zum Oedipus des Sophokles.' *Hermes* 34: 55-80.

Jürgen Werner (Berlin)

## DER KYNIKER DIOGENES ALS "RASENDER SOKRATES". ZU WIELANDS ANTIKEREZEPTION<sup>1</sup>

### Sokrates und Sokrates-Rezeption

Im Jahre 399 v. Chr.<sup>2</sup> wurde Sokrates hingerichtet. 2002 jährte sich sein Tod also zum 2400. Mal. Wer meinte, wir hätten diesen Jahrestag schon 2001

---

<sup>1</sup> Vortrag, gehalten 2004 in der "Vereinigung der Freunde der Antike" Bremen, 2003 in der "Kommission Kunstgeschichte, Literatur- und Musikwissenschaft" der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Leipzig, 1998 in der Sokratischen Gesellschaft Mannheim. Die dort vorgelegte Fassung erschien unter dem Titel "Können Sie mir auf die Spur verhelfen, wer zuerst den Diogenes den rasenden Sokrates gehalten habe?" in: "Das Lächeln des Sokrates. Sokrates-Studien 4", hrsg. v. Herbert Keßler, Zug (Schweiz) 1999 (= Die Graue Reihe 25), 217 ff. Die jetzt hier gedruckte Fassung ist wesentlich ergänzt und in einigen Punkten korrigiert. Für wertvolle Hinweise danke ich meinem latinistischen Kollegen Reinhard Häußler. – Der Vortragsscharakter ist beibehalten, die fast unüberschaubare Forschungsliteratur in Auswahl zitiert. – Wielands Orthographie ist, außer in Titeln, modernisiert.

Abgekürzt zitierte Literatur:

- Bantel: Otto Bantel, Christoph Martin Wieland und die griechische Antike, masch. Diss. Tübingen 1953

- Goethe, WA: Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Weimarer (=Sophien-) Ausgabe

- Grumach: Ernst Grumach (Hrsg.), Goethe und die Antike, Berlin/Potsdam 1949

- Jørgensen: Sven-Age Jørgensen u. a., Wieland. Epoche – Werk – Wirkung, München 1994

- Sokrates-Studien 5: Herbert Keßler/Reinhard Häußler (Hrsg.), Sokrates. Nachfolge und Eigenwege, Zug 2001 (Die Graue Reihe 31)

- Starnes: Thomas C. Starnes, Christoph Martin Wieland. Leben und Werk, 1-3, Sigmaringen 1987

- WB: Gottfried Günther, Heidi Zeilinger, Wieland-Bibliographie, Berlin und Weimar 1983 (dazu meine Besprechung in: Weimarer Beiträge 30, 1984, 855 ff.)

- Werner 1998: Jürgen Werner, Der Stückeschreiber und der Sohn der Hebamme. Brecht und das Erbe: Der Fall Sokrates, Leipzig und Stuttgart 1998 (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 136, H.1). Vgl. dazu P.

Witzmann, Forum Classicum 2/1999, 91 ff.; H. Brumberger, Anregung 45, 1999, 272; V. Riedel, Gymnasium 107, 2000, 376; R. Müller, Das Altertum 46, 2000, 71 ff.; Sc. G. Williams, International Journal of the Classical Tradition 8, 2001, 165 ff.; H. Schwarz, IANUS 23, 2002, 69; H. Bannert, Wiener Studien für Klassische Philologie 117, 2004, 278.

- Wieland, Briefwechsel: Christoph Martin Wieland, Briefwechsel, hrsg. v. Hans Werner Seiffert, Berlin 1963 ff. (noch nicht vollständig)

- Wieland, Gesammelte Schriften: Christoph Martin Wieland, Gesammelte Schriften, hrsg. v. Bernhard Seuffert und Siegfried Scheibe, Berlin 1909- 40; 1954-75 (einige Bände sind noch nicht erschienen). Neudr. Hildesheim 1986-87.

- Wieland, Sämtliche Werke: 45bändige Göschen-Ausgabe Leipzig 1794-1811, Neudr. s. Anm. 29

Weitere Abkürzungen: E: Entstehung; ED: Erstdruck

<sup>2</sup> 1966 brachte ich in der Dieterichschen Verlagsbuchhandlung Leipzig aus dem Nachlass von Horst Gasse "Erzählungen der Antike" zum Druck (Sammlung Dieterich 304). In der Einleitung und den Erläuterungen musste ich Zeitangaben mit "v. u. Z.", "u. Z." versehen, wie es in

begehen müssen, bedenkt nicht, dass es zwar eine "Stunde Null" gibt, aber kein "Jahr Null".<sup>3</sup> (Ungeachtet dessen sind Jubiläen von Persönlichkeiten aus vorchristlicher Zeit im falschen Jahr gefeiert worden, so der 2000. Geburtstag Vergils 1930 statt 1931.<sup>4</sup>)

2002 wurden eine "Sokrates-Initiative" und eine "Sokrates-Studienorganisation" ("Sosov") gegründet, die einen Kongress in Bonn abgehalten hat; wann und wo die Vorträge publiziert werden, ist mir nicht bekannt. Aus wissenschaftlichen Aktivitäten hervorgegangen sind Publikationen wie die auf Tagungen der Sokratischen Gesellschaft Mannheim zurückgehenden "Sokrates-Studien";<sup>5</sup> anderes ist in "Année philologique" unter "Socrates philosophus" verzeichnet. (Es gibt auch einen gleichnamigen Kirchenhistoriker.) – Das Sokrates-Programm der EU hat den athenischen Philosophen lediglich als Namenspatron.

---

der DDR üblich war. (M. W. durften nur die kirchlichen Verlage "v. Chr. (G.)", "n. Chr. (G.)" verwenden.) Der Carl Schünemann Verlag Bremen druckte eine Lizenzausgabe. Dort waren die „Leipziger“ Zeitangaben durch "v. Chr.", "n. Chr." ersetzt worden. Sonst waren beide Ausgaben bis zum letzten Komma identisch; nur jener auf den ersten Blick geringfügige Unterschied trennte weltanschauliche Welten. Musste der Leipziger Verlag auf die druckgenehmigenden Institutionen der DDR Rücksicht nehmen, so der Bremer Verlag auf sein Publikum. Das war nicht erstaunlich. Erstaunlich war dagegen, dass diese an vielen Stellen notwendigen Änderungen via Lohndruck in Leipzig (dies war in der DDR ein als Devisenbringer sehr beliebtes Verfahren) in der ohnehin überlasteten ostdeutschen Typographie vorgenommen wurden. – Gelegentlich wurde in der DDR über derlei reflektiert, so in der "Sprachpflege" (Leipzig) 23, 1974, 102 f.: "der Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung kann nicht mit ‚Christi Geburt‘ identifiziert werden, weil weder die historische Existenz Jesu Christi noch dessen Geburtsjahr wissenschaftlich nachgewiesen, sondern Sache des Glaubens sind." Gelegentlich ereigneten sich allerdings „Unglücksfälle“: so war in "Brockhaus. ABC der Naturwissenschaft und Technik", Leipzig 1955 noch (?) z. B. "Aristarch, 3. Jh. v. Chr." zu lesen (S. 387). – Ähnliche Probleme hatte das Dritte Reich. Dort umging man die Nennung des Namens Christus gern durch Benutzung von "Zeitenwende" ("v. d. Z.", "n. d. Z."), ohne sich Arges dabei zu denken: Erwies man Christus doch um so mehr Ehre, wenn man seine Geburt zur "Zeiten-Wende" machte! Deshalb sollte dieses Lemma nicht in Cornelia Schmitz-Bernings LTI-Buch "Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus" (Berlin, New York 1998) fehlen, s. meine Rezension in "Lexicographica" 18, 2002, 133 ff. – Das Neueste (Nichtweltanschauliche) zum Thema: Erwin Teufel wendet sich gegen Stoibers These, Horst Köhlers Wahl zum Bundespräsidenten sei "ein Stück Zeitenwende" (=Machtwechsel); für Teufel ist nur "das Jahr 1989 ... eine Zeitenwende gewesen" (Berliner Zeitung 25. 5. 2004 S. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Bengtson, Einführung in die Alte Geschichte, <sup>8</sup>München 1979, 35. In älteren Auflagen fehlt dieser Hinweis, ebenso in fast allen anderen von mir eingesehenen einschlägigen Büchern und Lexikon-Artikeln. Auf die 8. Auflage machte mich dankenswerterweise Ernst Vogt aufmerksam. Vgl. jetzt Astrid Möller, Zeitrechnungssysteme, in: Der Neue Pauly 16, 2003, 539 ff.: Ebd. 562 folgt auf das Jahr 1 v. Chr. das Jahr 1 n. Chr.

<sup>4</sup> H. Oppermann, Feiern wir Virgils Geburtstag zu spät?, in: Das humanistische Gymnasium 41, 1930, 1218.

<sup>5</sup> Zuletzt Bd. 5, Zug 2001; s. o. Anm. 1.



Im Zusammenhang mit dem Sokrates-Jahr hat ferner eine Flut populärwissenschaftlicher Bücher das Licht der Buchhandlungen erblickt (gelesen habe ich sie durchweg nicht), so: "Vorne fallen die Tore. Fußball-Geschichte(n) von Sokrates bis Rudi Völler";<sup>6</sup> "Sokrates flankt. Eine kleine Philosophiegeschichte des Fußballs";<sup>7</sup> "Was sagst du zur Rechenschwäche, Sokrates?";<sup>8</sup> "Pippi und Sokrates. Philosophische Wanderungen durch Astrid Lindgrens Welt";<sup>9</sup> "Jenseits von Pu und Böse. Der Bär von enormem Verstand und die Philosophie";<sup>10</sup> "Das Lexikon der prominenten Selbstmörder [...] Sokrates";<sup>11</sup> "Xanthippe und Sokrates. Eros, Ehe, Sex und Gender im antiken Athen. Ein Beitrag zu höherem historischen Klatsch";<sup>12</sup> "Bei Sokrates auf der Couch. Philosophie als Medizin für die Seele";<sup>13</sup> vom Buchhandel "zur Lebensbewältigung statt Psychotherapie oder Pillen" empfohlen; "Bei Liebeskummer Sokrates. Praktische Philosophie für den Alltag";<sup>14</sup> "Sokrates im Supermarkt"<sup>15</sup> mit dem bekannten Ausspruch des Sokrates, der über den Markt geht: "Wie viele Dinge gibt es doch, die ich nicht brauche!"

Man kann des bekannten Philosophen unter vielen Aspekten gedenken. Die Beschäftigung mit ihm ist dadurch schwierig, dass er keine Schriften hinterlassen hat. (Eine der zahlreichen Gemeinsamkeiten mit Jesus.) Nietzsche fand es unbegreiflich, dass Sokrates nichts geschrieben hat, wodurch er sich um das Recht, die Pflicht und das Vergnügen gebracht habe, "auf die fernste Menschheit zu wirken".<sup>16</sup> Wir wissen über Sokrates' Leben und Lehre nur etwas durch seine Schüler und Enkelschüler, deren Nachrichten über die komplexe Persönlichkeit des Meisters und vor allem über seine Lehre stark divergieren. Die "wirkungsvolle Inszenierung des Sokrates durch

---

<sup>6</sup> Hrsg. v. Rainer Moritz. München 2002. Moritz ist selbst Fußballer, s. ebd. S 15. Er zitiert mit zahllosen Ausrufezeichen den ominösen Fußball-Artikel des Neuen Pauly. Vgl. dazu J. Werner, Kicker aller Länder, vereinigt euch, in: Forum Classicum 2/ 2004, 165 f. Der Neue-Pauly-Artikel fehlt im Register der deutschen Ausgabe 16, 2003, 19, 3.7 "Sportarten" und in der englischen Ausgabe: Brill's New Pauly 1, Leiden, Boston 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Verf.: Stephan Geiger. Düsseldorf 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Verf.: Stephan Meyer. Luzern 1993.

<sup>9</sup> Verf.: Jørgen Gaare, Øystein Sjaastad. Hamburg 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Verf.: John Williams Tyerman. München 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Verf.: Gerald Grote u. a. Berlin 2000.

<sup>12</sup> Verf.: Michael Weithmann, München 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Verf.: Lou Marinoff. Düsseldorf 2000, München 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Verf.: Kay Hoffmann. Kreuzlingen, München 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Verf.: Klaus Bartels, Zürich 1986 und weitere Ausgaben. Zu verschiedenen Büchern von Bartels s. meine Rezensionen "Gymnasium" 107, 2000, 186 f.; 111, 2004, 313 f. Zu anderer populärwissenschaftlicher Sokrates-Literatur s. Ursula Homann, Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger 56, 2003, 297 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Ernst Sandvoss, Sokrates und Nietzsche, in: Sokrates-Studien 5, 281 ff. (das Zitat: 290).

Platon" (so Franz Dornseiff<sup>17</sup> in einer Vorlesung) dürfte uns den historischen Sokrates ebensowenig vorführen, wie es die Berichte Xenophons und anderer tun, eher noch weniger, oder, wie Wieland es formulierte: Platon lässt den Sokrates seine, Platons, eigene "Eier ausbrüten".<sup>18</sup> Gesichert sind einige Lebensdaten, z. B. die Ehe mit Xanthippe (eine Gestalt, die seit der Antike – damals durch misogynie Kyniker – überwiegend negativ beurteilt worden ist<sup>19</sup>), der Beruf als Steinmetz (zum Schuster Sokrates bei Brecht s. Werner 1998, 19 ff.), die Teilnahme an Feldzügen des Peloponnesischen Krieges, die Tätigkeit als Prytane (Ratsherr), mehrfaches couragiertes Auftreten gegenüber der Obrigkeit. Zu seinen Anschauungen nur so viel (darüber wie über das Biographische informiert gut Klaus Döring<sup>20</sup>): Stand bei den Philosophen vor Sokrates, etwa bis zur Mitte des 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, die sogenannte Naturphilosophie einschließlich Astronomie im Vordergrund, so ab Sokrates der Mensch und die Gesellschaft. (Cicero zufolge hat Sokrates die Philosophie vom Himmel auf die Erde geholt: "Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e caelo et in urbibus conlocavit"<sup>21</sup>; das hat in der Philosophiegeschichte zur Unterscheidung von Vorsokratikern, Sokratikern, Nachsokratikern geführt.) Für Sokrates waren ethische Fragen wichtig, z. B.: Wie handelt man richtig? Durch begründetes Wissen des Guten, Richtigen, der ἀρετή, der "Tugend", doch das klingt heute nach Moralin, also sagen wir lie-

<sup>17</sup> Zu ihm Jürgen Werner, "Die Welt hat nicht mit den Griechen angefangen". Franz Dornseiff (1888-1960) als Klassischer Philologe und als Germanist, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1999 (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Bd. 76, H. 1). Vgl. dazu J. Rabl, *Forum Classicum* 4/1999, 224; d. w., *Litterae Saxonicae* 3/ 1999, 20 f.; L. Bluhm, *Germanistik* 40, 1999, 664 f.; R. Schmitt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 9, 1999, 295 ff.; N. N., *hochschule ost 1-2/ 2000*, 323; F. Schaffenrath, *Anregung* 53, 2000, 126 f.; R. Müller, *Das Altertum* 48, 2003, 238 ff.; H. Banert, *Wiener Studien für Klassische Philologie* 117, 2004, 278. Vgl. ferner J. W., *Textkritisches zu Heinrich Heine und Franz Dornseiff*, in: *Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Arbeitsblätter* [...] 8, 1999, 19 ff., sowie die Rez. der 8. Auflage von Dornseiffs "Wortschatz" in: *Muttersprache* 115, 2005, H. 1.

<sup>18</sup> So in "Aristipp" IV 4: Göschen-Ausgabe 36, 1801 = Neudr. 1984, S. 36 (die Stelle wies mir freundlicherweise Klaus Manger nach).

<sup>19</sup> Werner 1998: 11. Olof Gigon, *Sokrates*, 2., ergänzte Aufl. Bern 1979, 113 ff. (121 ff.: positive Bewertungen bereits in der Antike). Vgl. o. Anm. 12. Zu Neuerem: Georg Wöhrle, *Zweimal Xanthippe bei Frank Wedekind und Bertold Brecht*, in: *Antike und Abendland* 48, 2002, 180 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Sokrates. In: Hellmut Flashar (Hrsg.), *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie* ("Überweg/Prächer"), völlig erneuerte Ausgabe, 2/1, Basel 1998, 141 ff. (Kurzfassung: *Gymnasium* 99, 1992, 1 ff.); *Bibliographie*: 324 ff. Allerdings war Redaktionsschluss schon 1994/96; das macht sich vor allem bei der *Bibliographie* bemerkbar. Vgl. Döring, *Sokrates*, in: Friedo Ricken (Hrsg.), *Philosophen der Antike I*, Stuttgart usw. 1996, 178 ff. und in: *Der Neue Pauly* 11, 2001, 674 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Tusc.* V 4, 10. *Vgl. Acad. I* 15 und *Brutus* 31.

ber: der Tüchtigkeit auch in ethischer Beziehung; die Wörter "Tugend" und "Tüchtigkeit" sind übrigens miteinander verwandt.<sup>22</sup> Das Wissen des Richtigen zieht richtiges Handeln nach sich. Dieses Wissen ist lehrbar. Allerdings muss man es ständig im philosophischen Gespräch überprüfen, bei sich und bei den anderen, und zwar "mäeutisch", "nach Hebammen-Art" (Sokrates' Mutter war Hebamme), indem man seine Mitbürger von selbst auf etwas kommen lässt, sie gewissermaßen nur von ihren eigenen Gedanken entbindet. (Die Hebammenmethode hat schon in der Antike Beachtung gefunden. In Aristophanes' "Wolken" [423 v. Chr.] führt sie zu folgendem Gag: Der Bauer Strepsiades verursacht dadurch, dass er den Sokrates und seine Scholaren beim Denken stört, die "Fehlgeburt eines Gedankens" [V. 137].) Das Delphische Orakel hatte verkündet, Sokrates sei der weiseste Mensch. Sokrates erklärte daraufhin, er wisse, dass er nichts wisse; andere dagegen wüssten nicht einmal dies, dass sie nichts wissen. Es handelt sich um den berühmten "Nominativus cum participio" (NcP) οἶδα οὐδέν εἰδώς; er ist antik in dieser Form nicht belegt, wie so manches andere Geflügelte oder auch Geprügelte Wort;<sup>23</sup> es geht auf Platon, Apologie 21D zurück. Wenn Sokrates andere befragte, um zu erfahren, was sie wissen, dann tat er so, als ob er selbst überhaupt nichts wüsste. Diese Haltung des "Tun als ob" heißt εἰρωνεία; hier schwingt schon die Bedeutung des deutschen Wortes "Ironie" mit. Viele von Sokrates Interviewte hatten das Gefühl, er mache sich lustig über sie, und nahmen ihm diese, wie sie es sahen, Überheblichkeit übel. (Gerhart Schmidt hat es so ausgedrückt: "Sokrates [...] hat sich [...] der Ironie bedient, er war ein Meister im Aufstellen von Fettnäpfchen".<sup>24</sup>) – Sokrates nahm im Unterschied zu den Sophisten, von denen er sich in vielen Punkten unterschied, für seinen "Unterricht" ("Ich bin nie jemandes Lehrer gewesen") kein Honorar. Wenn Sandvoss sagt: "Für Nichtwissen zahlte man damals sowenig wie heute ein Honorar",<sup>25</sup> so wusste er noch nichts von den Beraterverträgen der Jahre 2003 ff. – Keinesfalls ist das zitierte Sokrates-Apophthegma "Ich weiß, dass ich nichts weiß" agnostizistisch zu verstehen, sondern lediglich in dem Sinne, dass Sokrates nach eigenem Verständnis weniger weiß als die Gottheit, dass

<sup>22</sup> So z. B. Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 24., durchges. und erweit. Aufl. bearb. v. Elmar Seebold, Berlin, New York 2002, und Duden, *Das Herkunftswörterbuch*, 3., völlig Neubearb. und erweit. Aufl., Mannheim usw. 2001 (Duden Band 7).

<sup>23</sup> J. Werner, "Ab ovo" bis "Veni vidi Vicco". Geflügelte und geprügelte Worte der lateinischen Sprache, in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Altphilologenverbandes* 3/1996, 128 ff., und in: *Kritische Fragen an die Tradition. Festschrift für Claus Träger zum 70. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. Marion Marquardt u. a., Stuttgart 1997 (*Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik* 340), 596 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Gerhart Schmidt, Hegels Urteil über Sokrates, in: Herbert Kefler (Hrsg.), *Sokrates. Geschichte. Legenden. Spiegelungen* (Sokrates-Studien 2 = Die Graue Reihe 14), Zug 1995, 275 ff. (das Zitat: 289).

<sup>25</sup> Wie o. Anm. 16: 285.

er sich lediglich bemühen kann, zur Erkenntnis vorzudringen.<sup>26</sup> Das Göttliche spielt für ihn auch eine Rolle in Gestalt des Daimonion, wie er es nennt,<sup>27</sup> einer inneren Stimme, die ihn von fragwürdigen Handlungen abhält (so Platon, anders Xenophon). Sokrates' Haltung in diesen Fragen wurde als "Gottlosigkeit", ἀσεβεία, missverstanden; aus diesem Grund oder besser: unter diesem Vorwand wurde er 399 v. Chr. hingerichtet. Er hatte die Möglichkeit zu fliehen, hielt dies aber für illoyal gegenüber seiner Polis.

### Antikerezeption im 18. Jahrhundert/ Wieland und die Antike

So viel, so wenig zu Sokrates selbst. Jetzt zu einem Kapitel seiner umfangreichen und vielgestaltigen Rezeption, die sich, über fast zweieinhalb Jahrtausende hinweg, bis hin zu Brecht erstreckt.<sup>28</sup> Sokrates ist besonders für die Aufklärung wichtig gewesen, unter anderem für Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813). Er war der meistgelesene Autor jener Epoche, in Europa mehr gelesen als Goethe; Werke Wielands wurden in etwa zwanzig Sprachen übersetzt, s. WB. Er war übrigens der erste deutsche Dichter bzw. Schriftsteller, von dem schon zu Lebzeiten mehrere Ausgaben "Sämtlicher Werke" erschienen sind (z. B. die 45bändige 1794-1811 bei Göschen herausgekommene Ausgabe letzter Hand), die allerdings Lücken aufwies.<sup>29</sup> Vor allem wurde

<sup>26</sup> Werner 1998: 13 f.

<sup>27</sup> Zu deutsch "Dämon" ausführlich: Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch, 2., völlig neu bearb. Aufl., Bd. 4, Berlin, New York 1999, 23-36. Zu diesem wichtigen Nachschlagewerk s. meine Rezensionen, zuletzt im Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft 56, 2003, 254 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Werner 1998; Döring bei Flashar (o. Anm. 20); Sokrates-Studien 1-5 (1993 ff.), s. o. Anm. 1; Der fragende Sokrates, hrsg. v. Karl Pestalozzi, Leipzig, Stuttgart 1999 (Colloquium Rauricum 6); D. Liebsch, Sokratik, Sokratismus, in: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie 9, Basel 1995, 1000 ff.; M. Laarmann, Sokrates im Mittelalter, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters 7, München 1995, 2027 f.; Karlfried Gründer, Sokrates im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Hans Fromm u. a. (Hrsg.), Verbum et signum. Beiträge ... (Festschr. Friedrich Ohly), Bd. 1, München 1975, 539 ff. (beim Rückblick auf das 18. Jahrhundert [541] fehlt Wieland). – Benno Böhm, Sokrates im 18. Jahrhundert, liegt jetzt in 2. Aufl. vor: Neumünster 1966 (Kieler Studien zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte 4 [fehlt in WB].) Vgl. u. Anm. 66. – Nichts zur Rezeption bei Christoph Kniest, Sokrates zur Einführung, Hamburg 2003; wenig bei Eva-Maria Kaufmann, Sokrates, München 2000, Ekkehard Martens, Sokrates. Eine Einführung, Stuttgart 2004 (erweiterte Ausgabe seines Buches von 1992), Karl Ronske, Nachgefragt bei Sokrates [...], Würzburg 2004. Nicht zugänglich war mir Lars O. Lundgren, Sokratesbildern. Fran Aristofanes till Nietzsche, Stockholm 1978 (zitiert: Germanistik 25, 1984, S. 406).

<sup>29</sup> Die "Sämtlichen Werke" enthalten nicht die Übersetzungen; das publizistische Werk nur zum Teil. 1797 plant Wieland eine Separatedition seiner Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen und dem Lateinischen, wobei die Lukian- und die Horazübersetzung im Vordergrund stehen, die er für diesen Zweck revidieren will. Das Projekt scheitert daran, dass der Verleger der unruhigen Zeiten wegen vorsichtig disponieren muss. – Der Neudruck der "Sämtlichen Werke" ist der von Jan Philipp Reemtsma geleiteten "Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Kunst, Wissenschaft und Kultur" zu danken. Reemtsma hat auch sonst beträchtliche Verdien-

er natürlich in Deutschland gelesen, und es gab lebendige Kritik (besonders seitens des Sturm und Drang, des Göttinger Hains und der Romantik) und Gegenkritik.<sup>30</sup> Ein Beispiel: Wieland veröffentlichte 1773 ein Singspiel "Alceste", unter Rückgriff auf Euripides' "Alkestis". Es trug ihm einen heftigen Angriff von dem jungen Stürmer und Dränger Goethe ein, der glaubte, der "derben, gesunden Natur" der Griechen gegen den empfindsamen modernen Bearbeiter zu ihrem Recht verhelfen zu müssen (dass Wieland "keine Ader griechisch Blut im Leibe" habe, war ein Hauptvorwurf der Sturm-und-Drang-Generation gegen Wieland<sup>31</sup>). Er tat es in der Farce "Götter, Helden und Wieland" (1773, Erstdruck 1774): Goethe machte hier zugleich seinem Ärger über eine negative Kritik seines "Götz" in "Der Teutsche Merkur" (3. Band, 3. Stück, 1773, 267 ff.) Luft, eine Kritik, die zwar nicht von Wieland stammte, aber in der von ihm herausgegebenen Zeitschrift erschienen war. Übrigens – das ist kaum bekannt – hat sich Wieland ebd. S. 287 von jener Kritik distanziert: Ein Zeitschriften-Herausgeber komme nicht umhin, auch Beiträge zu drucken, mit denen er nicht einverstanden sei, wie er im vorliegenden Fall; er werde bei Gelegenheit darauf zurückkommen. (Dies tat er denn auch im 6. Band, 3. Stück, 321 ff.) Goethe wurde der Druck dieses satirischen Gesprächs, das in der Tradition der Lukianischen "Totengespräche" stand,<sup>32</sup> nach

---

ste um die Verbreitung von Wielands Werken: J. Ph. R., Hans und Johanna Radspieler (Hrsg.), Christoph Martin Wieland, Aristipp und einige seiner Zeitgenossen, Zürich 1993 (C. M. Wieland, Werke in Einzelausgaben, hrsg. v. J. Ph. R.); C. M. W., Peregrinus Proteus, hrsg. v. Hans Radspieler, Nördlingen 1985 (C. M. Wieland, Werke in Einzelausgaben). Auch an der wissenschaftlichen Erschließung von Wielands Oeuvre hat sich Reemtsma beteiligt, so durch seine Hamburger Dissertation "Das Buch vom Ich. Christoph Martin Wielands ‚Aristipp und einige seiner Zeitgenossen‘" (1992). Dazu Manfred Fuhrmann, Sprich, Oßmannstedt, sprich: Jan Philipp Reemtsma entdeckt seinen Wieland, in: M. F., Europas fremd gewordene Fundamente, Zürich 1995, 130ff.

<sup>30</sup> Viel Material, wenn auch nicht vollständig, bei Hans-Jürgen Gaycken, Christoph Martin Wieland. Kritik seiner Werke in Aufklärung, Romantik und Moderne, Bern und Frankfurt a. M. 1982 (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, Bd. 558); vgl. WB Nr. 3929. Bis nach 1945 reicht Harry Ruppel, Wieland in der Kritik ... Frankfurt a. M. 1980. Vgl. u. Anm. 108-112.

<sup>31</sup> S. Maria Erxleben. Goethes Farce "Götter, Helden und Wieland", in: Christoph Martin Wieland und die Antike. Eine Aufsatzsammlung, Stendal 1986 (Beiträge der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft 14), 77 ff. Vgl. Uwe Petersen, Goethe und Euripides, Heidelberg 1974, 18 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Die – spätere – Übersetzung Wielands liegt in folgenden Ausgaben vor: einem fotomechanischen Neudruck der Originalausgabe von 1788/89, Darmstadt 1971 ("Unkommentiert" [Jau-mann bei Jørgensen 145] meint: ‚nur‘ mit Wielands Einleitungen, Anmerkungen, Exkursen etc., ohne modernen Kommentar; zu der Darmstädter Ausgabe s. meine Besprechung: Deutsche Literaturzeitung 92, 1971, 1009 ff.) und einer modernen Leseausgabe ohne Reproduktion der zahlreichen Druckfehler, mit Verständnishilfen, die, bei häufigem Rückgriff auf Wielands geistvolle Erläuterungen, völlig neugestaltet sind (290 S. Einleitung, Register, Anmerkungen), Berlin, Weimar 1974 (♯1981); dazu s. meinen Aufsatz "Wenn du dir aus dem Maßkatalog einiges aussuchst, so vergiß Wielands Lukian nicht", Philologus 129, 1985, 121 ff.

seinem Bekunden durch J. M. R. Lenz abgerungen; der Druck erfolgte anonym, aber möglicherweise so, dass die Autorschaft deutlich wurde: Auf dem Titelblatt, so las ich es jedenfalls im Buch eines namhaften Wielandforschers (Nomina sunt odiosa), habe das Arrangement der Buchstaben

GÖTter Helden und Wieland einen entsprechenden Hinweis für Insider geboten. Trotz intensiver Bemühungen konnte ich diese zugegebene hübsche Titelei nirgends ermitteln, weder in den zahlreichen Erstdrucken der Sammlung Hirzel der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig noch in Kommentaren zu "Götter, Helden und Wieland" sowie in sonstiger einschlägiger Goetheliteratur, nicht in der Stiftung Weimarer Klassik oder bei anderen Wielandforschern. Schließlich wies mich der hier ungenannt bleibende Verfasser jener Wieland-Studie auf Edwin Bormann, *Die Kunst des Pseudonyms*, Leipzig 1901, als mögliche – ihm zur Zeit nicht zugängliche – Quelle hin. In der Tat stammt die Idee von Bormann; allerdings stellen sich die Dinge dort ein wenig anders dar. Es heißt da S. 29: "Deckt man den Titel [...] vom linken Ende der Doppellinie bis unter das erste t der Anfangszeile zu, so erscheint der Verfassersname W. Göthe",<sup>33</sup> und diesem Satz gibt Bormann folgende Abbildung bei:

---

(130 f.). Die Bearbeitung durch Floerke (1911; WB Nr. 1439), die merkwürdigerweise in "Metzler Lexikon antiker Autoren", Stuttgart, Weimar 1997, empfohlen wird, ist heute nicht mehr brauchbar. Die "Totengespräche" fehlen in der *Wieland-Auswahl* ("Neudruck der Lukian-Übersetzung" [Jaumann bei Jørgensen 204] ist falsch) "Lukian von Samosata, Lügengeschichten und Dialoge", hrsg. v. Hans Radspieler u. a., Nördlingen 1985 (Die andere Bibliothek, hrsg. v. Hans Magnus Enzensberger). Vgl. jetzt auch Manuel Baumbach, *Lukian in Deutschland*, München 2002 (Poetica. Beihefte 25; dazu meine Rezension: *Gnomon* 75, 2003, 304 ff.) sowie Herbert Jaumann, *Totengespräch*. in: *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* 3, Berlin, New York 2003, 653 ff.

<sup>33</sup> "Goethe, oder Göthe, wie er sich ebensogern schrieb" (29); "W. Göthe, nicht Goethe, zeigen auch die fast gleichzeitigen Titelblätter von ‚Clavigo‘ und von ‚Stella‘" (31). Bormann reklamiert für seine Erklärung auch V. 2-3 des zunächst ebenfalls anonym edierten Wielandschen "Oberon": ... Zum ritt ins alte romantische land!

Wie lieblich um meinen entfesselten busen ...

sowie V. 1-3 der "Zwölf Moralischen Briefe" (1752):

Wie l/iebenswertig ...

An/ d/em ...

D/er ...

"so dass man lesen kann Zeile 1,2: *Wie l An d*; oder Zeile 1,2,3: *Wie l An D*" (31).



Goethes Farce<sup>34</sup> stieß auf Protest. Ein Rezensent der "Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliothek" rügte: Was Goethe wohl sagen würde, "wenn jemand unter dem Titel ‚Zigeuner, Lumpengesindel und Goethe‘ ein Pasquill auf seinen ‚Götz von Berlichingen‘ machte und führte ihn darin auf als einfältigen Tropf"(26,1 [1775] 206). Auch Lessing und andere bedeutende Zeitgenossen distanzieren sich von Goethes Schrift.<sup>35</sup>

Wieland reagierte rasch in einer kurzen Replik. Zugleich publizierte er eine eigene Besprechung des "Götz"; beides zeugte von taktischer Klugheit wie von echter Bewunderung für die dichterische Kraft des Jüngeren. Die Replik lautet:

Der Herr D. Goethe, Verfasser dieses Werkleins, nachdem er uns in seinem "Götz von Berlichingen" gezeigt hat, dass er Shakespeare sein könnte, wenn er wollte: hat uns in dieser heroisch-komisch-farzikalischen Pasquinade gewiesen, dass er, wenn er wolle, auch Aristophanes sein könne. Denn so wie es ihm in diesem kritischen "Wrekekekex Koax Koax"<sup>36</sup> beliebt hat, mit Wieland und Wielands "Alceste" sein Spiel zu treiben, so trieb es Aristophanes ehemals mit dem nämlichen Euripides, welchen Hr. Goethe hier, mit der ihm

<sup>34</sup> Zu ihrer Entstehung und ihrer Wirkung, soweit nicht hier skizziert, s. die Kommentare zu "Götter, Helden und Wieland" z. B. in der Gedenkausgabe und der Edition des Deutschen Klassikerverlags; Goethe-Handbuch 2, 1996, 55 f.; Gräf, Goethe über seine Dichtungen 2, 1906 = Neudr. 1968, 1 ff.; Quellen- und Druckgeschichte von Goethes Werken 4: Einzelnes, Berlin 1984, 734 f.

<sup>35</sup> Sauder, Goethe-Handbuch 2, 1996, 55 f. (56) sowie o. Anm. 30 und 32 f.

<sup>36</sup> Korrigiert aus "Wrekekekex", lautmalende Wortmeldung der Titelhelden in Aristophanes' "Fröschen" (405 v. Chr.) in der im 18. Jahrhundert häufigen neugriechischen, reichlinischen Aussprache; in der uns geläufigen erasmischen hieße es "Brekekekex".

eigenen Laune, dem Verfasser des Singspiels "Alceste" auf den Kopf treten lässt. Wir empfehlen diese kleine Schrift allen Liebhabern der pasquinischen Manier als ein Meisterstück von Persiflage und sophistischem Witze, der sich aus allen möglichen Standpunkten sorgfältig denjenigen auswählt, aus dem ihm der Gegenstand schief vorkommen muss, und sich dann recht herzlich lustig darüber macht, dass das Ding so schief ist!<sup>37</sup>

Für Goethe war Wieland von großer Bedeutung. Vor und während Goethes Leipziger Zeit übten namentlich Wielands "Comische Erzählungen", "Idris" und "Musarion" großen Einfluss auf ihn aus.<sup>38</sup> Auch deshalb bedauerte Goethe bald seine Attacke gegen Wieland, aber ebenso aufgrund von Wielands geschickter Reaktion.<sup>39</sup>

Wieland hat sich kontinuierlich und intensiv mit dem griechisch-römischen Altertum befasst.<sup>40</sup> Er hat antike Autoren gelesen, übersetzt, kommentiert sowie sich stofflich und/oder formal von ihnen anregen lassen, wie andere Repräsentanten der deutschen Literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts auch. Während diese Latein meist gut bis sehr gut konnten, beherrschten sie das Griechische in unterschiedlichem Maße. So schreibt Wilhelm von Humboldt 1812 an Friedrich August Wolf, seine – Wolfs – Übersetzung der "Acharner" bereite Goethe große Freude: Er könne "nun erst den Aristophanes lesen und genießen".<sup>41</sup> Humboldt selbst überträgt eine Passage aus der "Lysistrate" zu seiner eigenen und einiger "ungriechischer Freunde Erlustigung";<sup>42</sup> einer dieser "ungriechischen Freunde" ist Schiller.<sup>43</sup> Ihm widmet

<sup>37</sup> Der Teutsche Merkur vom Jahr 1774, 6. Bd., 3. St., 351 f. (Replik), 321 ff. ("Götz"-Rezension).

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. z. B. Sauder (o. Anm. 35) 1153 ff. Für den "ganz trefflich" "Oberon" schenkt Goethe Wieland einen Lorbeerkranz; dazu gibt es keine Parallele (ebd.) Die Versifikation der "Iphigenie" nahm Goethe auf Wielands Anregung vor.

<sup>39</sup> Die Belege in den o. Anm. 30 und 34 f. angeführten Arbeiten.

<sup>40</sup> Dazu Bantel; den o. Anm. 31 zitierten Band; Jan Cölln, *Philologie und Roman. Zu Wielands erzählerischer Reproduktion griechischer Antike im "Aristipp"*, Göttingen 1998 (Palästra 303); Volker Riedel, *Antikerezeption in der deutschen Literatur vom Renaissance-Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, Weimar 2000, 144 ff. Erst nach Manuskript-Abschluss zugänglich war mir dank der Freundlichkeit von Frau Viia Ottenbacher (Wieland-Museum Biberach): William H. Clark, *Christoph Martin Wieland and the legacy of Greece: aspects of his relation to Greek culture*, masch. Diss. Columbia University, New York 1954; Kurzfassung in: *Diss. Abstracts* 14, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1953-54, Nr. 8, S. 1219 f. Im übrigen geht fast jede Publikation zu Wieland auch auf Antike-Bezüge ein.

<sup>41</sup> Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Briefe an Friedrich August Wolf*, hrsg. v. Philipp Mattson, Berlin, New York 1990, 308. Vgl. J. Werner, "Das Vöblein ist ja bei den ‚Acharnern‘ noch mehr *acharné*", *Rhein. Museum* 147, 2004, 190 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Brief Humboldts an Wolf vom 1. 9. 1795: Mattson (wie o. Anm. 42) 126.

