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ფასისი 10 (I), 2007

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კლასიკური ფილოლოგიის, ბიზანტინისტიკისა
და ნეოგრეცისტიკის ინსტიტუტის
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EDITORIAL NOTE

Those who wish to contribute to *Phasis* are requested to submit electronic and hard copy versions of their paper (in *Microsoft Word for Windows* format, font *Times New Roman*, with no more than 60 000 characters). If a paper requires special characters, please give them on the left margin next to the respective line.

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

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Papers must be submitted in the following languages: English, French, German, Italian and Modern Greek.

Accepted papers will be published in the next volume without any editorial, stylistic or orthographic changes to the original text. Each contributor will receive one copy of the volume. Please send us your exact whereabouts: address, telephone number, fax number, e-mail.

Our address:

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

Fax: (+995 32) 22 11 81

E-mail: greekstudies@caucasus.net

Website: www.greekstudies-tsu.ge

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

The Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of Tbilisi State University, in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic and the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia, held an international conference on *The Argonautica and World Culture* (October 1-5, 2007). There were three sections at the conference – *The Argonautica and Ancient Culture*, *The Argonautica in the Post-Ancient Epoch* and *The Argonautica and Contemporary World* – at which 57 papers were read. Apart from Georgian researchers, presentations were made by 26 scholars from Bulgaria, France, Germany, the UK, the Hellenic Republic, Israel, Italy, Romania, Russia and the US. The event was welcomed by His Excellency Mr Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia, and His Excellency Mr Karolos Papoulias, President of the Hellenic Republic. The conference was opened by Prof. Rismag Gordeziani, Chair of the Organizing Committee and Head of the Institute. The participants were greeted by Professor Giorgi Khubua, Rector of the University, Mr Alexander Katranis, Charge d'Affair of the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia, Ms Bela Tsipuria, Deputy Minister of Education and Science of Georgia, Mr Tamaz Gamkrelidze, President of the National Academy of Sciences of Georgia, Ms Eugenia Vosou, Head of the Bilateral Section of the Department of International Relations of the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic, His Excellency Denis Keefe, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Georgia and His Excellency Leonidas Pantelides, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cyprus to Russia, accredited to Georgia. The events of the conference included an exhibition of books dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the Institute, as well as the launch of the Georgian translation of *Eudemos. The Second Dream (or About Time)* by Mr Leonidas Pantelides (translated by Prof. Irine Darchia). The book was presented by Mr Ioannis Taifakos, Dean of the Humanities Department of the University of Cyprus. Besides, a collaboration agreement was signed between the State Universities of Cyprus and Tbilisi. On October 4th and 5th the guests of the conference had an opportunity to visit the archeological and historical monuments of western Georgia (Colchis) and of eastern Georgia (Iberia). The present volumes of the *Phasis* contain the proceedings of the conference papers.

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Phasis 10 (I), 2007

**THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE EXPRESSES GRATITUDE FOR
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**THE ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. MIKHEIL SAAKASHVILI, PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA
TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

THE ARGONAUTICA AND WORLD CULTURE

TBILISI, OCTOBER 1, 2007

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is great honour for Georgian scholars to host this conference, the theme of which is extremely important in the history of world culture, and is relevant to modern times, a period distinguished by close relations between peoples and countries, and by the spirit of collaboration.

For several millenniums, the Argonaut legend, one of the most splendid creations of the Greek genius, has been fostering world literature, fine arts – culture in the broader sense of the word – so as to transform the story of the Golden Fleece, of the courageous expedition of the Argo to distant lands and the dramatic love-story of Medea and Jason into brilliant pieces of art, which never cease to fascinate peoples of various epochs and ethnicities.

The Argonautica is among the most distinguished records and symbols of the centuries-old Greek and Georgian relations, which placed Colchis within the scope of the civilized world from ancient times and which most vividly attests to the European values of our ancestors as early as ancient times.

I am pleased to note that the Hellenic Republic and Georgia successfully maintain the diverse and ages-long relations between our two countries, which hardly have parallels in the world in view of their duration and intensity.

The Greek people and Hellenic culture have always been treated with particular respect in Georgia. Among the clearest proofs of this is the level which Hellenic studies have reached in the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Remarkably, the activities of Grigol Tsereteli and Simon Kawkhchishvili, both brilliant representatives of the Georgian scholarly community, are successfully carried on at present by the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University. This is clearly attested by the present conference, supported and contributed to by many renowned scholars of the world and held in collaboration with the Ministry of

Culture of the Hellenic Republic and the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia.

I would like to welcome cordially the participants of the Conference and wish you every success in your work.

May the Argonaut theme always inspire humankind with the desire for peaceful and neighbourly collaboration.

MIKHEIL SAKASHVILI
THE PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA

**ΜΗΝΥΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ
ΚΛΑΣΙΚΩΝ, ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΚΡΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΤΙΦΛΙΔΑΣ ΙΒΑΝΕ ΤΖΑΒΑΧΙΣΒΙΑΙ
ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ**

ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΣ

20 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2007-12-27

Με ιδιαίτερη ευχαρίστηση απευθύνομαι στους συμμετέχοντες του διεθνούς συνεδρίου «Αργοναυτική εκστρατεία και ο παγκόσμιος πολιτισμός» που διοργανώνει το Ινστιτούτο Κλασικών, Βυζαντινών και Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών του Κρατικού Πανεπιστημίου της Τιφλίδας.

Είναι άκρως σημαντικό ότι το συνέδριο λαμβάνει χώρα σε ένα τόσο γνωστό και αναγνωρισμένο κέντρο Ελληνικών Σπουδών, όπως είναι το Ινστιτούτο σας, το οποίο διακρίνεται όχι μόνο για τη μείζονα επιστημονική προσφορά του και τις διδακτικές και εκδοτικές δραστηριότητές του, αλλά και για την ιδιαίτερη συμβολή του στη μεγάλη άνθιση των ελληνο-γεωργιανών πολιτιστικών και εκπαιδευτικών σχέσεων. Το Συνέδριό σας αποτελεί ένα ακόμη φανερό παράδειγμα του έργου αυτού.

Η αργοναυτική εκστρατεία αποτελεί ένα από τα βασικότερα θέματα δημιουργίας και έρευνας για ολόκληρες γενιές συγγραφέων, καλλιτεχνών, επιστημόνων, ενώ ταυτόχρονα είναι σημείο σύγκλισης για τις πανάρχαιες σχέσεις των δύο λαών μας.

Σήμερα, όταν η ανθρωπότητα αντιμετωπίζει επιτακτικά την ανάγκη να αναπτύξει τις ειρηνικές σχέσεις ανάμεσα στους λαούς και να προωθήσει την παγκόσμια συνεργασία μπροστά στις μεγάλες προκλήσεις, ο μύθος των Αργοναυτών με την επίδρασή του για χιλιετίες στον παγκόσμιο πολιτισμό, καταλαμβάνει ξεχωριστή θέση.

Είμαι βέβαιος, ότι το Συνέδριό σας, που έχει συγκεντρώσει επιφανείς επιστήμονες απ'όλο τον κόσμο, θα είναι γόνιμο και τα συμπεράσματά του για τη μελλοντική μελέτη του αιώνιου προβληματισμού της Αργοναυτικής εκστρατείας θα είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικά.

Με την πεποίθηση αυτή απευθύνω θερμό χαιρετισμό προς όλους τους συμμετέχοντες, ευχόμενος κάθε επιτυχία στις εργασίες σας.

ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ ΠΑΠΟΥΛΙΑΣ
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

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**THE ADDRESS OF PROF. RISMAG GORDEZIANI,
CHAIR OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE
TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

THE ARGONAUTICA AND WORLD CULTURE

Today, the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University has become the host of an international conference *The Argonautica and World Culture* organized by the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic and the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia.

The theme of the conference and some of the dates celebrated this year are to a certain extent connected with each other. The Argonaut legend is the proomion of the several-thousand-year old relations between Greece and Georgia. A new stage started precisely 15 years ago, when official diplomatic relations were established between Greece and Georgia. Among the first most significant steps of the Hellenic Embassy in Georgia in the academic field was the great contribution to the establishment of our institute through uniting already existing hubs of Hellenic studies. As a result, a centre of Greek and Roman philology was created 10 years ago, which in fact was one of the largest in the ex-Soviet states. The exhibition in the lobby reflects the path which the Institute has been following throughout these 10 years. I do believe that we will not be ashamed to face the radiant souls of Grigol Tsereteli and Simon Kaukhschishvili, the outstanding Georgian scholars, and can state straightforwardly that their efforts were not made in vain.

So, our present conference is the happy consequence of the jubilee of our Institute, as well as of the date of establishing or resuming diplomatic relations between Greece and Georgia, and in most general terms, of the extremely interesting history of the ages-old Greek-Georgian contacts. Symbolically, our Conference coincides with the official visit of President Saakashvili of Georgia to Greece. We believe that it will be another important stage in the relations of our two countries.

The traditional story of the Argo's distant voyage, with its diverse symbolic implications, with the characters each having a marvelous and unique fate, and with the multiple and diverse ways of actualization, has been fostering the culture of mankind for over three thousand years. Thanks to the legend, many regions fell within the scope of the civilized world of ancient times. Regardless of where the land of Aietes was believed to be located in

the earliest versions of the legend, ancient, medieval and modern cultures found inherent links between the primary objective of the Argonauts' voyage, the Golden Fleece, and the most impressive images of the off-springs of Helios and of Colchis, one of the most charming regions of Georgia. Therefore, it is natural that the common interest in particular aspects of the legend is intensified in Georgia with a special emotional attitude towards the events and characters related to Colchis. For example, the image of Medea, as presented by Euripides, continues to stir passionate discussions, which have long gone beyond the world of art as well as of scholarly studies and have gripped the broader public. I do believe that our conference will be able to fully cover the diverse and comprehensive issues of the Argonautica, and that the conference proceedings will become one of the most significant collections of scholarly papers in this field.

Many international conferences in the field of Greek and Roman studies have been held in Georgia, and in particular in Tbilisi State University. I will not exaggerate if I state today that the present forum is among the most distinguished and significant owing to its broad scale and the high scholarly reputation of its participants. Over 30 colleagues from the Hellenic Republic, Bulgaria, Cyprus, France, Germany, the UK, Italy, Israel, Romania, Russia, and the US have visited us to take part in the Conference. I would like to thank them for taking such interest in this event.

Now allow me to announce with great delight and gratitude that the opening of the conference is attended by Mr Alexander Katranis, Charge d'Affair of the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia, Ms Eugenia Vosou, head of the Bilateral Section of the Department of International Relations of the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic, the friends of Georgia and of our Institute from the beautiful Greek island of Calimnos, the Undersecretary of the Dimarchus of the island, Philopos Khristodoulou and his wife, and the President of the Athens-Calimnos Organization for International Relations and Cultural Exchange, Ms Maria Theodoridou.

We are delighted to welcome His Excellency Mr Denis Keefe, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Georgia, who by his education belongs to the large family of classical philologists.

We are also honoured with the presence of His Excellency Mr Leonidas Pantelides, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cyprus to Russia, accredited to Georgia whose interesting philosophical book was translated into Georgian. It is with great delight that I invite you to the presentation of the book to be held at our Institute. I also welcome Professor Ioannis Taifakos, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of

Cyprus. His visit is connected with another significant event – with the signing of an agreement between the Universities of Cyprus and Tbilisi to take place here in this hall tomorrow.

I would like to add that the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus regularly supports our Institute, and is going to contribute significantly to the publication of the conference proceedings.

I welcome Ms Lela Tsipuria, deputy minister of the Education and Science of Georgia.

I am thankful to Mr Giorgi Khubua, Rector of University, and to the administration of the University and of the Department of Humanities, whose support was very important to the conference.

It would not be impossible to hold an international conference on such a scale without significant financial support. Apart from the TSU Development Fund and the Institute, and the contribution of the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic and the Embassy of the Hellenic Republic in Georgia, we highly appreciate the support of our friends. Allow me to present them:

The National Book Foundation of Greece headed by a renowned Greek writer Dimitri Nollas, an honored professor of our institute, and member of the organizing committee. He is absent today as he is taking part in events related to the visit of the President of Georgia to the Hellenic Republic.

Mr Dionisios Varelas, a distinguished patron of scholarly activities, whose foundation has been supporting specialists of the Byzantine studies of our institute for already the second year, and the Pharmaceutical Industry *Galenica* have also contributed to our conference.

We are also grateful to the TBC Bank and personally to Mr Mamuka Khazaradze, the Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the Bank.

It is with particular pleasure that I can announce the support of our partner and sponsor, the Bank Republic and its Chief Executive Officer, Mr Gilbert Hie.

I would like to thank all who support us for their contribution to the conference. We extend our warmest greetings to all who have honored us with their visit.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to declare the conference open. Our Argo has set off. Let us wish her every success in her several-day voyage in Georgia.

THE ARGONAUTICA AND ANCIENT CULTURE

Vassiliki Adrymi-Sismani (Volos)

IOLKOS: MYTH, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Greek poets and historians, as well as the long Greek oral tradition managed to preserve in the memory of the Greeks the famous legendary city of Iolkos¹. According to the Greek mythical tradition, Iolkos was the town of Pelias and Aison, father of the one-sandaled Jason, the leader of the Argonautic expedition that united the Argonauts – the most famous representatives of the Mycenaean kingdoms from all over Greece – under a unique aim: the conquest of the golden fleece² in the kingdom of Aietes and his daughter, Medeia, or – according to a modern interpretation³ – the Northeastern outbreak of the Bronze Age World to the rich in copper and gold regions of the Black Sea. This eventual fact along with references to the Mycenaean Iolkos, are described by many Greek authors, and the most significant of them, are listed below in a chronological order.

¹ Generally, about Iolkos, see *Realencyclopädie* ix, 1853; S. C. Bakhuizen, "Neleia, a contribution to a debate", *Orbis terrarium* 2, 1996, 85-120, esp. 89-95 and 100-111; J.-C. Decourt and alii, "Thessalia and adjacent regions", in M. H. Hansen & Th. H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford 2004, 711.

² P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa. Der Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*. Teil 1: Theos aitios, Stuttgart 1993 (*Palingenesia* 43). R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes, Jason and the Golden Fleece (The Argonautica)*, 1993. P. Dräger, 'Argonautai', *Der Neue Pauly* 1, 1996, col. 1066-9. P. Dräger, 'Iason (1)', *Der Neue Pauly* 5, 1998, 865-8. P. Dräger, "Apollonios von Rhodos, Die Fahrt der Argonauten, Griechisch/Deutsch. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von P. D. Stuttgart: Reclam 2002.

³ Chr. Doumas, 'What did the Argonauts seek in Colchis?', *Hermathena* 150, 1991, 31-41.

In the Homeric "Catalogue of the Ships" (B, 712), Iolkos is mentioned as "well-built", while in the Homeric Poems it is called "spacious" and "holder of numerous flocks of sheep"⁴.

Οἱ δὲ Φεράς ἐνέμοντο παραὶ Βοιβηίδα λίμνην,
 Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφυράς καὶ **ἔυκτιμένην** **Ἰαωλκόν**,
 τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος πάϊς ἔνδεκα νηῶν
 Εὐμηλος, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτῳ τέκε διὰ γυναικῶν
 Ἄλκηστις, Πελῖαιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη.

Even if the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships* do not fit perfectly to the actual image of the Mycenaean World, not even the descriptions of Homer, we must accept that those texts embody memories from the Mycenaean Period and give us an idea of the organization of the Thessalian plain during the Mycenaean period.

In the Archaic Period, Hesiod refers again to the "famous" and "spacious" Iolkos⁵.

Πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις **κλειτή** **τ'** **Ἰαωλκός**
 Ἄριη **τ'** ἠδ' Ἑλίκη Ἀνθειά τε ποιήεσσα
 φωνή μετ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἰακόν (Sc. 380-382).

Κύκνον δ' αἰὲ Κήυξ θάπτεν καὶ λαὸς ἀπείρων,
 οἳ ῥ' ἐγγύς ναῖον πόλιος κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος,
 Ἄσθην Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλιν **κλειτήν** **τ'** **Ἰαωλκόν**
 Ἄριην **τ'** ἠδ' Ἑλίκην· πολλὸς δ' ἠγείρετο λαός.
 τιμῶντες Κήυκα, φίλον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

(N. O., III, 54-58). (Sc. 472-476)

. . . Φθίην ἐξίκετο μητέρα μήλων,
 πολλὰ κτήματ' ἄγων ἐξ **εὐρυχόρου** **Ἰαωλκοῦ**,
 Πυλεὺς Αἰακίδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

(Cat. W. fr. 211, 1-3).

Later on, the glory of the city still echoes in the Pindaric Odes, where the "adorable" Iolkos, with its "white horses", its "numerous flocks of sheep and oxen" and its "wide open cultivable land", is located in the "small plain" reaching the "foot of Mount Pelion"⁶.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, B, v. 711-715

⁵ Hesiod, *Scutum*, v. 380-382, 472-476. Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 211, 1-3.

⁶ Pindar, *Nemean Odes* III, v. 32-36, 54-58; *ibid.*, IV, v. 10. Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, VIII, v. 38-42; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, IV, v. 79-80.

Παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς
 γέγαθε Πηλεὺς ἀναξ ὑπέραλλον αἰχμᾶν ταμών·
 ὅς καὶ Ἴωλκὸν εἶλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιάς,
 καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν
 ἔγκουητί.

(*N.O.*, 32-36) . . .

Παλίου δὲ πᾶρ ποδὶ λατρείαν Ἴωλκὸν
 πολεμία χερὶ προστραπῶν
 Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν
 δάμαρτος Ἴππολύτας Ἀκάστου δολίαις
 τέχναισι χρησάμενος

(*Ibid.*, 54-58).

Τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν Πηλεί γάμου θεόμορον
 ὀπάσσαι γέρας Αἰακίδα,
 ὄντ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἴωλκοῦ τράφειν πεδίου·
 ἰόντων δ' ἐς ἀφθιτον ἄντρον εὐθὺς Χίρωνος
 αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαι

(*I.O.*, VIII, 38-41)

. . . εὖτ' ἂν αἰπεινῶν ἀπὸ σταθμῶν ἐς εὐδείελον
 χθόνα μόλη κλειτᾶς Ἴωλκοῦ.

(*P.O.*, 79-80).

Moreover, the tragic poet Euripides denotes "Iolkos's Palaces"⁷.

γαῖά τε καὶ μελάθρων στέγαι
 νυμφίδιοι τε κοῖται πατρίας Ἴωλκοῦ.

Perhaps the legendary Iolkos progressively lost its importance after the destruction of the Mycenaean Palaces⁸, but its glory and fame still echoes loudly in the poems of the early Hellenistic period⁹. Mention has also been made to the "wealthy" Iolkos in the *Idylles* of Theocritus¹⁰.

⁷ Euripides, *Alcestes*, v. 248-249.

⁸ Herodotus, *History*, V, 94. Cf. S. C. Bakhuizen, (*supra*, n. 1), 92-95.

⁹ A. Dihle, 'Apollonius Rhodius and Epic Poetry', in: *A History of Greek Literature, from Homer to the Hellenistic Period*, transl. C. Krojzl, London & New York 1994, 266-71. M. H. Barnes, "Oral tradition and Hellenistic epic. New Directions in Apollonius Rhodius", *Oral Tradition* 18, 2003, 55-8.

¹⁰ Theocritus, *Idylles*, 13, 19-22. Cf. K. Erp Taalman & A. Maria van. 'Intertextuality and Theocritus 13', in I. de Jong & J.P. Sullivan (eds.), *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature*, Leiden 1994, 153-69

ἀλλ' ὅτε το χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰήσων
 Αἰσονίδα, οἱ δ' αὐτῶ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο
 πασᾶν ἐκ πολίων προλελεγμένοι, ὧν ὄφελός τι,
 ἵκετο ὁ ταλαεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἔς ἀφνειὸν Ἰωλκόν, . .

Furthermore, Apollonius Rhodius praises the famous city of the past with its "well settled roads" in his *Argonautica*, a long poem that points out in detail all the stages of the famous Argonautic expedition¹¹.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα πόλῃος ἐυδμήτους λίπ' ἀγυιάς,
 ἄκτῆν δ' Ἰκανεν Παγασίδα, τῆ μιν ἑταῖροι
 δειδέχατ' Ἀργῶν ἄμυδις παρὰ νηὶ μένοντες.

The identification of Ancient Iolkos has been ever since a matter of great importance for all the archaeologists who work in the field of Ancient Thessaly¹². The glory of the legendary city related to the myth of the Argonauts had to be affirmed. It even had to be proved whether it belonged to the territory of myth, or if it constituted a historical event connected to the supernatural efforts of the first Mycenaean sailors to reach the areas beyond the Aegean Sea¹³, a fact already registered by Homer who seems to be an endless source of information for the culture of the Late Helladic and the Early Iron Age periods¹⁴. However, since it is obvious that the Homeric texts do not consist secure proofs for the identification of the Mycenaean settlements, and since a divergence is realised between reality and epic tradition, the only thing left to do is to consult the actual well known excavation data and survey results, which consist the only secure evidence that provides us with an image of the organisation of the Mycenaean

¹¹ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* I, v. 317-319. D. Wray, 'Apollonius' Masterplot. Narrative Strategy in *Argonautica* I', in M. Annette Harder and alii (eds.), *Apollonius Rhodius*, Leuven 2000 (*Hellenistica Groningana* 4), 239-65.

¹² Cf. Chr. Tsountas, *PAE* 1900, 72-73; *PAE* 1901, 42. D. Theocharis, *PAE* 1956, 119-130; *PAE* 1957, 54-55; *PAE* 1960, 49-59. D. R. Theochares, "Iolkos", *Archaeology* 11, 1958, 13-18. M. Theochari, "Ek tou nekrotapeiou tes Iolkou", *AAA* III, 1970, 198-203. G. Chourmouziades & alii, *Magnesia*, 34-35. V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos et sa destruction", *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 1-54. Cf. Mp. Intzasiloglou, "Historiki topographia tes perioches tou kolpou tou Volou (in Greek)", in *La Thessalie. Quinze annees de recherches archéologiques, 1975-1990. Bilans et perspectives. Actes du colloque international Lyon, 17-22 avril 1990*, Athens 1994, 31-56.

¹³ Cf. recently, Ioanna Galanaki, Helena Tomas, Yannis Galanakis and Robert Laffineur (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference, Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb, 11-14 April 2005 (Aegaeum 27)*, Liege 2007.

¹⁴ Cf. recently on this issue, in S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (eds.), *Epos. Reconstructing Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International conference, Los Angeles, UCLA – The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006, Liège (Aegaeum 28)* 2007.

settlements in the coastal Mycenaean Thessaly; in particular, of those located around the natural harbour of the Pagasetic Gulf.