<sup>43</sup> Jürgen Werner, *Studien zur Geschichte der Aristophanes-Verdeutschung*, masch. Habil.-Schrift Leipzig 1965, 111 ff., und "Die Übersetzungen des Aristophanes geben keine Vorstellung vom Werte des Originals", in: SKENIKA. Festschr. f. Horst-Dieter Blume, hrsg. v. Susanne Gödde



August Wilhelm Schlegel des maliziöse Epigramm "Troost bei einer schwierigen Unternehmung"; eine Strophe lautet:

Nur wenig Englisch weiß ich zwar,  
und Shakespeare ist mir gar nicht klar.  
Doch hilft der treue Eschenburg  
wohl bei dem "Macbeth" mir hindurch.  
Ohn alles Griechisch hab ich ja  
verdeutscht die "Iphigenia".<sup>44</sup>

August Wilhelm Schlegel hatte auch sonst eine spitze Zunge. Dem Platon-Übersetzer Friedrich Schleiermacher, gegen den er persönlich nichts hatte, widmete er folgendes Epigramm:

Der nackten Wahrheit Schleier machen  
ist kluger Theologen Amt.  
Und Schleiermacher sind bei so bewandten Sachen  
die Meister der Dogmatik allesamt.<sup>45</sup>

Auch Schleiermacher konnte pointiert formulieren. Als ihm ein Kollege Komplimente machte, weil seine Vorlesungen so gut besucht seien, entgegnete Schleiermacher, einem Ondit zufolge (auch Schleiermacher-Spezialisten konnten mir keinen Beleg nachweisen): "Es stimmt, dass ich stets volle Hörsäle habe. Aber ein Drittel der Anwesenden sind Theologiestudenten, die sich von mir prüfen lassen müssen; das zweite Drittel sind junge Damen, die wegen der Theologiestudenten kommen; und das dritte Drittel sind Offiziere, die wegen der jungen Damen da sind – also worauf soll ich mir etwas einbilden?" *Se non è vero, è ben trovato.*

Zurück zu Schiller. Er hatte Euripides' "Iphigenie in Aulis" tatsächlich anhand lateinischer und französischer Übertragungen verdeutscht ("...übersetzt aus dem Euripides"). Dass der "ungriechische" Schiller bei der Erfassung und Umgestaltung griechischen Erbes Bedeutendes geleistet hat, steht auf einem anderen Blatt. Das gilt nicht nur für ihn, sondern etwa auch für den, wie Hans Mayer ihn genannt hat, "römischen Brecht",<sup>46</sup> der gut Latein, aber kein Griechisch konnte; für Graeca stützte er sich offenbar auf

---

und Theodor Heinze, Darmstadt 2000, 389 ff. (390). Vgl. Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe 15 I: Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen, hrsg. v. Heinz Gerd Ingenkamp, Weimar 1993, 211 ff.: Schillers Kenntnis des Griechischen ... Zu diesem Band s. Manfred Fuhrmann, zuletzt in M. F., Europas fremd gewordene Fundamente (o. Anm. 29).

<sup>44</sup> August Wilhelm Schlegel, Sämtliche Werke, hrsg. v. Eduard Böcking, Leipzig 1846 (Neudr. Hildesheim, New York 1971) 2, 212.

<sup>45</sup> Ebd. 2, 233.

<sup>46</sup> Werner 1998: 5 ff.

seinen Schulfreund Caspar Neher, der ihn bei der Inszenierung der Brechtschen "Antigone"-Bearbeitung in Chur beriet und später in Brechts "Berliner Ensemble" Chefbühnenbildner war.<sup>47</sup> Der Gräzist Dietrich Ebener, der eine Fülle guter Übertragungen antiker Autoren geschaffen hat (vor allem, aber nicht nur für die "Bibliothek der Antike"<sup>48</sup> des Aufbauverlags), hat es so ausgedrückt: "Was man von den alten Originalen ‚lernen kann‘, hat kein Geringerer als der – des Altgriechischen nicht mächtige – Genius B. Brecht allein aus den ihm zugänglichen Übersetzungen zur Kenntnis genommen und in den Hauptpunkten klassisch formuliert [...] Kein Wissenschaftler hätte ‚das zu Lernende‘ treffsicherer und klarer formulieren können."<sup>49</sup> – Sehr gute Griechischkenntnisse hatten im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert unter den Nicht-Berufsphilologen Lessing, Wilhelm von Humboldt, August Wilhelm und Friedrich Schlegel sowie eben Wieland. Der Gräzist Mras bezeichnete Wieland überhaupt als "den besten Gräzisten unter unseren Klassikern" ("Gräzist" hier im Sinne von "Griechisch-Kenner"), und der französische Wielandforscher Hallberg nannte das Griechische geradezu "la langue mère du Wieland", also nicht einmal nur eine *wie* die Muttersprache beherrschte zweite Sprache.<sup>50</sup> In schwierigen Fällen holte Wieland den Rat von Berufsphilologen der ersten Garnitur ein (Heyne, Schütz).

2001 hat die Baden-Württembergische Kultusministerin Schavan behauptet, Wieland habe seinen Zeitgenossen übertriebene Griechen-Verehrung auszutreiben versucht.<sup>51</sup> Hier irrt Frau Schavan. Vielleicht hat sie an Goethe/Schillers Xenion gegen eine gewisse Gräkomanie gedacht. Wieland jedoch hat sich zwar auch für die römische Literatur stark engagiert – seine Horaz-Übersetzung wird immer wieder gedruckt<sup>52</sup> –, aber von Abwehr einer

<sup>47</sup> Vana Greisenegger-Georgila, Hans Jörg Jans, Was ist die Antike wert? Griechen und Römer auf der Bühne von Caspar Neher, Wien usw. 1995. Neher besucht 1907 ff. das humanistische Gymnasium St. Anna in Augsburg (S. 69).

<sup>48</sup> Zu ihr J. Werner, die "Bibliothek der Antike", *Klio* 64, 1982, 195 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Antike Tragödie auf deutschsprachigen Bühnen, in: *Dissertationculae criticae*. Festschrift für Günther Christian Hansen, Würzburg 1998, 500 Anm. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Zu den Griechischkenntnissen damaliger Repräsentanten unserer Literatur: J. Werner, Studien (o. Anm. 44) passim. – Speziell zu Wieland: ders., "Wenn du dir ..." (o. Anm. 32); Bantel 404 ff., 420 ff. – Zu Friedrich Schlegel: E. G. Schmidt, *Jenaer Gräzistik um 1800*, in: Friedrich Strack (Hrsg.), *Evolution des Geistes: Jena um 1800*, Stuttgart 1994, 247, 259 ff. – Zu Friedrich Hölderlin: J. Werner, in: F. H., *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. v. Günther Mieth, Berlin, Weimar 1970, <sup>2</sup>Berlin 1985, Bd. 3, 554; ders. *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Pindarübersetzung*, in: *Antikerezeption Antikeverhältnis Antikebegegnung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Festschr. f. Johannes Irmscher, hrsg. v. Max Kunze und Jürgen Dummer, Stendal 1983 [recte: 1988], Bd. 2, 577 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Forum Classicum* 2/2001, 99.

<sup>52</sup> Beide ediert zuletzt von Manfred Fuhrmann: Christoph Martin Wieland, *Übersetzung des Horaz*, Frankfurt a. M. 1986 (Christoph Martin Wieland, *Werke in zwölf Bänden* 9 [Bibliothek

wie immer gearteten Griechenverehrung durch Wieland kann keine Rede sein. Wieland war Philhellene im ursprünglichen Wortsinn.<sup>53</sup> Wenn Frau Schavan sich über diesen Gegenstand äußerte, so musste sie bzw. ihr Redenschreiber sich kundig machen.<sup>54</sup> Nach der Pisa-Studie für Schüler ist eine solche Studie auch für die Lehrer gefordert worden; wie wäre es mit einer Pisastudie für KultusministerInnen?

Gelesen hat Wieland, z. T. schon als Schüler, viele antike Dichter und Schriftsteller.<sup>55</sup> Übersetzt<sup>56</sup> hat er, z. T. als erster, an Griechischem (in der Abfolge der Lebenszeit dieser Autoren) mehrere Tragödien von Euripides (†406 v. Chr.), einige Komödien von Aristophanes<sup>57</sup> (†nach 388 v. Chr.),

deutscher Klassiker 10]). – Etwas irritierend die metrische Form des Horaz-Mottos vom "Sokrates mainomenos" in allen von mir eingesehenen Ausgaben, soweit sie das Motto mitdrucken: "Insani sapiens, aequus ferat, *nomen iniqui*" (Horaz, Briefe 1, 6, 15). Ein korrekter Hexameter liegt nur vor bei der in unseren Horaz- Editionen üblichen Fassung "Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui", und so teilt ihn z. B. Fix (o. S.11) in seinem Kommentar mit. In dem lateinischen Text, den Wieland seiner Übersetzung der Horaz-Briefe seit der "neuen verbesserten Auflage", Leipzig 1790 (<sup>2</sup>ebd. 1801, <sup>3</sup>ebd. 1816) beigtigt, hat der Vers die korrekte Form. So auch in Fuhrmanns Ausgabe S. 125. Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus! Was Wieland als hervorragendem Kenner der alten Sprachen offenbar gelegentlich widerfuhr (Fuhrmann hat dann und wann stillschweigend "offensichtliche Fehler, vor allem Verstöße gegen das Versmaß [...] getilgt": S. 1097), kann natürlich auch beim Motto des "Sokrates mainomenos" geschehen sein. – Auch sonst wird immer wieder auf Wielands Übertragung zurückgegriffen, z. B. bieten OttoWeinreich, Antike Satiren, Zürich und Stuttgart 1949 (Die Bibliothek der Alten Welt) und Reimar Müller, Horaz, Werke (deutsch), Leipzig 1984 (RUB 431) sämtliche Horaz-Satiren (außer I 2) in der Verdeutschung von Wieland; Müller auch Horaz' Briefe.

<sup>53</sup> J. Werner, Philhellenismus, in: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 4., völlig Neubearb. Aufl., Bd. 6, Tübingen 2003, 1268 f.; ausführlicher demnächst in der Festschrift für Steffen Günther Henrich.

<sup>54</sup> Kurz ging ich darauf schon ein in: Forum Classicum 3/2001, 192 f.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. das – naturgemäß lückenhafte – "Alphabetische Verzeichnis der Wieland-Bibliothek, bearbeitet nach dem 'Verzeichniß der Bibliothek des verewigten Herrn Hofraths Wieland', (Weimar) 1814" von Klaus-P. Bauch und Maria-B. Schröder, Hannover 1993 (Schriftenreihe des Antiquariats Klaus-P. Bauch 1). Von dem "Verzeichniß" gibt es einen Neudruck (München 1977). Zur Frage, was Wieland besessen oder doch gekannt hat, s. Cölln (o. Anm. 41) 228.

<sup>56</sup> 1979 ist diesem bedeutenden Übersetzer zu Ehren ein Wieland- Übersetzerpreis gestiftet worden. Dazu: Neuer Wieland-Übersetzerpreis, in: Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe, 35, 1979, 650; Walter Jens, Wieland als Übersetzer. Bis heute nicht überholt, ebd. 2190 ff., unter dem Titel "Christoph Martin Wieland. Probleme eines Übersetzers", auch in: W. J., Ort der Handlung ist Deutschland, München 1981, 185 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Achamer, 1794; Ritter, Wolken 1798; Vögel, 1806. Zu Wielands Aristophanes-Übersetzungen s. Werner, Studien (o. Anm. 44) 90 ff. Vgl.: ders., Aristophanes-Übersetzung und Aristophanes-Bearbeitung in Deutschland, zuletzt in: Aristophanes und die Alte Komödie, hrsg. von Hans-Joachim Newiger, Darmstadt 1975 (WdF 265), 459 ff.; ders., Welcker als Aristophanes-Übersetzer, in: Orchestra. Drama – Mythos – Bühne. Festschr. f. Hellmut Flashar, hrsg. v. Anton Bierl u. a., Stuttgart, Leipzig 1994, 363 ff.; ders., "Die Übersetzungen des Aristophanes"

von Xenophon (5./4. Jh.) das "Gastmahl" und Teile der "Erinnerungen an Sokrates",<sup>58</sup> von Isokrates (4. Jh.) eine Rede, den "Panegyrikos", von dem Satiriker Lukian (1./2. Jh.) fast alle Werke;<sup>59</sup> an Lateinischem Horaz' Briefe und Satiren (vgl. o. Anm. 53) sowie Ciceros Briefe.<sup>60</sup> In mehreren Fällen handelt es sich um die erste Verdeutschung überhaupt. Gut gekannt hat er, ohne etwas zu übertragen, natürlich Homer (er hat sich eindringlich mit der Übersetzung durch Johann Heinrich Voß und mit Friedrich August Wolfs Arbeiten über Homer beschäftigt), Platon und zahlreiche andere Autoren. Übertragen hat er auch manche nichtantike Weltliteratur: Nachdem Lessing im 17. der "Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend" das Fehlen einer deutschen Shakespeare-Übersetzung beklagt hatte, begann Wieland Anfang der 60er Jahre mit seiner

(Prosa-)Übertragung der meisten Shakespeare-Stücke; er schloss sie 1766 ab. Sie hat, gewiss zu Recht, manche Kritik erfahren, hat aber als Pioniertat ihre Verdienste gehabt, was nicht zuletzt ein so gestrenger Kritiker wie Lessing, der hervorragend Englisch konnte, voll anerkannte. Wielands Verdeutschung war die Grundlage der Shakespeare-Rezeption im Sturm und Drang, denn Englisch-Kenntnisse waren weniger verbreitet als heute bzw. als Französisch-Kenntnisse damals. Goethe hat später Shakespeare überhaupt nur noch in Wielands Übersetzung benutzt. – Nebenher: Unser Terminus "Weltliteratur" ist zwar durch Goethe in Umlauf gekommen, aber geprägt hat ihn vorher Wieland.<sup>61</sup>

Antike Sujets gestaltet Wieland in zahlreichen Werken, die das zum Teil schon im Titel anzeigen, so – um, chronologisch, nur die größten ‚Brocken‘ zu nennen – in den Romanen "Geschichte des Agathon" (1. Fassung: Entstehung [E] 1761-67, Erstdruck [ED] 1766-67; 2. Fassung 1772, ED 1773; 3. Fassung 1793-94, ED 1794), "Die Abderiten", später "Die Geschichte der Abderiten" (1773-81, ED 1774-81), "Geheime Geschichte des Philosophen Peregrinus Proteus" (1788-91, ED von Teilen : 1788-89, des gesamten Romans 1791), "Agathodämon" (1795-99, ED 1796-99), "Aristipp und einige seiner Zeitgenossen" (unvollendet, 1798-1800, ED 1800-02).<sup>62</sup> Dazu treten

---

(o. Anm.44) und "Das Vöblein" (o. Anm. 42; hier geht es um Friedrich August Wolfs Aristophanes-Übertragungen und die Attacken der Familie Voß gegen sie).

<sup>58</sup> Zuletzt in: Xenophon, Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten, hrsg. v. Jan Philipp Reemtsma, Frankfurt/M. 1998 (Die Andere Bibliothek). Zu Reemtsma vgl. o. Anm. 29.

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. o. Anm. 32.

<sup>60</sup> Neudruck Berlin 1972/75.

<sup>61</sup> Dazu Hendrik Birus, Reallexikon (wie o. Anm. 32 Ende), 3, 825 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Im Rahmen der inzwischen leider abgebrochenen Ausgabe "Werke in 12 Bänden" (Frankfurt/M. 1986 ff.) erschienen 1986 und 1988 Klaus Mangers vorzügliche, reich kommentierte Editionen des "Agathon" und des "Aristipp". Manger hat sich auch mit zahlreichen anderen Publikationen um Wieland außerordentlich verdient gemacht.

viele Werke, in denen er auf antike Formen zurückgreift, wie die "Göttergespräche" (E/ED 1790-93), die von Lukians imaginären Unterhaltungen im Olymp – auch sie heißen "Götter-" und "Meergöttergespräche" – inspiriert sind. – Programmatisch antikebezogen sind die Titel der von Wieland gegründeten, herausgegebenen und weithin mit eigenen Arbeiten bestrittenen Zeitschriften "Attisches Museum" (1796-1802) und "Neues Attisches Museum" (1805-09).

Aber nicht Wielands Verhältnis zur Antike insgesamt soll uns hier beschäftigen. Otto Bantels Dissertation (o. Anm. 1), die sein Verhältnis zur römischen Literatur weitgehend ausblendet, umfasst auch so schon 480 Seiten! Hier geht es um Wielands Beziehung zur Gestalt des Sokrates. Man hat das 18. Jahrhundert, in das der Hauptteil von Wielands Leben und Schaffen fällt, geradezu das "Sokratische Zeitalter" genannt, in dem man "Sokratische Freundschaften" pflegte und "Sokratische Gespräche" führte.<sup>63</sup>

### **"Zwölf Moralische Briefe", "Timoclea"**

In den "Zwölf Moralischen Briefen in Versen" (1752) – einem Lehrgedicht, in dem sich Wieland im Anschluss an Sokrates' Entwicklung erst mit der Naturphilosophie, dann mit der Ethik beschäftigt – ist Sokrates für den 19jährigen Wieland das Ideal des Weisen schlechthin, der den Weg zur Tugend zeigt, nicht zuletzt durch sein freiwilliges Sterben: Er könnte der Hinrichtung durch Flucht entgehen, tut es aber bewusst nicht; dieses Sterben bewertet Wieland höher als den Selbstmord, den später in Rom, nach dem Untergang der Republik, der junge Cato begeht.<sup>64</sup> – Mehr als einmal ist in den "Moralischen Briefen" zusammen mit Sokrates der Stoiker Epiktet genannt, der Wielands Sympathie zeit seines Lebens genießt, als undogmatischer Philosoph, dem es primär um eine sinnvolle Lebensführung geht. Sokrates und Epiktet sind zugleich ein Symbol dafür, dass man auch im Mangel glücklich existieren kann. – Weitere wichtige Aspekte der "Moralischen Briefe": Wahre Schönheit kann nur von der Tugend kommen, und so ist lediglich der Weise wahrhaft schön: "Gefiel nicht Sokrates und glich doch dem Silen?/ Narziß! Dein Spiegel lügt, der Weise nur ist schön!" (Der Satyr Silen war für seine

---

<sup>63</sup> Das Wort "Sokratisch" fehlt im Grimmschen wie im Trübnerschen Wörterbuch; ein relativ kurzer Artikel findet sich in: Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch ("Schulz/Basler") 4, Berlin, New York 1977, 249 f. Vgl. ferner Liebsch (o. Anm. 28).

<sup>64</sup> Den Tod beider vergleicht auch Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 13, 14; 104, 27-33. Allerdings liegt für ihn bei Sokrates kein "voreiliger Tod" vor (ebd. 70, 9): Sokrates hat sich nicht im Gefängnis zu Tode gehungert, um sich der Hinrichtung zu entziehen: Michael von Albrecht, Sokrates und Seneca, in: *Sokrates-Studien* 5, 261 ff. (266 f.). Woldemar Görler "fällt auf, dass die Hinrichtung des Sokrates hier [Cic., *Tusc.* 1, 74] geradezu als Freitod gilt" (Sokrates bei Cicero, in: *Sokrates-Studien* 5, 233 ff. [247]).

Hässlichkeit bekannt.) Für den auf das (Männlich-)Körperliche abzielenden Schönheitskult der Antike, besonders der griechischen, und dann wieder der deutschen Griechenbewegung von Winckelmann an (bis zu Stefan George) hat Wieland 1752 und später kein Verständnis. Sokrates' Gesicht habe trotz seiner "Faunsnase" Schönheit, Ernst und Anmut ausgestrahlt. – Der Sokrates der "Moralischen Briefe" ist Kosmopolit, anders als der real existierende Sokrates des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. Dieser lässt sich ja, obwohl von seiner Unschuld überzeugt, durch die Gesetze seiner Polis zu Tode bringen. Reinhard Häußler vertritt darüber hinaus unter Berufung auf Döring<sup>65</sup> die Auffassung, Wieland habe auch den "Kosmopoliten Sokrates" von Epiktet übernommen, für den Sokrates eine einzigartige Bedeutung hatte. Nun ist Epiktet zwar nicht der erste antike Philosoph, der den Kosmopolitismus vertrat, aber vielleicht der erste, bei dem Wieland darauf stieß, doch kommt auch der Kyniker Diogenes dafür in Betracht, den Wieland ebenfalls gut kannte. Auf jeden Fall nennt Wieland gelegentlich Sokrates und Epiktet in *einem* Atemzug ("Iauter Sokratesse und Epiktete"<sup>66</sup>), und im "Vorbericht" zum "Sokrates mainomenos", auf den ich gleich komme, nennt er den "weisen Epiktet" einen "zweiten Sokrates". – Zu der 3. Auflage der "Moralischen Briefe" (1762) schreibt Wieland einen "Vorbericht", in dem er vom "sanften Sokratischen Spott" und vom "Weltmann" Sokrates spricht. Das sind Züge, die es 1752 in der 1. Auflage nicht gab. Hier deutet sich an, wie Wielands Bild der Antike und speziell des Sokrates sich ändert; wir werden das noch anderweitig sehen.

1754/55 verfasst Wieland das "Gespräch des Socrates mit Timoclea, von der scheinbaren und wahren Schönheit" (ED 756), das später unter dem Titel "Timoclea. Ein Gespräch über scheinbare und wahre Schönheit" gedruckt wird. Sokrates ist hier ein schwärmerischer Moralist, ein Philosoph ohne Lebenserfahrung – wie der 21jährige Verfasser des "Gesprächs". Die Art, wie Wieland den Sokrates auftreten lässt, ist nicht sokratisch: Er sucht nicht durch Gespräche auf den Punkt zu kommen, sondern doziert über Seelenschönheit und Moral, ganz wie ein Philosoph des 18. Jahrhunderts. Und Sokrates spricht verächtlich über die Hetäre Lais, wie der historische Sokrates nicht über Aspasia gesprochen hat und wie 1798 ff. der Sokrates von Wielands "Aristipp" nicht über Lais spricht. Im "Vorbericht" zum Neudruck von 1798 charakterisiert Wieland die männliche Hauptgestalt der "Timoclea" als einen "Socrate moderne" (die Hervorhebung von mir: J. W.) Ungeachtet manch neuen Zuges

---

<sup>65</sup> Klaus Döring, *Exemplum Socratis. Studien zur Sokratesnachwirkung in der kynisch-stoischen Popularphilosophie der frühen Kaiserzeit und im frühen Christentum*, Stuttgart 1979 (Hermes Einzelschriften 42), 130.

<sup>66</sup> Wieland, *Sämtliche Werke* 29, 111.

gehört der Sokrates der "Timoclea" ebenso wie der der "Moralischen Briefe" in Wielands idealistische Jugendphase.

### ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ

Das einzige größere Werk Wielands, in dessen Titel Sokrates begegnet, ist "ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope", geschrieben 1769, als Wieland Professor an der Universität Erfurt ist (an der er vordem zwei Semester studiert hat), gedruckt 1770. Den ersten Teil des Titels gibt Wieland selbst mit "Socrates delirans" bzw. "ein aberwitzig gewordener Sokrates" wieder. Bei Diogenes aus Sinope<sup>67</sup> handelt es sich um den bekannten Kyniker, der, nachdem der Sokrates-Schüler Antisthenes aus Athen mit seiner Lehre die kynische Schule begründet hat, nun als der wichtigste Antisthenes-Schüler kynische Lebensweise realisiert und propagiert, eine Lebensweise, die namentlich das Streben nach Unabhängigkeit (Autarkie) durch Anspruchslosigkeit und Beherrschung der Leidenschaften sowie durch Ablehnung aller Konventionen praktiziert: Diogenes als "Vater des praktischen Kynismus" (Theodor Gomperz) lebt eine Existenz vor, die an 1968er, Blumenkinder, Love-Parade-Teilnehmer und andere Alternative gemahnt, unter anderem durch öffentliche Befriedigung fäkalischer und sexueller Bedürfnisse; eine Lebensweise, die den übrigen Menschen als die von Hunden, κύνας, erschien, weshalb die Anhänger dieser Strömung seit Diogenes κυνικοί genannt wurden<sup>68</sup> (das passte zugleich zum Namen des Antisthenes-Lehrstuhles, des athenischen Gymnasions Kynosarges) ; daraus hat sich bekanntlich im Deutschen außer "Kyniker" auch "Zyniker" entwickelt,<sup>69</sup> wobei zu bedenken ist, dass nicht jeder antike Kyniker ein Zyniker im Sinne des heutigen Wortes war und dass kein heutiger Zyniker ein Kyniker ist, sein kann, weil es eine solche philosophische Richtung nicht mehr gibt. Diogenes nahm eine "Umwertung aller Werte" vor, um eine Prägung Nietzsches zu

<sup>67</sup> Zu Diogenes und zum Kynismus: Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, *Der Neue Pauly* 3, 1997, 598 ff. und 6, 1999, 969 ff.; Döring bei Flashar (o. Anm. 20), 280 ff., 355 ff.; Georg Luck, *Die Weisheit der Hunde. Texte der antiken Kyniker [...]* Stuttgart 1997 (KTA 484); Margarete Billerbeck (Hrsg.), *Die Kyniker in der modernen Forschung*, Amsterdam 1991; Luis E. Navia, *Diogenes of Sinope*, Westport, London 1998. Zur Rezeption: Heinrich Niehues-Pröbsting, *Der Kynismus des Diogenes und der Begriff des Zynismus*, München 1979, <sup>2</sup>1988 (Humanistische Bibliothek I 40); ders., *Wielands Diogenes und der Rameau Diderots*, in: H. Niehues-Pröbsting, Peter Sloterdijks "Kritik der zynischen Vernunft", Frankfurt a. M. 1987 (es 1297), 73 ff.; ders., *Die Kynismus-Rezeption der Moderne [...]*, in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 40, 1992, 709 ff.; Döring, *Der Neue Pauly* 14, 2000, 1154 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Schon Diogenes hat *kynikós* als "Trutznamen" (à la *Geuse* usw.) verwendet.

<sup>69</sup> Zu "Kyniker/Zyniker": Niehues-Pröbsting, *Kynismus* (o. Anm. 68); *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* ("Schulz/Basler") 6, Berlin, New York 1983, 439 ff.

verwenden; im Griechischen steht *παραχράττειν τὸ νόμισμα* "die Münze umprägen/fälschen" (Diogenes hat möglicherweise seinem Vater bei einer Münzfälschung geholfen). Zu den von Diogenes abgelehnten Werten gehörte der Staat; der wichtigste Ausspruch des Kynikers lautet: "Ich bin ein Weltbürger", *κοσμοπολίτης εἰμί*.<sup>70</sup> Diogenes war, am Rande bemerkt, überhaupt durch Apophthegmen bekannt. Als ihn in seiner Tonne – der Bedürfnislose braucht kein Haus – Alexander der Große besuchte, ihm einen Wunsch freistellte und ihm in seiner königlichen Huld Gott weiß was gewährt hätte, sagte Diogenes nur ganz cool: "Geh mir aus der Sonne!"; daraufhin bemerkte der hohe Herr: "Wenn ich nicht Alexander wäre, würde ich Diogenes sein wollen." Helmut Schmidt hat einmal geäußert, es solle sich niemand von den Ideen des Club of Rome anstecken lassen, dass wir alle zu einem einfachen Leben zurückkehren müssten: "Diogenes konnte in der Tonne leben und war damit zufrieden. Aber er war Philosoph, und das sind wir meistens nicht."<sup>71</sup> Wohl das schönste Bonmot des Diogenes: Als ihn die Einwohner seines Heimatortes Sinope aus einem hier nicht zu erörterndem Grund verbannten und zu ihm sagten: "Wir verurteilen dich, die Stadt zu verlassen" (wogegen er nichts tun konnte), entgegnete er: "Und ich verurteile euch, hierzubleiben."

Wielands Diogenes übt in seinem gewöhnlich als Roman bezeichneten Werk – es enthält Dialoge (auch vom historischen Diogenes gab es welche), Selbstgespräche, Anekdoten usw. – Gesellschaftskritik, verulkt in der Satire vom Mann im Mond Gelehrte, die sich mit Entschiedenheit über Dinge äußern, über die sie nichts wissen. In antikem Gewand stellt Wieland das Ideal des harmonischen Menschen dar, wobei er Diogenes bewusst idealisiert,<sup>72</sup> ihn als aufgeklärten Bürger des 18. Jahrhunderts gestaltet: Als einer, der nichts besitzt und nichts begehrt – in einer Gesellschaft, die den Besitz zum Maß der Dinge erhebt –, als Wahrheitsfanatiker, als Verächter gesellschaftlicher Normen, als Umwerter der geltenden Werte ist er ein "Sonderling" innerhalb seiner Gesellschaft; von dem historischen Kyniker ist, wie Wieland 1797 sagt, "nur der Hang zur Unabhängigkeit übriggeblieben."<sup>73</sup> In seiner gesellschaftskritischen Haltung entwickelt Diogenes/Wieland – 1770 schreibt Wieland an Sophie La Roche, die Philosophie des Diogenes sei viel

<sup>70</sup> Gabriele Giannantoni (Hrsg.), *Socratis et Socraticorum reliquiae*, Neapel 1990, 2,254. Zu Wielands "ambivalenter Einstellung zum Konzept 'deutsche Nation'" s. Irmtraut Sahmland, *Christoph Martin Wieland und die deutsche Nation. Zwischen Patriotismus, Kosmopolitismus und Griechentum*, Tübingen 1990. Unergiebig für unseren Zweck: Peter Coulmas, *Weltbürger. Geschichte einer Menschheitssehnsucht*, Reinbek 1990.

<sup>71</sup> Berichtet und kommentiert wird dies von Niehues-Pröbsting, *Kynismus* (o. Anm. 68) 109.

<sup>72</sup> Karl Aug. Böttiger, *Literarische Zustände und Zeitgenossen ...*, München, Leipzig 1838 = Neudr. Frankfurt/M. 1972, 1, 205.

<sup>73</sup> Ebd.



mehr die seinige, als sie habe glauben wollen<sup>74</sup>-, die Vision einer Revolution, 20 Jahre vor der Französischen Revolution (zu der Wieland im Lauf der Zeit ein differenziertes Verhältnis hat); Derartiges geschieht hier wohl erstmals in deutscher Sprache. Am Ende des Werkes lässt Wieland den Diogenes eine "Republik" entwerfen, die nicht nur Satire auf Platons "Politeia" ist, woran man um so eher denken könnte, als die – nicht erhaltene – "Republik" des antiken Diogenes ein Gegenentwurf zu derjenigen Platons gewesen sein mag, aber Wieland äußert, wiederum gegenüber Sophie La Roche, nichts verstehe, wer seine "Republik" von 1770 nur als Satire auf Platons "Staat" auffasse.<sup>75</sup> Wieland ironisiert wohl vor allem Rousseaus zivilisationskritischen, historischen Gegebenheiten außer acht lassenden Naturstaat; Wieland legt, in gewisser Weise ebenso illusionär, mehr Wert auf Erziehung durch Vernunft. Wie immer, Wielands Diogenes, der "Sonderling", kann nur unter der Narrenkappe die wirklichen Narren zum Narren halten: die Narrenkappe als Tarnkappe. Diogenes kann von Glück reden, wenn ihn die Gesellschaft als Narren erkennt; sähe sie ihn als den Weisen, der er doch ist, könnte es ihm ähnlich ergehen wie dem Sokrates von 399 v. Chr. (Ich greife hier auf Gedanken und Formulierungen von Peter Fix in der von ihm betreuten, übrigens auch ästhetisch ansprechenden Ausgabe des "Sokrates mainomenos"<sup>76</sup> zurück.)

Wieso vergleicht Wieland den Diogenes mit Sokrates? Auch dieser ist ein Sonderling: Auch ihm ist eine gewisse Abhärtung und Bedürfnislosigkeit eigen,<sup>77</sup> auch er ist ein Wahrheitsfanatiker, der mit Spott und Ironie arbeitet (Wieland spricht im "Sokrates mainomenos" vom "Sokratischen Satyr", und hier geht es ihm, anders als beim "Silen Sokrates" in den "Moralischen Briefen", nicht um das Äußere); ein Sonderling, der auch etwas vom Narren an sich hat, der, wie Diogenes, nur unter der Narrenkappe die tatsächlichen

<sup>74</sup> Brief Nr. 108 vom 20. 03. 1770: Wieland, Briefwechsel 4, 112.

<sup>75</sup> Brief Nr. 83 vom 17. 02. 1770: ebd. 4, 92. Zu Wielands Staatsutopie s. Hans- Joachim Mähl, Die Republik des Diogenes, in: Wilhelm Vofkamp (Hrsg.), Utopieforschung, Frankfurt a. M. 1985 (st 1159), 3, 50 ff. (textlich identisch mit der Ausgabe Stuttgart 1982). In manchen Ausgaben, so in der Gruberschen, Bd. 13, Leipzig 1819, ist "Die Republik des Diogenes" im Anschluss an den "Sokrates mainomenos" bzw. unter dem Titel "Nachlass des Diogenes ..." gleichsam als ein selbständiges Werk gedruckt (o. S. 9).

<sup>76</sup> Leipzig 1984 (Sammlung Dieterich 77).

<sup>77</sup> Sehr schön der Vergleich der Szenerie von Ciceros "De Oratore" mit der "weniger bequemen" ihres Sokratischen Vorbildes in Platons "Phaidros" bei Woldemar Görler, Sokrates bei Cicero, in: Sokrates-Studien 5, 233 ff. (238). Kierkegaard weist allerdings darauf hin, dass es nicht genüge, die Ähnlichkeit in der Unabhängigkeit vom sinnlichen Genuss zu sehen. Der Kynismus sei der negative Genuss, das Genießen des Mangels. Der Kyniker sei nicht unbekannt mit der Lust, suche eine gewisse Befriedigung jedoch darin, ihr nicht nachzugeben – der Genuss besteht dann darin, auf das Genießen verzichten zu können.

Narren zum Narren halten kann. "Sokrates und Harlekin sind meine Lieblingscharaktere, und Yorick [im "Tristram Shandy" des von Wieland bewundernten Laurence Sterne] ist es mehr als einer von diesen beiden, weil er Sokrates und Harlekin zugleich ist", schreibt Wieland am 15. 12. 1768 an seinen Erfurter Freund F. J. Riedel.<sup>78</sup> (Wieland erwägt damals eine Übersetzung des englischen Satirikers.) Später bezeichnet Wieland den Diogenes-Schüler Menippos in durchaus positivem Sinn als "philosophischen Harlekin". Goethe gibt zu bedenken: "Sokrates-Till [-Eulenspiegel] lässt sich vielleicht recht gut verdeutscht für Sokrates Mänomenos setzen".<sup>79</sup> Zu bedenken ist auch die Mitteilung von Diogenes Laertius VI 103: "Was einige für Sokrates in Anspruch nehmen, das schreibt Diokles aus Magnesia [Verfasser eines Abrisses der Philosophie-Geschichte] dem Diogenes zu." Wieland spricht in einem Brief vom 17.2.1770 an Sophie La Roche geradezu von "diesem Sokratischen Diogenes" (wie o. Anm. 76). In anderer Beziehung *unterscheiden* sich Sokrates und Diogenes. So fühlt sich der historische Sokrates, wie ihn unsere antiken Hauptgewährsleute Platon und Xenophon, in diesem Punkt übereinstimmend, schildern, als ein seiner Polis verpflichteter Bürger, während sich der Diogenes dieses Wieland-Werkes (Kap.32) ebenso wie der uns kenntliche antike Diogenes ausdrücklich als Weltbürger, Kosmopolit, bekennt. (In Wielands "Aristipp" [1798] I 7 charakterisiert der Titelheld den Sokrates wie folgt: "Er ist ein zu edler und zu guter Mensch, um ein bloßer Bürger von Athen, und gleichwohl zu sehr Bürger von Athen, um ein echter Weltbürger zu sein.") – In dem "Vorbericht" zum "Sokrates mainomenos" von 1770 wird übrigens sein Daimonion erwähnt, in *der* Form, dass Wieland von seinem, Wielands, "Instinkt" spricht, "welchen Sokrates seinen Genius zu nennen pflegte", jenen Zug, den Nietzsche ganz unfeierlich zum "Ohrenleiden des Sokrates", also eine Art Tinnitus, erklärt.<sup>80</sup>

Wie kam Wieland überhaupt auf den Titel? Er griff auf eine Mitteilung des "Buntschriftstellers" (Kuriositäten-Sammlers) Aelian (um 200 n. Chr.; *Varia historia* XIV 33) zurück, wonach der Sokrates-Schüler Platon den Kyniker Diogenes als  $\Sigma\omega\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma \mu\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  bezeichnet hat.<sup>81</sup> Erläutert, be-

<sup>78</sup> Brief Nr. 569: Wieland, Briefwechsel 3, 559.

<sup>79</sup> WA I 42, 29 = Grumach 2, 798. Johann Fischart, *Der new Eulenspiegel Reimenweiß* (1572) nennt seinerseits seinen "Titelschalk" einen "Diogenischen Spottvogel", den Diogenes den "Eulenspiegelisch Philosophum": Niehues-Pröbsting, *Der Kynismus* (o. Anm. 68) 221.

<sup>80</sup> Gerhart Schmidt, *Sokrates-Studien* 2, 1995, 289.

<sup>81</sup> Giannantoni (o. Anm. 71) 2, 254: Aelian Nr. 59 also ist entscheidend, nicht Diogenes Laertius 6, 54 (damit berichtige ich "Können Sie mir ..." [o. Anm. 1] 226). Die Stelle bei Diogenes Laertius ist überdies umstritten: Wird Diogenes nach seiner Meinung über Platon gefragt und nennt ihn einen "Sokrates mainomenos"? Oder wird umgekehrt Platon nach seiner Meinung über Diogenes gefragt und nennt ihn einen "Sokrates mainomenos"? Die neuere Forschung bevorzugt – wie schon Wieland, s. o. S. 11f. – letztere Deutung, z. B. Navia (o. Anm. 68) 162,

gründet wird der Vergleich nicht.<sup>82</sup> In Platons erhaltenen Texten – und von Platon ist, für antike Verhältnisse, relativ viel überliefert – wird Diogenes überhaupt nicht erwähnt. – In einer der Diskussionen zu diesem Vortrag wurde zu bedenken gegeben, ob *μαίνόμενος* hier nicht, wie *μάντις*, *μαϊνάς* usw. im Sinne von "ekstatisch" zu verstehen ist. Dazu passt indes schlecht, dass Wieland den Kyniker ausdrücklich einen "vernünftigen Sonderling" nennt. Aber *μαίνομαι* heißt ja auch "verhalte mich ungewöhnlich, verstoße gegen Sitte und Ordnung, gegen Normen", s. Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos, Lief. 15, 1993, 5 f. – In der übrigen antiken Literatur werden Sokrates und Diogenes kaum je in *einem* Atemzug genannt: der Mönch und Epistolograph Isidor aus Pelusium (5. Jh.) beruft sich in seinem Kampf gegen den Luxus an unterschiedlichen Stellen auf Sokrates und Diogenes, ohne aber eine Traditionslinie zu ziehen. In der großen Edition Giannantonis (o. Anm. 71) fehlt Isidor, desgleichen in den verdienstlichen Arbeiten über Sokrates im frühen Christentum.

1795 spricht Wieland anlässlich einer neuen Ausgabe des Werkes in einem "Zusatz" zum "Vorbericht" kurz von den "Dialogen des Diogenes", erwähnt also nur den Untertitel der Edition von 1770. Er sei fehl am Platz, da tatsächliche Gespräche nur den geringsten Teil des Ganzen ausmachten, vielmehr abwesende und fingierte Personen mit anderen Textsorten, z. B. Selbstgesprächen, apostrophiert würden. Ferner sei der frühere Haupttitel griechisch – er war auch in griechischen Lettern gedruckt: ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ – ; heute würde das jedem durchschnittlichen Setzer einen tödlichen Schrecken einjagen, aber warum störte das 1795? Wieland verrät es nicht. Dann aber "(scheint) dieser halb ehrenvolle, halb spöttische Spitzname, welchen Platon dem Diogenes gegeben haben soll, auf den Sokrates, der sich in diesen Blättern darstellt, ganz und gar nicht zu passen." (Es folgt die von mir schon teilweise zitierte Passage: "Dieser (Diogenes) ist zwar ein Sonderling [das hat er auch für Wieland mit Sokrates gemeinsam], aber ein so gutherziger, frohsinniger und (mit Erlaubnis zu sagen) so vernünftiger Sonderling...".<sup>83</sup> Das klingt fast so, als wolle Wieland dem Sokrates Gutherzig-

---

176. Rätselhaft H. Jaumann bei Jørgensen 82 zu "Sokrates mainomenos": "eine Benennung, die schon bei Aristophanes und Euripides in Umlauf gewesen sein soll".