However, the latest excavations and surveys conducted in North-Eastern Thessaly helped us to locate more than a 100 new Mycenaean settlements in Thessaly¹⁵, who testify that Thessaly was belonging to the Mycenaean periphery and maybe constituted the Northern centre of the Mycenaean World¹⁶. Meanwhile, our knowledge about the presence of the Mycenaean in Thessaly has been significantly increased by the excavations that took part during the last century in the wider area of Volos, around the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf.

More thoroughly, the first finds that could be associated with the legendary Iolkos have been located in that area at the beginning of the 20th century, after the excavation of the two large scale tholos tombs in Dimini (fig. 1, 2)¹⁷ and later of a third one in Kapakli close to the Kastro of Volos¹⁸, where for the first time Tsountas located the legendary Iolkos¹⁹. Half a century later, D. Theocharis excavated a settlement in Kastro of Volos (Palia) situated very close to Kapakli, at the entrance of the modern town of Volos, at a small distance from the sea. There, he revealed parts of buildings of the 15th and 14th cent. B.C. ruined from a powerful fire. One of those buildings was identified by the excavator with the legendary Palace of Iolkos²⁰. Moreover, all scholars have interpreted the coastal Mycenaean settlement of Pevkakia – neighboring to Kastro of Volos – as the protected harbor of Ancient Iolkos, the well known Neleia²¹. In addition, the most significant Mycenaean ruins in

¹⁵ R. Hope Simpson & O. Dickinson, *A gazetteer of Aegean civilisation in the Bronze Age, vol. I. The mainland and islands*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature 52, Göteborg (Paul Åströms Förlag) 1979, 272-298. B. Feuer, *The Northern Mycenaean border in Thessaly*, Oxford (BAR 176) 1983, 24-32. K. I. Gallis, *Atlas proistorikôn Theseon tes anatolikes thessalikes pidiadas*, Larissa 1992. L. Chadjiagelakis, "Akropoli Kieriou – Thesi Oglas (in Greek)" *Archaeologikon Deltion* 52, 1997, 473; idem, "Agnantero (in Greek)", *Archaeologikon Deltion* 53, 445-448. A. Intzesiloglou, "Helleno-Italiko Programma Epiphaneiakôn Ereunôn (In Greek)" *Archaeologikon Deltion* 52, 1977, 497-498. R. Reinders, *Prehistoric sites at the Almirós and Sourpi plains (Thessaly, Greece)*. Koninklijke (Van Gorcum) 2003.

¹⁶ Cf. V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Mycenaean Northern Borders Revisited. New Evidence from Thessaly", in M. L. Galaty & W. A. Parkinson (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II: Revised and Expanded Second Edition (Cotsen Monographs 59)*, Los Angeles (UCLA) 2007, 322-357.

¹⁷ H. G. Lolling & P. Wolters, "Das Kuppelgrab bei Dimini", *Athenische Mitteilungen* 11, 1886, 435-443; idem, "Das Kuppelgrab bei Dimini" *Athenische Mitteilungen* 12, 1887, 136-138. J. P. Michaud, Dimini. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique* 95, 1971, 936-937.

¹⁸ R. Avila, "Das Kuppelgrab von Volos-Kapakli", *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 58, 1983, 5-60.

¹⁹ Cf. the articles of Chr. Tsountas, in *supra*, n. 12.

²⁰ D. R. Theochares, "Iolkos", *Archaeology* 11, 1958, 13-18.

²¹ Cf. S. C. Bakhuizen (*supra*, n. 1), 85-120.

the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf were recently uncovered in Dimini by the excavations conducted during the last 20 years.

To be more explicit, a Mycaenean town was excavated in Dimini²² (fig. 3), lying on the plain situated east of the hill with the Neolithic remains. This town, that covers an area of about 10 hectares, was founded in the end of the 15th c. B.C., on the top of earlier EBA and MBA deposits²³, and flourished in the 14th and 13th c. B.C., the period of expansion of the Mycenaean civilization. Eleven blocks of houses were excavated, built in two main architectural phases, in the 14th and 13th cent. B.C. (fig. 4). These houses that consist of 2 to 3 rooms are aligned along the central road²⁴, which strikingly enough does not provide access to them. They have stone foundations, a mud-brick superstructure, coloured (white and ochre) plasters, while clay baths and traces of drainage systems are also uncovered in many of them. They are independent to each other, sharing courtyards with wells. A painted clay figurine of a bovine²⁵ (fig. 5) found in one of those houses suggests the presence of a domestic shrine. Additionally, a large ceramic kiln was uncovered in the outskirts of the town²⁶. Systematic excavations conducted during the last five years unearthed a building complex of great importance in the centre of this settlement, with two Megaron-type, parallel buildings, named Megaron A and Megaron B, surrounded by wings of storage areas and workshops²⁷. This is actually the complex where the central road of the settlement - 4,5m wide - leads to. This road crosses a wider road that leads to the harbour, at Pevkakia (Neleia). In the crossroad of these two main streets, a large *propylon*²⁸ with two lateral rooms is placed, providing access into the two large Megara and the surrounding architectural complex.

²² V. Adrymi-Sismani, *To Dimini sten Epoche tou Chalkou*, Volos (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Thessaloniki) 2000. Cf. also the studies of V. Adrymi-Sismani, in *supra*, n. 12.

²³ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Dimini in the Middle Bronze Age (in Greek)", in *Proceedings of the "Messoeladika. Continental Greece in the Middle Bronze Age" International Colloquium, held by the French Archaeological Institute, the American School of Classical Studies and the Nederladen Institute of Athens, Athens 8-12 mars 2006*. In press.

²⁴ V. Adrymi-Sismani, *AD* 43, 1988, 238-239; idem, "Ho Mykenaikos oikismos Diminiou (in Greek)", in *Actes du Colloque International, "Thessalia, 15 annees de recherches archeologiques, 1975-1990. Bilans et perspectives"*, Lyon, 17-22 avril 1990, Volos 1994, 27; idem, "Le palais de Iolkos" (cf. *supra* n. 12), p. 6 et n. 7.

²⁵ V. Adrymi-Sismani (*supra*, n. 22), 217-219, fig. 164.

²⁶ V. Adrymi-Sismani, *AD* 47, 1992, 222; idem, "Mykenaikos keramikos klivanos sto Dimini (in Greek)", in *Papers of the A' International Colloquium "He periphéria tou Mykenaiou kosmou (in Greek), Lamia, 25-29 Septembriou 1994*, Lamia 1999, 131-142.

²⁷ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 8-51 et fig. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3, fig. 2.

After crossing the propylon, the entrance to the complex is attained via a bounded court, a construction of 4 small rooms, perhaps guardrooms and a large ramp that leads to Megaron A.

The space occupied by this Megaron consists of 5 parallel wings of rooms, while its core - the actual Megaron A - bears two wings of rooms divided by a long corridor (fig. 6) and is outlined by three wings of smaller storage rooms. Megaron A was constructed in the 13th cent. B.C., over an earlier Megaron, dating back to the 14th c. B.C. which was destroyed by fire. The north wing of Megaron A has two large rooms and a *prostoon*, all with floors and walls covered with white lime plaster as well as an open peristyle court with columns covered also with white lime plaster. The roof of the probably two-storeyed Megaron A was pitched and perhaps covered by clay tiles, while parts of a clay drain pipe and a large clay funnel were also brought to light.

The south wing, contemporary with the north one, consists of ten small rooms (fig. 7). The rooms were used for the preparation and the storage of food as is evident from the pottery finds (rooms 4-5), and also for the small scale manufacture of artefacts (rooms 9, 19, 18, 17). Apart from the pottery finds, 10 moulds (fig. 8) and the necessary tools for the manufacture of jewels²⁹ were found. However, the most significant find in this wing, where the workshops were situated, was part of an inscribed stone weight in Linear B (fig. 9), which suggests that Linear B was in use in Megaron A³⁰.

South of Megaron A, there is a wing of workshops, where an intact large lead vessel was found³¹. Another wing of storerooms was excavated north of Megaron A.

The second building complex, named Megaron B, was founded over earlier deposits nearby Megaron A and provided access to it through an inner court. It also consists of two wings: one with a central building with 3 rooms made of thick masonry - more than one meter wide -, and another one that consists of storage rooms.

Megaron B was destroyed by an intense fire (fig. 10). The extended and thick layer of destruction - that consists of carbonized wood, burnt mud bricks and burnt clay - remained undisturbed until the moment of excavation,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22-23, fig. 12-16.

³⁰ V. Adrymi-Sismani & L. Godart, "Les inscriptions en Linéaire B de Dimini/Iolkos et leur contexte archéologique", *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* LXXXIII, Serie III, 5, Tomo I, 2005, 47-69.

³¹ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), p. 23 and fig. 18. Cf. S. Mossman, in C. Gillis and alii (eds.), *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece. Acquisition and Distribution of raw Materials and Finished products, Proceedings of the 6th International Workshop, Athens 1996, 2000*, 85-119

and lies over a significant quantity of pottery that bears traces of fire. A large collar necked jar³² broken into pieces due to the collapse of the wooden roof was found in room 3. In the same room, a large lead vessel³³, melted due to the severe fire and a large Aeginetan tripod cooking pot³⁴ broken and totally burnt give both the impression that they were pulled over, towards the door. This probably happened during the time of destruction so that the vessels would be taken away, an act that remained unachieved. Also, many large parts of wooden beams were found, that fell when the roof collapsed³⁵. In the storage room 6, 5 large pithoi containing cereal, which had been placed in the ground³⁶, had already been taken away, a fact that suggests that there was enough time in order to try to remove them before the actual destruction. In the other two storerooms, a large quantity of vases (fig. 11) made especially for liquids was found placed on shelves and - as the analyses undertaken in Bristol revealed - they hadn't been used. In the same room decorated and plain pottery was also found³⁷, including a large Canaanite amphora used for wine bearing the potter's mark and a large unpainted stirrup jar used for oil. Also, a decorated rhyton³⁸ and the part of an ivory comb were found in the same storeroom (fig. 12), along with wooden trunks, straw baskets, large jars, amphoras and the specially paved area used for the storage of fruits, as the carbonized seeds of olive trees and grapes demonstrate.

In the eastern room of the central building of Megaron B a large clay H-shaped altar (fig. 13) was found³⁹. The entire construction bears intensive traces of fire and different layers possibly with burnt liquids. An intact large painted mug⁴⁰ found in front of the altar, indicates that libations might have been taking place on it. The same thing is indicated by the cups containing remains of burnt animal bones that were uncovered in the 3 small side rooms, where a small entrance leads to⁴¹.

³² V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 38, fig. 24. Cf. S. Iakovidis, *Perate. To Nekrotapheio* (in Greek), 1969, pl. 76c; C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (*ABSA* Suppl. 18), 1985, 86; P. A. Mountjoy, *Grapte Mykenaike Keramike* (in Greek), Athens (Kardamitsas) 1994, 144-145.

³³ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 42.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 42 and fig. 27-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48-50, fig. 35-37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 46-47, fig. 34. Cf. P.A. Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, Berlin (M. Leidorf) 1999, 674-675.

³⁹ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 39-41, fig. 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 40, fig. 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

At the end of the 12th cent. B.C., Megaron A and B were affected by a destruction, similarly to the other well known Mycenaean centres of Southern Greece, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Pylos and Thebes⁴². The Mycenaean town of Dimini before the destruction, at the end of the 13th cent. B.C., presented in general a good urban organisation that does not seem to differ from that of the Mycenaean centres of Southern Greece. Of course, certain small differences are observed, but a similar clear intention to demonstrate the social rank is noticeable. The latter is accomplished through the construction of the two large scale tholos tombs⁴³ and mainly through the construction of a large architectural complex constituting a combination of habitation spaces, storage areas, workshops and sacred spaces, and where Linear B script was in use. Consequently, in the Mycenaean settlement of Dimini we find the unique example of a well-built Mycenaean town in Thessaly with "well constructed roads", organised around an administrative, economic and religious centre, which at the end of the 12th cent. B.C. experiences a horrible destruction. Nevertheless, the settlement is not abandoned immediately after the destruction. There are remarkable signs that during the next two decades there is an attempt for repair and renovation of all buildings of the settlement, in at least two habitation phases (fig. 14). What's more, we should stress that after the repairs we do not observe any changes in the urban plan of the settlement, which in general remains the same⁴⁴.

The population that attempts these changes appears to be basically the same, since it uses the same pottery at the same time with the grey pseudo-minyan⁴⁵ and the handmade burnished ware that appear here for the first time now, and it continues cultivating the same land with cereal, vines, and olives, and breed the same domestic animals. However it is obvious that we are now speaking of a completely different, clearly rural, society. The workshops, where the stone moulds were found, are not in use and the precious imported objects are absent. It appears that there is also an important change in the religious sector, since Megaron B, where the large altar existed, remains buried under the ruins.

⁴² C. W. Shelmerdine, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VI: The Palatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland", *AJA* 101, 1997, 548-549, 581-582.

⁴³ Cf. *supra*, n. 17.

⁴⁴ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Habitation changes in the Eastern coastal Thessaly, following the destruction of the Palaces in LH III B2 / LH IIIC Early", in *Papers of the International Symposium "The Dark Ages Revisited", in memoriam of J. Coulson*, *Volos (University of Thessaly)*, June 2007 (under publication).

⁴⁵ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "He grisa pseudo-minya kai he stilvomeni cheiropoiete keramiki apo to mykenaiiko oikismo tou Diminiou (in Greek), *Proceedings of the Conference "To archaeologiko ergo ste Thessalia kai Sterea Ellada I, Volos (University of Thessaly) 2003"*, Volos 2006, 85-101.

Unfortunately this new configuration could not have lasted for long, and very soon, in the beginning of LH III C middle, the residents abandoned their cultivable land permanently and moved to another, more secure region. We could speak of a mass immigration, perhaps in familial groups, either on foot – which implicates a close destination – or by boats, fact that means that they resorted to a completely different region, perhaps towards the islands or the coasts of Asia Minor. This situation led to the final abandonment of Dimini for many centuries. It should be marked out that the settlement's abandonment was carried out peacefully⁴⁶, without any previous sign of intervention of an exterior threat that would confirm the later Greek tradition of the Dorian invasion.

The phenomenon of the destruction that occurred in the settlement of Dimini was also experienced by the neighbouring settlements in Kastro of Volos and in Pefkakia (fig. 15). However, those two settlements do not appear to have faced the destruction with the same way that was faced by the inhabitants of Dimini. According to the excavators, the settlement in Pefkakia is depopulated immediately after the destruction, without any effort for repair of the destroyed buildings⁴⁷. On the contrary, in the settlement in Kastro of Volos life goes on and the transition to the Early Iron Age is attained smoothly⁴⁸. However many changes took place there after the destruction. The "crater of the warriors" rather suggests a new society of martial sovereigns that dominates the harbour and the plain of Volos. The well-known, so far, archaeological data from Kastro Volos do not suggest that the population from Pevkakia or from Dimini resorted there, since there are no architectural finds dating to that period.

The image of the power and wealth of the northern centre of the Mycenaean civilization – Iolkos – before its destruction was reinforced lately by the recent excavation in 2004, in Kasanaki located in the Volos area, of an intact tholos tomb⁴⁹ also associated with Iolkos. Kasanaki's tholos tomb, that dates in the 15th and 14th cent. B.C., is of great importance, since it gives as useful information about the burial customs of this area.

⁴⁶ Cf. V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos", 1-54.

⁴⁷ D. Theocharis, "Anaskafai en Iolkos (in Greek)", *PAAH* 1956, 28-29, 119-130; idem, 1957, 54-69; idem, 1960, 49-59; idem, 1961, 45-54. A. Efstathiou-Batzioy, "Apotelesmata ton prospathon anaskafikon ereunon ste N. Ionia kai ste perioche Pefkakion (in Greek)", in *Neotera dedomena ton ereunon gia ten Archaea Iolko. Praktika Epistemonikes Synantises*, 12 *Maiou* 1993, Volos 1994, 59-70.

⁴⁸ A. Efstathiou-Batzioy, *He Hysreri epoche tou chalkou sten perioche tes Magnesias: To Kastro (Palia) kai ta Pefkakia*, Volos (unpublished PhD), 59-70.

⁴⁹ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Kasanaki tholos tomb", *Archaeological Reports of the British School of Athens* 50, 2004-2005, 59-61. V. Adrymi-Sismani & St. Alexandrou, "Mykenaikos tholotos taphos ste thesi Kasanaki (in Greek)", in *Proceedings of the 2nd Conference "Archaeologiko Ergo Thessalias kai Stereas Ellados"*, Volos-University of Thessaly 2006 (under publication).

Seven deceased (4 adults and 3 children) had been buried in the tholos tomb, accompanied by decorated pottery, golden, glass and faience jewellery, one sword, golden and glass plaques, seal stones made of agate and rock crystal, clay figurines (*kourotrophos*), and golden sheets bearing holes belonging probably to the decoration of the deceased's clothes or shroud. Long after their initial burial, the deceased were burnt all together, during a ceremonial fire, and their vestiges were placed again into the tholos tomb without any order. Similar funeral customs are observed in the contemporary Kapakli and Dimini A tholos tombs.

The similarities of the four tholos tombs finds and of the architectural features are not surprising, since these tombs are located around the inlet of the Pagasetic gulf along with the Late Bronze Age settlements of Kastro Volos, Dimini and Pefkakia (fig. 16). According to our latest considerations, all these three settlements – Dimini, Kastro of Volos and Pefkakia – actually belong together to the legendary centre of Ancient Iolkos. They function together around the biggest port of Thessaly in order to control the exchanges of the Thessalian plain products and generally all the maritime communications via the Aegean with the rest of the well known world. This port of Iolkos was located around a deep *Iolka* (word used by Hesychius to describe the marine passage)⁵⁰ shaped in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf during the 3rd millennium B.C., according to the geological research of Zannger⁵¹.

However, from the three coastal Mycenaean settlements located in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf, only Dimini makes a real candidate, since it displays clearly the role of a town with an administrative, economic and religious centre, important workshops and use of the Linear B script that testify the existence of a powerful and wealthy centre. The inhabitants of these settlements were keen sailors that had developed sailing from a very early period, as is indicated by the early representations of ships that were depicted on their vases (fig. 17). The first ships, the first long voyages and the adventures of those pioneer sailors of Ancient Iolkos generated the legend of the Argonautic expedition, which must be placed within the Mycenaean times, one generation before the expedition to Troy, judging by the genealogy of the heroes that took part in both expeditions.

Moreover, the material's analysis of the golden items of the Kananaki tholos tomb – that was made in the Laboratories of the Museum of Louvre in Paris in order to identify the source of the gold used for the fabrication of the jewellery of the deceased – has revealed that this gold is of an alluvial type,

⁵⁰ Hesychius, s.v. *Ιόλκα*.

⁵¹ E. Zannger, "Prehistoric Coastal Environments in Greece. The Vanished Landscapes of Dimini Bay and Lake Lerna", *JFA* 18, 1991, 1-7.

meaning that it comes from a river's deposits⁵². We hope that future analysis will display if this gold can actually be associated with the rich in precious metals and gold sources in the region of the Ancient Colchis where the kingdom of Aetes was placed, and perhaps in river Phasis, where even recently chips of gold seem to be selected with sheepskins. This would be an ideal and desirable conclusion that could bring in our times Iolkos and the Argonautic Expedition from their mythical perspective to a historical reconsideration.

⁵² M. F. Guerra, S. Röhrs, J. Salomon, Ph. Walter, V. Adrymi-Sismani, "L'origine de l'or de la tombe mycénienne de Kasanaki", in *Proceedings of the Conference "To archaeologiko Ergo ste Thessalia kai Sterea Ellada II, Volos (University of Thessaly) 2006"* (under publication).

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H EISODOS APO TO ESWTERIKO TOU TAFOU.
THE ENTRANCE FROM TOMBS INTERIOR.



SCEDIASTIKH ANAPARASTASH.
DRAWING SECTION.



H EISODOS TOU TAFOU META TIS ERGASIES ETEREWSHS.
THE TOMBS ENTRANCE AFTER CONSOLIDATION WORKS.



ERGASIES EPANAFORAS TOU ANATOLIKOU TOICOU TOU DROMOU.
RESTORATION AT THE EASTERN WALL OF THE DROMOS.



SFRAGIDOLIQOI KAI DAKTULIOI.
SEAL, STONES AND RINGS.



PERIDERAIO ME CANDRES
APO CRUSO.
BEADNECKLACE MADE
OF GOLD.



PERIDERAIO ME CANDRES
APO UALOMAZA.
BEADNECKLACE MADE OF
GLASS-MASS.

UPOURGEIO POLITISMOU IG' EFOREIA PROISTORIKWN
KAI KLASIKWN ARCAIOTHWN QOLWTOS
TAFOS "TOUMPA" STO DIMINI

MINISTRY OF CULTURE
13th EPHORATE OF PREHISTORICAL AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES
THOLOS TOMB "TOUMBA" AT DIMINI



APOYH THS ANASKAFHS TOY 1901.
VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION IN 1901.



APOYH TOY DROMOU
VIEW OF THE ROAD.



LEPTOMERIA TOY UPERQIYOU ESWTERIKA
DETAIL OF THE LINTEL FROM THE INSIDE.



SCEDIASTIKH TOMH.
DRAWING SELECTION.

ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΙΜΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟ
QOLWTOS TAFOS "TOUMPA"

Θολωτός τάφος «Τούμπα»
Υπερήχη εναγώνη θολωτός (VE III B2), 13^{ος} αι. π.Χ.

Ο θολωτός τάφος «Τούμπα» βρίσκεται στο βορειο-ανατολικό τμήμα της Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων Κολωνίας, στο Δίμινι. Η κατασκευή του έγινε κατά τον 13^ο αιώνα π.Χ. και αποτελεί ένα χαρακτηριστικό δείγμα της αρχαίας ελληνικής θολωτής ταφής. Η θολωτή κατασκευή είναι κατασκευασμένη από πέτρα και αποτελείται από ένα στενό ορθογώνιο είσοδο που οδηγεί σε έναν κωνικό χώρο. Η θολωτή κατασκευή είναι κατασκευασμένη από πέτρα και αποτελείται από ένα στενό ορθογώνιο είσοδο που οδηγεί σε έναν κωνικό χώρο. Η θολωτή κατασκευή είναι κατασκευασμένη από πέτρα και αποτελείται από ένα στενό ορθογώνιο είσοδο που οδηγεί σε έναν κωνικό χώρο.

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LEPTOMERIA TOY UPERQIYOU
DETAIL OF THE LINTEL.



APOYH THS TAFΟΥ APO EPANW
OVERVIEW OF THE TOMB.

Tholos tomb "Toumba"
Late Helladic period (LH III B, 13th century B.C.)

The tholos tomb "Toumba" is located at Dimini, on the west coast of the Gulf with the Neolithic ruins. It was excavated in 1901 by V. Stais and was found spoliated. It is in a bad state of conservation, since its vault has collapsed until the height of the lintel. This tomb is better constructed than the tholos tomb "Lamiospila" and it dates -according to its architectural type- to a later period. From the rare ceramic samples found during the drainage cleaning, it can be dated to the Late Helladic Period (LH III B, 13th century B.C.).