<sup>82</sup> Auch nicht von Bantel (der auf den "Sokrates mainomenos" überhaupt nur beiläufig eingeht). Dasselbe gilt für Klaus Schäfer, Christoph Martin Wieland, Stuttgart 1996 (Sammlung Metzler 295) und seinen Vorläufer: Cornelius Sommer, Christoph Martin Wieland, Stuttgart 1971 (Sammlung Metzler. Realienbücher für Germanisten. D: L 95).

<sup>83</sup> Für mich nicht einleuchtend ist die Begründung, die Niehues-Pröbsting, Kynismus-Rezeption (wie o. Anm. 68) 715 für die Titeländerung gibt: "*Sokrates mainomenos* erschien ihm [Wieland] zu anrühlich: denn sein Diogenes sollte kein unverschämter Narr sein, wie er etwa bei Diogenes Laertius und Athenäus dargestellt werde".

keit, Frohsinn und Vernunft absprechen, aber das ist ja nicht ernstlich in Erwägung zu ziehen bei allem Positiven, was Wieland sonst von Sokrates sagt.) Also titelt der Autor, in Anlehnung an die Überschrift der von ihm fingierten lateinischen Vorlage (Wieland will in einer Bibliothek das entsprechende Manuskript – die lateinische Fassung einer arabischen Übersetzung des verlorengegangenen griechischen Originals – entdeckt, ins Deutsche übertragen bzw. dann weitgehend umgeschrieben haben; eine Fiktion, zu der es bei Wieland und anderen Schriftstellern Parallelen gibt<sup>84</sup> und die Wieland selbst in spielerischer Weise in Frage stellt), in Anlehnung also an den fiktiven lateinischen Titel "Diogenis Sinopensis reliqua" titelt er jetzt: "Nachlass des Diogenes von Sinope", und so steht es nun auch in der historisch-kritischen Akademie-Ausgabe von Wielands "Gesammelten Schriften", der heute einzig maßgeblichen (noch unvollständigen) Gesamt-Edition der Berlin-Brandenburgischen, früher Preußischen, dann Deutschen, danach DDR-Akademie der Wissenschaften. – Diogenes spielt auch im "Aristipp" (1798 ff.) eine – positive – Rolle: es fällt aber von da, wenn ich nichts übersehen habe, kein Licht auf den Sokrates-Vergleich von 1769/70. – In Parenthese, nachdem ich schon etwas über die Aufnahme und Verbreitung von Wielands Werken in seiner Zeit gesagt habe: Der "Diogenes" hatte ein recht günstiges Echo. Er erlebt viele Auflagen einschließlich der bei Wieland so häufigen Doppel- und Raubdrucke; bedeutende Zeitgenossen loben das Buch enthusiastisch in Briefen (so Gleim und J. G. Jacobi); es erscheinen zahlreiche positive, partiell auch kritische Rezensionen<sup>85</sup> sowie zahlreiche Gesamt- und Teilübersetzungen ins Englische, Französische, Italienische, Niederländische, Polnische, Russische und Ungarische. Eine der französischen Ausgaben (*Socrate en délire ou Dialogues de Diogène de Synope*) enthält Zusätze Wielands, die offenbar so geartet waren, dass Wieland selbst diese Fassung besser fand als das deutsche Original;<sup>86</sup> es folgten Neuauflagen in Paris, Dresden und Amsterdam (WB 1673). Sogar der Vertrieb des "Sokrates mainomenos" in Österreich wird genehmigt (es gab von katholischer Seite Einwände gegen das Werk, die hier nicht zu erörtern sind). Finanziell ist das Buch für Wieland ebenfalls ein Erfolg, durch den beträchtlichen Absatz wie durch das vergleichsweise hohe Honorar: Wieland ist auch in geschäftlichen Dingen ge-

<sup>84</sup> Wieland erwähnt im "Vorbericht" zum "Sokrates mainomenos" die Erzählung "Geschichte des Schaumlöffels", "L' Ecumoire ou Tanzai et Néardané" von Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (1734), die "beinahe das nämliche Schicksal gehabt" habe.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Sie sind in WB Nr. 636 genannt. Mir waren sie, soweit sie im Wieland-Museum Biberach vorliegen, durch die Freundlichkeit von Frau Viia Ottenbacher zugänglich, allerdings erst nach Ms.-Abschluss.

<sup>86</sup> Starnes 2, 458.

schickt; sein Verleger Reich pflegt ihn wohl auch deshalb seinen "teueren Wieland" zu nennen. Wieland sieht in dem Buch eines seiner "besten Produkte" und vielleicht sein bestes Prosa-Werk. Wieland hat es in seiner "glücklichsten Lebensperiode in Erfurt geschrieben", "unter den vornehmsten Bedingungen meiner literarischen Freiheit [...] unter diesem wolkenlosen Frühlingshimmel".<sup>87</sup> Goethe schreibt damals an den Gräzisten Gottfried Hermann: "Herr Reich hat mir die Dialogen des Diogenes auf die Post geschickt, und ich habe sie auf der Post gelesen, es war das liebste Geschenk, das er mir hätte machen können. Die Kupfer [von Adam Friedrich Oeser<sup>88</sup>] sind exzellent, und das Buch ist von Wieland".<sup>89</sup> Der "Sokrates mainomenos" "gilt als eines der schönsten Bücher, die im späten 18. Jahrhundert in Deutschland gedruckt worden sind".<sup>90</sup> Zwei Wochen später heißt es in einem Brief Goethes an Reich: "Meine Gedanken über den Diogenes werden Sie wohl nicht verlangen. Empfinden und schweigen ist alles was man bei dieser Gelegenheit tun kann."<sup>91</sup> Aus demselben Jahr 1770 stammt Goethes

<sup>87</sup> Später hat er Gründe, die Erfurter Zeit nicht mehr so rosig zu sehen: Starnes 1, 393 f.

<sup>88</sup> R. Deusch, Wieland in der zeitgenössischen Buchillustration, Stuttgart 1964, 25, Nr. 18: "Titelkupfer, Titelvignette, 3 Kupfer [...] 8 Textvignetten, sämtlich [...] unbezeichnet, nach Oeser von Geyer", das Titelkupfer ebd. 31; es ist auch in der Fixschen Ausgabe (o. Anm. 77) verwendet. Ausführlicher R. Oehler, Adam Friedrich Oesers Bücherillustrationen, in: Jahrbuch der Sammlung Kippenberg 5, 1925, 22 ff. (86 f.). Deusch 25 zitiert Wielands Brief an Gleim vom 8. 12. 1769 (Wieland, Briefwechsel IV 65): "Oeser macht ganz deliciae Vignetten dazu, wovon eine in meinen Augen alles übertrifft, was ich in dieser Art noch gesehen habe – welsche und französische nicht ausgenommen". Goethe äußert im Hinblick auf diese Illustrationen in einem Brief vom 20. 2. 1770 an Philipp Erasmus Reich: "Oesers Empfindungen haben mir eine neue Gelegenheit gegeben, mich zu segnen, dass ich ihn zum Lehrer gehabt habe ...". (WA IV 1, 230). Die Titelvignette auch bei Ulrich Konrad und Martin Staehelin, allzeit ein buch. die bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts, Weinheim 1991, 68 ff.), mit Erläuterungen, in denen freilich Diogenes als "Zyniker" bezeichnet ist (dazu o. Anm. 70). Das Bändchen "Titelkupfer zu Wielands Werken", Weimar 1984, enthält lediglich auf S. 13 "Chárea" (richtig: Chárea); dazu heißt es im Inhaltsverzeichnis S. XXIX, es stamme von Johann Heinrich Ramberg, Nachlass des Diogenes von Sinope (in WB nicht nachgewiesen), und auf S. V, das Werk enthalte "4 Kupfer und 9 Vignetten nach Oeser; Stecher: Ludwig Mayer (tätig Anf. 19. Jh.)". Wielands Text "Chárea" steht in: Wieland, Sämtliche Werke 52 (Supplementband), 1826, 36 ff. (Band-Titel: C. M. Wielands Selbst- Schilderung in der Erläuterung der die letzte Ausgabe begleitenden Kupfer-Sammlung von J. G. Gruber.) Kein Rambergscher Beitrag zum "Sokrates mainomenos" findet sich bei Ferdinand Stuttmann, Johann Heinrich Ramberg: Illustrationen zu deutschen Klassikern, Hannover 1963 (Handzeichnungen II, in: Bildkataloge des Kestner-Museums Hannover V). Der "Sokrates mainomenos" ist auch nicht berücksichtigt in: Johann Gruber, Kupfersammlung zu Wielands sämtlichen Werken. 49 Blätter, Leipzig, Sorau 1824; offenbar (Gruber hat keine Vorrede o. ä.) wiesen nur die Einzelausgaben des "Sokrates mainomenos" Illustrationen auf.

<sup>89</sup> Undatiert, wohl vom 6. 2. 1770: Goethes Briefwechsel mit Christian Gottfried Hermann, Nr. 59, WA IV 1, 227 = Grumach 2, 797.

<sup>90</sup> Jaumann bei Jørgensen 82.

<sup>91</sup> Vom 20. 2. 1770, Nr. 60, WA IV 1, 230 = Grumach 2, 797.

Äußerung in den "Ephemerides": "Diogenes von Sinope dialogisiert sehr in der Manier von John Falstaff. Oft eine Laune, die mehr Wendung als Gedanke ist."<sup>92</sup> (Er führt das nicht aus.) Als ich diese Passage bei Grumach las, ohne Kontext, hatte ich den Verdacht, Goethe habe sich, nach einem ersten positiven Eindruck und einem günstigen Urteil Hermann gegenüber, nach gründlicherer Lektüre Reich gegenüber zurückhaltender äußern wollen. Selten habe ich bei anderer Gelegenheit festgestellt, wie sehr man ohne Berücksichtigung des Kontextes fehlgehen kann; in Goethes Brief an Reich heißt es nämlich weiter: "Loben soll man einen großen Mann [Wieland] nicht, wenn man nicht *so* groß ist wie er [...]. Nach ihm [Adam Friedrich Oeser] und Shakespearen ist Wieland noch der einzige, den ich für meinen echten Lehrer erkennen kann." Die Diogenes-Gestalt bewegt ihn immer wieder: Am 8.3.1819 fragt er bei Riemer an: "Können Sie [...] mir auf die Spur verhelfen, wer zuerst den Diogenes den rasenden Sokrates genannt habe? Und wo sich die Stelle in alten Autoren findet, so würden Sie mir eine besondere Gefälligkeit erzeigen."<sup>93</sup> Goethe und Wieland haben sich in Weimar, wo sie sich 1775 kennengelernt haben, nicht nur zusammengerauft – s. z. B. die kurze, 1769/70 schon etwas zurückliegende "Alceste"- und "Götz"-Kontroverse –, sondern sie haben über Jahrzehnte hinweg geradezu freundschaftliche Beziehungen unterhalten, und Goethe hat 1813 die berühmte Rede in der Freimaurer-Loge Amalia gehalten: "Zu brüderlichem Andenken Wielands".<sup>94</sup>

### Der "Sokratische Dichter" Euripides

1777 publiziert Wieland in seinem "Teutschen Merkur" deutsch einige Fragmente des Euripides, von dem er mehrere Tragödien übersetzt: "Ion" (1803) und "Helena" (1805), zum Teil "Hekabe" (1775) und das Satyrspiel "Kyklops" (1793); sein Singspiel "Alceste" *nach* Euripides' "Alkestis" erwähnte ich schon. Wieland druckt die Euripides-Fragmente unter dem Titel

<sup>92</sup> WA I 37, 94 = Grumach 2, 797.

<sup>93</sup> WA IV 31, 90 = Grumach 2, 799. Eine Antwort Riemers fand ich nicht. Soweit die Goethe-Briefeditionen überhaupt darauf eingehen, haben sie nur Kommentare wie "zur Sache nichts Näheres ermittelt" (Ausgabe des Deutschen Klassikerverlages).

<sup>94</sup> WA I 36, 311 ff.; dazu Friedrich Sengle, Goethes Nekrolog [...], Modern Language Notes 99, 1984, 633 ff., auch in F. S., Neues zu Goethe. Essays und Vorträge, Stuttgart 1989, 157 ff. Vgl. Thomas C. Starnes' Wieland- Artikel, Goethe-Handbuch 4/2, 1998, 1152 ff. Zum überwiegend positiven Verhältnis Wieland/Goethe s. Klaus Manger bei Walter Killy (Hrsg.), Literatur Lexikon 12, Gütersloh, München 1992, 313. – Wielands "Sokrates mainomenos oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope" fehlt bei Elisabeth Frenzel, Stoffe der Weltliteratur, 8., überarb. und erweit. Aufl. Stuttgart 1992 (KTA 300) s. v. "Sokrates" und bei Eric M. Moormann, Wilfried Uitterhoeve, Lexikon der antiken Gestalten mit ihrem Fortleben in Kunst, Dichtung [gemeint ist Literatur überhaupt] und Musik, Stuttgart 1995 (KTA 468) s. vv. "Sokrates" und "Diogenes" (Frenzel hat kein Stichwort "D.").

"Sprüche aus einem Sokratischen Dichter." In der Abhandlung "Die sterbende Polyxena"(1775) nennt Wieland den Euripides einen "Sokratischen Tragödiendichter"; 1762 hat er ihn als "theatralischen Sokrates" bezeichnet, "theatralisch" in dem neutralen Sinn, in dem das Wort damals und noch lange danach ausschließlich üblich ist ("Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung"), nicht pejorativ wie heute gelegentlich. Wieland mag aus Diogenes Laertios I 18 gewusst haben, dass die – nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen – Tragiker des 5. Jahrhunderts Mnesimachos und Kallias behaupteten, Sokrates habe dem Euripides beim Dichten geholfen, und gewiss kannte Wieland aus den "Fröschen" des Aristophanes, von dem er später vier Komödien übersetzt,<sup>95</sup> die Passage in V. 1491 ff., wo dem Euripides enge Verbindung zu Sokrates vorgeworfen wird, wobei Sokrates, wie in den "Vögeln" desselben Dichters, in großer Nähe zur Sophistik gesehen wird, zu Unrecht, vgl. Werner 1998, 14 f.<sup>96</sup> In einer Anmerkung zu V.1731 seiner "Wolken"-Übertragung (V. 1377 f. Coulon), "dass du den weisesten unsrer Dichter, den Euripides, nicht lobtest", sagt Wieland: "Die hohe Meinung vom Euripides hatte Pheidippides [der diesen Vers spricht] aus der Schule des Sokrates mitgebracht, dessen Vorliebe für diesen Dichter und seine Tragödien bekannt ist." Für Wieland ist Euripides also Schüler oder sogar Freund des Sokrates,<sup>97</sup> ja, Euripides und Xenophon – von ihm wird noch die Rede sein – erscheinen ihm als die eigentlichen Sokratiker. Dafür gibt es in der Realität, was Euripides angeht, keinerlei Anhaltspunkte. In der Abhandlung "Grundriß und Beurtheilung der Helena des Euripides" (1808) bezeichnet Wieland den Euripides als "Freund des Sokrates"; "Euripides dachte über die Götter wie Anaxagoras [!] und Sokrates"(Anmerkung zur "Ion"-Übertragung). Einen Nachweis dafür liefert Wieland nicht. "Es liegt wohl einfach ein Wunschenken vor" (Bantel 233), insofern als für Wieland von einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt an jede antike Persönlichkeit durch möglichst nahe Beziehung zu Sokrates gleichsam geadelt wurde. Davon abgesehen ist Euripides für Wieland augenscheinlich *der* philosophische Geist auf der attischen Tragödienbühne des 5. Jahrhunderts, im Unterschied zu den beiden anderen großen Tragikern des klassischen Athen, von denen uns vollständige Werke überliefert sind: Aischylos, der im Sturm und Drang, und Sophokles, der in der deutschen Klassik eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat.<sup>98</sup> – Was Wieland sonst an Euripides angezogen ha-

<sup>95</sup> Vgl. o. Anm. 58.

<sup>96</sup> Über Sokrates' Verhältnis zur Sophistik vgl. etwa Wilhelm Nestle, Griechische Geistesgeschichte, Stuttgart 1944 (KTA 192) <sup>2</sup>1956, 252 ff. Vgl. o. S. 2 f.

<sup>97</sup> Auch für Goethe ist Euripides ein "Freund des Sokrates": "Götter, Helden..." = WA I, 38, 21; Grumach 2, 750.

<sup>98</sup> Immerhin hat Wieland – nicht von ihm stammende – Aischylos- Übersetzungen im "Attischen Museum" zum Druck gebracht: "Die Perser [...] des Aeschylos [solche griechisch-lateinische

ben mag, muss beiseite bleiben; hier kann es um ihn nur im Sokrates-Kontext gehen.

### Die "Sokratische Schule": Horaz und andere

1781-82 erscheint Wielands Verdeutschung von "Horazens Briefen", 1784-86 die von "Horazens Satiren" (o. Anm. 53). Diese Übersetzungen, die, neben der Lukians,<sup>99</sup> zu seinen besten Übersetzungen antiker Literatur gehören, sind ebenfalls im Hinblick auf das Thema meines Vortrags bedeutsam. Hat Wieland schon in der Einleitung zum "Agathon"(1761) eine "ausführliche Geschichte der Sokratischen Schule" geplant – 1759 erwog er sogar die Gründung einer Wochenschrift zur Geschichte der Philosophie, wo – ganz antieuropazentrisch! – auch Zoroaster und Konfuzius berücksichtigt sein sollten, neben Pythagoras, Sokrates, Platon, Zenon, Epikur sowie Plutarch, Lukian und anderen –, so skizziert er jetzt, 1781, in einer Anmerkung zu Horaz, Brief I 1 die Entwicklung der Philosophie von Sokrates bis Horaz unter Einschluss des Epikureismus und der Stoa, und zu Satire I 1 konstatiert er erneut die Existenz einer "Sokratischen Schule". (Ihre Geschichte wird er nie schreiben; an ihre Stelle tritt "Aristipp"). Repräsentiert wird sie für Wieland unter anderem durch Xenophon und Aristipp, von denen Horaz seine "Haltung in der Mitte zwischen zu wenig und zu viel", die "aurea mediocritas" habe. Dies ist freilich die Haltung des Peripatos und – Wielands, nicht die des Sokrates. "Echt sokratisch" nennt Wieland auch Horaz' Raisonnement (Anm. zu Brief I 17); dies ist es insoweit, als es um Genügsamkeit geht, aber Horaz denkt doch mehr an die Ruhe des Landlebens in seinem bescheidenen Sabinum, "procul negotiis", "fern von den Geschäften", während sich in den vornehmen Villen auf dem Land die Un-Muße der Stadt fortsetzt; "echt Sokratisch" ist Horazens Haltung nicht. Eine Verbindung von Sokrates zu Horaz gibt es auch bei Shaftesbury, der auf die deutsche Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und speziell auf Wieland beträchtliche Wirkung ausübt. Wieland hat eine ahistorische Auffassung des "Sokratischen", die in Richtung Hedonismus (Aristipp) und Epikureismus (Horaz) geht; bekanntlich nannte sich der römische Lyriker selbstironisch "ein Schweinchen aus der Herde Epikurs", "Epicuri de grege porcus", was ja aber nur im Sinne einer Lebenskunst zu verstehen ist, die nicht zuviel Energie in tiefere philosophische Fragen in-

---

Mischformen waren Seinerzeit üblich] mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen" (IV 1, 1802, 1 ff.; sie stammt von Jacobs: Starnes 3, 83) und "Der gefesselte Prometheus [...] des Aeschylus" (III 3, 1801, 339 ff.).

<sup>99</sup> Vgl. o. Anm. 32. Für Nietzsche waren Wielands Übertragungen der Cicero- Briefe und Lukians die jeweils "besten deutschen Übersetzungen": Menschlich, Allzumenschliches II, 107. Stück (Nietzsche, Werke 2, 599). Dies kann hier nicht diskutiert werden.



vestiert. Wieland steht damit den Anacreontikern nahe, die gleichfalls von Shaftesbury beeinflusst sind. Später sagt Friedrich Schlegel von Wielands "philosophischen Romanen": Sie "tragen dazu bei, unter einem Sokratischen Gewande [...] eine Moral zu verbreiten, welche im Grunde epikureisch war."<sup>100</sup> "Viehischer Epikureismus" – das ist eine der krassesten Formeln, mit der man die ‚Unmoral‘ der erotischen Erzählungen und wohl der gesamten ‚literarisierten Philosophie‘ zu Wielands Lebzeiten verdammt. Noch 1913 wird die Frage aufgeworfen "War [...] Wielands Sinnlichkeit eine epikureische Schweinheit?"<sup>101</sup> Und noch 1953 stellt Emil Staiger fest: "Auch heute noch und gerade heute ist Wielands epikuräisches Glaubensbekenntnis unerwünscht."<sup>102</sup> Andererseits hat schon 1775 der unübertreffliche Lichtenberg gesagt: "Nichts ist lustiger, als wenn sich die Nonsens-Sänger über die Wollustsänger hermachen" (als "Wollustsänger" hatte Hölty vom Göttinger Hain Wieland bezeichnet). "Sie werfen Wielanden vor, dass er die junge Unschuld am Altar der Wollust schlachtet [...] Die Unschuld der Mädchen ist in den letzten 10 Jahren, da die ‚Comischen Erzählungen‘ heraus sind, nicht um ein Haar leichter zu schlachten gewesen als vorher".<sup>103</sup>

In den Anmerkungen zu den Horaz-Übertragungen wird Sokrates, ebenso wie besonders Wielands Horaz und der Sokrates-Schüler Aristipp sowie die gleichfalls von Wieland übersetzten Autoren Cicero und Lukian, zu Repräsentanten von Humanität und Urbanität – zentralen Wertvorstellungen vor allem des späten Wieland, die die verfeinerte Kultur eines Menschentyps charakterisieren, der sich auszeichnet durch:

- hohe Bildung; das gilt auch für Frauen, etwa Aspasia, die, Lebensabschnittsgefährtin' des Perikles, so wie für andere bedeutende Hetären und weitere große Frauen vor allem des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.
- Geschmack in allen Bereichen, so in der Literatur und beim Stil; nicht zuletzt deshalb schätzt Wieland Xenophon so hoch
- die Fähigkeit, auf lockere, anmutige Art zu belehren ("moralisieren"); es sei an Wielands Philosophie der Grazien erinnert

<sup>100</sup> Friedrich Schlegel, Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur 6: Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe 6, München usw. 1961, 388.

<sup>101</sup> Jaumann bei Jörgensen 76. Ebd. 185 zitiert er Leo Colze: "War [...] Wielands Sinnlichkeit eine epikureische Schweinheit?", in: Christoph Martin Wielands Romantische Erotik, hrsg. v. L. C., Berlin 1913; 186: Ludwig Heinrich Christian Hölty, Der Wollustsänger [...], in: Muse-nalmanach auf das Jahr 1775, 230 f. Vgl. das Kapitel "Der epikureische Sittenverderber" im Kapitel zur Wielandrezeption: Jaumann bei Jörgensen 194 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Wielands Musarion. In: Wieland. Vier Biberacher Vorträge 1953, Wiesbaden 1954, 54 f.

<sup>103</sup> Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Brief vom 28. 1. 1775 an Johann Christian Dietrich, in: G. Chr. L., Briefwechsel hrsg. v. Ulrich Joost und Albrecht Schöne, 1, München 1983, 505. – Ludwig Heinrich Christian Hölty, Der Wollustsänger. An Voß, in: Muse-nalmanach auf das Jahr 1775, Göttingen 1775, 230 f.

- Einfallsreichtum, Schlagfertigkeit, Witz
- Geselligkeit, heiteres Wesen; im "Aristipp" wird Diogenes aus Sinope wegen eben dieser Eigenschaft positiv als Antipode des eher strengen, mürrischen Antisthenes, des Begründers der kynischen Schule, herausgestellt
  - nicht durch Genussucht, aber durch Genussfähigkeit (Aristipp im gleichnamigen Roman über Sokrates: "Er trank gewöhnlich Wasser, konnte aber, wenn's darauf angelegt war, den stärksten Weinschläuchen die Stirne bieten und streckte sie alle zu Boden, ohne dass man eine merkliche Veränderung an ihm spürte")
  - Fehlen der Fixierung auf die Polis, keine Beschränktheit im Sinne eines 'Kirchtumshorizonts', Bildung durch Reisen, Kosmopolitismus
  - weltmännisches Wesen (wobei ein Zusammenhang des weltmännischen Wesens mit weltbürgerlicher Haltung bestehen mag [Häußler])
  - Toleranz: leben und leben lassen
  - Freundlichkeit und Großmut auch gegen
  - Sklaven, wie sie Kyros bei Xenophon übt; Wieland tadelt Horaz, der ungerührt davon berichtet, wie ein Sklave wegen eines unbedeutenden Vergehens mit dem Tode bestraft wird
  - Frauen, wie sie Kyros bei Xenophon gegen Panthea übt; Euripides, der als erster griechischer Dramatiker eindringlich das Gefühlsleben von Frauen darstellt,<sup>104</sup> mag Wieland auch deshalb sympathisch sein (keine Antenne hat Wieland dagegen für die im antiken Griechenland über Jahrhunderte hinweg so selbstverständliche Knabenliebe)
    - besiegte Feinde, wie sie der ‚Barbar‘<sup>105</sup> Kyros bei Xenophon gegen die Armenier und ihren König übt; in dem Fragment gebliebenen Epos "Cyrus" (1737) hat der Perserkönig fast christliche Tugenden aufzuweisen
    - Distanz zur Religion, speziell zum Aberglauben; Wielands Aristipp hat auch Vorbehalte gegen Sokrates' Daimonion.

Alle diese Werte findet Wieland mehr oder weniger bei all denjenigen Vertretern der Antike, denen er sich geistesverwandt fühlt: bei Horaz, später bei Aristipp, vorher noch bei Lukian: Auch dieser kaiserzeitliche Satiriker, den Wieland 1786 ff. übersetzt, wird von ihm ausdrücklich zu Sokrates in Beziehung gesetzt, so in "Die Grazien" (1764-70, ED 1770): Dort werden "der Genius der Sokratischen Ironie, der Horazischen Satire und des Lukianischen Spottes" als "Frucht der Liebe" zwischen der Komödien-Muse

<sup>104</sup> Vgl. J. Werner, Keine "individuelle Geschlechtsliebe" in der Antike?, in: *Klio* 71, 1989, 528 ff. (Widerlegung einer These von Friedrich Engels); ders., Der weibliche Homer: Sappho oder Anyte? [u. a. zur Rolle der Frau in Schadewaldts Menschenbild], in: *Philologus* 138, 1994, 252 ff.

<sup>105</sup> J. Werner, Kenntnis und Bewertung fremder Sprachen bei den antiken Griechen I, in: *Philologus* 133, 1989, 169 ff. (173 ff.: "Exkurs: deutsch *Barbar*").

Thalia und einem Faun bezeichnet. Zu denen, auf die Wieland die oben angeführten Qualitäten fokussiert, gehört auch Cicero. Wieland zieht immer wieder Traditionslinien, mit gewissen Veränderungen. So nennt er nicht jedesmal alle in Betracht kommenden Autoren; in der Regel ist Xenophon dabei (nicht: Platon; ihn hat er nur in seiner idealistischen, Schweizerischen Phase, also bis 1760, auf den Schild gehoben), Aristipp, gelegentlich der Komödiendichter Menander; an Römern Cicero, besonders aber Horaz. Die genannten Züge der Humanität und Urbanität projiziert Wieland mehr oder weniger zurück auf Sokrates, nicht immer zu Recht; ich wies schon darauf hin. Wieland selbst revidiert gelegentlich teilweise sein früheres Sokrates-Bild, so im "Vorbericht" zur 1798er Ausgabe der "Timoclea": "Der Sokrates, der hier redend eingeführt wird, ist freilich von dem Sokrates, wie ihn der Verfasser sich jetzt vorstellt, wenigstens ebenso verschieden, als auch dieser es vielleicht von dem wirklichen Sokrates [des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.] ist". Im "Vorbericht" zum 1758er Neudruck der "Timoclea" hat er – ich erwähnte es bei der Behandlung dieser Dichtung – von einem "Socrate *moderne*" gesprochen.

Die meisten der von Wieland hervorgehobenen Qualitäten finden sich historisch überhaupt erst seit der hellenistischen Zeit – also seit dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. –, in die Xenophon und Aristipp hineinragen, ohne ihr ganz anzugehören; beide leben im 5. und 4., wirken aber nur im 4. Jahrhundert. Der Schwerpunkt von Wielands Beschäftigung mit dem Griechentum ist zeitlessly die Epoche nach Sokrates, der Hellenismus und die frühe Kaiserzeit, also die Zeit vom 4. vorchristlichen bis zum 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert. Aber der dem 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus angehörende Sokrates – nur eben bedingt der *historische* Sokrates, wie wir ihn aus Xenophon usw. kennen – ist für Wieland eine zentrale Gestalt, ein dauerndes Symbol geworden.

Zur Zeit Wielands interessiert man sich besonders für das vorklassische und das klassische Griechentum: Homer, Pindar, Aischylos, die "edle Einfalt und stille Größe" des Perikleischen Zeitalters. Wieland hat nichts gegen Homer, ich sagte es schon (damit, dass er Vergil zunächst höher bewertet, steht er in einer langen Tradition, die erst in Wielands Zeit zu Ende geht<sup>106</sup>), auch nichts gegen Perikles (er nennt ihn gelegentlich durchaus achtungsvoll), aber ihn interessiert nun einmal mehr die nachklassische, die hellenistische und die Kaiserzeit, um nicht zu sagen: das Anti-Klassische, das noch auf lange Zeit Nicht-Kanonische. Wielands Abweichen von den damals gängigen Ansichten über die Antike, über den Wert ihrer Epochen für uns, hatte zur Folge, dass z. B. Walther Rehm, Griechentum und Goethezeit, Leipzig 1936, Wieland nur als einen "unzünftigen großen Kenner" anführt; Gustav Billeter,

---

<sup>106</sup> Symptomatisch für den Paradigmenwechsel: Bei Grumach hat Homer 98 Seiten gegenüber Vergil mit 7 S.!

Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums, Leipzig, Berlin 1911, verzeichnet Wieland nicht im Register, behandelt ihn also möglicherweise überhaupt nicht. Man verargt Wieland, dass er das Nachklassische bevorzugt, im Unterschied etwa zu Winckelmann, dass er überhaupt die griechisch-römische Antike nicht als etwas Unvergleichliches ansieht, dass ihm der Enthusiasmus dafür fehlt, dass er, was Rom angeht, mehr zur Republik neigt, zuungunsten von Monarchie und Absolutismus, dass sein Antikebild dem der westeuropäischen Aufklärung nahesteht, dass es für die nationale Selbstfindung der Deutschen unbrauchbar,<sup>107</sup> dass er zu sehr Kosmopolit ist.<sup>108</sup> Zu den gängigen Vorwürfen gehören ferner mangelnde Originalität,<sup>109</sup> 'Vielschreiberei',<sup>110</sup> Frivolität.<sup>111</sup> In dem in die hellenistische Epoche gehörenden Dichter Horaz, der in Athen "Sokratische Vorstellungsart einsog" (Wielands Anmerkung zu Epistel II 2), ist in den 80er Jahren für Wieland vollendet, was für ihn bei Sokrates – Wielands Sokrates – begonnen hat.

### Aristophanes und Sokrates

1798 druckt Wieland eine Übersetzung der "Wolken" des Aristophanes. Es ist dasjenige Stück dieses Komödiendichters, das am zeitigsten ins Deutsche übersetzt worden ist (eine sehr freie Verdeutschung bzw. Eindeut-

<sup>107</sup> Dazu zuletzt eindringlich Jaumann bei Jørgensen bes. 196 ff.

<sup>108</sup> Vgl. A. Horstmann, Kosmopolit, Kosmopolitismus, in: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie 4, Basel, Stuttgart 1976, 1160: "Maßgeblich befördert wird die Entwicklung des K. durch die Schriften C. M. Wielands".

<sup>109</sup> Jaumann bei Jørgensen 191 ff. mit der bekannten Attacke der Brüder Schlegel im "Athenaeum" 2, 1799 (Neudr. Berlin 1960), 340:

#### Citatio edictalis.

**Nachdem über die Poesie des Hofrath und Comes Palatinus Caelareus Wieland in Weimar, auf Ansuchen der Herren Luetian, Siglding, Sterne, Bayle, Voltaire, Crebillon, Hamilton und vieler andern Autoren Concursus Creditorum eröffnet, auch in der Masse mehreres verdächtige und dem Anschein nach dem Horatius, Ariosto, Cervantes und Shafpeare zustehendes Eigenthum sich vorgefunden; als wird jeder, der ähnliche Ansprüche titulo legitimo machen kann, hiedurch vorgeladen, sich binnen Sächsischer Frist zu melden, hernachmals aber zu schweigen.**

<sup>110</sup> Vgl. "Athenaeum" 2, 1799, 331: "Wieland wird Supplemente zu den Supplementen seiner Sämmtlichen Werke herausgeben ..."

<sup>111</sup> s. o. Anm. 102. Zu Tendenzen der Wieland-Rezeption allgemein: Manfred Fuhrmann, Nichts Neues unter der Sonne. Das Verdikt über Wieland und sein Bild der Antike, zuletzt in: M. F. (wie o. Anm. 29) 125 ff.

schung erfolgt schon 1613) und am häufigsten, wegen der Sokrates-Problematik. Wielands Übertragung beigegeben ist ein "Versuch über die Frage: ob und wiefern Aristofanes gegen den Vorwurf, den Sokrates in den Wolken persönlich misshandelt zu haben, gerechtfertigt oder entschuldigt werden könne?" Diese Frage spielte im 18. Jahrhundert, zumal in der Aufklärung, in bezug auf die damals besonders häufig übersetzten "Wolken" immer wieder eine große Rolle. Ausgangspunkt der Diskussion war Platons "Apologie", in der unterstellt wurde, dass Sokrates im Jahr 399 nicht zuletzt aufgrund von Verleumdungen der zeitgenössischen Komödie zum Tode verurteilt und hingerichtet worden ist. (Voltaire *haßt* den Aristophanes deshalb geradezu.<sup>112</sup>) Dabei ging man entweder davon aus, dass Aristophanes und seine Zeit- und Zunftgenossen Personalsatire betrieben und nur deshalb ihren Mitbürger Sokrates, wie er lebte und lebte, auf die Komödienbühne gebracht haben, oder davon, dass es speziell Aristophanes – nur von ihm ist ein Sokrates-Stück *erhalten* – gar nicht um Sokrates selbst ging, sondern um damalige Philosophie generell, und dass er, warum auch immer, dem Sokrates gleichsam stellvertretend alles anhängte, was es kritisch etwa auch zur Sophistik zu sagen gab – auch Aristophanes ist ein Intellektueller neuen Typus; Brecht spricht geradezu von dem "Sophisten Sokrates"<sup>113</sup> -, wobei das Ergebnis für Sokrates allerdings das gleiche war. Wieland hält beide Möglichkeiten für denkbar, und er kommt überraschenderweise zu dem Resultat, dass Aristophanes dem Sokrates nicht ernstlich schaden wollte und dass er ihm auch gar nicht geschadet hat, da die Komödienbesucher sich lediglich auf Kosten anderer amüsieren wollten. (Besonnen dazu Ernst Heitsch.<sup>114</sup>) Wieland attackiert den Aristophanes durchaus, aber wegen ganz anderer Dinge: z. B. weil er sprachlich und anderweitig den Geschmack des athenischen Pöbels bedient habe. (Wieland ging, in diesem Punkt ganz Kind seiner Zeit, fälschlich davon aus, dass die ‚besseren‘ Kreise nur die anspruchsvolle Tragödie besuchten, der ‚Pöbel‘ dagegen bloß die Komödie; in Wirklichkeit besuchte jeder Athen-er beides).

---

<sup>112</sup> Auffällt, dass Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) keinen Artikel "Aristophanes" hat, auch keinen Artikel "Sokrates"; beide sind mehrfach erwähnt, aber zu dem uns hier interessierenden Thema findet sich nichts, was, mit Sicherheit auch durch die vier Folianten umfassende deutsche Ausgabe, in Deutschland gewirkt hätte: P. B., Historisches und kritisches Wörterbuch [...] deutsch von Johann Christoph Gottsched, Leipzig 1741-44 (Neudr. Hildesheim, New York 1974-78).

<sup>113</sup> Vgl. Werner 1998: 14 f., Vgl. o. Anm. 97.

<sup>114</sup> "Wer daher Sokrates, der längst ganz andere Wege [...] ging [als die der Naturphilosophie], schaden oder, wie die Komödie jedenfalls verspotten wollte ...": Platon, Werke. Übersetzung und Kommentar, hrsg. v. Ernst Heitsch und Carl Werner Müller, 12: Apologie des Sokrates, Göttingen 2002, 66.

Dass Wieland den Aristophanes unter künstlerischem Aspekt hoch geschätzt hat, ergibt sich schon daraus, dass es vier seiner Komödien über setzt hat (s. o. Anm. 58) und weitere übersetzen wollte; er hätte sonst auch nicht gerade die "Wolken" mit ihrer – wie immer zu bewertenden – Karikatur des Sokrates ein "leichtes und schon halb verschwebtes Luftgebilde" genannt, von dem man bzw. er, Wieland, "den Liebhabern alter Kunst" leider nur "einen Holzschnitt zum besten zu geben" verstehe. Wieland hat dem Aristophanes bei Gelegenheit der "Wolken"-Übertragung viel Positives nachgerühmt: gute dramaturgische Ideen, exzellente Charakterisierung, hohe Sprachkunst, ja, Grazie und Urbanität, also für Wieland zentrale Werte; er zählt ihn zu den Großen der Weltliteratur, billigt ihm den ersten Platz unter den Komödiendichtern aller Völker und Zeiten zu, stellt ihn neben Shakespeare – höher geht's nimmer! Ein Jammer nur für den Rokokodichter Wieland, dass Aristophanes so ‚unanständig‘ ist, jede Menge Fäkal- und Sexuallwitz hat. Noch im 19. Jh. soll der Altertumswissenschaftler August Böckh zu dem Epigramm Platons, das die Charitinnen, die "Anmut"göttinnen, einen unvergänglichen Tempel in Aristophanes' Geist finden lässt, bemerkt haben: "Einen Tempel, ja, aber einen dreckigen". Wilamowitz hat kurz und treffend die Gegenposition fixiert: "Wer den Phallus nicht ehrt, ist die Komödie nicht wert" (die Alte Komödie des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.<sup>115</sup>). – Doch von "Transsexualität" ist bei Wieland nicht die Rede und auch nicht in der Forschungsliteratur, wie man anhand von Irmela Brenders flott geschriebener, auf Wieland-Lektüre Appetit machender Einführung<sup>116</sup> meinen könnte. Vielmehr hat W. Preisendanz über Wielands "Transtextualität" gehandelt.

Diese Empfindsamkeit Wielands wirkt sich übrigens, wie bei anderen von ihm verdeutschten Autoren, auf die Übertragung aus: Gelegentlich gibt er eine Stelle so wieder, dass sich der Leser nichts Arges denkt; dazu macht er eine Anmerkung, dass sich der antike Autor hier leider in einer Weise ausgedrückt habe, die er, Wieland, für sein gesittetes Publikum unmöglich nachbilden könne:<sup>117</sup> Der französische Übersetzer X gebe die Stelle in weit-

<sup>115</sup> Wilamowitz, Die griechische Literatur des Altertums, in: Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache, Berlin, Leipzig 1905 (Die Kultur der Gegenwart I 8), 52.