The tomb consists of the vault (tholos) (5.80m, external height, 3.50m, diameter), the stamnos (3.25m, long, 3.10m, tall, 1.60m, wide), and of a long dromos (14.30m, long, 2.30m, wide) which has a NW orientation. The lateral sides of the dromos were supported by stone-built retaining walls, slightly converging on the stamnos. The walls are low, tall on their conjunction with the vault, and are in an excellent state of conservation. The abstraction wall of the tomb is conserved at the edge of the road.

The access to the tomb's tholos was achieved by a stamnos, which was covered by four big chiseled stones of limestone (8.85m, wide). The lateral slab of the lintel is carved in order to follow the vault's shape. The relieving triangle is formed above the lintel. The entrance of the stamnos is built of big chiseled stones carrying sockets for a wooden (?) door.

The vault is constructed according to the "reflector" system, with small limestone pieces without binding hole. The stones of the vault's base are big chiseled blocks founded on the limestone bedrock, which is flattened in form on the north side of the vault there is a rectangular construction (3.62m, long, 1.60m, wide, and 1.80m external height). According to the observations of the excavator V. Stais, the construction was covered by stone slabs lying on the lateral walls, and on a wooden beam resting in the middle of the funeral hole.

Although the tomb was found spoliated, nevertheless some finds -mostly small jewelry made of gold and glass- escaped the illicit diggers attention. These finds are displayed at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The tholos tomb "Toumba" and the tholos tomb "Lamiospila" are attributed, without any further doubts, to the kings (sooths) of the Mycenaean settlement which was founded recently at Dimini, in the plain eastwards of the hill with the Neolithic settlements.



APOYH APO TO ESWTERIKO TOY TAFΟΥ
VIEW OF THE TOMBS INTERIOR.



LARNAKA.
LARNAX.

ΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΝΙΟΥ (ΙΩΛΚΟΣ)
MYCENAEAN SETTLEMENT AT DIMINI (IOLKOS)

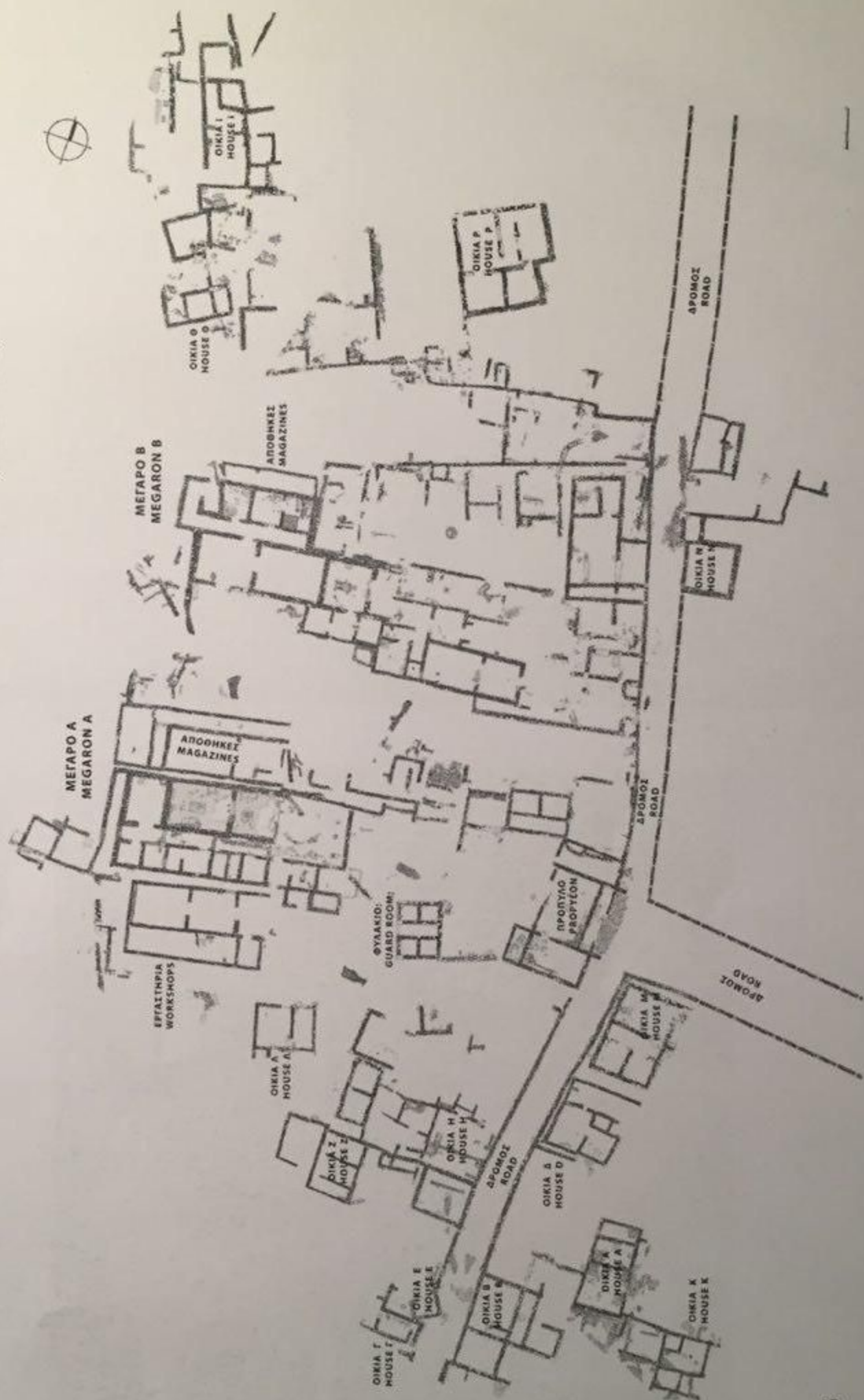


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



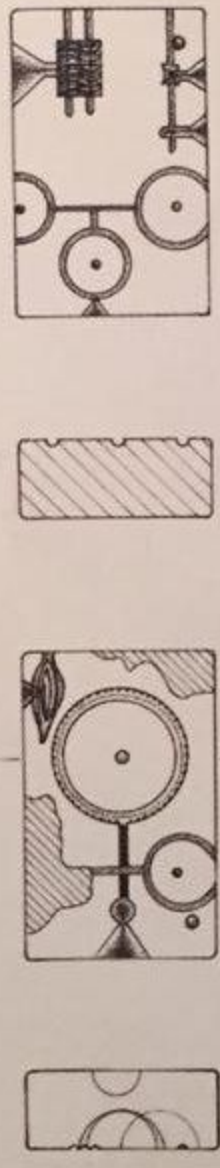
Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



BE 3 5698

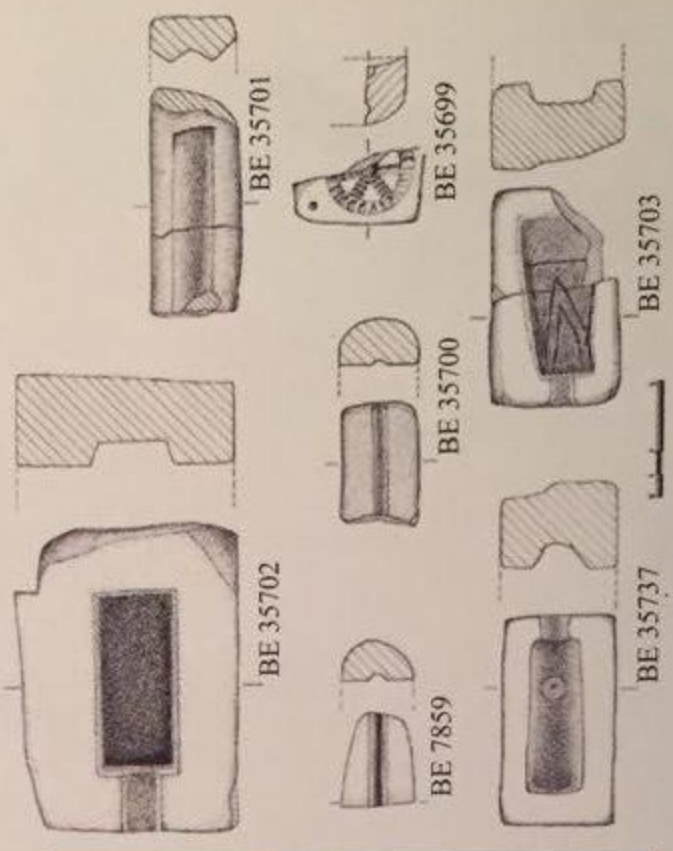
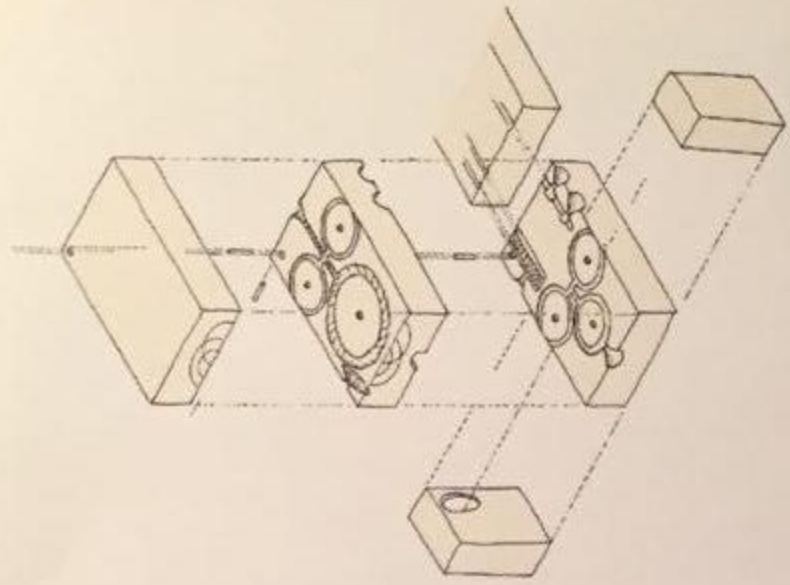


Fig. 8



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Fig. 9

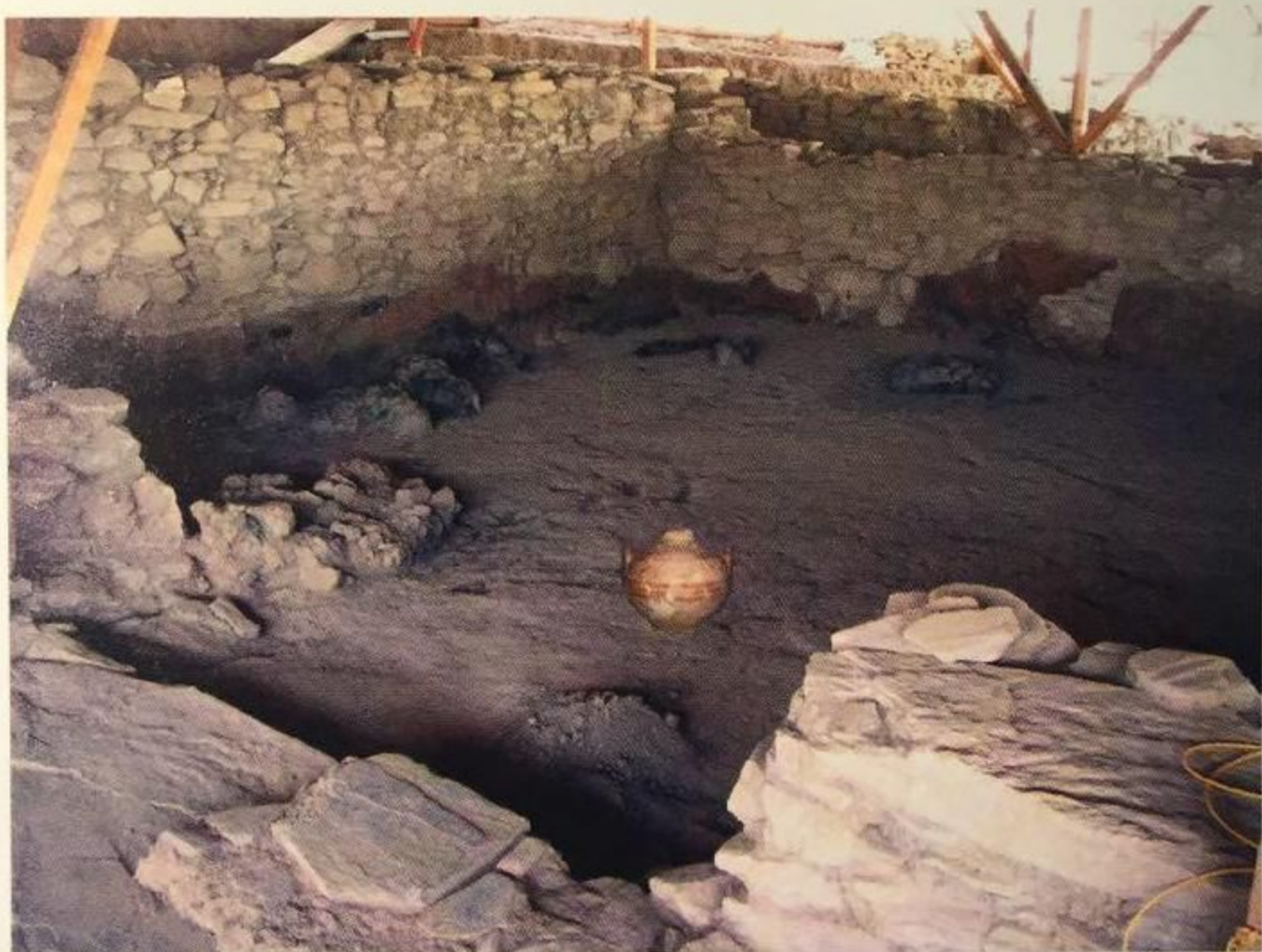


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

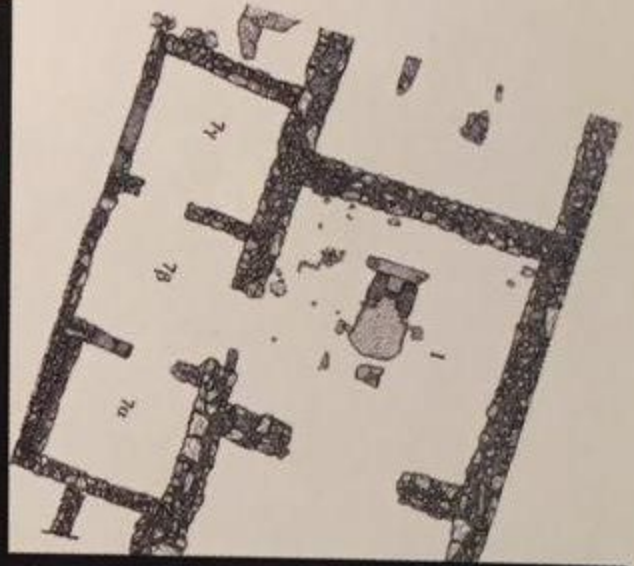


Fig. 13

ΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΔΙΜΗΝΙΟΥ. ΜΥΚΕΝΑΕΑΝ ΣΕΤΤΛΕΜΕΝΤ ΑΤ ΔΙΜΙΝΙ
LH III C Middle, phase a



Fig. 14

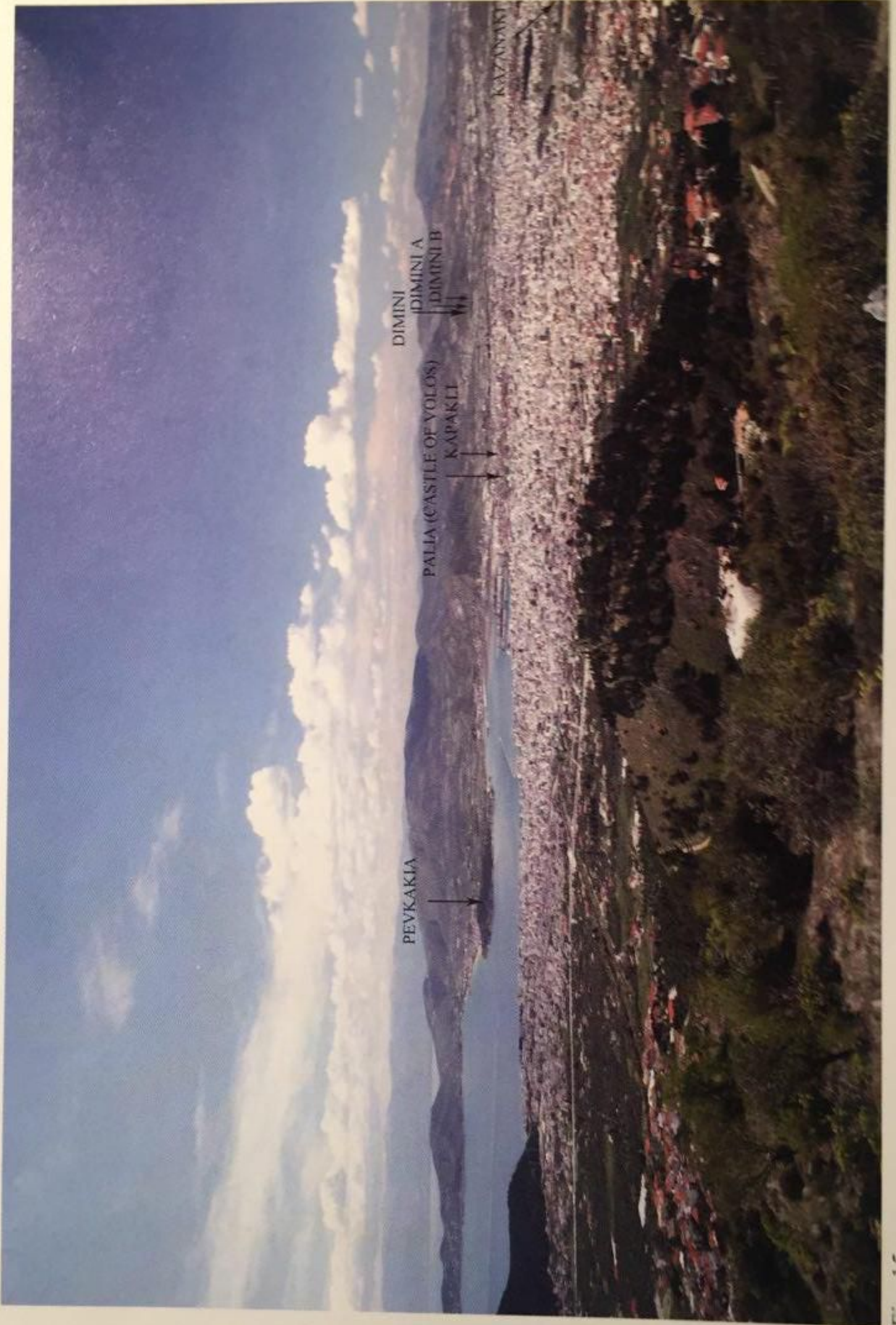


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

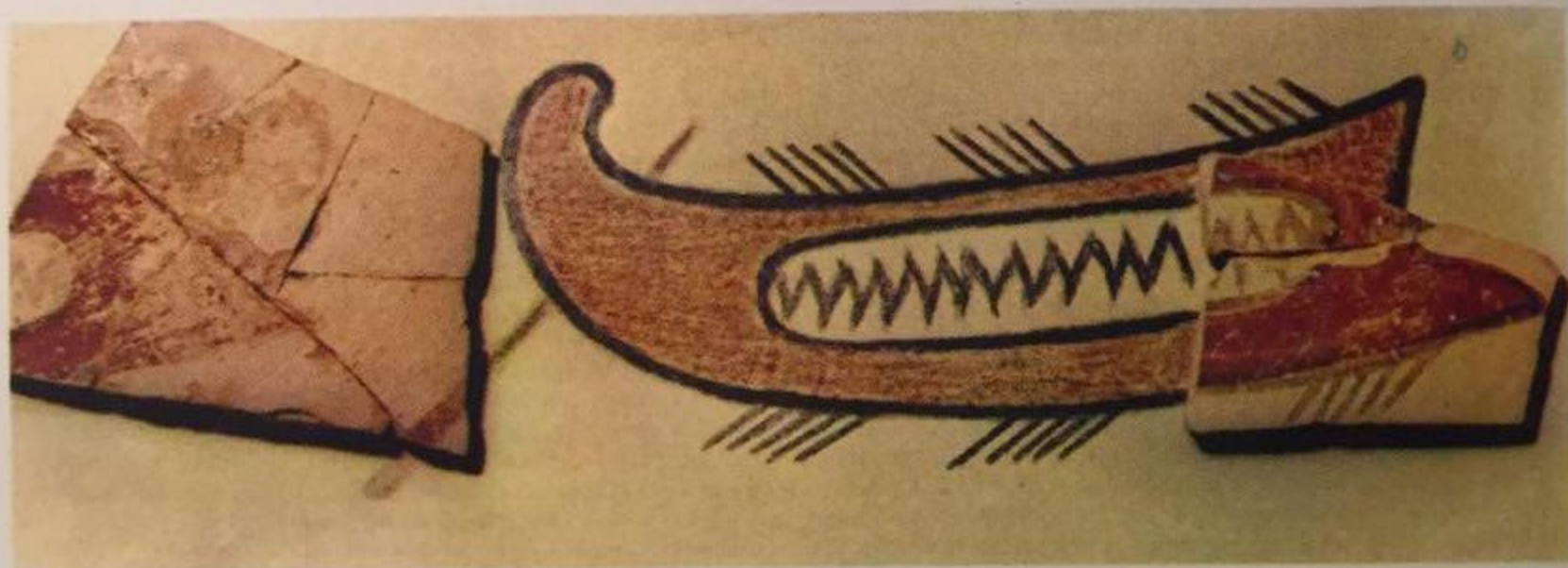
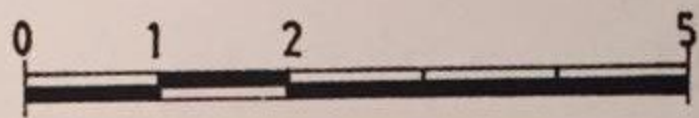


Fig. 17

THE ARGONAUTICA AND ANCIENT CULTURE

Vassiliki Adrymi-Sismani (Volos)

IOLKOS: MYTH, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Greek poets and historians, as well as the long Greek oral tradition managed to preserve in the memory of the Greeks the famous legendary city of Iolkos¹. According to the Greek mythical tradition, Iolkos was the town of Pelias and Aison, father of the one-sandaled Jason, the leader of the Argonautic expedition that united the Argonauts – the most famous representatives of the Mycenaean kingdoms from all over Greece – under a unique aim: the conquest of the golden fleece² in the kingdom of Aietes and his daughter, Medeia, or – according to a modern interpretation³ – the Northeastern outbreak of the Bronze Age World to the rich in copper and gold regions of the Black Sea. This eventual fact along with references to the Mycenaean Iolkos, are described by many Greek authors, and the most significant of them, are listed below in a chronological order.