<sup>116</sup> Christoph Martin Wieland mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten, 3., durchges. und erweitert. Aufl. Reinbek 2003 (rowohlt's monographien 50475) 135 Anm. 169. Wenn allerdings J. Rickes ihr dies aufnutzt (Wirkendes Wort 42, 1992, 507 ff. [513 Anm. 2]), so tut er dies im Glashaussitzend: Schließlich hat Rowohlts seinen Sitz nicht in R/inbek (507).

<sup>117</sup> Vgl. z. B. seine Anmerkung zu Aristophanes, Wolken 1367 (Attisches Museum 2, 1798, H. 2, 170). Entsprechendes ist für Wielands Shakespeare-Übersetzung festgestellt worden, s. etwa Eva Maria Inbar, Zur Funktion der Fußnoten in Wielands Shakespeare-Übersetzung, in: Literaturwiss. Jahrbuch N. F. 21, 1980, 57 ff.; H. Radspieler in Reemtsmas Xenophon-Ausgabe (o. Anm. 59) 270. Dieses interessante Phänomen ist nicht berücksichtigt in dem geistvollen Buch von Anthony Grafton, Die tragischen Ursprünge der deutschen Fußnote, Berlin 1995.

gehender Anlehnung an das Original soundso wieder, der englische Übersetzer Y soundso, und so steht die ‚Schweinelei‘ unter Umständen gleich mehrfach da, vielleicht auch noch lateinisch, nur eben nicht deutsch. (Als ein Zeitgenosse Wielands feststellte, ein anderer Übersetzer des Euripideischen "Ion" sei dem Urtext näher als Wieland mit seiner Verdeutschung [1803], entgegnete dieser, dafür könne seine, Wielands, Übersetzung auch Damen vorgelesen werden. In seinen eigenen Werken war Wieland übrigens vergleichsweise weniger ängstlich). Auf jeden Fall verhindert der dezente Übersetzer Wieland, dass harmlose Gemüter über seine euphemistisch glättende Übertragung hinweglesen: Sie sollen sich ruhig etwas Schlimmes denken, nur soll in seiner Verdeutschung nichts Schlimmes stehen, höchstens in den Fußnoten, und dort nicht in deutscher Sprache.

Bezeichnend für den Wandel des Wielandschen Aristophanes-Bildes ist eine Passage aus dem "Agathon". In der ersten Fassung von 1766/67 schreibt Wieland: "So ausgelassen uns auch der asotische Witzling Aristophanes die Damen von Athen vorstellt...". Das entspricht der allgemeinen Haltung jener Zeit. ("asotisch" nennt Wieland den Aristophanes auch 1769 im "Vorbericht" zum "Sokrates mainomenos".) In der zweiten Ausgabe von 1773, 21 Jahre vor seiner ersten Aristophanes-Übertragung, formuliert Wieland: "So ausgelassen und schmutzig die Gemälde sind, welche uns der lüderliche Witzling Aristophanes von den Frauen zu Athen macht...". Als der Roman in den neunziger Jahren erneut erscheint, ist zwar die abwertende Charakterisierung der "Gemälde" aus der zweiten Ausgabe beibehalten, aber sonst gewinnt Aristophanes doch sehr: "So ausgelassen und schmutzig die Gemälde sind, welche der genievollste, witzigste und verständigste aller Possenschreiber, Aristophanes, von den Frauen zu Athen macht...". Wieland hat sich inzwischen intensiv mit Aristophanes beschäftigt, und er hat ihn zu übertragen begonnen; das hat zweifellos Einfluss auf sein Urteil. Natürlich ist der Wandel der Wertung auch durch das Geniedenken jener Zeit geprägt.<sup>118</sup>

Wielands oben skizzierte Haltung in Bezug auf die Wirkung der "Wolken" entspricht zweifellos der antiken Realität. Platon lässt, ich erwähnte es schon, in der "Apologie" von 399 den Sokrates sagen, zu seiner Verurteilung hätten nicht zuletzt die Wolken beigetragen. Etwa 20 Jahre

---

<sup>118</sup> Dazu wie generell zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der Aristophanes-Verdeutschung s. die o. Anm. 44 und 58 genannten Publikationen. Vgl. ferner folgende Arbeiten von mir: Einleitung zu Aristophanes, Komödien in zwei Bänden, Weimar 1963 (Bibliothek der Antike, Griechische Reihe); Nachwort zu: Antike Komödien, Berlin und Weimar<sup>3</sup> 1987 (Bibliothek der Weltliteratur); Nachwort zu: Aristophanes, Die Wolken, Leipzig 1978 (Insel-Bücherei 623); Aristophanes, in: Die Großen der Weltgeschichte, hrsg. v. Kurt Faßmann, Walter Jens u. a., Zürich 1971, 591 ff. = Exempla historica [...], Griechische Dichter [...], Frankfurt a. M. 1985, 143 ff.

später distanziert sich Platon davon: Er huldigt dem Komödiendichter, indem er im "Symposion" Sokrates freundschaftlich mit Aristophanes diskutieren, Alkiabiades aus den "Wolken" zitieren und Aristophanes selbst eine der schönsten Reden dieses Gastmahls halten lässt. Wenn sich Sokrates 399 in seiner Verteidigungsrede – ihren Wortlaut kennen wir nicht – tatsächlich gegen Aristophanes gewandt hat, so mag er gemeint haben, der Hinweis auf den 423 erfolgten Angriff durch einen aristokratischen Gegner des derzeitigen demokratischen Regimes könne zu seiner Entlastung beitragen. Ist die Äußerung aber von Platon fingiert, so ist ihre Bitterkeit dem Schmerz um seinen soeben hingerichteten Lehrer Sokrates zuzuschreiben.

### Xenophon, Isokrates, Aristipp

Nach der Beschäftigung mit Aristophanes' "Wolken" wendet sich Wieland intensiv Xenophon zu, den er seit langem kennt und schätzt, nicht zuletzt als Quelle für Leben und Werk des Sokrates; Xenophon, "der wärmste seiner [Sokrates'] Freunde"<sup>119</sup> bedeutet ihm mehr als der "kalte Schwärmer" Platon (so Wieland im "Aristipp"). 1799 überträgt er "Sokratische Gespräche aus Xenofons ‚Denkwürdigen Nachrichten‘ von Sokrates", den "Memorabilien", den "Erinnerungen an Sokrates"; 1802 das "Gastmahl".<sup>120</sup>

Isokrates, dessen "Panegyrische Rede" (Panegyrikos) Wieland 1796 übersetzt, ist für ihn laut Böttiger nach einem Gespräch mit Wieland "unter den Rhetoren ein Sokrates [...] voll Bonhomie", "ein Genosse der Sokratischen Familie"; eine Begründung dafür entdeckte ich bisher nicht.<sup>121</sup>

Eine neue Konzentration positiver Eigenschaften nimmt Wieland 1798 in der Gestalt Aristipps vor. In Bezug auf ihn sind weniger Anachronismen als bei Wielands Sokrates nachweisbar, vor allem, weil hier die Quellen spärlich fließen, so dass viele Züge, wenn sie schon nicht aus antiken Autoren zu belegen sind, so doch auch nicht aus ihnen widerlegt werden können. (In Parenthese eine Parallele: Walter Jens' Caesar-Fernsehspiel "Die Verschwörung"). In vielen Punkten sind in Horaz und Aristipp, die für Wieland stets in der bei Sokrates beginnenden Tradition stehen, Züge hineinprojiziert, die Wieland selbst eigen waren, der ausgeprägte Kosmopolitismus etwa. Arno Schmidt hat darauf hingewiesen, dass Wielands Griechenbild "weder ‚apollinisch‘ noch ‚dionysisch‘ (war), sondern – ich wähle den Titel

<sup>119</sup> Anmerkung zu "Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten" (o. Anm. 59) 147.

<sup>120</sup> Hierzu verweise ich nachdrücklich auf den Essay von Reemtsma zu der o. Anm. 59 erwähnten Neuausgabe aller Wielandschen Xenophon- Übertragungen.

<sup>121</sup> Wieland, Einleitung und Grundriss des Panegyrikus, Attisches Museum I 1, 1 ff. = Bantel 338, Starnes 2, 497.



seines eigenen Hauptwerkes – ‚aristippisch‘; ein Standpunkt, den außer ihm nie wieder jemand eingenommen hat“.<sup>122</sup>

### Ausklang

Dass Wieland manches Nachantike, Moderne in seine antikerezipierenden Werke integriert, hängt damit zusammen, dass er nicht historische Romane schreiben oder, um es mit Brecht zu sagen, nicht "philologische Interessen bedienen"<sup>123</sup> wollte; er huldigt weithin dem "Tout comme chez nous", dem Gedanken, dass alles Menschliche sich in einem Kreislauf wiederholt. In seinen Vorlesungen über alte und neue Literatur sagte Friedrich Schlegel, Wielands philosophische Romane hätten ein "Sokratisches Gewand" gehabt (wie Anm. 101). "Wieland hätte gern gesehen, dass seine Zeitgenossen ihm das Epitheton ‚sokratisch‘ zuerkantten".<sup>124</sup> (Immerhin hat Schiller ihm "lukianisch-sokratischen Geist" zugebilligt.<sup>125</sup> 1775 wird Wieland als Sokrates apostrophiert, aber nur ironisch, durch den Stürmer und Dränger Lenz.<sup>126</sup>) In der Tat lebte und webte, um es mit Paulus' Worten zu sagen, Wieland so im Sokrates, dass z. B. Herder 1769, als anonym "Sokratische Gespräche" erschienen, Wieland für den Verfasser hielt; sie stammten aber von "dem ehrlichen Herrn Wegelin".<sup>127</sup> "Wieland hatte eine lebenslange intellektuelle Affaire mit Sokrates" (Reemtsma).<sup>128</sup> Wie immer, man kann Friedrich Schlegel zustimmen, wenn er am 7. 5. 1796 an Böttiger schrieb: "Es ist gewiss nur sehr wenigen Sokratischen Geistern gegeben, diese Reife des Alters mit dieser Wärme und Frischheit der Jugend zu vereinigen"<sup>129</sup> – wobei wir Nach-Sokratiker von dem athenischen Weisen, eine Formulierung der "Genesis" abwandelnd, sagen müssen: Wieland schuf den Sokrates sich zum Bilde, zum Bilde Wielands schuf er ihn.

<sup>122</sup> Zitiert nach Hermann Funke, Arno Schmidt, in: Wieland und die Antike, wie o. Anm. 31: 23 ff. [29].

<sup>123</sup> Diese Formulierung benutzte Brecht im Hinblick auf seine Bearbeitung der Hölderlinschen "Antigone" im Vorwort dazu: Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Brecht-Ausgabe 25, 75.

<sup>124</sup> Reemtsma, Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten (o. Anm. 59) XLVIII.

<sup>125</sup> Karl Hoenn, Lukian. Parodien und Burlesken, Zürich 1948, XXXI (Brief an Ferdinand Huber vom 26. 10. 1787 = SNA 24, 169).

<sup>126</sup> Belege für diese und andere Verunglimpfungen bei Ruppel (o. Anm. 30) 27.

<sup>127</sup> Jakob Daniel Wegelin, Die letzten Gespräche Socratis und seiner Freunde, zitiert nach Starnes 1, 353, 402; 3, 171.

<sup>128</sup> Im einleitenden Essay seiner Xenophon-Ausgabe (o. Anm. 59) XXXIX.

<sup>129</sup> Starnes 2, 516.



## **EIN LEBEN FÜR TROIA**

### **IN MEMORIAM MANFRED O. KORFMANN †**

Das weltweit berühmte Archäologe, Professor der Universität Tübingen, seit 1988 Leiter der archäologischen Ausgrabungen in Troia, Ehrenmitglied der Georgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Professor Dr. Manfred Korfmann verstarb am 11. August 2005, auf seinem 63 Lebensjahr, nach einer kurzem schwerem Krankheit im eigenen Haus in der kleinen deutschen Stadt Ofterdingen.

Die Nachricht vom Tode Herrn Prof. Dr. Manfred Korfmann wurde zum großen Schmerzen seine Kollegen, Schülern, Freunde und viele Menschen in der ganzen Welt, vom Japan bis USA und Argentinien, die Manfred Korfmann kannten. Professor Korfmann war ein Hervorragender Wissenschaftler und eine außergewöhnliche Persönlichkeiten. Nach der Habilitation 1980 arbeitete er zuerst in der Frankfurter Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, später in Berlin als wissenschaftlicher Referent in Ankara. 1975-1978 leitete er die Ausgrabungen in Anatolien, an der frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung Demirci Hüyük. Seit 1982 war er Professor an der Eberhard-Karls-Universität in Tübingen. Seit 1988 bis zu seinem Tode leitete Manfred Korfmann die internationalen Grabungen in Troia.

Professor Korfmann kam im Jahre 1986 zum ersten Mal nach Georgien. Damals hielt er während des internationalen Archäologenkongresses in Signaghi einen Vortrag. Seitdem hat er den Kontakt zu Georgien nie mehr abgebrochen. 1997-1999 war er Leiter von deutscher Seite der Ausgrabungen an der bronzezeitlichen Siedlung von Didi Gora in Kachetien im Alasani Tal. Von georgischer Seite war der bekannte georgische Archäologe Professor Kiaso Pizchelaury sein Partner. Seit 2000 betreute er das internationale archäologische Projekt "Udabno" in Kachetien (Partner von georgischer Seite Prof. Dr. Kiaso Pizchelaury; Vertreter von der Universität Tübingen Dr. Jan K. Bertram). Professor Korfmann war an der Universität Tübingen Tutor von mehreren Master- und Doktorarbeiten über georgische und kaukasische prähistorische Archäologie. Seit 1995 lud er regelmäßig georgische Archäologen zur Teilnahme an den Grabungen in Troia ein. Einer von der Autoren dieser Zeilen, der Archäologe Joni Apakidze hatte dank Professor Manfred Korfmann die Ehre und das Glück, in Troia an fünf Grabungskampagnen teilzunehmen.

1996 organisierte er gemeinsam mit seinem Freund und Kollegen Professor Kiaso Pizchelaury ein internationales archäologisches Symposium in Signaghi. Als Ausgräber von Troia war Korfmann auch ein guter Freund des prominenten georgischen Homerforschers Rismag Gordesiani und kooperierte eng mit dem von Professor Gordesiani geleiteten Institut für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Staatlichen Universität Tbilisi. Er nahm regelmäßig an wissenschaftlichen Symposien dieses Instituts teil. Mehrere georgische Wissenschaftler wurden von Professor Korfmann nach Tübingen als Gastdozenten an die Eberhard-Karls-Universität eingeladen. Viele Studenten und Doktoranden aus Georgien hatten die Möglichkeit, in Tübingen an seinem Institut zu studieren. Für diese Verdienste wurde ihm 1996 die Ehrenmitgliedschaft der Akademie der Wissenschaften Georgiens verliehen.

2001 organisierte Manfred Korfmann in drei Städten in Deutschland die erfolgreiche Ausstellung "Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit", die von 850.000 Menschen besucht wurde. 2002 erschien dann die umfangreiche Festschrift zum seinem 60. Geburtstag mit Aufsätzen von Kollegen aus aller Welt zu den verschiedensten Themen. Allein die Publikationsliste von Professor Korfmann besteht aus über 150 Arbeiten, abgesehen von hunderten von Vorträgen, die er in verschiedenen Ländern gehalten hat und den populärwissenschaftlichen Filmen über Troia, die alljährlich unter seiner Beratung gedreht wurden.

Das Lebenswerk von Professor Manfred Korfmann war Troia, seine Geschichte und Kultur. Es gab kein einziges Problem um Troia, das ihn nicht beschäftigt hätte. Für Manfred Korfmann war Troia vor allem der Ort, über

den die Verbindungswege zwischen Europa und Asien führten. Er studierte ausführlich nicht nur das archäologische Fundmaterial, sondern überdies die hethitischen, ägyptischen und anderen Quellen, um die Geschichte von Troia und der kleinasiatisch-ägäischen Region besser zu erforschen. Natürlich hatte Professor Korfmann auch seine Meinung zur Diskussion über den Troianischen Krieg, obwohl Troia für ihn in erster Linie ein wichtiger archäologischer Fundort war. Manfred Korfmann und seine Mannschaft betrieben in Troia wahrhaft interdisziplinäre Forschungen, die außer der Archäologie auch Hethitologie, Alte Geschichte, Indogermanistik und Klassische Philologie umfassten und an denen immer ein internationales Team von Wissenschaftlern beteiligt war.

Mit Manfred Korfmann haben Georgien und seine Archäologie einen großen Freund und Wohltäter verloren. Wir trauern alle wegen seines Todes. Dieser große Mensch und Wissenschaftler bleibt auf ewig in der Geschichte der Archäologie in Georgien und weltweit und seine Schüler und Freunde werden seine Lebensarbeit unbedingt fortsetzen.

**Prof. Dr. Thomas Gamkrelidze**

Präsident der Georgischen Akademie  
Der Wissenschaften Georgiens

**Prof. Dr. Joni Apakidze**

Leiter der Fachrichtung Geschichte und Archäologie  
an der Geistwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der  
Staatlichen Universität Tbilissi

## BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

### SHORT VERSIONS

**Irine Darchia.** Colour Phenomenon in Greek Tragedy (With Summaries in English and Greek), Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2005, 391

#### PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

Colour as a universal aesthetic category has dominated the thoughts of a large number of scholars and scientists from the ancient times till nowadays. Colour has been studied and discussed by chemists, physicists and biologists, theologians, philosophers and psychologists, art experts, literary critics and linguists. Colour has a particular function not only in the spheres directly related to it, like fine arts and architecture, but in fiction as well.

While discussing the peculiar and "strange" character of colour vision, the most popular points to consider are the thoughts of ancient philosophers on the one hand and fiction on the other. However, scholars are basically concerned with the identification of the meaning and use of colour terms and the degree of their correspondence with the modern perception of colours. But on what concerns particular observations by individual scholars, purely literary or conceptual aspects of colour use are not substantially studied. Therefore, our ideas on the principles and opportunities of colour use are incomplete and insufficient. The aim of the present work is to fill this gap.

The book targets on the following objectives: identification of colour function and systemic study of the colour phenomenon in the writings of the ancient tragedians (in complete surviving pieces, and not in fragments).

The analysis of chromatism in a particular text poses a whole set of questions connected to colour: what is the colour, who uses it, where, when and why. The present book attempts to answer these very questions.

---

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Ms. Helen Tatishvili and Mr. Yorgos Voudiklaris for the English translation of the short version.

As an outcome, the book intends to determine: what are the colours the tragedians use, which words are used to convey the colour senses, which structural forms prevail – simple or compound, which parts of the dramas have more colour terms – chorus parts or dialogue. These are the commonly applied criteria for the lexicological analysis of drama; however, a similar investigation focusing on colour has not yet been carried out.

Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' writings enjoy ever-increasing interest since the ancient times. Scholars usually study the tragedies in terms of their linguistic and artistic properties, socio-political and religious-mythological aspects, as well as the vision of the playwrights.

The style of the tragedians has become the object of profound and important researches; however, the colour phenomenon as represented in the writings has so far escaped close consideration, although colour is to be regarded as an intrinsic property of the artistic world and the vision of a writer. The present work is the first monographic study of the colour phenomenon in ancient tragedies.

The perspective of the research assigns it to interdisciplinary studies. The material presented and conclusions received as a result of the investigation are relevant and useful not only for specialists of classical philology but also for linguists, drama experts, researchers of ancient chromatism (despite their narrow specialization) and specialists of cultural studies in general.

Chromatism in Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' tragedies are considered in separate chapters. First, the book considers main aspects of the tragedies, and then their colour system, including specification of the meaning and place of each tragedy among other works of its author, as well as in the general context of ancient tragedy. I attempted to collect every single colour term used in the complete surviving tragedies and determine their function in their immediate environment as well as in the entire tragedy, and generalize the conclusions into the main characteristics of chromatic conception of each of the tragedians, and thus reconstruct the colour vision of the Greek playwrights.

The book is attached with the list of referred literature, tables that expose intensity of use of colour terms (indicating lexical units as well as corresponding passages) and an Ancient Greek-Georgian dictionary of colour terms, including over 1 440 entries.

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Ancient Greek Colour theories**

This sub-chapter considers ancient colour theories – viewpoints of Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle and Theoph-

rastus, and relies on the fragments of the mentioned authors' surviving works, as well as on their latest scientific interpretations.

The sub-chapter presents the reference of ancient colour theories to modern scientific data. Ancient scholars as well as contemporary people perceived black and white as two polarities, two extreme points; however, ancient Greeks arranged colours from light to dark (i. e. theoretically, various colours could be derived from white until one received black only), while contemporary people dispose colours the way one sees them in spectrum (red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet) and differentiate between primary and complementary colours.

While giving a definition of colours, modern science puts a special emphasis on two points: its optical nature and its relation to the shape, which was detected as early as in Plato's *Meno*. According to Plato, "Figure is the only thing which always follows colour" (75 b), and "...colour is an affluence of form, commensurate with sight, and palpable to sense" (76 d), i. e. Plato was aware of the optical nature of colour, as well as of the fact that its existence was motivated by its reference to the material object.

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

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

### **Modern Theories Related to Ancient Greek Colour Perception**

The sub-chapter discusses Goethe's and Newton's theories, as well as the viewpoints by 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> century scholars who consider the ancient colour system in the scope of Dalton's and Darwin's theories. Besides, it also considers ideas by W. E. Gladstone, A. Geiger, F. Marty, G. Allen, W. Schultz, M. Platnauer, P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, A. Kober, K. Jonas, J. Meyer, J. André, R. A. Cole, R. D'Avino, J. Werner, G. Reiter, H. Osborne, R. Irwin, E. Koch, G. Wagner, U. Eco, etc.

In the above-mentioned theories, ancient philosophers as well as modern scholars should serve as the basis for any investigation on ancient as well as on contemporary colour system. However, the information requires particular research and classification.

I share P. G. Maxwell-Stuart's and U. Eco's arguments against the Greek colour-blindness theory. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart found it unusual to imagine an entire nation inflicted with colour-blindness; besides, discussions on the point should not be limited to Homeric terminology, and correspondingly, the conclusion should not be extended to two millenniums. According to U. Eco, colour-blindness is a social enigma that proves hard to localize and explain because of language problems. There is one point of interest: those who suffer daltonism perceive colours in a different way, but link the results of their perception to the language system. For instance, such people do not see a leaf as green, but call green the colour they see (i. e. we see different colours but call them the same conventional name).

As concerns Darwinism-based theory on the evolution of eyesight, my skepticism is fostered by architectural pieces, ceramics and paintings (in particular, mural paintings) found on the Greek territory and pertaining to pre-Greek and Greek periods, the rich colouring of which testify to the ancient Greeks' application of a wide range of colours in art; however, the issue can be qualified as highly specific, belonging to the field of art criticism, and therefore I would restrain from any categorical statement, more so that the problem has not yet enjoyed its ultimate solution. As commonly known, modern digital technology enables the reconstruction and study of the painted layers of architectural finds, which were earlier considered useless for scientific research and gave no opportunity to make relevant conclusions (it is planned to use the digital technology to reconstruct the whole sculptural array of Parthenon with appropriate colouring. The project is designed to produce the virtual analogy of the initial appearance of Parthenon).

Ancient colour theories and their modern interpretations are the best explored aspects of the ancient colour system; however, the ultimate conclusion requires far more comprehensive investigation.

### **For a Modern Appreciation of Plato's and Democritus' Viewpoints on Colour Derivation**

The sub-chapter considers Democritus' and Plato's ideas on the derivation of various colours and their modern appreciation.

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

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



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

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

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

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

The results of our experiments, unusual as they are from the viewpoint of Democritus and Plato, should be explained by two points: 1) They can be accounted for terminological misunderstanding, i. e. we erroneously attach to the ancient Greek terms a meaning they never had; 2) In my opinion, while considering colour perception in ancient Greece, peculiarities of Greek Weltanschauung should also be taken into account, and we should try to explain their "strange, unusual" perception of colours by their Weltanschauung, which differs from ours.

### **Colour in Archaic and Classical Temple Architecture**

At first sight, colour determines only the outer image of a building, only the optical impression of a man. However, colour obviously had a conceptual implication in ancient architecture.

In antiquity, temples were painted in bright colours, and red and blue were particularly preferred. Namely, horizontal architectural elements (echini, the lower part of geisons, the upper part of epistyles) were red, while vertical elements (triglyphs, guttae, mutules) were blue or black. The study of Greek temple painting revealed the following consistency: the horizontal direction was marked with red colour, while the vertical direction with blue.

This phenomenon can be explained by one of the peculiarities of Greek Weltanschauung, their mythical, poetic, symbolic and metaphorical way of thinking. In particular, let us recall that Greeks considered blue as the colour of masculine force, of a steel weapon, while red colour was associated with the earth, which was the symbol of female force. Hence, it is doubtless that vertical lines of the Greek temple were connected to the male origin and, subsequently, to blue colour, while the horizontal lines to the female origin and, correspondingly, to the red colour.

### **On the Study of Colour Function in a Literary Text**

The sub-chapter gives the objectives of the book and analyzes the terminological issue.

One of the problems raised upon studying Greek colour system is colour terminology. According to the texts of as early as the Mycenaean period and the colour terminology they include, scholars presume that ancient Greeks, unlike contemporary people, were interested not in colour range aspects (colour shades), but in colour quality – brightness, the quality of shining and intensity.

Admittedly, because of the ancient Greeks' "strange" colour perception, corresponding terminology is likewise vague and difficult to understand. No matter whether we share the theories on the underdevelopment or "deficiency" of the Greek eyesight, we have to admit that ancient Greek colour terms, at least from the modern perspective, are quite ambiguous and motivate different interpretations. Therefore, modern readers and especially scholars come across a wide range of problems.

These very problems compelled P. G. Maxwell-Stuart to initiate a series of volumes, each devoted to a single colour term and intended to consider and investigate the latter to its very depths. So far, there are two such volumes, devoted to *γλαυκός* and *χαροπός* respectively.

In order to determine meanings of ancient Greek colour terms ultimately, each of them should be subjected to such an investigation. The task requires efforts of quite a number of researchers, and is certain to acquire particular relevance among literary critics, translators and linguists.

However, in the meantime, i. e. before each colour term is studied monographically, I had to apply a so-called medium method in order to challenge the objective. I myself worked out the method and directed it to the accomplishment of quite a complex task – solution of colour terminology problem. I had to analyze a sizable part of ancient Greek vocabulary and collect the terms that either directly or indirectly refer to colour. I used *A Greek-English Lexicon* by Liddell H. G.-Scott R., etc., its Ancient Greek-Modern Greek version, also *Ancient Greek-Russian Dictionary* and Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' dictionaries.

However, the collection of terms did not prove sufficient to solve the problem related to ancient Greek colour terminology. The same term, in fact, as noted in previous centuries as well, has several senses. Therefore, I picked less categorical Georgian equivalents expressing colour grading with broad semantic meaning and maximally extended referents.

## CHAPTER I

### Colour Phenomenon in Aeschylus' Tragedies

The chapter consists of 11 sub-chapters: *Persians*, *Seven Against Thebes*, *Suppliants*, *Prometheus Bound*, *Colour Function in Prometheus Bound* and the Question of Its Authenticity, *Oresteia*, *Agamemnon*, *On the Function of the Purple Carpet in Agamemnon*, *Libation Bearers*, *Eumenides*, and *Conclusions*.

The main results of investigating the colour system in Aeschylus' tragedies are given in *Conclusions*:

The analysis revealed that Aeschylus uses 9 colours in his seven surviving tragedies (black – 47 times, white – 14 times, golden – 13 times, purple – 7 times, red – 6 times, saffron – 3 times, golden-yellow, brownish-yellow and silver – once only). They appear in the tragedies 93 times in all, 44 times in chorus parts and 49 times in dialogues. Since out of the nine colours, golden-yellow and brownish-yellow and silver are used only once, red – twice, and saffron – three times, we may maintain that Aeschylus chiefly deals with three colours (black, white and golden), i. e. his colour range is limited. However, his colour terminology is quite rich; he applies 50 terms – 21 simple and 29 compound ones.

Admittedly, the frequent use of composites adds to Aeschylus' texts *ὄγκος*, elevation and magniloquence. The same is true about the colour com-

pounds. At the same time, colours form an intrinsic part of Aeschylus' figurative speech, epithets, similes and metaphors.

On its part, jejune colour vocabulary testifies to the plainness of Aeschylus' style, which is commonly admitted. According to U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Aeschylus' technique was plain and simple. In response to such an appreciation, O. Taplin states that the very simple and plain character and the "meagerness" is what points to the remarkable skillfulness of the playwright. According to T. Rosenmeyer, Aeschylus' manner of writing was so plain and elegant, that it "put to shame" Euripides' romanticism and Sophocles' plastic elasticity. Aeschylus managed to initiate the reader into the depths of his thinking and emotions in a plain and "simple" way.

Aeschylus sought for the essence of things and events in a word. Therefore, colour rarely occurs in his texts as an optical and acoustic ornament. It always bears an entirely distinct function or even mission – serves as a key to better interpretation of an episode, to the understanding of its religious and mythical implications (subtexts).

Admittedly, Aeschylus' artistic vision and Weltanschauung was essentially influenced by epic and lyrical, historical and mythological traditions, Olympic and mystical religions and philosophical thinking. In my opinion, this very knowledge helps Aeschylus transform a colour into a symbolic image with deep implications, which renders a word as efficient as an action.

The use of so-called dominant or recurrent artistic images is considered among the chief properties of Aeschylus' style. Each of his surviving tragedies has purposeful recurrence of one or several symbolic images directly related to the main issues, key themes and motifs of the tragedy. *Oresteia* may serve as evidence for supposing that the recurrent artistic images were dominant in dramas of Aeschylus' trilogies and tetralogies.

For instance, in *Suppliants*, dominant images are birds pursued by the hawk<sup>2</sup> (cf.: Homer, *The Iliad*, XXI, 493-495; XXII, 139-142, etc.); in *Persians* – the yoke<sup>3</sup> and the pack animal<sup>4</sup>; in *Seven Against Thebes* – the ship sailing in the tempest<sup>5</sup> (cf.: Homer, *The Iliad*, XV, 381-384; 624-627), and in *Prometheus Bound* – again the impudent, disobedient animal,<sup>6</sup> and the theme of ailment.<sup>7</sup> A net<sup>8</sup> and hunting<sup>9</sup> run throughout the entire *Oresteia* and link it to *Eumenides*' escaped beast,<sup>10</sup> snake<sup>11</sup> and eagle.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> see 30, 62, 223-226, 329, 510.

<sup>3</sup> see 50, 71-72, 139, 191-196, 542, 594, 722, 736.

<sup>4</sup> see 745, 757, 906.

<sup>5</sup> see 32, 62-64, 114-115, 206-210, 216, 234, 595, 652, 690, 705-708, 758-763, 767-770, 795-797, 819, 854-860, 992, 1077-1078.

<sup>6</sup> see 323, 597, 692, 1009-1011.

<sup>7</sup> see 239, 265, 380-382, 386, 608, 685, 698, 977.

W. Thalmann as well dwells on Aeschylus' dominant symbolic images. However, he classifies the recurring terms and symbolic images as related to: a. sailing; b. soil, plants and seeds; c. indebtedness and trade, while T. Rosenmeyer believes that the most conspicuous images in Aeschylus' tragedies are a flaming torch, fire and things related to light in general.

Remarkably, the above-mentioned symbolic images are sometimes closely interlinked and mutually motivated. This is best illustrated by hunting-related symbolic images from *Oresteia* connected with the net, which on its part is linked to clothes.

One persisting symbolic image recurring throughout the same play or even the whole trilogy (tetralogy), is an effective means to unify the tragedies.

According to my observations, along with the recurrent images, in parallel with and similar to them, Aeschylus uses colours as well, i. e. while considering the dominant symbols of Aeschylus' artistic world, close attention should be paid to colours as well. However, as far as I know, the latter are totally neglected by contemporary scholars. Besides, the dominant colours should be considered not within one sole tragedy, but throughout the entire trilogy.

In a tragedy / a trilogy, the recurrence of a particular word and, correspondingly, a colour is neither an oratorical device nor an ornament. This is the means to underline the concept conveyed by the word. In Aeschylus' texts, colour has the function of a dominant symbol to render the essence of a drama / trilogy. What seems ordinary upon mediocre analysis, turns into an impressive artistic device, idea, artistic vision, concept.

The most vivid example of a dominant colour is the golden of *Persians* and the black and the purple of *Oresteia*.

We may presume that the dominance of black is motivated by the genre of the trilogy. Frequent use of black is quite natural for a tragedy; however, this simple explanation leads to a superficial analysis. We may encounter quite a logical question: why is the dominant colour in *Persians* golden and not black, is it not a tragedy? To my belief, the intensified use of any colour (black in the given case) is related to the artistic intention and subtexts of the plays, and not to the genre they belong to.

Another remarkable point is that the intensive recurrence of a colour links it to a character so that it becomes his distinguishing property. E. g. Egyptians

---

<sup>8</sup> see *Agamemnon*, 126, 357-361, 868, 1048, 1063, 1115-1116, 1375, 1492, 1516, 1611; *Libation Bearers*, 492-493, 557-558; *Eumenides*, 111-112, 460-461.

<sup>9</sup> see *Agamemnon*, 368, 694-695, 1093, 1184.

<sup>10</sup> see 111-113, 131-132, 147-148, 230-231, 246-247, 252-253, 324-327, 421; Cf.: *Libation Bearers*, 924, 1054.

<sup>11</sup> see *Libation Bearers*, 248-249, 544, 928, 994-996, 1047; *Eumenides*, 128, 181-182, 730, 782.

<sup>12</sup> see *Agamemnon*, 731, 979; cf.: *Prometheus Bound*, 1024.

are of black complexion, while the Furies are clad in black. Therefore, when Aeschylus mentions *the black-skinned* or *clad in black*, the reader at once thinks of Egyptians or of the Furies. Likewise, all what is purple in *Oresteia* reminds of the well-known scene in *Agamemnon*. Consequently, we may conclude that colours serve as identification means in Aeschylus' tragedies.

Naturally, the following questions arise with respect to the symbolic images and implications, which took scholars years or even centuries to identify: to what extent were they perceptible in antiquity, since each tragedy was staged only once? Is it possible to realize the symbols and subtexts from the first and only opportunity to watch the plays? These questions were raised and convincingly answered by W. Thalmann. According to him, the ancient spectators of the performances were much closer to the customs and beliefs depicted in the plays than contemporary men are. The customs were intrinsic elements of their lifestyle, and therefore Aeschylus' contemporary audience was much more prone to experience corresponding associations. Besides, the impression was intensified and the spectator's attention was focused on the symbolic images by their frequent, almost systematic recurrence. What was vague in the beginning grew more and more understandable as the performance proceeded – if not in particular episodes, then in the entire performance. Perception of subtexts and implications were determined by interaction of particular details as well.

O. Taplin built his dissertation on a thorough study of the peculiarities of characters' entrances and exits in Aeschylus' tragedies as one of the typical characteristics of the playwright's dramatic technique. The scholar puts emphasis on the relevance of considering dramatic functions of the characters' appearances and exits, and their presumable impressiveness from the visual perspective.

The mentioned work by O. Taplin prompted me to consider whether Aeschylus uses colours as one of the attributes of the characters' entrances and exits. I analyzed all the seven tragedies from this angle, but failed to get any remarkable result. Neither of 93 cases of colour use I identified was linked to the above-mentioned dramatic moment – the entrances and exits of characters. However, the study revealed a different peculiarity of colour use – the possibility to trace down how colours "prepare" events of the tragedy.

Admittedly, Aeschylus paid particular attention to the optical effect of the tragedy, its visual aspect. According to O. Taplin, "each of Aeschylus' plays is a space, a place to watch" (i. e. Aeschylus' plays are intended for an audience). Correspondingly, one of the functions of colour in the playwright's texts was to make visual impact. The colour effect of the dramas was intended to influence the spectators' fancy, the so-called "imaginative dramatic picture", "perception through the mind's eye" on the one hand, and on the other to exert the actual optical effect, as some of the colours mentioned by Ae-

schylus were presumably used to design costumes, masks and decorations (e. g. the golden decorations in *Persians*, the black masks and white dresses in *Suppliants*, the purple carpet in *Agamemnon*, the black and purple costumes in *Oresteia*, etc).

As shown above, colour has a conceptual as well as a practical value in Aeschylus' tragedies. It is a part of the conceptual and artistic world of the dramas as well as of their scenography. Colours appear as concepts and objects at the same time. Correspondingly, perception of colours has its inner as well as its outer aspects.

Since all of Aeschylus' surviving tragedies imply the almost similar principle of colour use, in my opinion, this may facilitate the identification of the playwright's chromatic conception. We do not intend to venture an assertion that Aeschylus had developed his own theory on colours; however, his tragedies definitely imply a certain conceptual unity. In particular, we may distinguish the following chromatic properties as typical of Aeschylus:

The colour range is limited. The playwright predominantly uses black, white, purple and golden. The rest of the colours (red, saffron, silver, golden-yellow, brownish-yellow) are applied on rare occasions.

Each of the tragedies has one or two leading, so-called dominant colours which bear the whole conceptual "burden".

Aeschylus selects and uses the dominant colours with respect to the main motifs of the play. Normally, the colour is used to intensify and accentuate them.

Aeschylus attaches a dramatic function to colours. They are used to "prepare" the spectator and the listener, they are hints for the events bound to happen. With the help of colours, Aeschylus predisposes the audience.

Colours are used to intensify impressions, emotions.

Colours are intrinsic parts of Aeschylus' figurative speech (epithets, similes, metaphors).

Colours are used as universal symbols to express the essence of a character, an event, a fact.

Colours help decode religious-mythological subtexts.

Aeschylus refers to colours to create the so-called optical illusion.

Colours have "visual meaning" in Aeschylus' tragedies, i. e. they represent a part of the stage design (a costume, a mask, a decoration).

Pindar differentiates between the inborn faculty and the developed skilled as φύση vs τέχνη. At the initial stage of Aeschylus' literature, φύση prevails, while the latter stage (*Oresteia*) is dominated with τέχνη. The evolution, the development process is quite conspicuous as it is demonstrated through outer, formal and inner, conceptual details. Perfection of Aeschylus' technique and development of his artistic and dramatic vision with respect to colours are

likewise obvious. Although we come across all the properties of his colour conception both at earlier and latter stages, in *Oresteia* it is presented in a more diversified way. Aeschylus' colour aesthetics is common in all his works, however in *Oresteia*, created in the latter period of his life, he seems more confident with colours and uses them more effectively and purposefully, attaching them deeper religious-mythological sense.

### **On the Function of the Purple Carpet in *Agamemnon***

The book offers various interpretations of the scarlet carpet scene from *Agamemnon*, based on the viewpoints of different scholars. In particular, the sub-chapter presents religious, ritual, mythological, political, literary, dramatic aspects of the well-known passage and corresponding multi-layer and multi-aspect symbolic implications. In the end, the following conclusions are drawn: the purple carpet is a multi-functional symbolic image, and what is most important, it represents a literary symbol for the reader and a dramatic symbol for the spectator, as Aeschylus creates a theatre beyond poetry; the purple carpet scene must be the climax of Aeschylus' dramatic technique. Its development can only be considered provided a more complete picture of Aeschylus' works is available. The purple carpet scene is so perfect that it compels us to suppose that similar enigmatic-multifunctional passages must have been included in Aeschylus' other tragedies as well.