¹ Generally, about Iolkos, see *Realencyclopädie* ix, 1853; S. C. Bakhuizen, "Neleia, a contribution to a debate", *Orbis terrarium* 2, 1996, 85-120, esp. 89-95 and 100-111; J.-C. Decourt and alii, "Thessalia and adjacent regions", in M. H. Hansen & Th. H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford 2004, 711.

² P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa. Der Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*. Teil 1: Theos aitios, Stuttgart 1993 (*Palingenesia* 43). R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes, Jason and the Golden Fleece (The Argonautica)*, 1993. P. Dräger, 'Argonautai', *Der Neue Pauly* 1, 1996, col. 1066-9. P. Dräger, 'Iason (1)', *Der Neue Pauly* 5, 1998, 865-8. P. Dräger, "Apollonios von Rhodos, Die Fahrt der Argonauten, Griechisch/Deutsch. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von P. D. Stuttgart: Reclam 2002.

³ Chr. Doumas, 'What did the Argonauts seek in Colchis?', *Hermathena* 150, 1991, 31-41.

In the Homeric "Catalogue of the Ships" (B, 712), Iolkos is mentioned as "well-built", while in the Homeric Poems it is called "spacious" and "holder of numerous flocks of sheep"⁴.

Οἱ δὲ Φεράς ἐνέμοντο παραὶ Βοιβηίδα λίμνην,
 Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφυράς καὶ **ἔυκτιμένην** **Ἰαωλκόν**,
 τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος πάϊς ἔνδεκα νηῶν
 Εὐμηλος, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτῳ τέκε διὰ γυναικῶν
 Ἄλκηστις, Πελῖαιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη.

Even if the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships* do not fit perfectly to the actual image of the Mycenaean World, not even the descriptions of Homer, we must accept that those texts embody memories from the Mycenaean Period and give us an idea of the organization of the Thessalian plain during the Mycenaean period.

In the Archaic Period, Hesiod refers again to the "famous" and "spacious" Iolkos⁵.

Πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις **κλειτή** τ' **Ἰαωλκός**
 Ἄριη τ' ἠδ' Ἐλίκη Ἀνθειά τε ποιήεσσα
 φωνή μετ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἰακόν (Sc. 380-382).

Κύκνον δ' αἰὲ Κήυξ θάπτεν καὶ λαὸς ἀπείρων,
 οἳ ῥ' ἐγγύς ναῖον πόλιος κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος,
 Ἄσθην Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλιν **κλειτήν** τ' **Ἰαωλκόν**
 Ἄριην τ' ἠδ' Ἐλίκην· πολλὸς δ' ἠγείρετο λαός.
 τιμῶντες Κήυκα, φίλον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

(N. O., III, 54-58). (Sc. 472-476)

. . . Φθίην ἐξίκετο μητέρα μήλων,
 πολλὰ κτήματ' ἄγων ἐξ **εὐρυχόρου** **Ἰαωλκοῦ**,
 Πυλεὺς Αἰακίδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

(Cat. W. fr. 211, 1-3).

Later on, the glory of the city still echoes in the Pindaric Odes, where the "adorable" Iolkos, with its "white horses", its "numerous flocks of sheep and oxen" and its "wide open cultivable land", is located in the "small plain" reaching the "foot of Mount Pelion"⁶.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, B, v. 711-715

⁵ Hesiod, *Scutum*, v. 380-382, 472-476. Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 211, 1-3.

⁶ Pindar, *Nemean Odes* III, v. 32-36, 54-58; *ibid.*, IV, v. 10. Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, VIII, v. 38-42; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, IV, v. 79-80.

Παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς
 γέγαθε Πηλεὺς ἀναξ ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν ταμών·
 ὅς καὶ Ἴωλκὸν εἶλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιάς,
 καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν
 ἔγκοιητί.

(*N.O.*, 32-36) . . .

Παλίου δὲ πᾶρ ποδὶ λατρείαν Ἴωλκὸν
 πολεμία χερὶ προστραπῶν
 Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν
 δάμαρτος Ἴππολύτας Ἀκάστου δολίαις
 τέχναισι χρησάμενος

(*Ibid.*, 54-58).

Τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν Πηλεί γάμου θεόμορον
 ὀπάσσαι γέρας Αἰακίδα,
 ὄντ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἴωλκοῦ τράφειν πεδίου·
 ἰόντων δ' ἐς ἀφθιτον ἄντρον εὐθὺς Χίρωνος
 αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαι

(*I.O.*, VIII, 38-41)

. . . εὖτ' ἂν αἰπεινῶν ἀπὸ σταθμῶν ἐς εὐδείελον
 χθόνα μόλη κλειτᾶς Ἴωλκοῦ.

(*P.O.*, 79-80).

Moreover, the tragic poet Euripides denotes "Iolkos's Palaces"⁷.

γαῖά τε καὶ μελάθρων στέγαι
 νυμφίδιοι τε κοῖται πατρίας Ἴωλκοῦ.

Perhaps the legendary Iolkos progressively lost its importance after the destruction of the Mycenaean Palaces⁸, but its glory and fame still echoes loudly in the poems of the early Hellenistic period⁹. Mention has also been made to the "wealthy" Iolkos in the *Idylles* of Theocritus¹⁰.

⁷ Euripides, *Alcestes*, v. 248-249.

⁸ Herodotus, *History*, V, 94. Cf. S. C. Bakhuizen, (*supra*, n. 1), 92-95.

⁹ A. Dihle, 'Apollonius Rhodius and Epic Poetry', in: *A History of Greek Literature, from Homer to the Hellenistic Period*, transl. C. Krojzl, London & New York 1994, 266-71. M. H. Barnes, "Oral tradition and Hellenistic epic. New Directions in Apollonius Rhodius", *Oral Tradition* 18, 2003, 55-8.

¹⁰ Theocritus, *Idylles*, 13, 19-22. Cf. K. Erp Taalman & A. Maria van. 'Intertextuality and Theocritus 13', in I. de Jong & J.P. Sullivan (eds.), *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature*, Leiden 1994, 153-69

ἀλλ' ὅτε το χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰήσων
 Αἰσονίδα, οἱ δ' αὐτῶ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο
 πασᾶν ἐκ πολίων προλελεγμένοι, ὧν ὄφελός τι,
 ἵκετο ὁ ταλαεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἔς ἀφνειὸν Ἰωλκόν, . .

Furthermore, Apollonius Rhodius praises the famous city of the past with its "well settled roads" in his *Argonautica*, a long poem that points out in detail all the stages of the famous Argonautic expedition¹¹.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα πόλῃος ἐυδμήτους λίπ' ἀγυιάς,
 ἄκτῆν δ' Ἰκανεν Παγασίδα, τῇ μιν ἑταῖροι
 δειδέχατ' Ἀργῶν ἄμυδις παρὰ νηὶ μένοντες.

The identification of Ancient Iolkos has been ever since a matter of great importance for all the archaeologists who work in the field of Ancient Thessaly¹². The glory of the legendary city related to the myth of the Argonauts had to be affirmed. It even had to be proved whether it belonged to the territory of myth, or if it constituted a historical event connected to the supernatural efforts of the first Mycenaean sailors to reach the areas beyond the Aegean Sea¹³, a fact already registered by Homer who seems to be an endless source of information for the culture of the Late Helladic and the Early Iron Age periods¹⁴. However, since it is obvious that the Homeric texts do not consist secure proofs for the identification of the Mycenaean settlements, and since a divergence is realised between reality and epic tradition, the only thing left to do is to consult the actual well known excavation data and survey results, which consist the only secure evidence that provides us with an image of the organisation of the Mycenaean

¹¹ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* I, v. 317-319. D. Wray, 'Apollonius' Masterplot. Narrative Strategy in *Argonautica* I', in M. Annette Harder and alii (eds.), *Apollonius Rhodius*, Leuven 2000 (*Hellenistica Groningana* 4), 239-65.

¹² Cf. Chr. Tsountas, *PAE* 1900, 72-73; *PAE* 1901, 42. D. Theocharis, *PAE* 1956, 119-130; *PAE* 1957, 54-55; *PAE* 1960, 49-59. D. R. Theochares, "Iolkos", *Archaeology* 11, 1958, 13-18. M. Theochari, "Ek tou nekrotapeiou tes Iolkou", *AAA* III, 1970, 198-203. G. Chourmouziades & alii, *Magnesia*, 34-35. V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos et sa destruction", *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 1-54. Cf. Mp. Intzasiloglou, "Historiki topographia tes perioches tou kolpou tou Volou (in Greek)", in *La Thessalie. Quinze annees de recherches archéologiques, 1975-1990. Bilans et perspectives. Actes du colloque international Lyon, 17-22 avril 1990*, Athens 1994, 31-56.

¹³ Cf. recently, Ioanna Galanaki, Helena Tomas, Yannis Galanakis and Robert Laffineur (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference, Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb, 11-14 April 2005 (Aegaeum 27)*, Liege 2007.

¹⁴ Cf. recently on this issue, in S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (eds.), *Epos. Reconstructing Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International conference, Los Angeles, UCLA – The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006, Liège (Aegaeum 28)* 2007.

settlements in the coastal Mycenaean Thessaly; in particular, of those located around the natural harbour of the Pagasetic Gulf.

However, the latest excavations and surveys conducted in North-Eastern Thessaly helped us to locate more than a 100 new Mycenaean settlements in Thessaly¹⁵, who testify that Thessaly was belonging to the Mycenaean periphery and maybe constituted the Northern centre of the Mycenaean World¹⁶. Meanwhile, our knowledge about the presence of the Mycenaean in Thessaly has been significantly increased by the excavations that took part during the last century in the wider area of Volos, around the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf.

More thoroughly, the first finds that could be associated with the legendary Iolkos have been located in that area at the beginning of the 20th century, after the excavation of the two large scale tholos tombs in Dimini (fig. 1, 2)¹⁷ and later of a third one in Kapakli close to the Kastro of Volos¹⁸, where for the first time Tsountas located the legendary Iolkos¹⁹. Half a century later, D. Theocharis excavated a settlement in Kastro of Volos (Palia) situated very close to Kapakli, at the entrance of the modern town of Volos, at a small distance from the sea. There, he revealed parts of buildings of the 15th and 14th cent. B.C. ruined from a powerful fire. One of those buildings was identified by the excavator with the legendary Palace of Iolkos²⁰. Moreover, all scholars have interpreted the coastal Mycenaean settlement of Pevkakia – neighboring to Kastro of Volos – as the protected harbor of Ancient Iolkos, the well known Neleia²¹. In addition, the most significant Mycenaean ruins in

¹⁵ R. Hope Simpson & O. Dickinson, *A gazetteer of Aegean civilisation in the Bronze Age, vol. I. The mainland and islands*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature 52, Göteborg (Paul Åströms Förlag) 1979, 272-298. B. Feuer, *The Northern Mycenaean border in Thessaly*, Oxford (BAR 176) 1983, 24-32. K. I. Gallis, *Atlas proistorikôn Theseon tes anatolikes thessalikes pidiadas*, Larissa 1992. L. Chadjiagelakis, "Akropoli Kieriou – Thesi Oglas (in Greek)" *Archaeologikon Deltion* 52, 1997, 473; idem, "Agnantero (in Greek)", *Archaeologikon Deltion* 53, 445-448. A. Intzesiloglou, "Helleno-Italiko Programma Epiphaneiakôn Ereunôn (In Greek)" *Archaeologikon Deltion* 52, 1977, 497-498. R. Reinders, *Prehistoric sites at the Almirós and Sourpi plains (Thessaly, Greece)*. Koninklijke (Van Gorcum) 2003.