### **Colour Function in *Prometheus Bound* and the Question of its Authenticity**

The sub-chapter ventures the assumption that while discussing the authenticity of *Prometheus Bound*, along with linguistic, stylistic, metric and conceptual aspects, its "chromatism" should also be considered as one of the parameters for investigating the style of a fiction, i. e. we should study colours used in the tragedy and their functional implications within the context of Aeschylus' artistic world and colour aesthetics. The immediate objective is to determine whether the principle of colour use applied in the play corresponds to Aeschylus' principles.

The study exposed Aeschylus' chromatic conception, while investigation of colour functions in *Prometheus Bound* revealed that the tragedy has all the principal chromatic properties typical of Aeschylus.

The colour range in *Prometheus Bound* is limited, like in Aeschylus' other plays. The tragedian confines himself to the use of four colours. The leading, "dominant" colour is distinguished – it is black, connected to the central motifs and symbolic images of the play (the nether world, Io, Prometheus' liver),



and used to intensify them and create an appropriate atmosphere. In this tragedy, like in others by Aeschylus, colours, on the one hand, have a dramatic function and on the other hand, characterize the heroes. In *Prometheus Bound* colours are used as epithets, metaphors and symbols.

The above-said testifies that Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* is characterized with Aeschylus' colour range, it follows precisely his principles of colour use and correspondingly, exposes Aeschylus' chromatic aesthetics.

Thus, while considering the authenticity of the play, along with many other aspects, Aeschylus' principles of colour use should also be taken into account, as the latter represent an intrinsic property of the author's artistic vision. Such an investigation reveals more evidence to testify to the authorship of *Prometheus Bound*.

## CHAPTER II

### Colour Phenomenon in Sophocles' Tragedies

The chapter consists of 8 sub-chapters: *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Trachinian Women*, *Oedipus the King*, *Electra*, *Philoctetes*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, Conclusions.

The main results of investigating the colour system in Sophocles' tragedies are given in *Conclusions*:

The study has revealed that the range of colours used by Sophocles is limited to 8. In the surviving tragedies he mentions golden (18 times), black (14 times), white (9 times), the wine-colour (twice), golden-yellow, red, gray and green (once). Since golden, black and white are more frequently used, we may maintain that the playwright predominantly manipulates with these three colours. In all, we come across 47 cases of colour application (precisely twice as less as in Aeschylus' tragedies), out of which 29 appear in chorus parts and 18 in dialogues (while in Aeschylus' texts the number of colours in chorus parts and in dialogues are almost the same: 44 / 49). Sophocles uses 33 colour terms, out of which 11 are simple and 22 compound (Aeschylus' world of colours is richer with respect to colour terminology as well. 50 colour terms are found in his tragedies; however, Aeschylus does not use colour compounds so much).

Two of Sophocles' tragedies, *Ajax* and *Oedipus the King*, include so-called dominant colours related to the chief motifs of the tragedies, in accordance with Aeschylus' principle, and are used to intensify the latter.

Remarkably, in *Trachinian Women* Sophocles does not apply dominant colours, however, the three colours that appear in the tragedy six times refer to the leading concepts of the play. Colours in Sophocles' tragedies may be used to intensify a certain motif without being dominant.

Admittedly, Sophocles is less creative than Aeschylus. He learns and perfects what has been suggested by his elder colleague. S. Adams seems to exaggerate while stating that *Agamemnon* enabled Sophocles to realize what a tragedy was; anyway, the influence of Aeschylus' colour world on Sophocles' certain plays, earlier ones in particular, is obvious; however, it gradually weakens starting with *Electra* and on.

According to Plutarch, Sophocles himself distinguished three stages in his work, and while studying his style, scholars refer to his own words: "Sophocles said he had found his own way after overcoming Aeschylus' pomposity, which was followed by his own style – not so attractive and somehow artificial – and in the end, achieved his own manner, which is the best and implies ethos most of all" (De prof. in virt., 79 b). Although the above statement is the paraphrase of Plutarch's words, it seems very much alike to what Sophocles presumably wrote in his theoretical work on the chorus.

As a result of lexical and stylistic analysis of Sophocles' surviving tragedies and fragments, T. Webster also distinguished three stages. He attributed the fragments to the first stage, which he believes to have Aeschylean rhythm, vocabulary and metaphors.

According to the scholar, to the second stage belong the works that still bear the influence of Aeschylean as well as Homeric and lyric poets' vocabulary. Adjectives derived through alpha privativum, nomina agentis, abstract words (especially verbal nouns of neuter gender) and adverbs derived from adjectives frequently occur in the works. Besides, like Homer, Sophocles often sacrifices grammatical and morphological accuracy to metrics (e. g. *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Trachinian Women*).

The third i. e. the latter stage of Sophocles' works lack Homeric and Aeschylean borrowing, but include Euripides' and prose vocabulary, abound in abstract names with -ις, however, adjectives derived through alpha privativum and compounds become less in number (e. g. *Oedipus the King*, *Electra*, *Philoctetes*, *Oedipus at Colonus*).

In my opinion, the alteration of Sophocles' style is detected not only through the analysis of Sophocles' linguistic texture, vocabulary, versification and figurative speech, but also through consideration of his use of colours. The study revealed that Sophocles' works can be divided into two stages in terms of colour application. In the earlier period, when *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Trachinian Women* and *Oedipus the King* were created, Sophocles' colour world bore Aeschylean impact, while the latter period is free from the influence. However, this does not suggest that he offers an original conception. He liberates his works from Aeschylus' so-called chromatic principles, and starts to use colours without any consistency, deep implications (subtexts) and a particular artistic intention. In his last

three tragedies, colour acquires more of an ornamental function, it is used realistically, for the purpose of creating a visual effect.

Sophocles' earlier style is more orderly and figurative, while the latter period is marked with emotional and realistic character (resembling Euripides' style). To my belief, these artistic properties are reflected in his use of colours as well.

Sophocles' tragedies are almost free of the intention to exert an emotional impact on the spectator and the reader through unusual application of words and through finding original interrelations between various notions. According to R. Goheen, Sophocles is the most conservative of the tragedians in terms of using metaphors. According to F. Earp and G. Gellie, Sophocles rarely uses a word in order to make it seem unusual, extraordinary. In fact, Sophocles is not prone to exuberance, haughtiness and hyperbolization. He seems to regard metaphors as ornaments, and is quite "sparing" at using them for a particular purpose. Unlike Aeschylus and Pindar, his artistic thought does not permanently develop through artistic images.

According to scholars, Sophocles' earlier and latter literary texts are different in terms of figurative devices as well. *Ajax* has 47 cases of metaphors, *Antigone* – 62, *Trachinian Women* – 44, *Oedipus the King* – 37, *Electra* – 29, *Philoctetes* – 22, *Oedipus at Colonus* – 30. The use of metaphors obviously tends to diminish. Therefore, it is not accidental that Sophocles uses colour as a component of a metaphor only twice, and both cases appear in his earlier works (see *Antigone*, 112-115; *Oedipus the King*, 1277-1279).

Contrast is among Sophocles' literary devices. He depicts the protagonist against a character completely opposite, and in this way succeeded to remarkably highlight the former's virtues (let us recall Antigone and Ismene, Electra and Chrysothemis, etc.). We may assume that Sophocles applied contrast with colours as well. Regrettably, out of the surviving tragedies, the chromatic contrast occurs only in *Ajax* (cf.: 229-230, 237-239).

Unlike Aeschylus, Sophocles does not attach a dramatic function to colour, and rarely uses it to create a tragic impact, while his surviving works include only one case of making up a visual image through a colour (see *Antigone*, 940-945). In fact, unlike Euripides and Aeschylus, Sophocles preferred ethical aspect, moral impact on the spectator or reader to the emotional one. As compared to Aeschylus, Sophocles rarely charges colours with religious-mythological subtexts, but frequently considers and resorts to their traditional symbolic implications. Neither of the tragedians denies the religious meaning of a tragedy, but Sophocles attaches religious sense to a colour only in one of the surviving tragedies (*Oedipus at Colonus*, 1047-1052).

Aeschylus was famous for his splendid theatrical effects, while Euripides' scenography fluctuated between the realistic approach and the ceremonial bril-

liance. He was especially fond of *deus ex machina*, when gods directly switched in the stage action by means of a crane. Sophocles avoided visual effects and exuberant interiors; however, he paid due attention to visual elements, so-called *ὄψις*. At the same time, according to the tradition, it was he who introduced stage painting (*Poetica*, 1449 a), however, we cannot judge whether the latter was realistic or merely decorative.

Although Sophocles is considered the founder of stage painting, colours used in his surviving tragedies bear hardly any reference to the colouring of stage decorations, characters' costumes and masks. Only two details are exceptional. They are the black sword in *Ajax* (229-230) and Polyneices' shield in *Antigone*.

What explains the fact that, as compared to Aeschylus, colour in Sophocles' tragedies is a secondary element if we consider the intensity of its use and its function? In my opinion, it is Sophocles' literary principles and his original artistic vision. As mentioned above, Sophocles is predominantly concerned with the inward world of characters and the fundamental changes within them. The writer links everything to this "dramatic intention". Aeschylus prepares us for what is actually bound to happen, while Sophocles accentuates what to expect in terms of actual, explicit relations, as well as within the implicit world of the characters. Aeschylus uses colour as a tool to achieve his dramatic goal, which is not true about Sophocles. The father of tragedy needs colours a lot, while his younger colleague is less concerned with their necessity.

Sophocles' works are ingenious, severe and perfect poetry, the charm of which is determined by its structure and not its ornaments. The tragedian rarely resorts to language embellishments, epithets, similes and metaphors; colours, correspondingly, rarely appear in his works and have fewer implications as compared to Aeschylus. The fact not in the least diminishes the magnificence of Sophocles' tragedies, which, owing to their orderliness and brilliance, are compared to the strict and fine friezes of Parthenon.

### CHAPTER III

#### Colour Phenomenon in Euripides' Tragedies

The Chapter consists of 18 sub-chapters: *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Children of Heracles*, *Suppliants*, *Heracles*, *Trojan Women*, *Electra*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Helen*, *Ion*, *Phoenician Women*, *Orestes*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Bacchantes*, *Conclusions*.

The main results of investigating the colour system in Euripides' tragedies are given in *Conclusions*:

In Euripides' 17 surviving tragedies, 15 colours are mentioned 298 times – 125 times in chorus parts and 173 in dialogues (golden – 113 times, black –

56, white – 50, golden-yellow – 21, purple – 131, green – 10, red – 9, greenish-blue – 6, the wine-colour – 5, silver – 4, saffron and brownish-yellow – 3, fire-red and gray – twice and yellow once). Euripides uses 103 colour terms, out of which 31 are simple and 71 compound.

Admittedly, Euripides borrowed from Pindar the epithets that express the so-called "emotional (sensual) dimension" of objects or the light reflected from their surfaces with particular intensity.

Considering the lyric poets' experience and a large number of compounds coined after lyrics, Euripides remarkably enriched colour terminology resources and potentials.

Naturally, the intensity of using colours is related to their functional diversity. Logically, what frequently recurs comes to acquire certain additional meaning. Investigations revealed that Euripides' tragedies expose two main tendencies: On the one hand, he obediently follows the tradition of ancient Greek drama (we may conventionally call it Aeschylus' line), and on the other hand, he introduces his own principles, which enable us to talk about Euripides' original chromatic aesthetics.

To my belief, the principles of Euripides' chromatism, his colour application, can be explained by his peculiar way of using language and vocabulary. Chorus parts are often lyrical and even exuberant, while the dialogues are plain, transparent and expressive, and sometimes resemble the spoken language. Along with lexical innovations, the tragedies abound in archaisms as well. Correspondingly, colours sometimes add to Euripides' elevated style and sometimes attach to it a common conversational character. Colours are used either in their ordinary, traditional, even trivial sense and function, or with absolutely unusual, original and innovated inspiration.

Euripides' devotion to the tradition is revealed through his use of the so-called dominant colours as well; however, he rarely resorts to them. According to my observations, the dominant one is golden in *Medea* and *Ion*.

Since some of the colours are more frequent in Euripides' certain works, I may face the question: Why are they not considered dominant? In my opinion, a colour is dominant when it is the most frequent one in the play as compared to others, and at the same time is linked to the play's main motifs, concepts and images – serves to intensify the latter.

What is to be said about the innovations introduced by Euripides in the colour world of Greek drama? In my opinion, one of the most remarkable novices is related to one aspect of the writer's original poetic vision – the irony, which may penetrate each and every element of Euripides' plays: the manner of depicted characters, plot development, the world of gods and deus ex machina, political realities and rituals reflected in the plays and what is most important, the dialogues.

Words by one of the actants of the dialogues are ambiguous. The other character, normally understands their literary sense, which makes him feel safe and admits to the other character's liking and favourable attitude to him. However, the audience perceives the hidden sense of the words and gets prepared for the pending catastrophe. Let us recall the ambiguous dialogues saturated with irony between Medea and Jason, Pentheus and Dionysus, Hecuba and Polymestor. Euripides' characters utter words that suggest no danger at first sight, but imply a great disaster bound to happen.

On what concerns colours, the irony is generated by the contrast between the colour sense and the context it is used in. Euripides seems to "play" with colours. A positive colour, normally, suggests a positive event, but it happens vice versa – the opposite comes up. The function of colours is reversed. Tragedy takes place where unexpected, and nothing happens when anticipated. For instance, white, the colour universally acknowledged as positive, disposes to delightful events while purple – to bloodshed and disaster. However, in Euripides' tragedies, the opposite of what the conventional functions of the colours may suggest happens. It is the expression of the tragic irony on the one hand, and rejection of the dramatic function of colour on the other, i. e. owing to the tragic irony, colours acquire pseudo-dramatic function and become so-called pseudo-symbols which, by the way, are among modern cinematic devices.

Apart from these two novices, Euripides' colour vision is also distinguished by diverse colour combinations and gradations unfamiliar for his predecessors. This point will be considered below.

According to tradition, Euripides was an artist as well; however, modern critics have no unanimous opinion on this information. According to one of the *βίος*, there were paintings of a certain Euripides in Megara. A. Lesky does not question the authenticity and reliability of the information; however, he suggests that it may refer to a certain artist, the namesake of the great playwright. According to H. Delulle, Euripides was gifted with a certain type of associative faculty which led him to visual impressionism, that had no strict limits. It may resemble painting, but in fact it may be something else. On the other hand, some scholars maintain that certain impressive passages from Euripides' tragedies point to his painting skills. According to another presumption, a number of similes and metaphors<sup>13</sup> borrowed from the field of visual art gave birth to the tradition, which presented him as a serious artist before starting playwriting.

---

<sup>13</sup> E. g. see *Hecuba*, 560-561, 807; *Andromache*, fr. 125; *Helen*, 262-263; *Phoenician Women*, 128-129, 1423, 1154, 1380, 1151; fr. 618.

The question to be answered sounds as follows: can we judge over a writer's gift of a painter and his being an "artist" on the basis of his verbal creations, and are there any objective criterion to find out whether the writer was truly a painter at the same time or not?

There have been attempts to detect in Euripides' artistic vision as it is reflected in his works the principles that dominated the painting of his times. It is with regard to painting that S. Barlow considers the scene from *Phoenician Women* where Antigone and Paedagogus describe besieged Thebes. According to Oedipus' daughter, "Thebes looks horrible, blazes like a star, like a painted giant, not in the least resembling a human" (127-130). Antigone refers to painting while describing what she has seen, as if her ideas of war derive from paintings and not from real life. Evidently, Hippomedon's body is shining like the steel figure of giant Thalos as depicted on the well-known crater. According to art experts, the shining bronze of the giant's body is reproduced with white and modeled with mixed brown varnish through shading. The artist's decision to choose and depict the object that would reflect light from the surface of steel, points to the problems the artists of that period took interest in, and the artistic objective they pursued. S. Barlow attempted to discern in *Phoenician Women* variations of colour shades caused by the impact of light.

The effect of light in painting was a novice in Euripides' times. However, according to Pliny (XXV, 29), the method was not properly applied till the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C., painters experimented with white and golden even on the ceramics with red figures in order to achieve the illusion and perspective of the reflected light. E. g. on Mydias vases, the necklaces, horse embellishments, diadems, fire flames, wings and many other details are given in white or golden. Some more time was necessary before white was applied in bigger areas in order to create the illusion of a perspective with the help of light.

According to S. Barlow, it is the light effect that Euripides uses in the above-mentioned scene from *Phoenician Women*. In particular, the light reflected from Parthenopeus' eyes modifies the colour of the other hero's armour, namely, of Hippomedon's white wing and bronze shield, Polyneices' golden weapon and Amphiareus' white chariot. The poet's application of epithets reminds us of the function of white and golden in painting when used to render light (especially, see *Phoenician Women*, 146, 119, 168, 172). Antigone's appeal to the gods also resembles the description of a picture. Artemis is golden-haired; the sun is laced with a shining belt, while the moon is riding horses (191, 175, 177-178). According to the scholar, each of the images is based on the motifs then popular in art.

S. Barlow's interpretation of *Phoenician Women* is quite effective and interesting, and generates thoughts. However, the search for colour play and

gradations as caused by the impact of light in the above-mentioned scene is quite subjective. Therefore, S. Barlow's method will fail as an objective criterion to determine whether Euripides the playwright was also a painter or not.

What can we say about Euripides' so-to-say artistic vision with regard to his colour perception?

With reference to Aeschylus and Sophocles, the analysis of Euripides' colour world exposes quite important information on the latter's vision of a painter. The first thing to mention is Euripides' predominantly frequent use and much larger range of colours as compared to his predecessors (Aeschylus uses colours 93 times and Sophocles – 47 times, while Euripides mentions colours 298 times). The opponents of the statement may argue that the variety and intensity of colour use in Euripides' works are determined by the larger number of his surviving tragedies. However, the argument is defied by elementary mathematical calculations. 7 plays by Aeschylus and the same number of Sophocles' tragedies include 93 and 47 cases of colour use respectively, while Euripides 17 plays mention colours 298 times. Correspondingly, per each play by Aeschylus and Sophocles falls the average of 13 and 6 colour cases respectively, while the average number of colours per Euripides' play is 21.

Apart from more frequent use of colours and their wider range, Euripides' tragedies have another property that those by his predecessors lack. In particular, he often applies quite bold and unusual combination of colours. For example, in his tragedies we quite often come across the following colours that are used side by side to describe certain scenes:

Golden-yellow and red (*Heracles*, 359-363, 394-399; *Trojan Women*, 230-235), golden and black (*Hecuba*, 145-150), black and golden, black and golden-yellow (*Electra*, 54-59, 513, 515), brownish-yellow, golden and golden-yellow (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, 157-173, 632-635), black, purple and golden, greenish-blue, black and gray (*Helen* 179-184, 1499-1502), silver and golden, saffron, golden and white (*Ion*, 1181-1182, 887-896), golden-yellow and the wine-colour, purple, red and saffron (*Phoenician Women*, 1159-1161, 1486-1492), golden and white, golden, black and white (*Orestes*, 982-1000, 1465-1473), golden, white and red, silver, golden-yellow and green, white and green (*Iphigenia in Aulis*, 214-226, 751-761, 1291-1298), green and white, golden-yellow and the wine-colour (*Bacchantes*, 105-113, 862-867, 233-236) etc.

According to S. Barlow, in the like cases, Euripides presents colours not in isolation, but as modified by the influence of light, or the environment of other colours.

Neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles was distinguished with such a multi-colour perception of the world, manipulation with colour combinations to impact a spectator or a reader and creation of polychromatic images. In my



opinion, unanimous acknowledgement of Euripides' being the great narrator, master of the description of events, is also determined by his purposeful use of colours to create maximally realistic and impressive visual images, while such a sensitive optical vision results in the extremely literal interpretation of his plays.

Apart from a wide range of colours and their diverse combinations, Euripides has another peculiar property: he pays particular attention to nature with all its chromatic aspects and, what is more, uses three different colours to describe one and the same event, which was unique in ancient Greek tragedy. As investigations revealed, colour and its shades as the properties of an object did not matter much for Aeschylus and Sophocles. Colour pertaining to an object together with its gradations first appeared in Euripides' works.

The above-mentioned does not allow us to claim that Euripides was also a painter; however, the following is beyond any doubt: as compared to Aeschylus and Sophocles, his colour vision is less typical of drama and more of painting.

Euripides is sometimes criticized for the lack of similes and metaphors. Some even consider Aeschylus standing on the top, Euripides – at the bottom, while Sophocles is found somewhere between them. S. Barlow states that Euripides, whose tragedies do not abound in metaphors, may be compared to a painter who "does not apply allegorical means, interprets colours, light, texture, surface and line of what he sees, creates an object and a still-life in its own as well as in a new perspective, divides them and groups against a new background to give them a new shape". We may maintain that Euripides creates artistic images not through similes and metaphors, but through colours, which renders the outer appearance as well as the inner essence of objects and events.

And finally, we may conclude that Euripides profoundly perceived Aeschylus' world of colours and added colourfulness, colour combinations and gradations to it, enriched it with tragic irony, attached pseudo-dramatic function to colour and made it a pseudo-symbol. These are the properties that build Euripides' chromatic aesthetics, the essence of which can be defined as the dramatic quality of painting or the painting quality of a drama.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

### **Colour and Greek Tragedy Scenography**

The contemporary reader of an ancient Greek drama sometimes fails to pay due attention to the playwright's texts, which provide far more information about the visual aspect of the play than it may seem at first sight. In particular, to my belief, scholars unjustifiably neglect colours used in ancient

dramas, while they may help us restore certain details of the ancient Greek scenography. Appropriate information is available in the texts – however, it requires due attention.

According to my observations, out of the colours used by Aeschylus in *Persians*, only golden could have been applied in the scenography – stage design and costumes. The white milk and the golden-yellow olives must have been used as requisites, but would certainly not create any special optical effect. The rest of the colours were intended to be imagined by the spectator.

On what concerns the tragedy *Seven against Thebes*, out of its colour range, only black, white and golden could have been applied as stage requisites, in particular as the colouring for the warriors' shields. Similar investigation of colours in *Suppliants* exposes only two scenographic details. Since the dark (black) complexion of the Aegyptides is frequently accentuated in the play, we may presume that their masks were of the corresponding colour. Besides, they must have been dressed in white clothes. Presumably, the entire decorations of the play must have been based on the contrast of the two colours.

The purple carpet in *Agamemnon* was obviously one of the most vivid and effective details of Aeschylus' scenography. Out of the colour range of *Libation Bearers*, only the black of the mourners and the Furies could have been used in the scenography of the performance as the colour of the chorus' dresses. According to H. Blume, the entrance of the Furies in *Oresteia* exerted a strong psychological impact on the audience even when a repeated show of Aeschylus' tragedies was legalized and the play was staged by directors of different generations. Presumably, the audience was intimidated with their somber look and black clothes. As for the colours used in *Eumenides*, they might have been reflected in requisites – the olive-tree twigs "twined as of purpose with a deep close tuft of whitest wool" (Translated by E. D. A. Morshead), as well as in the black at first and then the purple of the Furies' costumes.

Although Sophocles is considered the founder of stage painting, the way he uses colours in his surviving tragedies imply hardly any reference to the decorations, costumes and masks of the plays. Only two details are the exception. They are the black sword in *Ajax* and Polyneices' shield in *Antigone*.

On what concerns Euripides, his colour system was chiefly reflected in the costumes and masks of the characters. In *Alcestis*, Alcestis and the chorus should have been dressed in black (215-217, 425-427, 922-925), also, the black peplos should have been borne by the winged creature Thanatus, the personified Death, as he converses with Apollo (843-845).

In *Hippolytus*, Phaedra and Hippolytus had golden hair (131-133, 219-222, 1342-1346), while in *Hecuba* Polixenes had golden jewelry (145-150) and Hecuba – white (gray) hair (493-496).

In *Andromache*, Hermione's dress and head-cover were golden (147-153), while in *Heracles*, the chorus had white (gray) hair (909), and Heracles and one of his sons, Lycus, had golden-yellow hair (232-235, 359-363, 992-993).

In *Electra*, Orestes and Electra had golden-yellow hair (13-515, 1069-1071), while *Iphigenia in Tauris* presents the altar, red with blood, in front of Artemis' temple (73, 256-259).

In *Helen*, Helen was dressed in a black peplos (1186-1190) and had golden-yellow hair (1224), in *Phoenician Women* we come across Jocasta's white hair (322-326) and black peplos (371-373), Polyneices' black hair (305-309) and white crown (119-121) and Antigone's saffron clothes (1486-1492).

In *Oresteia*, Menelaus had golden-yellow hair (1531-1532), while Helen bore golden foot-ware (1465-1473). In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, both Iphigenia and Menelaus are presented with golden-yellow hair (171-178, 681-683, 1365-1366). On what concerns *Bacchants*, Dionysus had golden-yellow hair (233-235) and white (455-459) or wine-colour complexion (233-235, 936-938).

Admittedly, Aeschylus and Euripides, unlike Sophocles, paid particular attention to various stage effects. To my belief, their special attitude to colours and the optical functions of colour in their tragedies should be considered with respect to their scenography.

According to W. Steidle and E. Bodensteiner, Aeschylus, unlike Sophocles and Euripides, was less inclined to take the audience into consideration. Correspondingly, his texts were meager in scenographic details. However, the idea is not shared by O. Taplin. According to my own observations, Aeschylus makes frequent allusions to the colour of certain scenographic details, which, unlike Euripides' tragedies, include not only the characters' costumes and hair, but the stage decoration and requisites as well.

Here we face the following question: how useful is the scenographic information related to colours for a modern director?

In my opinion, scenographic details including colour which the ancient playwrights here and there indicated in the text were presumably duly considered.<sup>14</sup> And today, when directors attempt to revive ancient drama on a modern stage the way it was performed in antiquity, along with other details, the colour of masks, costumes and decorations should also be taken into account.

On what concerns modern interpretations of the ancient Greek drama, the director in this case is freer since he has to consider the peculiar properties of modern theatre and aesthetic needs of modern audience.

---

<sup>14</sup> Of course we cannot be sure that the stage director or the stage designer precisely followed the text and applied all the colours the text dictated, however, such a probability still exists. To my belief, colours of ancient Greek dramas can be freely considered presumable details of their scenography if we bear in mind the fact that very often the playwright and the stage director were one and the same person.

Ancient Greek plays (and any ancient play in general) have been staged in every era with respect to its demands, as well as to the corresponding technical opportunities, aesthetics and artistic vision, or even fashion.

Of course it is desirable that various dramaturgical details of every single play be considered; however, if the director becomes a slave to these details, as O. Taplin put it, we will receive a monography instead of a dramatic interpretation.

Modern directors cannot be asked to precisely obey the stage directions included in ancient Greek plays. It is up to them to make corresponding decisions.

### **On the Colour Function in Greek Tragedy**

Although Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' works belong to almost the same historical period and to similar cultural environments, in terms of colour perception and application they are all quite different, which can be explained by their different aesthetics. The three tragedians use different colours and apply different terms to the same colours. However, this fact does not mean that Greek people's colour perception differed in the periods the tragedies were created, or that Greeks did not refer to the same colours with the same terms.

How can we present the picture of the development of ancient Greek tragedy chromatism? Aeschylus lays the foundation for certain principles, offers a single system for colour use, which marks his colour aesthetics. Sophocles, at the first stage of his literary works follows the Aeschylean vision, but gradually liberates his creations from the latter; however, colour obviously has a secondary function in his plays. Euripides follows the Aeschylean tradition on the one hand, but owing to his creative and searching nature, violates it and enriches it with bold innovations. Euripides adds to the Aeschylean chromatic aesthetics the tragic irony, pseudo-dramatic and pseudo-symbolic colours, the vision and colourfulness of painting and colour combinations.

Naturally, we face the following question: what is the relation between the colour perception of the tragedians and the epic and lyric tradition on the one hand, and the one of comedy on the other? Of course, the literary heritage they succeeded to and the way they influenced the colour system in comedies is very important. However, nowadays it is almost impossible to give a full and qualified answer to this question. It requires the study of epic and lyric writings as well as of comedies with the same method that was applied to ancient Greek tragedies. However, it is a future task, while at present we can consider terminological borrowings and innovations with the help of appropriate dictionaries and indices.

The thorough analysis of the three tragedians' colour system enabled us to single out several colour functions. I found it reasonable to give names to them and provide their corresponding classification. According to my observations, colours fall into the following groups with regard to their functions:

- Ornamental (applied as ornaments, as embellishments);
- Emotional (used to make an emotional impact);
- Figurative (used as an artistic device, an epithet, and a simile or metaphor component);
- Conceptual (used to intensify a certain theme or a motif, bring up the subtext of an episode);
- Identification (used to identify the character);
- Dominant (recurs in the same tragedy, trilogy);
- Symbolic (used as a symbol for a certain idea, notion or event);
- Pseudo-symbolic (used to create the false anticipation effect as it functions as an anti-symbol);
- Dramatic (used for a certain dramatic intention);
- Pseudo-dramatic (used to create the false anticipation effect, as the drama develops opposite to what the colour indicates);
- Optical (used to create an optical effect / optical illusion);
- Scenographic (refers to an actor's costume, mask, the stage decoration or requisite).

Evidently, the same colour has sometimes several functions in the tragedians' works. It is best illustrated by the purple in *Agamemnon*, which incorporates almost all possible colour functions except for the pseudo-symbolic and pseudo-dramatic ones that were introduced by Euripides. They occur only in his plays, and are considered within the context of his tragic irony.

The above-said points to the multi-functional character of colour – a seemingly insignificant ornamental detail. Therefore, it is very important to render the exact sense of colours in translation, as its neglect may result in the failure to bring the author's conscious or subconscious intentions to the reader.

Here we should also point out the difficulty of distinguishing the author's conscious intention while analyzing artistic devices or subtexts, while interpreting symbolic senses of particular details or detecting the intention of the entire literary text. "Philological analysis only enables us to determine interrelations between the language and the text structure" (C. Segal).

Greek tragedies expose a high level of interrelation between language and myth. Myth influences language, offers the references that are expressed through metaphors. On the other hand, language also performs through myth, alters and develops it. According to R. Jakobson's linguistic theory, myths are the allophones of the super-phoneme that a social structure has.

Both the author and the audience perceived the language of myth or the mythologized language at the juncture of intellectual soberness and emotional inspiration. The myth used by the author includes symbols more or less familiar to the audience, referring to privileged characters, families of special importance. Modern men sometimes fail to distinguish these "markers" because of their demythologized and deritualized lifestyle, while the understanding of the colour phenomenon in the ancient Greek tragedy helps to identify them. Colours also are among the "markers".

The search into the colour functions of the ancient Greek tragedies once again attested that what we considered accidental is in fact the intrinsic property of the whole. All (including colour) "belongs to one organic unity constituted with a particular caution so as to lead us to the end as foreseen by the spectator, which we regard as logically compulsory in terms of logics, and even inevitable" (S. Adams).

According to C. Post's appreciation, playwrights and ancient writers in general tried "to point to the focuses for the so-called mental vision" through language means impossible for an eye to perceive. This function was sometimes carried out by a colour, which served to create a visual illusion and captured the spectator in a world of imaginative pictures.

According to J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, tragedy pictures humans and their activities as a problem, ambiguous and vague, with endless senses. The same is true about colour. Its interpretation sometimes depends on the level we consider it – the level of material, empirical reality, or the conceptual level. Often, both dimensions are valid. Colour is perceived as a material and at the same time as an idea, and normally, it is the visual reality that forms the basis for a subtext, idea, concept.

As shown above, colour conveys different senses, contents and functions, and acquires the functions of an ambivalent symbol not only in the works of different authors, but within the same tragedy as well. Therefore, colour analysis requires the same caution as any other symbol. While analyzing it, we should always bear in mind the era it pertains to and the corresponding *Weltanschauung* and aesthetics. Colour should always be considered with respect to the cultural environment of the corresponding era. And if we succeed to cope with the problem, colour, as the key to the boundless worlds of mythology and religion, literature and art, will expose to us the artistic intention and subtext of a literary work as encoded by the author, and enable more profound interpretation of the text.

**Marika Erkomaishvili.** The Circe-Myth and its Interpretation in Ancient Literature, Tbilisi University Press, Tbilisi 2002, 135

Transmitting information on different hierarchical stages with different codes is considered to be one of the main characteristics of mythopoetical perception of the world. E.g. it is a common knowledge that one and the same mythological image has definite correlates – zoomorphic, vegetative, mineral, astronomical, etc. Very often this sequence is not complete. One or some of the elements are missing. But taking into account that the formation of the sequence is stipulated by severe logic and thus is never occasional we have the possibility to reveal and reconstruct the elements lost through the existed material. The data about Circe provide considerable interest for the conclusion. I decided to reconstruct antic literary materials concerning Circe’s image with the following schemes:

The most important epithets:

Negative	Neutral	Positive
dread (deinhv) wily (dolovessa) furious (saeva) poisoner (venifica) prostitute (meretrix)	goodly locks (eujplovkamo§)  bright (vitrea) radiant (phoebeia)	with human speech (aujdhvessa) divine among divinities (di'a qeavwn)  with many drugs (polufavrmako§) mistress (povtnia)

Main skills:

Spinning → Loom → She spins "the refined cloth of immortals"; She is able to make magic knots; She is a fortune-regulator;

Singing → Specific voice → She tames beasts, manages luminaries, she is a weather-regulator;

Tempting → Bedstead → She enchants her male visitors and thus makes them to loose their masculinity;

Enchanting → Mortar/goblet → She is able to distinguish harmful and useful plants and make mixtures; she is skilled to spell and charm – to confuse and paralyze will;

Wild life subordinating → Wand/Rod → She transforms images of animals and people;

Healing, Remission →. . . → She is able to conduct a purification ritual;

She is some kind of a werewolf →. . . → besides her skills of transforming others, she is able to change the image of her own. E.g. to become invisible.

Mastering space →. . . → She is able to wander in the World and Underworld; She knows how to sacrifice for gaining the favor of souls and thus to enable a mortal to go Underworld.

Spheres:

Male	Heaven	Light	Life	Good	Domestic	Civilized	Fertility
Female	Underworld	Darkness	Death	Evil	Wild	Noncivilized	Sterility

Unmarried	Fire	Regeneration	Safety
Married	Water	Death	Threat

Attributes:

Male: wand / rod (rJavbdo\$) (=Phallus);

Female: loom/spinning-wheel (i{sto\$/kerkiv\$), goblet/mortar (devpa\$/oJvlmo") (=womb), the most beautiful bedstead (perikallh; eujnhv).

Functions:

<i>Positive</i>	Compassionate healer	Tempter	Parthenos	Helpful	Hospitable host
<i>Negative</i>	Evil sorceress	Dread Goddess	Celestial prostitute	Harmful	Wretched

Besides she is a fortune-regulator and an animals' tutor (lions, wolves, pigs are her permanent companions) – she is a Mistress of Beasts. We may suppose that on the certain stage of imagination Circe was a Hunter Goddess.

Zoomorphic correlates:

Positive	falcon, hawk	deer	spin
Negative	wolf	horse	swine, boar

Plant: Oak;

Signs: Sparkling eyes like sunshine, hair that looks like fired arrows, enchanting voice;

Colour: Ginger/ purple/fire-coloured;

Main features: Circularity. Homer marks that Greek sailors stay in Aea for one year (complete astronomical cycle);



Astral sign: The Moon, the Sun;

Elements: Fire, water;

Number: Four i.e. four elements, four seasons, four sides of the universe, four directories, etc.

Number Four is a "symbol of statistic unity, of completely sustainable structure". At other levels of coding system it corresponds to the following geometrical figures: square and cross (in different variants). But the question is how it could concede with Circe's cyclicity?

Geometrical figure: Circle + Square (→ Mandala);

Location: Aeaea, a mountainous island surrounded by the Ocean. Inhabitants of the island are Circe, Nymphs and monstrous animals (pevlwr) only. On the one hand Aeaea is a peculiarly fruitful land, but on the other hand it is a deserted (uninhabited) place. It is a harbour of primitive, wild nature and instincts and points to Circe's relations with anti-culture, anti-civilization.

Dwelling: Sacred house, incrust rated megaron with the smoky flue. Smoke, loom, "refined cloth" – all these things show Circe's relationship with tamed, civilized, cultural sphere. Circe has the ability to subordinate wild life. Thus she represents the unity of these two opposite origins.

The above illustrated information gives us the possibility to come to some other conclusions: a) her dwelling is a place where smoke reaches the sky; b) it is a gate between the two universes where the road of Hermes goes through; c) it is a place, where "immortal cloth" is being spanned on the loom of the Goddess. Thus it can be considered as an axis, mythological center of the world.

If we suggest that while walking down the Underworld the trajectory of Odysseus' movement is vertical, we'll find out that Aeaea appears at the center of the trajectory of the hero's horizontal movement:

Troy → Kikonians → Lotus-Eaters → Cyclops → Aeolus  
 → Laestrygonians → Aeaea → (Underworld) → Aeaea → Sirens → Scylla  
 and Charybdis → Thrinacia → Ogygia → Scheria → Ithaca

Circe lives alone in this space, she has no spouse, she is not davmar. According to the popular mythological version (Odyssey, Argonautics, Aeneis) Circe has no children, she is a fruitless goddess and can be considered as the one of male (or pavrqenoš) divinity type. At the same time, she is one of the most female and sexual characters that can be attributed to a "celestial prostitute". She constantly anticipates a male partner but having received vital energy after the intercourse with him, she destroys him immediately (changes his image, unmans, deprives him of sex). Odysseus is the only exception. It

can be said that the Goddess who spins flax is a Spider-type Goddess. If we look through antique literature (beginning from Hesiod) Circe gives birth to children (mainly from Odysseus). As it seems, in this case as well as in the other cases two opposite origins coexist in the image of Circe – male/female. And it does not deal with bisexuality. We may suppose that at the ancient stage Circe was an Androgynous-type deity.

The analysis of the name of Circe identifies her possible relations with male, "warrior", hunter-type divinities once more. Kivrkh – this is a female form of kivrkoḡ (falcon). Falcon is a hunter, predatory bird, and carrion-eater. Traditionally birds of this type are zoomorphic hypostases of hunter or warrior-type Goddesses. Etymological origin of this word was not clear for both Greek authors and modern scholars. Circe was explained to be an unknown representative of falcon or hawk families or she was associated with circle (kivrkoḡ) and spinning-wheel (kerkivḡ). Georgian equivalent of kivrkoḡ is **kirkita** (kirkita = Falco tinnunculus) – ginger-coloured bird from Falcon row. Linguistic analysis of Kartvelian materials shows that such explanation implies all other ones. Each explanation (kivrkoḡ-Falcon/**kirkita**), kivrkoḡ (kuvkloḡ)-circle /**rkali**), kerkivḡ-spinning-wheel / **kirkiti**) comes down to the following archetype \*krk/kr/rk, that can be restored at least to Georgian-Zan level and very often to Common Kartvelian level. Its basic meaning usually designates circularity. Circularity is one of the main characteristics of Circe. It can be assumed that at the stage of mythological astralization Circe was considered to be a luminary, the Moon moving around a circle in the sky, and imagined as a falcon. Analyzing the Greek-Georgian linguistic parallels, we come to think that Circe's origin is to be sought within the non-Greek environment.

The main premises for Circe's association with the non-Greek environment alongside with her ties with Colchian genealogical line are the spheres of allocation of her offsprings'. They are ethnarch-eponyms of people living at the Mediterranean Sea (by Hesiod and after him). Thus, Circe is closely connected with Etruscan environment and we can find clear traces of her cult there. We can also suppose that she was related with Cretan world as she was a sister of Pasiphae. Though it is a question of further investigation. Georgian scholars have already found out some kind of regularity concerning imaginations about Circe and the distribution of her genealogical line in the Mediterranean. This case proves of rather important coincidence with the regions where pre-Greek culture was spread.

When I began to investigate the above-mentioned issues I started with the principle that a myth has no incorrect version. All the versions are equally informative. The correct interpretation of the myth always gives us the possibility to restore the initial version in a more or less complete form. Particularly when we have a chance of comparing a literary text with other (mainly

archeological) sources the process of the formation of mythological personages never seems occasional. Very often these symbol-images show that their logical structural organization is based on the principle of contrast and symmetry (binarity). That's why the main goal of the discussion is to reveal those oppositions and discuss their peculiarities.

Despite the fact that materials about Circe in antique literature are very rich, epic works are considered to be more informative (mostly Homer's *Odyssey*). Within the frame of my investigation, literary texts of the posterior period can be named "parallel" texts. Although those texts helped me to reveal the codes of Homer and complete their substance in many cases.

Elaborated materials and analyzed information give us the possibility to define the stages of the development (more precisely, of the degradation) of this mythological personage:

The opinion that Circe was an Androgynous-type divinity in the ancient, prehistoric period and later that she was transformed into Great Mother is not an exclusion;

She was connected with the Moon in the period of mythological astralization (I think this stage of character formation is actualized by Homer);

Later on, in Hellenistic epoch, taking into account the works by Apollonius Rhodius the image of Circe suffered "devaluation" and was transformed into the image of Priestess;

In Roman times (in the period of archaic restoration) some ancient layers of Circe's image appeared again (e. g. Virgil). At this stage Circe is actually a chthonic divinity and sly magician (Virgil, Ovid);

Since I A.D. the tendency of complete demythologization, desacralisation of Circe's image seems common (e. g. by Petronius). In philosophical tracts and comments of the late antiquity Circe is identified with the allegory of passion, unruliness and other humane fallaciousnesses.

I suggest that Mycenaean Epoch was the very period when the substance of Circe's myth was born. Circe's image is a clear example of the coexistence of binary oppositions and neutralization within the frames of one mythological personage. Comparing the image of Circe with axis mundi-type iconographies the existence of all the mentioned components of these images is revealed. It can be concluded that this is a universal archetypal image and symbol, some kind of mythological model of the universe.

**Tea Gamrekeli.** *Compositional Properties of Constantine Cavafy's Poems*, Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2006, 116 (in Greek)

***The importance of the work.*** The least investigated property of poems by Constantine Cavafy, a modern Greek writer, is their composition. It is common knowledge that Cavafy's poetry is sincerely admired, and at the same time, is rigorously criticized. The critics, commonly, find his poems fragmentary, incomplete, dry and chaotic. They claim that the poems are shapeless structure-wise and regard them as compositionally disintegrated and unorganized report-like pieces of writing. To reject this opinion wrong as it is, I find it necessary to present the structural analysis of Cavafy's poems and comment on the composition building principles revealed. The above analysis is widely applied by scholars, as the apparently formal criterion for detecting structural principles of a literary text has frequently lead to remarkable results as concerns writer's compositional vision and poetic thought. In this respect, Cavafy's poetry has so far escaped close analysis.

***Objectives.*** The book aims to use structural analysis for the identification of the composition building principles applied by Cavafy, and to discover the extent to which the poet realizes his intention at the compositional level of the poems. The analysis intends to reveal the principles Cavafy was guided with while structuring the poetic pieces; also, whether these principles were altered as his poetry developed; and, what is more, what peculiar properties are distinguished in the Greek writer's poetry in this respect.

***Methods.*** While investigating the principles of their compositional organization, the poetic pieces are regarded as structures constituted by means of a specific succession of certain elements. Consideration of their sequence and of the ways the elements are organized represents the essence of the investigation. In order to reveal the composition building principles applied by Constantine Cavafy, the following method was chosen: the so-called sense fragments were identified as the elements of the poems and certain correlations between them were observed (similarity, complete analogy or opposition). Besides, the ways they are interlinked were detected. This structural method gives maximally precise description of text-constituting elements and enables to detect the principles of their arrangement throughout the whole structure – here, these principles are the composition building patterns.

***Novelty.*** The book is the first attempt to reveal and investigate the composition building principles applied in Constantine Cavafy's poems. Although the Greek writer's poetry has been thoroughly explored by both Greek and foreign scholars, this significant aspect of the poems has escaped their close

attention and is confined to various assumptions; while in the Georgian tradition of literary investigations, nobody has so far undertaken even a general analysis of Cavafy's poetry, to say nothing about works similar to this.

**Structure.** The book consists of a preface, three parts and a conclusion. The book has an appendix one table, which presents the results of the investigation. The list of literature ends the book.

**The preface** points out to the relevance of identifying the composition building principles that underlie Constantine Cavafy's poems, and, hence, the necessity of their structural analysis. The preface starts with comments on the essence of the composition of a literary work and shows its importance to the investigation of a text. The study of the compositional potential and conceptual organization of a literary work is among the most interesting issues of a literary research, especially in the circumstances that the problems of composition are not thoroughly considered and duly developed. In this respect, the structural approach to a literary text helps to the solution of a number of problems. Therefore, while considering the composition of a literary text, the structure can not be neglected.

Since 1920s and throughout a long period, scholars passionately argued over the relevance and usefulness of the structural analysis of small-size literary texts. Diverse opinions were ventured even by the most devoted followers of structuralism, to say nothing about its opponents. At presents, no one doubts its usefulness, as the data collected in the consequence of such an analysis of poems have proved most important. The book offers a brief consideration of the like analyses undertaken by distinguished scholars and critics.

As mentioned above, Constantine Cavafy's poetry was the object of hottest arguments for a long time. However, it has survived the trial of both – criticism and time, and is still attractive. More than that, as time passes, the interest in it increases. The poems are translated into many languages. What caused such a popularity of Cavafy's poems? What peculiar property do they have that stirs interest and provokes debates? Scholars attempted to answer these questions by means of the structural analysis. However, they used to consider a single poem with respect to its structure and analyze its grammatical properties. The preface presents the types of the structural analysis of Cavafy's poems at different levels. In the end, the author comments on the method applied. Sense fragments are identified and links between them are studied. The mentioned method enables to reveal the composition building principles that underline Constantine Cavafy's poetry.

**Chapter One – Parallel Division.** The chapter presents the analysis of Cavafy's poems composed after the principle of parallel division. This pattern implies the reiteration of elements of a literary text in accordance with the so-

called parallel sequence principle. The classical structure of the pattern is **ABC...A'B'C'**.... The principle of parallel division is chiefly distinguished in two-verse poems. The sequence of elements in the first verse recurs or is somehow reflected in the arrangement of the elements in the second verse. This pattern implies either full analogy, or opposition, or recurrence of key words.

Cavafy quite often and consistently uses to the principle of parallel division of elements as one of the composition building patterns. Another remarkable point is that the poet chiefly uses the classical pattern of the principle. Cavafy applies this principle in the poems with certain logical structure, where the information rendered chiefly in the first verse represents a fact, the author's desire, etc., which is either confirmed or repeated, or opposed or denied by the information given in the second verse. Correspondingly, this compositional pattern is intrinsically linked to the logical structure of the poems which require balanced presentation of sense fragments in a two-verse, or on rare occasions, one- or several-verse poems.

Such is, basically, the group of poems qualified as philosophical and hedonistic. In the philosophical poems of the group, the poet's desires, thoughts and dreams rendered in the sense fragments of one verse are opposed by the reality pictured in the sense fragments of the second verse, while in the hedonistic poems, the same principle sets feelings and desires against the moral norms of the society. Sometimes, the poet's desires, thoughts and emotions expressed in the sense fragments of one verse are reflected according to the principle of similarity in the sense fragments of the other verse so as to emphasize or fully present them.

A few exclusions occur when the pattern is applied in several historical poems as well, in which the poet either gives the opposition of differently viewed two aspects of an event, or presents emotions, thoughts and feelings against the reality, or makes a symbol out of a well-known historical personality or event.

The principle of parallel division occurs throughout Cavafy's whole poetry. Another remarkable point is that sometimes the poems patterned after this principle have up to four or five correlated elements. All above-mentioned indicates that Cavafy's application of the principle is highly elaborate and intensive.

**Chapter Two – Circular Composition.** Circular composition, an ancient composition building principle, is frequently applied by Cavafy. First of all, it should be mentioned that the poems structured to the classical type of this principle follow the **ABCB'A'** pattern. It means that the central element of a poetic piece is encircled (preceded and followed) by a couple or couples of correlated sense fragments that lead to the beginning and the end of the poem.

The sense fragments may be either fully analogous, or parallel, or have common, recurrent key words.

The present investigation leads to the conclusion that Cavafy quite often applies the pattern. The poems with circular composition are chiefly created after the classical type of the principle. Cavafy applies the pattern in the poems based on the so-called cyclic principle of development of the poetic conception. In these poems, the idea stated in the beginning of the poem develops in its central part as a paradigm or an extended description, while the ending serves to either confirm or accomplish, or develop a certain gradation of, or deny the idea presented in the beginning.

Here belong the hedonistic and philosophical poems which sometimes present the opposition of the poet's desires, ideas and emotions on one hand and the reality and established norms on the other, and sometimes emphasize the desires and emotions.

On very rare occasions, the principle of circular composition is applied in the historical poems. In this case, the poet either presents a well-known historical fact or a historical personality from two different angles, or attaches them a symbolic character.

Cavafy's poems structured after this principle were composed at different periods. The central sense fragments of the poems are encircled not by one couple of correlated elements, but in fact by quite a number of such couples. This attests that the mentioned arrangement of sense fragments is not spontaneous.

**Chapter Three – *The Structural Anomalies of the Basic Principles, Combinations and the Free Sequence of Elements.*** In Cavafy's poems, apart from the classical application of the composition building principles, there are certain deviations as well – the patterns are not always presented in their classical form, i.e. there are the instances of structural anomalies and combinations.

The free sequence of elements is quite familiar to Cavafy's poetry. In this case, the fragments are not linked to one another the way they were in case of circular composition or parallel division; the elements follow each other in a simple sequence. The general structure of such poems can be formulated as follows: **ABCD...**

The poems that belong to this group present a consecutive narration, i.e. the development of logic corresponds to the free sequence of elements. These are Cavafy's historical and pseudo-historical poems, in which the poet merely narrates about a historical or invented character or event. Sometimes, the poet attaches symbolic meaning to these characters or events. None of the mentioned poems has the instances when one sense fragment either reflects or

opposes or resembles another. Accordingly, there is no evidence of recurring key words or phrases.

The free sequence of elements underlies Cavafy's epitaphs as well, which is not accidental. The poet purposefully matched the free sequence principle of sense fragments with this type of poetry. Despite the strictly limited compositional structure of the epitaphs, Cavafy makes their content highly poetic and diverse, which reveals the poet's skillfulness. It is amazing how the poet manages to render through the small poetic pieces not only the most precise and complete information about the deceased, but also the feelings of the dead person's close relatives and friends, and sometimes even offers his own comments. All these are expressed with intense emotions and excitement, which stirs sorrow and compassion in the reader.

The analysis of the poems has revealed that the free sequence of elements is the most frequently applied pattern in Cavafy's poetry. However, sometimes, the poet alters the pattern so that the last sense fragment of the poem reflects the first sense fragment. It aims to either make the first element more complete, or explain, or deny or neutralize it. The like variation is also characteristic of the principles of parallel division and circular composition. In the poems structured after the principle of parallel division, the sequence of the elements is sometime altered. Apart from the structural anomalies distinguished within one composition building pattern, there are also instances of combination of the principles. In all the poems of the mentioned group, hedonistic, historic and philosophical contents are so closely combined that it proves difficult to differentiate among them.

**The Conclusion.** The analysis gives an opportunity to draw quite an interesting conclusion. The first thing to mention is the wide diversity of the composition building principles applied by K. Cavafy. The analysis revealed that the application of the patterns depends on the thematic category the poems belong to and the development of logic in the poems. For instance, the majority of Cavafy's poems have historical content. As mentioned above, they chiefly present a consecutive narration and almost exclude the reflection of one sense fragment by another. Correspondingly, Cavafy most frequently applies the free sequence of elements (73). This points to his reluctance to be confined to any structural frame; however, he by no means avoids using the well-organized principles when the logic of development of the poetic thought requires it. According to a number of poems, in the second place goes the principle of parallel division (44), and in the third – the principle of circular composition (37), which Cavafy chiefly applies in his hedonistic and philosophical poems. They usually present a conflict between the desire and the reality – the elements of the binary opposition. In the rare cases when Cavafy applies parallel division or circular composition in the historical poems the



binary opposition – the desire and the reality – is embodied in a historical personality. In all these poems Cavafy skillfully presents the opposition through the symmetric arrangement of similar or opposing sense fragments. It is remarkable that these poems may have quite a big number of sense fragments with different kinds of correlations, which points to the intensive and meaningful application of the above principles.

The analysis of Cavafy's poems has revealed that all above mentioned patterns are in harmony with the development of the poetic thinking. The unity, wholeness of the conception is thoroughly observed and develops according to a strict logic. In this respect, Cavafy is distinguished with rare mathematical precision and remarkable logic, which was admitted by scholars.

As said above, a part of the scholars who investigated Cavafy's poetry considers its weak point the absence of a definite shape. Are Cavafy's poems shapeless and fragmentary poetic pieces? The book gives a full answer to the question. The precisely observed models of composition building principles and their correlation to the logical structures of the poems dispel all doubts about the structural organization of Cavafy's poetic pieces, while the diversity of the principles results in the emotion that overwhelms the reader and answers the questions not once raised by literary critics: What is it that accounts for the depth and highly artistic quality of Cavafy's poems and what causes readers' perpetual interest in them?

Scarceness of artistic devices in the poems is the author's attempt to create emotional impact by means of concepts and their compositional organization. That is why Cavafy's poetry is so much intimate and lyrical although it lacks diverse poetic devices. Even the information taken from different sources is offered through a peculiar correlation of sense fragments so that the poet puts emphasis on his own intention and not on the function of the information in its original environment.

**Rusudan Tsanova.** *Mythoritual Models, Symbols in Classical Literature and the Parallels in Georgian Literature and Ethnology*, Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2005, 393

The work provides two models of mythological thinking and rituals – sacrifice and strive for power, the former being a constituent part of all rituals. Apart from that, the sacrifice is given an important role in the model of power achievement. In spite of the fact that many outstanding scientists in the world, including ethnologists, archeologists, philologists, sociologists and psychologists, have studied the said issue there still remain a number of questions and problems that resonate differently in various epochs.

In the process of analysis of mythoritual model of a sacrifice, I confined myself to the myth of Pelopides. The structural research of the myth revealed its three layers. The traces of the cosmological ideas are discovered in the most ancient section. Resulting from the process of desacrilization of a sacrifice, other forms appear – like self-sacrifice (the said being a transient form since it may also be sacral as well) and vendetta. All the three forms of Pelopides are united by the one general principle – the dismembering of the sacrificed body.

The Pelopides myth implies almost all possible forms of a bloody sacrifice, provides an ample material for the writers of the ancient world. The Greek and Roman writers selected the most dramatic episodes of the Pelopides myth for the plots of their writings. On the one hand, when described in fiction, a human sacrifice is transformed into a metaphor that helps to perceive the writer's world outlook, and on the other hand, it underlines the practical purpose of the creative text. The point is that the thinkers of the ancient world perfectly succeeded in illustrating the damage that follows the profanation of the sacral and the desacralized rituals that were so widespread in the society. The human sacrifice as a means of vengeance causes the accumulation of aggression – and the resulting aggressive society is a menace for everyone; in case this aggression becomes unified and falls upon others, wars invariably break out, either great or small-scale. If the aggression becomes locked within the society, the latter is doomed to self-destruction – which was the very threat that the writers warned readers and general public about.

The mythoritual model of offering and sacrificing is universal and confirmed in various cultures in the world. Correspondingly, the metaphor of this issue occupies an important place in the works of outstanding writers. Since the dimensions of a single piece of work can hardly incorporate the entire world literature (to say nothing of the chances to analyze it), I confined my-

self to the parallels in the field of Georgian literature, folklore and ethnography.

The research process of the work reflects a dynamic process of transformation of the definite mythoritual models into metaphors, along with the process of development of the language of symbols. This analysis helps us to perceive not only the problematic social contexts of antiquity but also the social and literary processes of the successive epochs.

To carry out a comprehensive analysis on the issue of the development and formation of archaic mythoritual models, along with the process of their implementation in fiction. Since the models of sacrifice and strive for power are the universal issues, from one aspect their study acquires a function of general cultural studies, but from the other aspect, we are given a chance to observe the way they materialize in the works of the certain writers. The assessment of social function of the ritual of human sacrifice presents one of the determining factors of the ethical and moral values of every artist's world-outlook, and the work aims to bring this aspect forward.

After studying the special researches in the relevant field, I became certain of the fact that both elements – either the structure of the Pelopides myth, or the literary symbolic images of the characters of this myth –lacked a particular research work that would display their analysis as a unified implicit chain. The said gives grounds to consider the way the problem is presented (within the context of human sacrifice), a novelty – along with the framework of the research. Another instance of the novelty is the introduction of the Georgian material, revealing the mythoritual and literary correlations.

The general aspect of the cultural anthropology acquired an additional importance during the process of my work and my initial scientific interest in the studied problem. What makes the matter important is the fact that the forms of desacralized sacrifice sustained the centuries to reach the modern society practically unchanged. Modern society faces a serious problem in the search of the ways and methods to neutralize the nature and forms of aggression. An analysis of the literary process, whether of modern times or antiquity, will prove that this painful matter is constantly disturbing for the mankind since ancient times; however, all the epochs provide their peculiar ways to solve that problem. Hence, I do believe the present work shall be helpful not only to specialist of literature, but also to ethnologists and psychologists.

The present work reflects three directions of the research process. One of the directions is the mythoritual models analysis itself, the second one is the transformation of the myth image-symbols into metaphors, with their subsequent reflection in works of fiction, and the third one – cross-cultural parallels. A specific aspect of the research prompted me to apply diverse methods

and approaches. The basically use structural, sociological and comparative methods, and also symbolist theory when necessary.

The introductory part presents the interrelated principles that make the focal points of the work, and specifies research methods and the semantic field of the essential terms.

The problem of the genesis and transformation of mythoritual universalisms comes first. The complexity of the task that the researcher deals with is caused by the need to foresee the multiplicity of the scientific studies on the one hand, and on the other hand, the need to make a structural study of the myths and rituals. To the aspects and context that should also be taken into consideration, the archeological, historical and linguistic approaches should be added; otherwise it is impossible to determine the model principle – without the detailed analysis and comparison of all these three aspects.

When discussing the mythoritual models, the guiding principle that I apply to the issue is that the characteristic feature of a ritual is its utmost conservatism. Besides, the viability of a ritual is much stronger than that of a religious faith. In many cases a ritual persists even when its "relevant" religious faith is losing its significance, or is lost and vanished completely. Thus, the dynamics of the evolution of a ritual frequently depicts the process of transgression from sacral to profane, and the desacralized mythoritual can harm and negatively affect a society.

The next stage of research deals with the analysis of literary material, and my chief aim is to present the way a mythoritual model is transformed into metaphor, not forgetting the fact that fiction constitutes one of the sources that ethnologists and specialists of cultural studies use in their researches. So, in one case, the works of fiction are helpful in the analysis of a ritual, while in the other case they help to determine the world outlook or the creative skills of the author. Both forms of a fiction analysis possess their approved methods.

The dissertation provides an analysis of two mythoritual models: human sacrifice with strives for power, and the way these models function in the classical literature. In order to corroborate the universality of the analyzed mythoritual models, I apply examples from the corresponding material that includes the samples of Georgian-Caucasian folklore and ethnographic material, and confirm that the cross-cultural correlation of this kind is admissible from the methodological view-point.

## **Chapter I. A Sacrifice**

This chapter is divided into five sub-chapters. The first two of them deal with the analysis of scientific theories about human sacrifice, but the analysis

does not imply the discussion on the so-called "history of the problem". My aim is to work out a correct methodological basis through the detailed analysis of the existing opinions. Bearing this in mind, I put the opinions I do not share in one sub-chapter. Since the names of the authors whose opinions I do not share, belong to many well-known outstanding scholars, I tried to present my own reasons of disagreement as regards particular cases or problems. The other sub-chapter is given to the theories that I considered in working out my personal approach and vision of the task.

### **Totemism and sacrifice**

The reason I presented the case in this aspect was prompted by the fact that for a long period, the so-called "totemic sacrifice" was considered an ancient form of a ritual sacrifice. Besides, other important issues are related to totemism, and they are duly reflected in the subsequent chapters and sub-chapters.

This sub-chapter examines the opinions of J. McLennan, J. Frazer, W. Robertson-Smith, S. Freud, E. Durkheim, B. Malinowsky, A. Radcliffe-Brown, A. Van-Gennep, E. Evans-Pritchard and others, on the issue of totemic sacrifice. One of the foremost popularizer of the totemic sacrifice, Sigmund Freud wrote in his "Totem and Taboo", that the killing, dismembering and eating of the father-totem, represents the central ritual of the first social organization. According to the researcher, a god is nothing else but a sublimated physical father; thus, the scene of totemic sacrifice must be interpreted as killing and sacrifice of the god.

Levi-Strauss' criticism of an idea of totemic sacrifice left nothing of the corresponding theory. Even more: he believes that totemism is rather an illusion than an existing phenomenon. With the flatness so much characteristic of him, and with the support of his strict structural logic, Levi-Strauss tries to convince us in the illusive qualities of the concept of totemism. In spite of the challenging opinions of the researcher, it is not easy to agree with him in many cases, but I certainly agree with the stance he proclaims as regards totemic sacrifice, because it is neither sacral, nor ritualistic.

The non-totemistic opinions on the custom of human sacrifice are discussed in the next sub-chapter.

### **Modern theories on offerings and sacrifice**

This chapter deals with the analysis of the opinions of M. Mauss, A. Hubert, R. Girard, W. Burkert, K. Meuli, J. Guepin, J. Bataille, P. Vidal-Naquet and others.

Scientific theories on sacrifice and offerings can be grouped according to several principles: 1. Religious – i.e. the theories that suggest that the phenomenon of sacrifice is implied in the basis and core of all religions. For their part, those theories constitute two sub-groups, totemic and cosmologic. 2. Social – i.e. the theories that consider sacrifice a social phenomenon, and correspondingly, they represent religion as the matter derived from – and by – the social needs. The researchers who emphasize the "religious" concept, are also called the evolutionists. To this group belong K. Meuli, W. Burkert, J. Guepin – and all of them are specialists in history of religion. J. Bataille and R. Girard, although not belonging to the "classicists", still studied the ritual of sacrifice. E. Durkheim and S. Freud are also attributed to this group. The evolutionists and structuralists oppose each other on a number of decisive issues, and the problem of the function of a ritual in drama is one of those. These two fundamental trends of anthropology develop a similar opinion on some particular matters; precisely, both trends accentuate their opinion on a ritual as a means to "perceive" and "assist". Yet, Burkert and Girard believe that the wrath that accompanies the process, works out in society immunity against aggression. As for the structuralists, they believe that the sacrifice is a means to determine what should be "expelled" from a civilized society. These theories also differ in their conclusions and their interpretations concerning a psychological aspect of the ritual of a sacrifice.

The structuralists study an issue of sacrifice as a system. The researchers of classical literature, who apply the structuralistic method in their works, consider the sacrifice phenomenon in the context of the epoch of classical Greece. The evolutionists give great importance to the problem of the origin of this ritual with its dynamics, forms and diversity – together with the analysis of methods and means that a ritualized sacrifice implies. The evolutionists mostly underline the element – and nature of violence in the fact of sacrifice, along with the psychological effect it bears on the participants of the ritual. The structuralists believe that a religious phenomenon cannot be studied apart from the social and material life, and they also believe that the aggression that was in the behavior of a Paleolithic hunter or a Neolithic "farmer" is fundamentally different from the aggression displayed by humans of the classical Greece epoch.

The theme of theories and schools opposition is inexhaustible. And in a few cases we find it difficult to ascribe some scientist to a particular trend – M. Eliade for instance. Neither did I plan to make the theoretical aspects of a sacrifice the matter for a scientific analysis; what I certainly planned to do, was to develop my own conceptual view and vision of the case and problem. The study of works in anthropology and literary criticism made it clear that the research process demands the use of all positive conclusions and postulates.

Comparing the scientific opinions, we may assume that the essence of a sacrifice, and its function and purpose, are universal. Correspondingly, the way the sacrifice mythoritual models function from ancient times till present makes a colorful scene of typological similarity. A human sacrifice with the dismembering of a victim represents an archaic form of mythoritual that has passed a complex way from the sacral to the profane.

Concerning the method of research, I am guided by W. Burkert's conception according to which the sacrifice ritual originated from the ritual of hunting. In other words, both rituals were conceived and originated in a hunting society. I also share R. Girard's and W. Burkert's stance concerning a universal nature of aggression and violence. In a certain sense, an idea of "a scapegoat" can be certainly discerned in the sacrifice rituals, and we cannot leave this aspect without attention. I also find admissible Levi-Strauss' opinion concerning the principle of opposition: all simple mental operations, and especially, structures, are based on the said principle. The existence and functioning of a sacrifice ritual are ensured by the constant interchangeability of death and life as the members of opposition. By the use of mental operators (symbols), the structures create a network of mutually transitional correspondences thus providing a basis for the metaphoric feature of mythoritual models.

The initial and sacral aim of a sacrifice is to retain the cosmic balance, and my position in this context derives from M. Eliade.

After the analysis of the sacrifice theories, I singled out several problems that contribute to the theoretical part of the dissertation:

### **Archeological and ethnological aspect of a sacrifice ritual**

According to the data provided by archaeological excavations, the practice of human sacrifice started (and became more and more intensive) at the dawn of civilization, when a human society entered the stage of industrial farming.

The history of humankind, and particularly, the archaic period, which is related to the origin of homo sapiens and, correspondingly, of primitive rituals, should be studied only with regard to the analysis of the archaeological material from the area identified as the location of ancient civilization. Considering this principle and the archeological data, we face the following scene: due to the demographic explosions and geocosmic catastrophes, the tribes of proto-Sumerian and Sumerian origin move from Asia Minor to the Black Sea north littoral. They bring along their culture, and certainly, their religious views and ideas as well. On the threshold of the IV and the III millennia, the unity of the emerging Arian tribes embraces territories from the state of Arat (i.e. the territory the Front Trans-Dniestr and Trans-Dniestr regions) Tripolye, the Azov Sea, and the Kuro-Arax rivers including Asia Minor. Correspondingly,

dingly, the reconstruction of the Sumer-Arat contacts creates the Azov-Black Sea strip where a particular ethnic culture developed the Circum-Pont zone by linking the Lower Trans-Dniestr region with Anatolia and Mesopotamia. This unified entity included the Caucasian population, which is proved by the resemblance of the Mtkvari-Arax culture with the culture of Mesopotamia. The archeological excavations in Dmanisi clearly demonstrated an exceptional role of Georgia in view of not only the cultural zone of Asia and Europe, but generally – from point of view of reconstruction of the primary steps of humanity in general.

The archeological material of the above-mentioned territory revealed that human sacrifice was widespread everywhere, and this was proved by the parts of dismembered human bodies found in burial places – including the decapitated skeletons and bones lacking marrow (this implies an entire bone system, beginning by the vertebrae and ending with a variety of slender bones). Various parts of the sacrificed human bodies appeared to be buried in different graves; not only the remains were found that prove the facts of human sacrifice, but relevant records have been also discovered. As it is revealed, there existed various forms of sacrifice and the scientists differ in their opinions concerning the issue of dismembered bodies. Basically, they tend to attribute that custom to a cosmological perception of the universe, and the prevailing opinion favors the idea that the dismembering had a direct analogue with primeval human being (the Purusha type). A number of well-known scientists link the custom with the agricultural rituals.

Thus, the material based on archeological discoveries, proves that from the ancient times the human sacrifice existed among peoples who inhabited the basins and territory of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Apparently, the concept of sacrifice was conceived as a part of religious cults.

The study of this issue is inconceivable without a proper attention to the writings of Greek and Roman historians: Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, Pausanias, Diodorus, Plutarch, Hyginus and others. The material accumulated in this writings cannot be overestimated and without it any ritual can be considered only a scrap of information out of some sensible context.

Only on the basis of that material we may discuss the function and significance of a sacrifice in ancient communities: thus, we understand that the process of sacrifice was a repetition of the initial mythoritual dedicated to creation of the universe, and it helped people to establish a contact with transcendental forces, i.e. gods. The offerings and sacrifice helped people to protect and renovate order in the universe. The beginning of the ritual of sacrifice is connected with the beginning of the history of mankind. On the stage when religion was still not isolated into an independent sphere of human intellectual activity and represented just an indivisible part of human life, any offering to



an idol or god that could "help" in struggle for existence, was conceived concretely, in a material way and implied "food" that was an indispensable present to gods in order to invite their power and favor.

The ancient civilization produced a model of victim – a kind of impaired god who was killed for the subsequent resurrection. With different names that god (or a male semi-god) is known: in Sumerian – Anu, Dummuuz, Enlil; in Greece – Apollo, Dionysus, Heracles, Zeus; in Babel – Marduk, in Phoenicia – Melkart, in Syria – Tammuz. All traditional paganistic religions repeat the model of the suffered male god, whereas in the earlier religions the function of a priest entitled to make a sacrifice, was attributed to female god who was supposed to be either mother, or sister or wife of a male-god. This god was perceived as indivisible, unified and active primordial Universe, i.e. chaos, capable to excrete from its head a part (male, by all means), only to destroy it after some period. This first act of sacrifice was transformed into a model that implies the provision of the new order of universe and its permanent rhythm.

### **Place and accessories of a sacrifice**

This section includes the information on the rules of the sacrifice ritual, and the accessories the act does imply.

There is an opinion that the Greek centers of cult and ritual like Delphi, Elephsine and others repeat the model known as a so-called "Interior House" in Sumer-Babel and Assyria, and also the "South-East Corner of a House" – in Etruscan. The "Interior House" topography was strictly orientated to the sides of the world, while the space was divided into structural parts. The place of supreme sacredness in the complex was Kum, which was a place where the key ritual of death's transgression into life took place. The sacred house strictly defined the principle of distributing objects and food, along with the types of material and herbs offerings.

Another point discussed in this section concerns the altar and the order of ritual accessories of a sacrifice.

### **Mythoritual of hunting**

The majority of scientists believe that the oldest form of the mythoritual is the ritual of hunting, which was explained before from the aspect of totemistic approach to the case.

The prevailing part of the primitive society had passed and experienced the so-called hunting stage. The corresponding types of those communities gave birth to the special attitude to the prey and the hunting process, which transformed into a kind of a particular code of hunters, called by a few scho-

lars "a hunting form of primitive religion", or a cult of prey and their masters – as some other scholars prefer to consider the case. The magic rituals represent the axis of this cult. This mythoritual model is based on three factors: 1. Animals are like humans. 2. Every creature has its master who is the only one entitled to help a hunter in his hunting process, which is why a hunter always tries to please that master; 3. Animals are capable of revival after they are killed.

It is acknowledged that the model of a beast, killed and revived, and its master – reflects a sacral cosmologic (i.e. the most ancient) ritual of sacrifice. The myths of that category that deal with killed and revived animals and humans can be conditionally unified in a "marked" cycle. Remarkably, the legends and stories of that kind invariably mention the same detail – that in the process of revival, the hero – whether a man or an animal – always lacks a bone (mostly, a shoulder blade), and that their protective master-god substitutes for the missing part something (mostly by a wooden piece, or some other animal's bone) which becomes the mark the revived creature has to live with in the remaining part of its life.

I agree with W. Burkert's and K. Meuli's opinion that the Pelopides myth represents a possible version of some hunting mythoritual model, and the structural analysis of this mythoritual is represented in the first section of the third chapter.

### **The Myth of Pelopides and Classic Literature**

The myth: Tantalus, son of Zeus slaughtered his son Pelops with his own hand and treated the gods with his meat at dinner. Goddess Demeter ate unaware the boy's shoulder piece. Enraged by the deed of Tantalus, the gods punished him, revived Pelops and substituted the piece of ivory for the missing shoulder blade, which gave a start to the fact that the Pelopides are never left without that mark.

Atreus and Thyestes – sons of Pelops, kill then Chrysippus, their half-brother; then Atreus kills Thyestes' sons and treats Thyestes, their father, with his sons' meat.

Aegisthus, son of Thyestes, kills Atreus.

The wives of Menelaus and Agamemnon, who are the sons of Atreus, cause troubles to their husbands. Helen, Menelaus' wife, goes to Troy with Paris, and Clytemnestra murders her husband who has just returned from Troy and is taking a bath (in another version – during the dinner), and dismembers the body. This is her revenge on Agamemnon who sacrificed their daughter Iphigeneia.

Orestes, Agamemnon's son revenges his father's death and kills Clytemnestra, his own mother.

As we see, here are the three versions of the myth similar in their structure, but represented according to the principle of genealogy. All the cases give a picture of close relations and relatives who kill and dismember their child, niece, uncle and husband. The first curve of this mythological spiral clearly displays a mythologem of eating a human being and his subsequent revival (the analogue with the hunted and revived prey is obvious). The Pelops myth, derived from the hunting mythoritual, makes a source for another myth that reflects a different world outlook. The successive levels of Pelopides myth provide several repetitions of the fact that caused the punishment of Tantalus – i.e. of a human being killed; even more – in the Thyestes-Atreus episode, a person is not only killed but eaten, too. The element of cannibalism requires an additional explanation by all means. The said element is not an infrequent motif in a number of contexts: in cosmogonic myths – Cronus devours his own children; and in astral ones, the sun and the moon eat their children, i.e. the stars. Several forms of a ritual cannibalism were also known: e.g. The body of a victim was always dismembered and eaten in the act of sacrifice (in the rituals of the "King of woods" and "Saint king" type). According to the terms of "attractive imagism", the cannibal absorbs the qualities and power of the eaten victim. The consumed parts of the victim ensure the mastery of the one who ate the parts – over the soul of the sacrificed victim. In various myths of many cultures we meet the relevant elements like drinking the enemy's blood, and eating his eyes or heart; a "metaphoric" cannibalism can be traced in shamanistic rituals as well.

### **Myth structure**

The classical historiography and literature describe various forms of human sacrifice, and in that sense the Pelopides myth occupies a special place. As I have already mentioned, every generation of that family harbors some fact of appalling crime and murder, and the murdered and the murderers are close relations (blood relationship is prevailing). I tend to consider that the Pelopides "clan murders" must be viewed as the facts of ritual sacrifice. To prove my stance, I present the myth structure that implies the decomposing of all the protagonists' "stories" into mythologems, with the subsequent comparison of the latter between one another. The focal symbols that are revealed in the process of the said comparison create in turn a chain of correspondences that are characteristic to that family.

I use the same sub-chapter for a study of the "myth geography" of Pelopides and the issue of the correspondences of mythological stories in time.

Tantalus and Pelops belong to Asia Minor; Pelops then moves to the southern Greece, marries the daughter of the local king and settles there. Pelops and his numerous offspring are scattered around the whole Greece – to the point that their name determined the naming of the peninsula – Peloponnesus. If we follow the logic of myth-creation, then Pelops must be the first dismembered and revived person (at least, in Greek myths), and therefore, he must be the founder of their ritual model. The point is that according to the "mythological timing", Tantalus kills and dismembers Pelops on the stage when divine and human disjoint and separate, and the time comes when rituals become defined and developed. A possible interpretation comes to mind, that the mythologem of a ritual human dismembering which is underlined at all points, conceives an idea that the implemented ritual of regeneration is connected with Asian Pelops and his descendants.

Pelops comes to Greece after the Phoenician Cadmus, who had founded Thebes in Beotia before. Pelops is Laius's contemporary, and it was Pelops who maledicted Laius. Both myth cycles accentuate the factor of the family curse, the source of which goes back to the cases of incest, perjury and insidious killings.

We meet the instances of a ritual sacrifice in the Argonauts (Apsyrtus, Pelias, sacrifice of Medea's children) and Thebes cycle. Yet, we must point out here the following: in the Theban cycle we deal with "sparagmos", i.e. a special form of a ritual dismemberment, related to the cult of Dionysus and other orgiastic cults.

### **Transformation of the Pelopides myth in fiction**

Various episodes and characters of the Pelopides myth were rather popular in Greek and Roman literature – in epic literature, lyrical poetry and drama; the latter in particular, because the dramacritics share the opinion that a sacrifice metaphor occupies a special place and has a special meaning. According to W. Burkert, a tragedy is derived essentially from a sacrifice scenario, and its role can be interpreted as a therapeutic conception of a sacrificed death, drawn to the public in the form of a drama. J. Guepin believes that the tragedy is an accomplished ritual of a sacrifice, while the protagonist of a tragedy is a victim, a scapegoat, both a culprit and a saint, who is killed and banished for the good of society. H. Foley believes that a Greek tragedy does not use ritual and sacrifice as a standard that is applied to the concept of social unity or discord; H. Foley gives to the concept of ritual and sacrifice the function of the cultural system that can determine the relations among gods, human beings and animals. Greek playwrights consciously put forward the episodes that reflect violence in the ritual of sacrifice. A multifaceted analysis of Old Greek literature shows that Greek poets and philosophers view

their own religion as a unified system of ideas, symbols and rituals, that depicts and enforces a social structure.

The dramatists in Greece had always faced one problem: the opposition between the rationalism of prose arguments – and irrationalism of myth, poetry and ritual. This controversy can be found in the works of Aeschylus, while for Euripides it transformed into a serious problem: unlike the way "deaths" are reflected in the lyrics of the chorus, in Greek tragedies they are usually metaphorized as a sacrifice – which explains the reason why those "deaths" are named in terms *θυσία, σφάγια* – that are characteristic of the sacrifice ritual.

The following step in the work is aimed at discussing the Greek and Roman works where the characters are the representatives of the Pelopides family. Here I underline that the analysis follows the sole cardinal line – the artistic reflection of sacrifice in the context of ritual transformation.

### **The story of Pelops**

The mythic history of dismembered and sacrificed heroes begins with Pelops whose artistic image we find in the I Olympic ode of Pindar. To this ode are dedicated several interpretations and research works. The aspects that present a particular interest for our study are discussed in the articles by R. Griffith and Chrissher. According to Griffith, Pindar utilized the story of Pelops as a paradigm for the victory in a chariot race. The poet suggests an interesting way of modelling the myth: the story of Pelops should be taken as applied to the Demeter-Kore myth that was the most popular in the homeland of Hieron (the winner of the Olympic Games to whom Pindar dedicated his ode). The researcher believes that Pindar utilized the Demeter myth as a hippogramme (this term was introduced by Griffith himself, as a term that implies a system of signs, possibly as rich and spacious as the lexical text). The Greek myth presents Kore (Persephone) as the most popular character who returned from Hades. This kind of parallel once again supports the idea of the tie that exists between this artistic image and an ancient ritual. Besides, Pindar provides his own interpretation of the Pelops myth – and also explains his logic.

We can find a tragedy "Oinomayos" among the works of Sophocles that reached the present times in several fragments only. W. Calder tried to restore this tragedy, and for his endeavor he used also the bas-relief scenes of the Zeus temple fronton in Olympia (that reached modern times in the form that Pausanias described). It goes without saying that these fragments add nothing to the study. Unfortunately, the creative writing dedicated to the name and deeds of Pelops did not reach the present time and our contemporaries. So, we fail to discuss the literary qualities and images of Tantalus, Pelops and Oinomayos.

### Thyestes

The tragic fate of Thyestes evoke the interest of many writers in the classical period, but the complete text that reached the modern period belongs to Seneca's tragedy. We shall not find any novelties in the plot of the myth, but Seneca succeeds in disclosing a few interesting aspects. One of the characters of Seneca's "Thyestes" is Tantalus' ghost. The author applies this "trick" to illustrate a close link between the past and the present – the fact that makes the interconnection of crimes in the family more obvious. The chorus part of the play chants its wish as regards the descendants – not to exceed their ancestors in evil deeds. The tragedy makes a swift retrospective of all crimes done by Tantalus and Pelops: their falsehood, betrayal, perjury and murder. Then follows the specter of the evil deeds done by the grandchildren of Tantalus – Thyestes and Atreus. The brothers failed to divide the power among themselves and what followed their discord were adultery, incest and their incessant drive for revenge, which made the terrible enemies out of the brothers.

The tragedy depicts in details the story of Atreus who sacrificed Thyestes' sons. The detailed description of the ritual of sacrifice – the way it is described by Seneca, is hardly found in the writings of mythographers. I pay attention to the particular detail that concerns the location of the sacrifice: the ritual is carried out not in some temple or nearby, but in the forest, under a sacred oak, in the vicinity of a sacred cave. The ritual described by Seneca describes a much older epoch of paganism than it is reflected in Old Greek drama. One can allow a fact that the sacrifice ritual depicted in "Thyestes" goes down to the roots of the Latino-Italic or even Etruscan period. The way Atreus sacrificed Thyestes' children corresponds to the norm that was followed during the sacrifice of animals, i.e. flour, salt, wine and knife was used, and the sacrifice chanting and prayer accompanied the process. Atreus cut one boy's throat, and cut the other's head off. After that he dismembered the boys' bodies, but put the heads and extremities apart. As for the flesh of remaining parts, some part of the meat he boiled and the other – roasted. The detail that states the smoke of the offering did not reach the heaven signifies the gods' rejection of that sacrifice. We must also note that the god to whom Atreus "addressed" his sacrifice, is nameless. The place where the sacrifice took place is haunted by the souls of the dead, that part of the wood is always clad in darkness and the sound of Hecate's dogs barking never ceases.

This ritual of sacrifice could be taken as a tragedy only in if the author succeeded to describe the *suffering* of the heroes; I underline the word *suffering* to point out it was considered a particular term in the classical poetics. The critics believe that even the insignificant characters of Seneca's tragedy are *suffering* while experiencing anger and wrath. The basic motif of the deed

that Atreus and Thyestes perpetrated, was vengeance and yearning for power. Atreus' all attempts to ennoble his crime by presenting the murder case and his vengeance as a sacrifice are futile and the essence of his deed is clarified. It can be deduced that in Seneca's "Thyestes" a sacrifice metaphor plays its role of a sign and a signal: the vengeance disguised under the mask of a sacrifice grievously affects a society and causes its destruction.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the well-known philosopher and writer of I c. A.D., is considered the founder of a new style which he introduced in Roman literature. The critics who dedicate special research work to Seneca's writings believe that the connection between his literary works and treatises is definite and clear. Even more: according to the critics, Seneca viewed a tragedy as the means to reach the human perception *through feelings* and render in this way what he tried to convey through his treatises and other writings; at any rate, his logic was obvious – he believed that words of poetry have an easier and quicker access to human hearts than philosophy.

### **Δική and τιμή the way Aeschylus saw it**

The further discussion deals with the episodes related to Agamemnon's family. Since Aeschylus' trilogy describes the issue more consistently than other sources, I consider some matters that are acknowledged by the scientists helpful – particularly those that represent the playwright's attitude to the issues of faith and public order; it goes without saying that a writer's world outlook determines the direction which an artist chooses in his work of art to interpret a traditional tale.

The general picture of the case proves that the concepts of δική and τιμή played an important role in understanding the world outlook of Aeschylus, who considered the both terms the foundation and basis of a democratic state. Unlike Homer and Hesiod, Aeschylus believes that "δική" must be provided and ensured not by the "the person currently in charge", but by the law, court of justice and religious cult. Therefore, both law and religious faith are considered the basis of Aeschylus' Weltanschauung. The major part of critics consider Aeschylus the most religious writer among Greek tragedians – this I believe is very important for the analytical study rendered in this work; as for the views of Sophocles and Euripides, I will touch them while discussing a few particular topics in the course of analysis.

### **Sacrifice of Iphigeneia**

Euripides touches the problem of human sacrifice in several tragedies: "Heraclids" (Polyxena), "Erechtheus" (daughters of Erechtheus, "Phoenician

women" (Menoceus), "Iphigeneia in Aulis" (Iphigeneia), and "Iphigeneia among the Taurians". The problem of sacrifice (or a pseudo-sacrifice) is mentioned in Euripides's other tragedies, too, which means that a human sacrifice makes a significant element of the plot of his tragedies. This problem is discussed and reflected in a number of articles and researches. I comment and discuss all the works that I were available and I always considered and compared the opinions of the critics with those of mine.

The problem of sacrifice of Iphigeneia makes one of the key issues of the Pelopides myth – not only within the context of the dynamics of the myth development, but also conceptually.

The mythological tradition presents the story as follows: the Goddess Artemis demands from Agamemnon to sacrifice Iphigeneia, which he does, and after that the Greek fleet proceeds to Troy. Euripides transformed the sacrifice of Iphigeneia into a heroic deed, applying to the myth a new direction – and in doing so, turned the myth back to its original model; as a result of that, the act of Iphigeneia's sacrifice accumulated a decisive function for the great historical and victorious cause (the sacrifice of Iphigeneia was the only term that ensured the Greeks' arrival to Troy).

Euripides demonstrates how a sacrifice ritual turns into self-sacrifice. On the other hand, this self-sacrifice is interpreted in many ways: for the Greek army it is heroic, for a few others – it is a cold-blooded murder and violence that lacks any purpose (this is the way Clytemnestra views it). An ambivalent attitude to the case of Iphigeneia sacrifice can be discerned in the trilogy of Aeschylus as well. Euripides uses his skills and mastery to lead his reader step by step – out of the labyrinth of his feelings. The finale of the tragedy shows a total admiration at the role of Iphigeneia, but the horrible notion of war strikes a doubt – was a ten-year long nightmare worth of that at all?

I provide a detailed analysis of the rituals that are reflected in the tragedy, including the preparation for the sacrifice, the terms and the accessories that the ritual requires to know and understand. I also discuss in this section the widely known motif of a bride-to-be sacrifice. According to Euripides, the location of the sacrifice scene is a sacred meadow of goddess Artemis. According to the Old Greek tradition, this element is associated with the concept of virginity and the archetypal image of Persephone who was abducted by Hades when she was picking flowers on the meadow. Transforming the scene into the language of symbols, the interpretation that follows is this: the abduction of Persephone by the God of Underworld signifies death. Therefore, Iphigeneia becomes associated with the myth about Persephone, which represents one of the central mythoritual models of the past. The other metaphor – that of the wedding-and-death is also related to the initiation ritual, and in this context the Clytemnestra-Iphigeneia pair can be interpreted as a profane model of Demetre-Kore. Infuriated Clytemnestra rejects her



marriage with Agamemnon. Sacrificing Iphigeneia, Agamemnon renovates Clytemnestra's initial fury that was caused by his first crime – when he killed Clytemnestra's first husband and son. Marriage and sacrifice, the two elements regarded as the principal means to unite people and ensure the well-being of a community are transformed in Euripides's drama into the means of falseness and lies, and the playwright's irony is caused by the fact that the ritual does not fulfill the function it was supposed to serve right from the start.

Sacrificed Iphigeneia turns up to be the only member of Agamemnon's doomed family who spent her life unmarred by any crime (blame or guilt); Iphigeneia also introduces the theme of redemption and the sin of Orestes who killed his mother seems washed-off somehow; this brings us to the conclusion that Iphigeneia makes the starting point of the chain of the bloody sacrifice in Agamemnon's family, and she is the one who closes the last link of that chain.

The opinions expressed by literary critics as regards the metaphor conveyed which Iphigeneia's sacrifice conveys, differ, and as a matter of fact, are often contradictory. Some critics consider her an exalted virgin obsessed by some mania, the others believe she is either a selfless heroine or a maiden in love; there is a group of critics who consider her a war instigator – but in any case, the diversity of these opinions point to the multiformity of symbolic images of myths.

### **Clytemnestra and Agamemnon**

Clytemnestra knows the way the ritual should be performed, and she can identify the right way from the wrong one. She believes Agamemnon's "way and manner" of sacrificing Iphigeneia was wrong. The deed of Atreidae could be correct only in case the sacrifice would do some good to the country or to the people, but Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigeneia to liberate a dissolute woman. Thus, Clytemnestra sees Agamemnon as the murderer responsible for the crime, and she decides to sacrifice Agamemnon.

A sacrifice can be considered properly done only in case all the details of the ritual are strictly observed – as the case was reflected in Aeschylus' "Agamemnon", the play that is acknowledged classical drama of sacrifice. I offer in my work the analysis of its text including not only the details of the dialogue but also Clytemnestra's gestures and even the passages she leaves unanswered and without response. When studying the critical material dedicated to this problem, I paid attention to a particular aspect that proved to be left unnoticed or unconsidered: after killing Agamemnon, Clytemnestra dismembers his body – the act that Aeschylus and Sophocles call *μασχαλίζω* – a term that signifies putting the cut-off hands and feet under the armpits of the

victim's dead body. Only these two authors use the verb in these very fragments. Remarkably, the tradition of cutting extremities is not often mentioned in Greek myths; however, it is easily noticeable in several traditions.

The literary and historical sources prove that the custom of dismembering a killed enemy, cutting off his head and extremities was a widely spread custom. In some cases the act was considered a sacrifice, but in other cases – a punishment. A close look at the Greek myths helps to distinguish two models of a ritual dismemberment. The first one includes the plots that resemble the Pelopides myth – the latter, as stated above, represents an invariant of a mythoritual. A human sacrifice in that category of myths is motivated, and the ritual is provided with certain accessories. The other model called "sparagmos" refers to the cases when a victim falls prey and is brutally torn by infuriated enemy – certainly without any preparatory steps including the accessories of the ritual. The bulk of the rituals related to sparagmos belong mostly to the legends of the Theban cycle. The most significant sample of that model is Dionysus-Zagreus. In spite of the fact that, in terms of a ritual, there is a considerable difference between these two forms, still the participants of the both forms behave in the same way: they keep the dismembered parts (either human or animal). Those parts and their functions are discussed in the following section.

According to ancient beliefs, the primeval man was regarded as a cosmic body, i.e. an anthropomorphized model of the universe. He was the one who used his own parts to create the universe as well as the objects essential for human existence and qualified as primeval. During the collapse of the cosmic body the primary oppositions were conceived: right-left, upper-lower; the same world outlook suggests the relations between micro and macrocosm, and their connection is empowered by the ritual of sacrifice.

Parts of the primeval man's body, scattered in the whole world (or hidden in one of the strata-worlds) generate an amazing power that increases fertility. The model of the primeval human dismemberment, which includes dying (separation of parts) and conception of a new life, is universal for many nations in the world. The tradition of dismembering the victim at the sacrifice ritual developed after the model of the primeval human. All parts of the dismembered were considered sacred. Still, some parts among them can be identified as the "powerful" ones that "harbor". According to R. Onianis' observation, (which is the spirit dispersed at the instant of a person's death), is spread in the lungs and breast, in the head and brain, spinal column (marrow), genitals (in fluid) and knees (membrane fluid). The vertical position and the mutual connection of these organs make up a unified axis; so, it is clear why various myths and rituals of different nations attribute a particular function to the head: it represents life, or a place where life is "harbored and located". This particular belief became the grounds for the custom of keeping

a cut-off head. If one admits Onianis' supposition, one can find an answer to the question about the reason of keeping cut-off hands. Some admit that a human body makes a repetition of the cosmic model, and in this sense, a human body personifies the macrocosm, which in its turn implies the intersection of two planes – horizontal and vertical.

This intersection represents a model of the cosmic and human structure. For the proper function and stimulation of "psyche" another organ is needed, which is hands. The hands make a horizontal plane. When tuned to the language of symbols, a head being an order-making element and hands playing an executive part they acquire an equal significance. Special attention is given to a hand, as a function of a symbol that plays a corresponding role in various cultures. It can finally be deduced that in the analyzed ritual the "powerful" parts of the body have the function similar to those of the primeval objects. The power of the former owner of those parts (heads and hands) accumulates with their subsequent possessor. Thus, the human parts transformed into the category of sacred objects, acquire an additional function of an amulet, and also become the proof of the owner' bravery.

The following sub-chapter describes the state of souls of the dismembered people in their after-life, and the rituals that aim to propitiate them.

### **Clytemnestra and Orestes**

After Agamemnon was killed, the only problem that Clytemnestra thinks and worries about is Orestes. When she is informed of the death of Orestes she says: "I cherished hope to hold a wonderful bacchian festivity and enlist him [Orestes] on his homecoming" (Aesh. Cho. 698-9). These words of the mother, reacting to the news of her son's death, to say the least, sound a bit out-of-place. The analysis of the passage shows that a youth could enjoy the civil rights to the full i.e. could be included in the list of demi and become *αἰνήρ* – i.e. a man – after he reached 18. According to classical sources and calculations of researches, Orestes should have been 18 after he returned to Argos. Putting these details together, Clytemnestra's words acquire a specific meaning, and they signify that she intended to hold the splendid festival of Bacchus on Orestes' return, and enlist him with the citizens after the initiation, i.e. after he became "*αἰνήρ*". Evidently, Clytemnestra was authorized to perform the ritual of initiation. If everything developed in the course she envisaged, i.e. Orestes obeyed her will, the conflict between the mother and her son would cease, Clytemnestra would feel released from the fear of vengeance. That was the only way to neutralize the confrontation.

### **Orestes and Tindareus**

Greek playwrights interpret the murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes in different ways. According to Aeschylus, the crime of Orestes was an indispensable constituent part of the general plan. Sophocles believed it was needed for the restoration of the cosmic order. As for Euripides, he describes the pitilessness and violence of the crime and the perpetrators. According to one approach, Euripides shows in his "Orestes" a deheroization of the myth; generally, the accentuation of the anti-heroic tendencies is characteristic of Euripides, Orestes being a perfect example of the matter. Apart from this, the playwright introduces Tindareus, a character who is not found in the tragedies by other authors. Among his noteworthy speeches are his ideas over Clytemnestra's death and the one against murders committed for the sake of vengeance.

### **Purification of Orestes**

As we have already mentioned, Aeschylus' "Oresteia" describes a complete ritual of a sacrifice, and the third part of the trilogy, "Eumenides", discusses the forms and means of purification. With regard to Orestes, this particular point is considered one of the most controversial and obscure episodes of the trilogy despite the interest it provokes among a number of researchers. The book presents an extensive analysis on the forms and means of the ritual.

The analysis of the Pelopides myth reveals the constant driving force of the members of that family – lust for power. They achieve power at the expense of a definite price: they either sacrifice someone (Tantalus–Pelops, Pelops–Myrtles, Atreus–Thyestes' son, Agamemnon–Iphigeneia), or are themselves sacrificed. A deeper insight into the affair shows that they are both the victims of a sacrifice, and the performers of the ritual – or, to be more precise, they start with making a sacrifice, but end with being the victim of the process. Thus, the one who carries out a sacrifice, becomes a potential victim, which means that a victim = the performer of a sacrifice. Correspondingly, there is every ground to suppose that Agamemnon himself is a victim sacrificed according to the standards and norms of the ritual. The analysis of the sources either had to confirm or deny this opinion but I believe I presented convincingly the idea about Agamemnon being a victim and sacrificed in accordance with the ritual norms. However, the idea of a sacrifice transformed into a literary metaphor proved unacceptable for the Greek playwrights; anyway, I have to collect and unite all my arguments.

It is acknowledged that the works of a genius can be perceived on various levels – the fact that explains their perfection. When viewed from the angle of a mythoritual model, Aeschylus' "Oresteia" presents a clear picture of a ritual

sacrifice: the "Agamemnon" depicts Agamemnon's sacrifice, the "Choephoroi" – gratification of the sacrificed person's soul and a sacrifice of Clytemnestra (who carried out the sacrifice), the "Eumenides" show the way to evade further sacrifice and to stop the chain of revenge. I stressed a particular turn of this mythoritual spiral that concerns Agamemnon. A textual analysis of Aeschylus' and Sophocles' tragedies gives the same answer: Agamemnon was killed with all the rites and norms of the sacrifice ritual observed. I concentrated on the term *μασχαλίζω* which is specifically used to describe a ritual dismemberment. This detail that concerned Agamemnon's dismembered extremities I confronted with the material that other literary, historical and ethnological sources provide. I tried to prove that dismembering of a killed victim – cutting off his head or hands is a universal custom; to support my stance, I used the Georgian and Caucasian sources (a more detailed analysis of the matter is disclosed in the following chapter). My analysis proved that the cut-off head and extremities of a killed enemy were parts intended for a sacrifice – they had to be offered to gods, the same way as it was usually done with trophies like arms, weapons or ammunition that the people would hang at the entrance of a temple or a house, or on the monuments of gods. This means that parts of a body and weapons belong to a joint semantic line. Turning back to the theory of primeval objects, a hand indeed is a weapon, or – to put it better, a hand is a kind of weapon that prompted the creation of similar instruments of warfare and various trades. Using the language of rituals, a weapon must be viewed as a "prolonged" hand. This makes it obvious that the custom of cutting off a killed enemy's hand is connected with the ritual of sacrifice. But there is another point, too: the cut-off parts imply also a purifying and empowering function and ability which links them also with a so-called "ritual of transition". Thus, the dismembered body-parts "close" one ritual "to begin" another, that of repentance which in its turn – together with sacrifice, makes a constituent part of one mythoritual model.

People, who sacrifice other people, act on behalf of justice. They try to assure others of the righteousness of their deed, and what is more, they try to convince themselves of that, too. Their chief aim is to consider the murder they commit, is a sacrifice. The presented structural analysis of a ritual in the "Oresteia" reveals what a sacrifice metaphor depicts in a social context. The first fact that prompts the beginning of a whole chain of successive events is the messed-up wedding of Menelaus and Helen. The collapse of a family as an institution logically leads to Iphigeneia's sacrifice, which is followed by a luckless "marriage" of Agamemnon and Cassandra, and then Agamemnon's death by the hand of Clytemnestra. At this stage a political collapse begins and ends with tyranny. Power in the hands of a woman signals a political and theological crisis – the state that requires a prompt reaction and changes. The

restoration of Order begins with Orestes' step when he does not yield to self-deception and acts observing the right and proper rules. From his very first correct step (i.e. after he comes to his father's grave and makes a sacrifice), the gods help the characters and give them the right advice and direction. In the "Eumenides" gods appear on stage to restore ritual and control on violence within society – these two elements are tied to each other and the restoration of a ritual ensures the restoration of social order. The divine justice that is so grossly violated and defamed in the "Agamemnon" – is restored and revived in the "Eumenides". A ritual properly carried out ensures communication between two spheres, and this is the sole condition that guarantees the unity of gods and men. The structural analysis helps to understand the language and "ways" that a sacrifice applies in its dialogue with people, and suggests the method of decoding the ritual. In that case, if we consider a murderer a person who makes a sacrifice, that will put violence in a social and religious context. The point to consider is the following: a properly understood paganistic ritual makes a bridge that links all types of relationship, whether between sexes, or the one that introduces order in social and private life; a ritual unites past and present, myth and contemporary reality, various political systems and geographical points.

### **Rage**

Rage belongs to archaic universalisms and to the list of pairs of opposition, the category that implies the day-night, and death-life type groups. Likewise, wrath also has its opposition in calmness. The phenomenon of rage and wrath interested people since ancient times, and philosophers, physiologists and literary critics studied it. Since ancient times, the terrifying phenomenon of nature – like thunder, flood, draught and epidemic were traditionally viewed as expression of wrath of supernatural forces. Wrath and rage are characteristic of all divine forces, personified or not, which various nations and people believed in. Anyway, rage represents one of the major features of human character, and the stronger the hero is, the more devastating and powerful is his rage – and the proof of that can be found in a number of literary works or folklore of various countries and peoples of the world. Attributing rage to the case of sacrifice is another point, and the scientists differ in their opinions. Some of them believe that in the initial model of sacrifice (dismembering of Purusha, hunting rituals), there is no place for rage. There exists an opinion that the origin of sacrifice is related to rage (dismemberment of the Sumero-Babylonian androgenic god and the model of mother's wrath); however, the grounds to proclaim rage as an initial part of a sacrifice ritual are not sufficient.

I suggest a strict dividing line between the "planned" sacrifice ritual that is carried out without any symptom of wrath, self-sacrifice on the one hand, and on the other hand, the revenge ignited by rage (that follows the principle of blood for blood). A major part of modern researchers view a sacrifice as a ritual revenge. If rage is implied in the sacrifice, it affects and changes an initial concept of sacrifice. When a sacrifice is done on the grounds of revenge, the act should be attributed to a different socio-cultural phenomenon, and should be qualified as a murder under the disguise of sacrifice. This is the instance when those who make sacrifice, believe that their rage is justified and their revenge is motivated by desire to restore justice.

The controversies on this issue began from the classical period. The analysis of the literary material suggests two directions that can be called the lines of Aristotle and Seneca. Aristotle and his followers believed that rage is a characteristic quality of human character while Seneca considered the matter from the opposite angle and believed that rage is not an intrinsic quality of human nature; even more – he believed it was an ugly feeling that deserved to be fought and eliminated at the moment of its conception.

Along with the theoretical opinions that concern wrath, scholars also study classical myths, epic literature and drama where the rage is accentuated. This feeling is presented as a characteristic element of epic heroes. The "Iliad" is dedicated to Achilles' wrath, and the "Odyssey" ends with Odysseus's wrath. Wrath is given an amazing scale in tragedies; in the trilogy of Aeschylus the phenomenon of wrath and rage is personified in the Erinyes and Clytemnestra.

In my opinion, the "Eumenides" provide a metaphoric vision of the major issues that represents a conceptual position. I think that Aeschylus discovered an exact source of social misfortune, which is wrath and aggression. In his dramas, where the participants embrace gods and humans, the gods are grouped into two groups – the "new", i.e. those who belong to heaven and "inhabit" Olympus, and the "old", which represent the earthen and chthonic forces. In describing the Olympian gods, Aeschylus exceeded Hesiod, because in his "version" those gods epitomize noble morals, ethics and justice; they are liberated from the burden of their past and follow a different way and direction. Contrary to them, the "olds" accumulated all that is negative, together with the destructive malice of aggression.

The way the drama is developing suggests a traditional end. That could be possible in case Aeschylus represented the universe as a battle ground between the good and evil forces, when a man is left contemplating his choice. That kind of end, even interesting – would still make a conventional ending. But we are trying to show that Aeschylus addressed a far greater audience than that which his Athenian contemporaries could provide: his direct appeal

concerned an entire mankind. He succeeded in recreating the process of unification of the world that followed its prior division into the "polar" opposition. The central artistic metaphor of the said trilogy represents the transformation of angry, aggressive and bloodthirsty chthonic gods – into the kind Eumenides. Aeschylus believes rage and aggression are not inbred qualities; if the gods that personify rage and wrath, are capable of liberating themselves from wrath, what hinders people to follow the gods' example? Aeschylus ideal implied the human likeness to gods, who were supposed to provide examples of behavior. The "Eumenides" represents the greatest mystery of the transformation of evil into goodness, and of rage into calm. The gods promulgated a law that vetoed arbitrary revenge. That helped to break the link of the endless chain of the acts of vengeance that seemed unbreakable, and that led society to destruction. On the other hand, they also brought back a sacred meaning to a ritual of sacrifice. After a court session on the Areopagus nobody had right to play the revenge card in order to justify his personal anger and desire to revenge.

### **Left unburied**

This chapter deals with an archaic form of a sacrifice: leaving the victim unburied. Unlike the previous chapters, I make a parallel analyses that is based on the Greek and Georgian material, which I divided into two sub-chapters:

Killed enemy left unburied.

This particular motif is rather popular in Old Greek literature; in this regard, I consider works by Homer, Sophocles and Euripides; I provide parallels from Vazha-Pshavela's poems. According to the views established in Greek, Roman and Georgian communities, leaving a person unburied represented the strictest punishment. I could spare my attention as regards this matter – since the attitude of writers of all epochs and nations towards this custom is so similar, were it not for a particular detail: we have ancient tradition of attending the body of a deceased person. That includes cremation, burial and mummification. Yet, a number of researches reveal another form of "bidding farewell" to the dead – leaving the bodies unburied that made additional custom of "exposing" the body to the sun; thus, the process of devouring the corpse by animals and birds was considered a divine act.

I made a special study of various aspects of this custom, as well as the images of corpse-devouring creatures (both, birds and animals alike). The study led me to an interesting plot that I discovered in the folklore, and included in the following sub-chapter.

Legends on a man fallen from a height.



I based the study of this folklore version on a Georgian material because it perfectly reflects archaic forms of the ritual. In my opinion, the literary versions that correspond to the Georgian material are described in the Greek and Roman epic works, and the samples I studied belong to the stories of Elpenor (the "Odyssey"), Butes (the "Argonautica"), Mizenus and Palinurus (the "Aeneid").

The results of the study show that leaving a deceased person unburied represents an ancient form of burial, which prevailed in Anatolia, Greece, the Caucasus and also among many nations of the world. The custom was founded on the belief that a corpse must be saved from rotting and decomposition, in order to prepare the bones for a new life. Corpse-devouring creatures like birds and dogs perform the task of saving the body from decomposition; they are given equal rights in this ritual and represent zoomorphic hypostases of gods, since they implement his will.

At the later stage of the developing ideas that concern mythoritual, this custom took the form of punishment. Nevertheless, leaving an unburied body – even as a form of punishment, still retained its sacred quality, and that was the reason it was viewed as an exceptional and divine category of punishment – as it concerned an exceptional case and chosen person. The punished person was considered "in the hands" of a divinity, and was regarded as a sacrifice approved by a deity. The analysis of literary and folk material added more proofs to the opinion that the chaining of a person to a cliff, is also a form of capital punishment. I suppose, this is the right way to explain the reason corpses were left unattended in general: the act was initially conceived not as a punishment but a ritual founded on the conviction that through this very form (of saving a body from decomposition), the bones – an eternal substance – would acquire the potential for resurrection.

Although dogs and bird represent two zoomorphic hypostases of the same divinity, they in turn do confront each other. This idea is supported by the general logic of development that is found in material in various fields of folklore, ethnography and mythoritual symbolism. Dogs and birds represent a classical opposition of "upper" and "lower", "death-life", where a bird plays the role of resurrection and renaissance.

It should be noted that the protagonists of Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles – and certainly, Vazha Pshavela – have no idea of the fact that a corpse left unburied – as a treat to birds and animals – represents an archaic and sacred form of a burial. Now, how we are supposed to explain the instances of unburied bodies in the writings of the said writers? It is obvious that the initial meaning and essence of the ritual is forgotten – even in the epoch of Homer. I believe processes that characterized the paganistic culture of Greece should explain this. We point out in particular the Olympic world outlook that substi-

tuted for the pre-Olympian ideas. This process of substitution took a definite and visible form in all spheres of life of Old Greeks. Apparently, the ancient and former norm of burial died out and the chthonic period followed, and the ritual deprived of its function (without an element of sacredness), transformed into the fact of vandal behavior.

The authors of fiction (both Greek and Georgian) do not anymore remember the ritual roots of this custom, and the act itself that is viewed and interpreted as merely leaving a body (even that of an enemy) unburied, letting wild beasts and birds devour it – is a barbaric violation of a divine law; so, what we deal with, can be named a classical example of the abolition of a law.

## **Chapter II. Gaining Power**

Another mythoritual model represents the achievement of power, which – together with the struggle for power, pre-eminence and self-assertion; represent one of the most ancient models of mythoritual. A part of researches call this instance of spiritual experience of humanity shamanic. Some part of scientists does not use that term, although they study the same mental order. I shall not weigh the pros and cons of the term; instead, I would specify that I attribute to the term "shamanism" the ways and principles of thinking and of the world outlook pertinent to the pre-classical period. Shamanism represents an ancient system of ideas on a human being and universe that is founded on the inner experience and is developed ecstatically. This knowledge is universal for entire humanity. According to Mircha Eliade, shamanism represents an archaic practice of ecstasy, but at the same time it is also mysticism, magic and "religion" in a broader sense of the word. Since Eliade is an acknowledged specialist in this field; I have to provide an outline of his position and method of research. His basic concern dealt with the search of "a unified cosmic level" of the culture of mankind. So, after studying The European and Oriental cultures and comparing them, he worked out his following stance: "I used to find everywhere the same – what I called before a "cosmic religiousness". The role and priorities of symbols and images, worship of the earth and life, and belief that sacral is revealed in the fertility of the earth, and in the repetition characteristic of the cosmic order (M. Eliade, "Aspects of Myth", M. 2000:193). An archaic human being perceives himself indivisible from cosmos and cosmic rhythms – unlike a modern man who perceives himself within the context of history. This does not mean that one part excludes the other. An archaic human being represents a part of the cosmos, and cosmos = nature = deity / god (Ibid., p. 194). Eliade separates mythic time from its historical counterpart, i.e. historical time. The mythic, or "that" time (*illo tem-*

pore) represents time of the initially-to-be-done, primeval images, first objects, first acts; the time when the connection between the heavens and the earth was strong, but then the "paradise period" ended and humanity transformed into what it is now. Yet, the connection with heaven did not break once and for all. Through various means, and in a particular moment the return into the initial time was still possible. Persons empowered with a special force, those who various people call different names, realized the connection between the sky and the earth. Considering the similar type of their activities and functions, Eliade, along with other researchers who study the same problem, call them shamans (wizards, magicians). The esoteric and ecstatic rituals fulfilled by shamans, together with the relevant beliefs and ideas, are united in the term "shamanism". Animals, plants and objects that create a network of symbolic correspondences, play a special role in shamanism, and the proper understanding of myth is inconceivable without perceiving their unity.

Along with this indispensable methodological explanation, I provide charts and tables of shaman symbols that present a visible proof of a man's link with the cosmic world, and represent a man as an organic part of the universe. We can state that the psychosomatic studies of human beings were founded in the epoch of shamanism. According to the teachings of shamanism, a man is a bearer of two sources – of heaven and of the earth. The physical human body counts chakras (chokirs) that are united with the upper universe (the communication executed by stars), which ensures a creation of a unified cosmic body. Chakra is perceived as a funnel of spiral form that conducts energy-power. To every power-center of that type corresponds some creature – animal, bird or insect, which protect that center. This esoteric opinion of exceeding depth and complexity, gave the foundation for the idea of metamorphoses, which is so popular in myths and fiction.

When speaking about symbols we should note that a sign is not to be taken for a symbol but it is a part of that. On the other hand, a symbol represents a unity of a system of signs, which is unified by energy, i.e. power that generates a special ability of thinking and reasoning. The said system of signs embraces the digital ones, and those that represent sounds or colors. In its turn, each of those systems is extremely mystical. According to Jaspers, a symbol is essentially infinite, is multifaceted, undefined, and it cannot be diminished to one digit. Many scholars agree that a genuine symbol cannot be interpreted because what can be interpreted and explained, applying other notions, cannot be considered a symbol. What brings a symbol closer to perception is just remaining close to it and trying to penetrate its aureole and radiance; as a matter of fact, this type of perception becomes itself a part of the symbol. Contrary to that, the structuralists suggest their method of inter-

preting symbols, and C. Levi-Strauss' "the mythological" represents a remarkable sample of structural analysis.

The practice of shamanism pays attention to the opening of chakras, and a particular ritual accompanies each instance of that. When all chakras are opened, a man becomes a *condutt* and establishes a contact with the outer world and becomes analogous to the tree of universe. "A *condutt*" possesses power and represents a leader. A search of power and empowering, make one of the chief aims of shamanism.

The rituals that are directed at effective discovering of human abilities contain a ritual, which is known as a "power area" search ritual. Usually, the name of a "power area" was applied to a strip of land that distinguished for its qualities and difference from the environment. It was chosen not because of its picturesque location, but because of the feelings it evoked and the force it radiated. People generally looked for a powerful environment to dwell there and found the first towns.

Two mythoritual models follow this theoretical preamble;

### **Town founding**

This sub-chapter discusses the central cities of three mythic cycles: Theban, Trojan and Aian. The myths that describe the story of their foundation, I broke up into mythologems, and after comparing them to each other I worked out a general mythological model of the concept of the first-city foundation.

### **Marrying a princess**

When describing the way of achieving a royal power, the myths usually suggest marrying a princess. This model is widespread and is known as a popular traditional plot of fairy-tales in various nations and cultures. Yet, a closer intent look discovers a very strict ritual, which is behind the romantic story, particularly in the Greek versions of this type of "wife-hunting" mythoritual models. As it is known, the image of the "primal" myth determines the origin of a number of similar legends and myths, and the quantity and variety of those myths creates a mosaic that after a long period of comparisons, exclusions, and other methods, is brought down to a very limited tale, that can be called a model archetype after the Jungian term.

After splitting the myth into mythologems and studying image-symbols separately, we can deduce that:

The struggle for power at the stage of the society's matrilineal development was intensive and pitiless. That struggle implied the killing of the former ruler, which had to be a ritual killing, i.e. a sacrifice, indispensable to

ensure the further well being of the community. Ritual festivities that closed a turn of the mytho-ritual spiral accompanied the scene. The stubborn challengers of a supreme ruler were doomed for their luckless participation in those strict "circles of aspiration" – till the time a new world outlook and principles were established that can be named a "dynasty order and calm", although that calmness suggested other types of crimes, sins and complexities.

This issue of archaic mytho-ritual models brings forward the case of the power insignias of a ruler. The point is that even in case of a person who kills his rival and achieves power – he will not be acknowledged as a real ruler if the divine will is not determined. This is the reason, the symbolic signs of power have so much importance in myths and rituals – because they signify the gods' favor, and to show it, mythorituals use fetish animals, images of gods and other objects.

Animals:

The sacral animals of Cadmus' descendants, and correspondingly, their insignias are: cow, snake, lion, and sphinx.

Tantalus' descendants: cow, horse, golden-fleeced lamb.

Aetes' descendants: bull, snake, golden-fleeced ram

Objects:

Those that fall from the sky are viewed as especially sacred ones, like a wooden statue of goddess Athena – Paladion, and a statue of Aphrodite. The same attitude applies to the objects created by gods, or for some period in the past, belonged to gods – like Agamemnon's scepter; Peplos and necklace that gods presented to Harmonia on the day of her wedding.

Along with material values, prayer and damnation (for instance, of Myrtilles, Thyestes, Oedipus) plays a major role in the canonization of the king's rule, because even in the most primitive society there existed a particular code of behavior, maybe minimal but still obligatory for all the members of the society. An archaic mytho-ritual represents another instance and constituent part of that ancient "constitution".

### **Chapter III. Parallels in Georgian Literary and Folklore and Ethnographic Material**

This part of the book deals with the Georgian (in a few cases – Caucasian) material, relevant to the classical mythoritual models I analyzed in the first part. I believe the comparison of the Georgian sources of literary and ethnographic material – with that of the classical period of antiquity, is sure to suggest very interesting conclusions. At the same time, my search of the parallels does not signify that I am trying to reveal some typological or genetic likeness. The universal models of mythoritual to which I dedicate this work, can-

not not be squeezed down and limited by revealing particular cases of likeness; the universal models are indeed universal for all old nations. The only reason I give preference to Georgian material is simple: it is my native culture and I feel it certainly deeper and better. I was also careful to blend this part of the work organically with the general theme and reasoning. This also explains why I suggest considering each sub-chapter within the context discussed in the first part. Another reason, why I present the Georgian material separately, is that I tried to evade overloading the study with additional analytical material; so, I could save a reader interested mostly in classical themes, from considering the Georgian parallels.

Before proceeding, I want to add another methodological explanation that concerns the correctness of comparing the cultures and creative writings that are separated in – and by time, space, and way of thinking and other factors. The European critics and researches in the field of cultural anthropology have succeeded already in giving an important and definite answer: this type of research is possible and even desirable. Moreover, scholars who work in other fields use the results of cross-cultural studies. The method can not be responsible for the mistakes; they normally result from the inaccuracies in the course of studies.

The XX century Georgian literature shows an increased interest in mytho-ritual models. The writings of Grigol Robakidze, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Mikheil Javakhishvili, Niko Lortkipanidze and others provide interesting scenes and passages that describe the period of Georgian paganism, as well as myths and rituals of that epoch and later Christianity. The interest of those writers can be explained by several reasons: the period of their active writing prompted the use of metaphorical language, and in such case a myth "comes handy" as a model. Another reason is a search of the national roots. That drive was a natural reaction for the citizens, who craved to save their souls and enjoy self-assertion in the reality of an ugly and monochromatic political monster of the USSR. The European education of the above-mentioned writers explains the third reason. In the life of Europe, the XIX and XX cc were distinguished for an overwhelming tendency of "going back to myths and folklore". The period coincided with the skyrocketing popularity of Freud's theory of psychoanalyses and Nietzsche's appearance on the scene; so, the new trends in literature duly followed. Parallel to that, intensive research and scholar studies of classical period determined the development of myths and rituals analyses. Europe, then followed by the entire civilized world, tried to make out the way in the labyrinth of various beliefs and opinions. A number of theories were born that tried to solve the riddles that life and history is so rich of, and in that period and those conditions our writers lived and worked; they studied, read books and participated in discussion, and it is quite possible that the scientific knowledge they acquired, provoked their interest towards

identifying national roots, and developing their desire to join the cultural space of the world. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the cases, when those writers succumb to temptation and discuss in fiction-work the problems of totemism, myth and its functions, paganism and Christianity, and so forth. That interest passed to the Georgian literature of the second half of the XX c. in the novels and creative writings of Otar Chiladze, Chabua Amiredjibi, Guram Dochanashvili, and others.

The analysis of classical literature proves that the universal mythoritual models, when transformed into artistic metaphor, represent the spirit of epoch and the author's stance. For instance, we can state that Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Vazha-Pshavela, discuss the issue of blood feud. They all consider the custom destructive for a society but each of them suggests a different solution of the problem. The Greek writers leave the eradication of this savage "rule" to the state and legislation (Aeschilles' "Oresteia"). Vazha-Pshavela believes an individual in his own heart and mind must reject this antihuman custom, and this type of inner transformation must be valued much higher, although it makes a complex and painful process.

Vazha-Pshavela is given an ample place in this research. His poems reflect interesting ritual scenes of revenge and blood feud, dismemberment of the killed enemy and their bodies left unburied. Apart from this, some types of likeness also must be mentioned: 1. The structure and composition of Vazha's poems brings them closer to dramatic genre than to the notion of conventional poems; 2. The depth and importance of the problems reflected in his poems are equal to those that are characteristic of Old Greek classical drama. Here naturally follows a question: Why the writers applied myth (ritual of myth) to their artistic works? Definitely not because of the lack of fantasy, constantly failing to invent an original story or a plot. Apparently, the reason must be attributed to the fact that in a mytho-ritual model, what makes the drama's "world go round" – is the language of symbols that belongs to unconsciousness, yet totally conscious and clear to understand, the language that influences the spiritual world of people.

I did not provide the second part of the book with a special analytical discourse on the presented Georgian texts because I think that the material of both parts is united by the single conceptual vision of the case. The Georgian material is presented in the following succession:

### **Totemism**

This is one of the actual problems of Georgian science and its importance is determined by the link that connects totemism with a hunting mythoritual

and these two themes are studied together – which I did in the first section of the work.

The interrelationship of totemism with the hunting myths is interestingly presented in Grigol Robakidze's novel "Sentinels of Grail". The heroes of the novel – prince Giorgi and Levan discuss the matter of totemism and reveal their knowledge of scientists' attitude to the task; their dialogue has an obvious influence of J. Frazer. The characters find that there exists a complete likeness in rituals between the Fangues of Gabon, the inhabitants of the African jungle – and the rituals of Svans in Georgia.

I also discuss an episode of "horse-making" from K. Gamsakhurdia's novel "The Abduction of the Moon".

### **Ritual of bloody offering (sacrifice) in Georgian ethnography.**

This subchapter is dedicated to the analyses of the views that Vazha uncovered on the custom of blood feud in his notes on ethnography, together with the terms used in the ritual sacrifice custom, the terms used for accessories and for description of the ritual.

### **Wooden shoulder blade and revival**

The Georgian ethnographic and literary sources support the idea that the legends on killed and revived animals were very popular in Georgia (and the Caucasus). This topic is perfectly studied by Georgian scholars. As for the mythoritual model on wooden shoulder-blade animals – together with other aspects, it is reflected not only in folklore but also on archeological monuments; this theme is represented in Vazha-Pshavela's poem "A Wooden Shoulder-Blade".

### **The Pelopides myth and Aluda's dream**

The sub-chapter deals with the analyses of the dream of Aluda, the protagonist of the poem "Aluda Ketelauri".

The scholars agree that a so-called "big dream" reflects an act carried out in mythical time, which is analogous to the dreamtime. We are not going to discuss a biological mechanism of a dream because there is no "unilateral" answer to that. As for the psych-social side of the matter, the prevailing idea that persists from the times of Artemidore till Jung is that dreams represent a specific form of reflecting unrevealed abilities and imperceptible memory, and fantastic manifestation of the sub and unconscious. Thus we have all the grounds to consider Aluda's dream a typical "big dream" and a myth, and discuss it on the same plane with the Pelopides myth. The analyses of Aluda's myth suggests the following:

Aluda's tragedy begins at the moment he decides to perceive the essence of the established custom. Before he felt his wish to uncover it, everything



seemed in order. Why is it necessary to cut the right hand of the killed enemy? Aluda gets his answer in his own dream, that Mutsal is a victim himself – like all other enemies killed before. Since he represents violence, he is subjected to the community's aggression. Therefore, he must die and be sacrificed (for whom or for what, that is another matter), and in that act of sacrifice his right hand must be cut off. This act will confirm Mutsal's sacrifice – the fact that shall give Mutsal possibility to settle at his own place in the nether land. This explains Mutsal's appearance in Aluda's dream, when he gives Aluda a dagger (a sacrifice ritual weapon) and demands of him to execute the rite; then, after Mutsal's dismembering (i.e. his right hand cut off), the Khevsurs community accumulates and becomes empowered by Mutsal's power and force.

I consider the Pelopides myth and cannibal wake in "Aluda Ketelaure" represent similar tales of the same world outlook.

### **Cutting off an arm**

This sub-chapter embraces the material found in Georgian literature concerning the cases of cut-off arms. The bulk of that material is taken from Vazha's poems. The same custom is mentioned in K. Gamsakhurdia's "Khogai's Mindia" and Mikheil Javakhishvili's "White Collar". The same custom of cutting-off the enemy's arm is confirmed also in customs of the North-Caucasians (epic poem of Narts).

I think that the fact of arm-cutting must be linked with the custom of ritual sacrifice – in spite of the fact that nobody has any idea of the reason why the act is performed – neither the ones who perform this custom, nor those who insist on the execution of the custom. The only thing they do know is that it is just a "custom". There are many communities and societies where still exist customs that had already lost their function. But still, in spite of lacking the former function, those customs – since they continue to exist – they are characterized by certain magic influence. For this reason, the customs have to be interpreted and explained, that they had already died and therefore must be deprived of any force and influence. This is the very process that Vazha's heroes experience. These protagonists are preparing themselves for perceiving new moral and ethical values where revenge will be substituted by forgiveness, and wrath – by calm and serenity. The catharsis that Vazha's heroes experience is immense, and for that reason it recalls the classical catharsis of the protagonists of Greek tragedies – similar to them, Vazha's heroes are also destined to perceive "through suffering", at the cost of their lives.

### **Clemency and repentance**

The sub-chapter describes the established ways among Georgians in their attitude to the spirits of the deceased – the issue that is thoroughly studied by

our scholars. According to the studies, the Georgians considered the dead as a sacred object – the attitude typical of the ancient nations of the Near East. The ambivalent belief as regards the deceased was determined by a "double standard": on the one hand, the dead could influence the living people's life positively, but on the other hand, the dead could also seriously harm, and therefore, they were considered unclean. The similarity between the rituals of cleansing and repentance that exist among all civilized nations is amazing.

### **Self-sacrifice**

This sub-chapter studies "Londa", a play by Grigol Robakidze, and Niko Lortkipanidze's story "The unvanquished". The model I use is applicable to a vast number of literary works and/or their particular episodes but I confined my task to these pieces, different in genre, divided the works into separate "stories" and made their structural analysis.

In his play G. Robakidze describes a complete ritual of human sacrifice. The reason that causes the sacrifice, is drought, so to propitiate a deity and slacken his anger, he must be "fed" that way. One of the characters is a preacher that resembles a pythia, who delivers a mixture of sermons and didactic poems. The person, who is chosen for sacrifice, is a young beautiful maiden, Londa, who does not belong to the community, many members of which do not favor her. Londa volunteers self-sacrifice for the good of her beloved's country. Her image is represented quite heroically at the end of the play. This play is a very good example of merging the ancient Greek and Georgian beliefs and ideas, and it is also a significant example of transforming a sacrifice into artistic metaphor. This theme of sacrifice is rather frequent in Robakidze's works: Mindia – an oracle ("Lamara"), is another instance of self-sacrifice for the idea of love and concord and harmony among people.

I also present a study of two cases of self-sacrifice in N. Lortkipanidze's story: according to the conveyed idea, one episode can be named "A tale of mother's heart" and the other – "A story of a lad buried in tower-wall". The writer presents his perception of self-sacrifice metaphor from the angle of ethics, and the persons inspired by the idea, are characterized by strong will power. They are capable of uniting people and exiting them to a common purpose. The self-sacrificed person is the leader. He is dedicated to his task and either fulfills that task or dies, and his death transforms him into a mythic hero, which is more powerful symbol. People do need that kind of myths and real names, and every nation has its own "sunny side and the wrong side", the same as it possesses traitors and selfless people. When creating the image-symbols of the latter, a mythoritual model stresses the importance of ethics and love. The detail that in Lortkipanidze's story the sacrifice ritual unites two epochs and two religions, also has its purpose: the writer underlines the

existence of something very important that is empowered to unite the people. The ritual of sacrifice, or rather its artistic metaphor, sustained centuries. It influences people's consciousness and sub consciousness. Every new literary image becomes as touching as every instance of death, birth, hatred or love.

### **Rage**

I purposefully evade discussing the theme of rage in Georgian literature, because it is immense and deserves a special research. In spite of the fact that we discuss only that aspect of rage that relates to sacrifice, still, the material to study is quite ample.

This chapter differs from the previous ones with its relatively generalized conclusions. Unlike the literature of the classical period, Georgian literature begins with Christian texts and the matter of rage and calm is strongly established and settled: positive heroes of hagiographic literature are invariably devoid of rage, while that feeling is inseparable from the image of their negative counterparts.

Fiction and creative writing presents a different picture. I paid attention to an episode from "The Knight in the Tiger's Skin", where Parsadan is shown enraged. Why is he so angered at Davar? She believes that she was sacrificed as a "substitute" because Parsadan treated her as a scapegoat to "wash-off" the blood of Khvarazmshah's son. But the king's action can also be explained as follows: since Parsadan could easily find unacceptable the love affair between Nestan and Tariel who was raised by him as his own son, Parsadan could certainly be furious at Davar as she failed to raise his daughter according to their norms of ethics.

Vazha-Pshavela's heroes are obsessed with the idea of revenge, their hearts bursting with rage. They become capable of seeing clearly the matter only after they begin to consider the conflict and they see the matter in the light of their "soul's vision", after which they become free of rage; so, calm and serenity becomes one of the obligatory terms in perceiving the truth.

### **Conclusion**

This part presents the summary of the basic issues.

From the angle of my vision of a philologist, my research had a definite goal: to clarify the function attributed to the models of mythoritual in fiction, whether these models are merely forms, or the mythorituals provide a space for creative thinking and imagery. The analyses of the studied material proved that structure of myths remains essentially unchanged, and the writers of classical period manage to express quite a lot within the limits of a single model of mythoritual. The fact that the Pelopides myth inspired the three Greek playwrights certainly bears a serious meaning. The Pelopides myth is reflect-

ed in three tragedies of Aeschylus (the "Oresteia") – out of the seven plays that we know; two plays of Sophocles – "Electra" and "Aiasa"; and eight plays of Euripides out of the seventeen: "Iphigeneia in Aulis", "Iphigeneia among the Taurians", "Electra", "Orestes", "Helen", "Hecabe", "Women of Troy", "Andromach" – the number is impressive as regards the sole myth. If we add to these plays also the list of the titles of plays that did not reach our epoch, we shall see the interest of Greeks towards the Pelopides myth was considerable. The same is true about the Roman literature. Thus, I tried to envisage and present in my work all the aspects that connects and ties together entire material with the sole concept and theme of the ritual sacrifice.

The structural analysis of the Pelopides myth revealed three levels and planes: 1. Human sacrifice to deities (god or gods); 2. Self-sacrifice; 3. Revengeful sacrifice.

These forms of sacrifice in classic literature transformed into a literary metaphor, and the participants of the process – into artistic images. The characters that undergo this process of artistic and creative transformation – and the ritual itself, acquire a different sense and meaning in various social and cultural environments, and in diverse works of various writers. The works of fiction reflect the sacrifice theme in two major contexts: 1. Self-sacrifice, and 2. Revenge and blood feud.

#### Self-sacrifice

Self-sacrifice as a literary term used in fiction describes the acts of sacrificing one's life for an idea, the homeland and one's dignity. The characters of that type willfully and consciously meet their death believing that their act brings good to the country, the task and the people. This form of sacrifice is an appreciated and popular model in literature. But of course, the artistic form of the conflict, making it realistic and convincing demands great mastery and talent – and Greek scholars often repeated the saying that a single step divides a tragedy from a comedy, and only great writers are entitled to succeed in such a challenging artistic task.

Can we call convincing the self-sacrifice of Iphigeneia, Polyxena, Menoikiosis, Zurab, Kviria and others? Can we call convincing the image of Sanata – a character of Vazha's poem "Bakhtrioni"? – A woman who lost eight persons she loved most of all – all of them in a day; however, but after that she still finds in herself enough power to perform the deed of supreme importance, while worrying about the common misfortune? Besides, she proclaims herself willing to unite the villagers, and promises not to wear her mourning dress when they defeat the enemy – not letting her private drama of the mother whose children are dead – outweigh the victory? Can we consider convincing poor Kviria, whose only possession is his own life – and still, he is ready to sacrifice it? What is the driving force of these heroes? In fact, the motiva-

tion that inspires them to certain steps is the most important target for writers and psychologists.

Iphigeneia's sacrifice has found many interpretations: some critics explained it by her love to Achilles, some believe she was forced to do so, while others attribute the fact to her ambitiousness; there is also an opinion that suggests the senselessness of the sacrifice, while another one assesses the self-sacrifice as an action the maiden committed in a state of exaltation. To get an idea of what is happening in human soul is more than difficult. Several physiologists view self-sacrifice as an instance of abundance of adrenalin. J. Campbell is inclined to think that some individuals "hear the voice" that calls them and inspires for great deeds. There are also other explanations, but the fact is that for centuries the greatest writers devoted their talent to the description of self-sacrifice in order to influence the readers as the impact on people is the most important task of literature. One may call this function either ethical or didactic – that is not the point; what matters, is that a writer – whether consciously or unintentionally – always seeks for the source of the most acute problem. That source is in the ritual which can be viewed "more enduring than faith" – as our saying goes. The ritual implies an endless repetition of sacral acts, in order to ensure "the further pace and movement of our land, to what we are used to". Akaki Tsereteli beautifully expresses this idea in "Bashi-Achuki". He cites the words of our forefathers who rode to their death at the court of Shah of Iran: "Like any other plant, a tree will die without water. Likewise, time and again, the tree of a nation does need watering with the sacrifice-blood of the martyrs alongside the sweat-drops so as to make its root stronger and broader. Our country is well used to this kind of sacrifice, and if now we are allotted to become the alter offerings, we will welcome the fate with awe and hope and obediently bend our heads! Let the misfortune of Georgia die with us". These words present an artistic version of the concept of sacrifice.

II. The other form of sacrifice that like the matter of self-sacrifice, transformed into artistic metaphor, is blood feud.

We still feel the pulse of that ritual in Aeschylus' "Oresteia". Clytemnestra makes a sacrifice out of the killed and dismembered Agamemnon (although nobody views her act as a sacrifice except herself). Vazha Pshavela's heroes "fail to recollect" the reason why they cut-off their enemy's right hand – they just know that is the rule established by their ancestors centuries ago. Rituals in Vazha's poems are carried out mechanically, because they had lost their function and lack the initial sense. Even worse: the ritual has a counter effect, and every successive killing (which represents a profaned sacrifice) inspires the drive for another revenge.

Vazha's talent and perception determines the images of his heroes: they understand the essence of the ritual deprived of any function, and reject it because they underwent inner change and transformation. But the members of the community who dare to think differently are ousted, cut off i.e. sacrificed. I underline also the detail that Vazha is not concerned with the identity of the person who makes the right step – be it a Georgian Aluda, or Jokola, who belongs to the tribe of Kisti; the major point that he stresses concerns the way a human should behave. Vazha's heroes are left in solitude, without the support and understanding of their countrymen, but the readers do favor them – which speak for the writer's victory and the exceptional quality of humanity that Vazha possessed.

The conflict between people can be expressed not only by using weapons and arms, but by words, too. The Greek authors of the classical epoch highly valued the art of dialogue. Usually, there are two planes in drama: one belongs to the acts that the characters perform (they move, come, go, kill, cry), and the other – to their thinking, the way they talk and contemplate what happened in the past. This is followed by their argument, when opinions and ideas confront each other. The Old Greek drama is founded on the binary opposition principle and represents the conflict of two contradictory stances. Vazha's poems are also founded on the same principle. At first sight, the details of these arguments may seem insignificant, but in fact, the awareness of every particular detail in drama is important: that concerns the rhythm, colors and gestures. The concept and images of the real and the irreal balance and fill each other, and implies action, dream and vision. The action runs on parallel levels but everything works for the sole goal. The writer finds a number of ways to make the real and the irreal meet, cross and merge. In the process, the author tames words, creates new ones and either widens and increases their semantic plane, or limits it, and the unity of the scope of his skills and technique affects a reader.

So, a scholar is obliged to consider all aspects, apart from the text, i.e. implication and silence, too, which is sometimes more impressive than a word. True, that all parts try to prove their argument that each one is right, but the thing is that there is only one truth, and the writer is supposed to help the reader find that truth.

Still, what does the word "truth" mean?

A society should not possess double standards, approving revenge in one case, and disapproving it in another case. The thing is that revenge that is based on rage and blood feud is destructive.

All violence is aimed at the sole goal: to acquire power, which implies obedience of people (whether a single person or many) after they are conquered, the desire to be the foremost, "above others". At this point one turn of

the ritual circle ends, and with a new act of violence, the other turn of the spiral begins. Is it good or bad to be ambitious and strive for leadership, to be the No1"? This is the problem that the great writers deal with, and this is the stage where we meet an ethic hero in Georgian literature (traditionally, in Old Greek literature, a hero is appreciated if he agrees with the new Olympian standards and obeys the gods' will). To this type belong Vazha's heroes, victorious in their struggle against their own selves, and protagonists of Greek dramas who experienced catharsis; the readers and the theater audience must be included too, because they suffer along with the characters and perceive the significance and essence of truth.

Thus, the analysis of one of the new forms of the sacrifice ritual (blood feud and dismemberment of the killed enemy), clearly proved that the ritual lost its initial meaning and function, when it became deprived of its initial context, in other words, what at definite period had to be carried out as sacral and purposeful – changed and transformed into a mere daily routine. That broke the cosmic rhythm and sacral meaning, and ritual lacking its function, transformed into a phenomenon that is as dangerous to the society, as games of chance are.

Writers of different periods and religious faiths, by depicting the sacrifice ritual transformed into artistic metaphor, showed the misfortune that follows revenge and rage. It seems, everything is clear and simple, and there is nothing to argue about, but still – we shall always have to return to the heritage of great minds – before each individual learns to suppress his desire to revenge – the desire caused by some offence, either big or small; and the writings of those authors will always be handy before the mankind finally chooses the way of love and forgiveness.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS IN GEORGIAN

### **Geschichte der antiken Literatur**

Unter der Gesamtreaktion von **Rismag Gordesiani** und **Nana Tonia** (Gruppe der Autoren), "Logos", Tbilisi 2005, 495

Georgien zeigte der griechischen und römischen Literatur gegenüber jahrhundertlang ein grosses Interesse auf. Im 20. Jh. hat berühmter Altphilologe Grigol Tsereteli als erster in der Sowjetunion das erste akademische Lehrbuch der Geschichte der antiken Literatur in 2 Bänden in georgischer Sprache veröffentlicht (1927-1935). Danach erschien in georgischer Sprache Geschichte der griechischen Literatur von Simon Kauchtschischwili in 2 Bänden (1950<sup>2</sup>, 1949). 2002 hat Rismag Gordesiani die Herausgabe der Geschichte der antiken Literatur in 3 Bänden angefangen. Das erste Buch "Griechische Literatur. Epos, Lyrik, Drama der hellenistischen Epoche" ist schon erschienen.

An der Humantären Fakultät der Staatlichen Universität Tbilisi wird seit mehreren Jahren Geschichte der antiken Literatur als ein kurzer Gesamtkursus unterrichtet. Seit der 60-er Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhunderts wurde einige Male die Geschichte der antiken Literatur von Simon Kauchtschischwili neu herausgegeben. Die Universitätsreform, neue Entdeckungen und Theorien in der Klassischen Literatur haben die Frage der Entstehung eines neuen Lehrbuches für die antike Literatur aufgeworfen. Diese Aufgabe hat das Institut für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik verwirklicht. Autoren der Ausgabe sind Mitarbeiter des Institutes: R. Gordesiani, I. Gagua, L. Gigineischwili, K. Gurtschiani, I. Dartschia, M. Erkomaischwili, E. Kobachidze, K. Nadareischwili, N. Ratiani, N. Tonia, M. Pchakadze, M. Garibaschwili, R. Tsanawa, T. Djaparidze, E. Gamkrelidze. Im Buch ist einerseits kurz die Übersicht der ganzen antiken Literatur, seine Entwicklungstappen und Besonderheiten, sowie der Beitrag jedes mehr oder weniger wichtigen Autors in die Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Literatur gegeben. Andererseits sind den besonders wichtigen Autoren einzelne Kapitel gewidmet, was dem Studenten eine Möglichkeit gibt, eine einigermaßen vollständige Vorstellung über den gegebenen Autor zu bekommen.



Das Buch ist folgendermassen gegliedert: in der Einführung ist die allgemeine Charakterisierung der antiken Literatur und ihrer Periodisierung gegeben. Der erste Teil des Buches – Griechische Literatur – umfasst folgende Epochen: Geometrische Renaissance und Archaik, Klassische Zeit, Hellenismus, Epoche der römischen Herrschaft (Kaiserzeit) und Spätantike. Jede dieser Epochen ist ziemlich vollständig charakterisiert. Separate Kapitel sind Homer, Hesiod, Archilochos, Alkaios, Sappho, Anakreon, Pindar, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Herodot, Thukydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristoteles, Demosthenes, Kallimachos, Apollonios von Rhodos, Theokritos, Menandros, Plutarch, Lukian, Alkiphron, Longos, Achilleus Tattios, Chariton, Heliodoros, Xenophon von Ephesos, Nonnos gewidmet.

Der zweite Teil des Buches umfasst die republikanische, klassische Zeit und die Kaiserzeit der römischen Literatur. Separate Artikel sind folgenden Autoren gewidmet: Plautus, Lukrez, Catull, Cicero, Sallust, Iulius Cäsar, Properz, Tibull, Vergil, Horaz, Ovid, Livius, Lukan, Seneca, Petronius, Plinius, Martial, Quintilianus, Tacitus, Valerius Flaccus, Juvenal, Suetonius, Marcus Aurelius, Apuleius, Boëthius.

Dem zweiten Teil folgt die ausgewählte Bibliographie, in der zu jedem Autor eine Ausgabe in der Originalsprache, die Übersetzung ins Georgische und eine Fremdsprache und die wichtigste wissenschaftliche Literatur zu diesem Autor angegeben ist. Danach folgt der Anhang mit der Erläuterung wichtigster Termini und ein Sachregister.

Dieses Buch ist dementsprechend eines der vollständigsten Lehrbücher der Geschichte der antiken Literatur in georgischer Sprache, das ein grosses Interesse sowohl unter den Studenten, als auch unter den Fachläuten hervorgerufen hat.

*Ekaterine Gamkrelidze*

## Die Welt der griechischen Mythen

Eines der wichtigsten unter den Projekten, die das Institut für Klassische Philologie, Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik und das Verlagsprogramm "Logos" verwirklichen, ist die Reihe "Die Welt der griechischen Mythen" in 10 Bänden, die Herausgabe derer 2005 beendet wurde. Jeder Band ausser des letzten enthält die Erzählung der Mythen, Varianten und Kommentare. Die Reihe ist sowohl für die Jugend, als auch für die Lehrer bestimmt, die in Schulen oder Hochschulen Mythologie unterrichten.

Die Reihe besteht aus folgenden Büchern:

**Vom Chaos zum Kosmos (Kronos, Uranos, Zeus)** – Vorwort, 1. Am Anfang war Chaos..., 2. Uranos und Gaia, 3. Die Götter füllen das Weltall aus, 4. Kronos und Rhea, 5. Der Kampf mit den Titanen, 6. Die Nachkommenschaft von Zeus, 7. Der Kampf mit den Giganten, 8. Tifon, 9. Die Aloaden, 10. Olympus und die 12 olympischen Götter, 11. Zeus – der höchste Gott, Kommentare, Namenregister. Erzählt und kommentiert von Rismag Gordesiani, 2005<sup>3</sup>.

**Grosse himmlische Götter** – 1. Hera, 2. Aphrodite, 3. Hestia, 4. Demeter, 5. Athena, 6. Apollon, 7. Artemis, 8. Ares, 9. Hermes, 10. Dionysos, 11. Hephäst, Kommentare, Namenregister. Erzählt und kommentiert von Nana Tonia, 1998.

**Das Meer und die unterirdische Welt. Kleine Gottheiten.** Erzählt und kommentiert von Viktoria Jugeli, 1998. Der Band besteht aus folgenden Kapiteln: 1. Gebieter des Wasserelements, 2. Poseidon – Gebieter der Meere, 3. Die geheimnisvolle Unterwelt, 4. Kleine Gottheiten (Himmlische Gotter, die den Zeus und die olympischen Götter umgebenden Gottheiten, Schicksalsgottheiten, Geburts- und Heilgottheiten, Erdgottheiten), Kommentare, Namenregister.

**Prometheus und das Menschengeschlecht. Mythische Völker. Legendäre Sänger. Wahrsager.** Erzählt und kommentiert von Russudan Tsanawa, 1998. Das Buch besteht aus folgenden Kapiteln: 1. Prometheus, 2. Mythische Menschen der Nachüberschwemmungszeit, 3. Fünf Jahrhunderte, 4. Mythische Völker, 5. Mythische Sänger, Mythische Wahrsager, Kommentare, Namenregister.

**In den Vordergrund treten die Helden** – 1. Lakonische und Messenische Helden, 2. Minos, 3. Korinthische Helden, 4. Argivische Helden, 5. Perseus, 6. Attische Helden, 7. Thessalische Helden. Herakles – 8. Geburt und Jugend des Herakles, 9. Die 12 Heldentaten von Herakles, 10. Die Geschichte von Herakles nach seinen 12 Heldentaten, 11. Herakles's Apotheose, 12. Die Herakliden. Theseus – 13. Sohn des Egeus oder des Poseidon? 14. Der Weg

nach Athen. Die Heldentaten des Theseus, 15. Theseus in Athen, 16. Theseus auf Kreta, 17. Der Aufstieg auf den attischen Thron, 18. Theseus im Hades, 19. Das Ende von Theseus, Kommentare, Namenregister. Erzählt und kommentiert von Nana Tonia und Manana Garibaschwili, 2000<sup>2</sup>.

**Die Argonauten.** Erzählt und kommentiert von Rismag Gordesiani. Wegen des grossen Interesses der georgischen Gesellschaft gegenüber dieser Sage ist dieser Band auch mit einem grossen wissenschaftlichen Apparat ausgestattet, 1999. Das Buch besteht aus folgenden Kapiteln: 1. Aietes und sein Geschlecht, 2. Das wundertätige Vlies, 3. Die Versammlung der Argonauten, 4. Der gefährliche Weg nach Aia-Kolchis, 5. Das Eintreffen in die Stadt des Aietes, 6. Die Erfüllung des Versprechens und der Raub des Vlieses, 7. Die Verfolgung und die Rückkehr, 8. Das Ende des Pelias, 9. Medea und Jason in Korinth, 10. Die gelfüchtete Medea, Kommentare, Literaturverzeichnis, Namenregister.

**Das siebentorige Theben** – 1. Kadmos, 2. Theben, 3. Teiresias, 4. Ödipus, 5. Ödipus's Kinder. Kreon, 6. Die Epigonen. Kommentare, Namenregister. Erzählt und kommentiert von Georg Chomeriki, 2005<sup>2</sup>.

**Der Kampf um Troja.** Erzählt und kommentiert von Lascha Bereia, 2003<sup>2</sup>. Das Buch besteht aus folgenden Kapiteln: 1. Troja und die Dardaniden, 2. Die Ursache des Krieges, 3. Die Pelopiden – das Geschlecht des Tantalos, 4. Die Eakiden, 5. Andere griechische Helden, die im Kampf um Troja teilnahmen, 6. Wie der Feldzug anfang, 7. Sieben Jahre des Krieges, 8. Achills Zorn, 9. Hektors Tod, 10. Achills Tod, 11. Der Fall von Troja, 12. Der Raub von Troja und das Schicksal der Trojaner, Kommentare, Namenregister, Karten.

**Nach dem Kampf um Troja.** Erzählt und kommentiert von Manana Pchakadse, 2005. Der Band besteht aus folgenden Kapiteln: Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus – 1. Odysseus versucht nach Hause zurückzukehren, 2. Odysseus steigt in den Hades. 3. Sirenen. Symplegaden. Skylla und Charybdis, 4. Bei Kalypso, 5. Telemachia, 6. Bei den Phäaken, 7. Odysseus kehrt nach Ithaka zurück, 8. Die Ermordung der Freier, 9. Die Versöhnung. Das Schicksal anderer griechischer Helden – 10. Der Mord des Agamemnon, 11. Orestes und Elektra, 12. Das göttliche Gericht, 13. Begegnung mit Iphigenia, 14. Die Rückkehr von Menelaos, 15. Die Rückkehr von Nestor, 16. Die Rückkehr von Idomeneus, 17. Ajax, Sohn des Oileus (Der kleine Ajax), 18. Philoktet, 19. Die Rückkehr von Diomedes, 20. Die Rückkehr von Neoptolemos, Die römische Pseudomythologie – 21. Römische Götter und römische Sagen, 22. Janus, 23. Vesta, 24. Juppiter, 25. Juno, 26. Minerva, 27. Saturnus, 28. Tellus, 29. Ceres. Liber und Libera, 30. Consus, 31. Flora. Feronia und Pales, 32. Faunus, Silvanus und Fauna. Maia, 33. Vulkan, 34. Neptun und Diana, 35. Venus, 36. Mars, 37. Penaten. Laren. Genii und Iunos, 38. Fortuna, 39. Die

Unterwelt, 40. Terminus und Victoria, Die mythische Geschichte von Rom – 41. Aeneis – die ersten Könige von Italien und den Aborigines, die Gründung Roms und die ersten Könige der Römer, Helden, Kommentare, Namenregister.

**Rismag Gordesiani. Die Weisheit der Mythen.** Dieser Band stellt eine theoretische, summierende Arbeit dar mit folgenden Kapiteln: Vorwort, 1. Was ist ein Mythos und eine mythologische Denkweise (Mythos, Märchen, Legende, Sage), 2. Mythos, Mythologie, Mythographie, 3. Mythologische Chronologie und die Klassifikation der Mythen, 4. Zur Geschichte des wissenschaftlichen Studiums der Mythen (von der Antike einschliesslich des 19. Jh-s), 5. Die wichtigsten zeitgenössischen Theorien über den Mythos (vom Ritualismus zum Funktionalismus, Tiefenpsychologie, soziologische Schule und Vorläufer des Strukturalismus, Strukturalismus, einige andere moderne Theorien, ein zusammenfassendes Kommentar), Mythen im alten mediterranen Gebiet, 7. Griechische Mythen – Chaos oder Ordnung (Genealogische Tafeln der griechischen Mythen), 8. Kult, Religion, Mythos, Feste, 9. Die Griechische Mythologie und die antike Literatur, 10. Mythen und die antike bildende Kunst, 11. Mythos und die antike Geschichtsschreibung, Philosophie, Wissenschaft, 12. Griechische Mythologie und die Weltkunst, 13. Neue Mythologien, Erläuterungen der Termini, ausgewählte Bibliographie, Namenregister, 2005.

Über die Popularität der Reihe unter dem georgischen Leser weist die Tatsache hin, dass während der acht Jahre der Funktionierung des Projektes einige Bücher schon zwei- oder dreimal veröffentlicht wurden. Herausgeber der Reihe ist Rismag Gordesiani.

*Ekaterine Gamkrelidze*

**Essays on Modern Greek Literature** (Group of Authors),  
Ed. by Sophie Shamanidi, Logos Publishers, Tbilisi 2005,  
391

Professors and graduates of the Department of Modern Greek Philology of the Tbilisi State University, in cooperation with Professor Euripidis Garantoudis of the Athens University, dedicated an extensive and systemic work to the modern period of the thirty-century old Greek literature.

Georgian readers interested in Greek literature could enjoy full information about the ancient and Byzantine writing in their native language while Modern Greek literature remained a totally unfamiliar sphere. The group of authors aimed to fill in the "blank space", which is particularly relevant now that the interest in the translations of foreign fiction and research works increases most intensively, and the traditional desire to get acquainted with and perceive the Hellenic writing and art becomes more and more strong.

Although literary studies abound in different hypothesis about the original stage of Modern Greek literature, the compilers decided to start the *Essays* with the analysis of Cretan literature, which they motivate by the following: "Basic changes in Greek literature emerge in this very period, and although the literary epoch is still dominated by the Byzantine tradition, Cretan literature represents a totally new writing, altogether different from Byzantine one".

*Essays on Modern Greek Literature* is based on the principle of chronology and includes the following chapters:

- Preface (Sophie Shamanidi)
- Cretan Literature (Sophie Shamanidi)
- Greek Folk Songs (Medea Abulashvili)
- Greek Enlightenment (Svetlana Berikashvili, Sophie Shamanidi)
- Giannis Makrygiannis – People's Muse (Tamar Bakuradze)
- Greek Romanticism (Tea Gamrekeli, Ketevan Tsintsadze)
- The Genre Story (Eka Lortkipanidze, Medea Abulashvili)
- Kostis Palamas and the Generation of the '80s (Maka Kamushadze)
- Constantine Cavafy (Tea Gamrekeli)
- Angelos Sikelianos (Salome Japaridze)
- Nikos Kazantzakis (Zurab Vacheishvili)
- The Athens School of Neoromanticism and Neosymbolism (Maya Kakashvili)
- George Seferis (Sophie Shamadini)
- The Prose by the Generation of the '30s (Ann Chikovani, Medea Metreveli)

Greek Surrealism (Maka Kamushadze, Sophie Shamanidi)  
The Post World War II Greek Prose Writing (The Gaprindashvili)  
Greek Prose of Recent Years (Nino Dvalidze)  
Greek Poems of Recent Years (1980s and 1990s) (Euripides Garantoudis,  
translated by Nino Dvalidze)

The authors tried to determine the size of the information to be offered in the papers according to the significance of a particular writer or the literary period. As a single book can not contain notes on all prose writers and poets, the authors plan to add further editions to the present work.

The *Essays* is based on the Greek editions on the history of literature, the fiction by modern Greek writers and the corresponding literary studies. The *Essays* includes brief biographical notes about each writer, the analysis of their selected works, where, alongside the opinions of reputed scholars, the authors offer their own findings.

Another merit of the book is that all its chapters (but the last two) are attached with an extended bibliography, which will facilitate the search for the complete information on a particular writer.

Thus, *Essays on Modern Greek Literature* will become the best guide for the Georgian reader interested in the Hellenic culture as well as literature in general. As concerns our Hellenists, it is certain to acquire the function of a textbook.

*Medea Abulashvili*

**Nino Lordkipanidze.** Argonautenmythos in der Frühgriechischen Kultur, Verlag der Universität Tbilissi, Tbilissi 2004, 165

Anliegen der Studie ist, die Darstellungsgeschichte der Argonautensage während der frühgriechischen Kulturperioden zu analysieren. Dazu werden die während der jeweiligen Zeitabschnitte bevorzugten Episoden ermittelt und deren geographische Verbreitung anhand archäologischer Daten festgestellt. Die Ergebnisse lassen sich zur Kolchis und zur hellenischen Welt in Beziehung setzen.

Die Widerspiegelung des Argonautenmythos setzt nach archäologischen Funden zu urteilen in früharchaischer Zeit ein. Frühere Kunstwerke müssen wegen des Fehlens eindeutiger ikonographischer Details sowie entsprechender literarischer Quellen unsicher bleiben. Wie alle derartigen Darstellungen sind sie zwar durchaus nicht unwesentlich für die Ikonographiegeschichte des Mythos, stellen aber im Einzelnen keine unumstößliche Quelle zur historischen Hintergrundforschung dar.

In den verschiedenen Kulturperioden manifestiert sich sehr deutlich eine gewisse Regelmäßigkeit in der Themenwahl der Mythen, d.h. einzelne Episoden sind während bestimmter Zeitabschnitte bevorzugter Gegenstand des Kunstinteresses. Dies schließt ein späteres Wiederaufgreifen nicht aus, dann allerdings nach einem anderen ikonographischen Schema.

Die Früharchaik: Aus der ikonographischen Interpretation der etruskischen Olpe und des Thebepythos kann gefolgert werden, daß der Aufenthalt der Argonauten auf der Insel Lemnos ausschließlich von der Kunst der früharchaischen Epoche thematisiert wurde. Es dürfte zudem wohl kaum ein Zufall sein, daß ausführliche Nachrichten zu dieser Episode in der Literatur vor Apollonios von Rodos lediglich bei Pindar zu finden sind. Als historischer Hintergrund könnte das außergewöhnliche Interesse von Griechen und Etruskern während des 8. bis 7. Jh. v. Chr. an der Metallprospektion gelten. Die besondere Beziehung zu Lemnos als einem der metallurgischen Zentren darf hier als Indiz gelten. Das zweite Thema aus der Argonautika, das in der früharchaischen bzw. der etruskischen Kunst sehr wesentlich berücksichtigt wird, ist die Figur der Medea als Zauberin (auf der Olpe am Dreifuß – Medea mit Stab; auf der Amsterdam Amphora – Medea beim Verzaubern der Schlangen). Wie in vielen Fällen der Verarbeitung griechischer Mythen erweist sich die etruskische Kunst auch bei der Argonautensage als eigenständig, vor allem in chronologischer Hinsicht. Die früharchaischen Darstellungen von Jason im Drachenschlund sind insofern bemerkenswert, als sie auf korinthische Kunstgegenstände gemalt wurden. Da die Version des Eume-

los von Korinth eine der ältesten und bedeutendsten Quellen des Argonautenmythos ist, erscheint es folgerichtig, daß die frühkorinthische Kunst einen besondere Platz in der Ikonographie des Argonautenmythos einnahm. Als Beleg dient die Tatsache, daß das populäre Motiv des Drachenkampfes mit der Position des Helden in dessen Schlund der Jasonsage angepasst wurde. Die Hocharchaik: Die Themen des Argonautenmythos, die uns eine komplette Vorstellung zum Sujet vermitteln, sind bereits aus der hocharchaischen Kunst belegt. Sie finden sich in vorliegender Studie wie folgt angeordnet:

I. Die Ursache der Argonautenfahrt in die Kolchis. Phrixus und der Wider.

II. Der Weg in die Kolchis.

a) Argo und die Argonauten. Der Fundzusammenhang der Kunstwerke zu diesem Thema erlaubt es, die Darstellungen mit einem wichtigen historischen Ereignis, nämlich der großgriechischen Kolonisation, zu verbinden.

b) Aufenthalt der Argonauten bei König Phineus. Darstellungen zu diesem Thema waren während eines nur kurzen Zeitabschnittes der hocharchaischen Epoche vor allem in der attischen und korinthischen Kunst außerordentlich verbreitet (Samos, Aegina, Chalkidiki, Etrurien). Das besondere Interesse der korinthischen Kunst während der Archaik am Argonautenmythos dokumentiert sich auch in den Darstellungen weiterer Argonautikathemen auf der Kypseloslade (mit der einzigartigen, zentralen Szene der Hochzeit von Medea und Jason), in den Elfenbeinreliefs aus Delphi und auf dem Krater von Sane. Die Abenteuer der Argonaten in Kolchis spiegeln sich in der frühgriechischen Kunst nicht unmittelbar wider. Mit den früharchaischen Darstellungen des Jason im Drachenschlund, mit Medea als Verzauberin der dreiköpfigen Schlange und auch mit dem hocharchaischen Bild des Wideropfers von Phrixus sind diese Ereignisse aber wohl bezeichnet.

III. Die Rückkehr der Argonauten Die Leichenspiele für Pelias. Die mehrfigurige Komposition dieses Themas entspricht so weitgehend der Manier hocharchaischer Kunst, daß es als deren ausschließlicher Gegenstand während dieser Zeitspanne betrachtet werden darf. Seit der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jh. v. Chr. ist das Thema dann nicht mehr belegt, allerdings findet das zweifellos faszinierende Motiv der Zweikampfepisode von Atalante und Peleus seit der spätarchaischen Zeit Eingang in die Ikonographie des Argonautenmythos. Sodann unterstreicht die Tatsache, daß der Künstler der hocharchaischen Epoche einen wesentlichen Teil der Kypseloslade mit den Peliou Athla Episoden dekorierte, ebenfalls eine solch besondere Hinwendung. Nicht zufällig verarbeitete auch der Chorlyriker Stesichoros von Himera parallel dazu eben dieses Thema in seinem Chorgesang.

Sowohl die Thematik der ältesten Argonautenbilder (Lemnos-Episode) in ihrem zeitlichen Kontext (Metallprospektion der Griechen) als auch die histo-



rische Situation der Kolchis während des 8.-6. Jh. v. Chr. als einzigem zivilisatorisch erschlossenen Territorium entlang der Schwarzmeerküste – mit einer damit verbundenen hochentwickelten Metallurgie – führen zu dem Schluß, daß die Schaffung der frühesten sicheren Argonautenbilder nicht ausschließlich auf mythologischer Phantasie beruht. Nach dem verfügbaren archäologischen Befund dürfte dieser Prozeß vielmehr reale historische Grundlagen haben, fällt er doch zeitlich mit den frühesten Kontakten zwischen hellenischer Welt und Kolchis zusammen.

Hat nun also die Fahrt der Argonauten stattgefunden? Johann Bachofen sagt: "Durch die Verneinung der Geschichtlichkeit wird der Sage nicht jede Bedeutung entzogen. Was nicht geschehen sein kann, ist jedenfalls gedacht worden".

*Ekaterine Gamkrelidze*