¹⁶ Cf. V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Mycenaean Northern Borders Revisited. New Evidence from Thessaly", in M. L. Galaty & W. A. Parkinson (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II: Revised and Expanded Second Edition (Cotsen Monographs 59)*, Los Angeles (UCLA) 2007, 322-357.

¹⁷ H. G. Lolling & P. Wolters, "Das Kuppelgrab bei Dimini", *Athenische Mitteilungen* 11, 1886, 435-443; idem, "Das Kuppelgrab bei Dimini" *Athenische Mitteilungen* 12, 1887, 136-138. J. P. Michaud, Dimini. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique* 95, 1971, 936-937.

¹⁸ R. Avila, "Das Kuppelgrab von Volos-Kapakli", *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 58, 1983, 5-60.

¹⁹ Cf. the articles of Chr. Tsountas, in *supra*, n. 12.

²⁰ D. R. Theochares, "Iolkos", *Archaeology* 11, 1958, 13-18.

²¹ Cf. S. C. Bakhuizen (*supra*, n. 1), 85-120.

the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf were recently uncovered in Dimini by the excavations conducted during the last 20 years.

To be more explicit, a Mycaenean town was excavated in Dimini²² (fig. 3), lying on the plain situated east of the hill with the Neolithic remains. This town, that covers an area of about 10 hectares, was founded in the end of the 15th c. B.C., on the top of earlier EBA and MBA deposits²³, and flourished in the 14th and 13th c. B.C., the period of expansion of the Mycenaean civilization. Eleven blocks of houses were excavated, built in two main architectural phases, in the 14th and 13th cent. B.C. (fig. 4). These houses that consist of 2 to 3 rooms are aligned along the central road²⁴, which strikingly enough does not provide access to them. They have stone foundations, a mud-brick superstructure, coloured (white and ochre) plasters, while clay baths and traces of drainage systems are also uncovered in many of them. They are independent to each other, sharing courtyards with wells. A painted clay figurine of a bovine²⁵ (fig. 5) found in one of those houses suggests the presence of a domestic shrine. Additionally, a large ceramic kiln was uncovered in the outskirts of the town²⁶. Systematic excavations conducted during the last five years unearthed a building complex of great importance in the centre of this settlement, with two Megaron-type, parallel buildings, named Megaron A and Megaron B, surrounded by wings of storage areas and workshops²⁷. This is actually the complex where the central road of the settlement - 4,5m wide - leads to. This road crosses a wider road that leads to the harbour, at Pevkakia (Neleia). In the crossroad of these two main streets, a large *propylon*²⁸ with two lateral rooms is placed, providing access into the two large Megara and the surrounding architectural complex.

²² V. Adrymi-Sismani, *To Dimini sten Epoche tou Chalkou*, Volos (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Thessaloniki) 2000. Cf. also the studies of V. Adrymi-Sismani, in *supra*, n. 12.

²³ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Dimini in the Middle Bronze Age (in Greek)", in *Proceedings of the "Messoeladika. Continental Greece in the Middle Bronze Age" International Colloquium, held by the French Archaeological Institute, the American School of Classical Studies and the Nederladen Institute of Athens, Athens 8-12 mars 2006*. In press.

²⁴ V. Adrymi-Sismani, *AD* 43, 1988, 238-239; idem, "Ho Mykenaikos oikismos Diminiou (in Greek)", in *Actes du Colloque International, "Thessalia, 15 annees de recherches archeologiques, 1975-1990. Bilans et perspectives"*, Lyon, 17-22 avril 1990, Volos 1994, 27; idem, "Le palais de Iolkos" (cf. *supra* n. 12), p. 6 et n. 7.

²⁵ V. Adrymi-Sismani (*supra*, n. 22), 217-219, fig. 164.

²⁶ V. Adrymi-Sismani, *AD* 47, 1992, 222; idem, "Mykenaikos keramikos klivanos sto Dimini (in Greek)", in *Papers of the A' International Colloquium "He periphéria tou Mykenaiou kosmou (in Greek), Lamia, 25-29 Septembriou 1994*, Lamia 1999, 131-142.

²⁷ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 8-51 et fig. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3, fig. 2.

After crossing the propylon, the entrance to the complex is attained via a bounded court, a construction of 4 small rooms, perhaps guardrooms and a large ramp that leads to Megaron A.

The space occupied by this Megaron consists of 5 parallel wings of rooms, while its core - the actual Megaron A - bears two wings of rooms divided by a long corridor (fig. 6) and is outlined by three wings of smaller storage rooms. Megaron A was constructed in the 13th cent. B.C., over an earlier Megaron, dating back to the 14th c. B.C. which was destroyed by fire. The north wing of Megaron A has two large rooms and a *prostoon*, all with floors and walls covered with white lime plaster as well as an open peristyle court with columns covered also with white lime plaster. The roof of the probably two-storeyed Megaron A was pitched and perhaps covered by clay tiles, while parts of a clay drain pipe and a large clay funnel were also brought to light.

The south wing, contemporary with the north one, consists of ten small rooms (fig. 7). The rooms were used for the preparation and the storage of food as is evident from the pottery finds (rooms 4-5), and also for the small scale manufacture of artefacts (rooms 9, 19, 18, 17). Apart from the pottery finds, 10 moulds (fig. 8) and the necessary tools for the manufacture of jewels²⁹ were found. However, the most significant find in this wing, where the workshops were situated, was part of an inscribed stone weight in Linear B (fig. 9), which suggests that Linear B was in use in Megaron A³⁰.

South of Megaron A, there is a wing of workshops, where an intact large lead vessel was found³¹. Another wing of storerooms was excavated north of Megaron A.

The second building complex, named Megaron B, was founded over earlier deposits nearby Megaron A and provided access to it through an inner court. It also consists of two wings: one with a central building with 3 rooms made of thick masonry - more than one meter wide -, and another one that consists of storage rooms.

Megaron B was destroyed by an intense fire (fig. 10). The extended and thick layer of destruction - that consists of carbonized wood, burnt mud bricks and burnt clay - remained undisturbed until the moment of excavation,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22-23, fig. 12-16.

³⁰ V. Adrymi-Sismani & L. Godart, "Les inscriptions en Linéaire B de Dimini/Iolkos et leur contexte archéologique", *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* LXXXIII, Serie III, 5, Tomo I, 2005, 47-69.

³¹ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), p. 23 and fig. 18. Cf. S. Mossman, in C. Gillis and alii (eds.), *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece. Acquisition and Distribution of raw Materials and Finished products, Proceedings of the 6th International Workshop, Athens 1996, 2000*, 85-119

and lies over a significant quantity of pottery that bears traces of fire. A large collar necked jar³² broken into pieces due to the collapse of the wooden roof was found in room 3. In the same room, a large lead vessel³³, melted due to the severe fire and a large Aeginetan tripod cooking pot³⁴ broken and totally burnt give both the impression that they were pulled over, towards the door. This probably happened during the time of destruction so that the vessels would be taken away, an act that remained unachieved. Also, many large parts of wooden beams were found, that fell when the roof collapsed³⁵. In the storage room 6, 5 large pithoi containing cereal, which had been placed in the ground³⁶, had already been taken away, a fact that suggests that there was enough time in order to try to remove them before the actual destruction. In the other two storerooms, a large quantity of vases (fig. 11) made especially for liquids was found placed on shelves and - as the analyses undertaken in Bristol revealed - they hadn't been used. In the same room decorated and plain pottery was also found³⁷, including a large Canaanite amphora used for wine bearing the potter's mark and a large unpainted stirrup jar used for oil. Also, a decorated rhyton³⁸ and the part of an ivory comb were found in the same storeroom (fig. 12), along with wooden trunks, straw baskets, large jars, amphoras and the specially paved area used for the storage of fruits, as the carbonized seeds of olive trees and grapes demonstrate.

In the eastern room of the central building of Megaron B a large clay H-shaped altar (fig. 13) was found³⁹. The entire construction bears intensive traces of fire and different layers possibly with burnt liquids. An intact large painted mug⁴⁰ found in front of the altar, indicates that libations might have been taking place on it. The same thing is indicated by the cups containing remains of burnt animal bones that were uncovered in the 3 small side rooms, where a small entrance leads to⁴¹.

³² V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 38, fig. 24. Cf. S. Iakovidis, *Perate. To Nekrotapheio* (in Greek), 1969, pl. 76c; C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (*ABSA* Suppl. 18), 1985, 86; P. A. Mountjoy, *Grapte Mykenaike Keramike* (in Greek), Athens (Kardamitsas) 1994, 144-145.

³³ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 42.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 42 and fig. 27-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48-50, fig. 35-37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 46-47, fig. 34. Cf. P.A. Mountjoy, *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, Berlin (M. Leidorf) 1999, 674-675.

³⁹ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos" (*supra*, n. 12), 39-41, fig. 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 40, fig. 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

At the end of the 12th cent. B.C., Megaron A and B were affected by a destruction, similarly to the other well known Mycenaean centres of Southern Greece, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Pylos and Thebes⁴². The Mycenaean town of Dimini before the destruction, at the end of the 13th cent. B.C., presented in general a good urban organisation that does not seem to differ from that of the Mycenaean centres of Southern Greece. Of course, certain small differences are observed, but a similar clear intention to demonstrate the social rank is noticeable. The latter is accomplished through the construction of the two large scale tholos tombs⁴³ and mainly through the construction of a large architectural complex constituting a combination of habitation spaces, storage areas, workshops and sacred spaces, and where Linear B script was in use. Consequently, in the Mycenaean settlement of Dimini we find the unique example of a well-built Mycenaean town in Thessaly with "well constructed roads", organised around an administrative, economic and religious centre, which at the end of the 12th cent. B.C. experiences a horrible destruction. Nevertheless, the settlement is not abandoned immediately after the destruction. There are remarkable signs that during the next two decades there is an attempt for repair and renovation of all buildings of the settlement, in at least two habitation phases (fig. 14). What's more, we should stress that after the repairs we do not observe any changes in the urban plan of the settlement, which in general remains the same⁴⁴.

The population that attempts these changes appears to be basically the same, since it uses the same pottery at the same time with the grey pseudo-minyan⁴⁵ and the handmade burnished ware that appear here for the first time now, and it continues cultivating the same land with cereal, vines, and olives, and breed the same domestic animals. However it is obvious that we are now speaking of a completely different, clearly rural, society. The workshops, where the stone moulds were found, are not in use and the precious imported objects are absent. It appears that there is also an important change in the religious sector, since Megaron B, where the large altar existed, remains buried under the ruins.

⁴² C. W. Shelmerdine, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VI: The Palatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland", *AJA* 101, 1997, 548-549, 581-582.

⁴³ Cf. *supra*, n. 17.

⁴⁴ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Habitation changes in the Eastern coastal Thessaly, following the destruction of the Palaces in LH III B2 / LH IIIC Early", in *Papers of the International Symposium "The Dark Ages Revisited", in memoriam of J. Coulson*, *Volos (University of Thessaly)*, June 2007 (under publication).

⁴⁵ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "He grisa pseudo-minya kai he stilvomeni cheiropoiete keramiki apo to mykenaiiko oikismo tou Diminiou (in Greek), *Proceedings of the Conference "To archaeologiko ergo ste Thessalia kai Sterea Ellada I, Volos (University of Thessaly) 2003"*, Volos 2006, 85-101.

Unfortunately this new configuration could not have lasted for long, and very soon, in the beginning of LH III C middle, the residents abandoned their cultivable land permanently and moved to another, more secure region. We could speak of a mass immigration, perhaps in familial groups, either on foot – which implicates a close destination – or by boats, fact that means that they resorted to a completely different region, perhaps towards the islands or the coasts of Asia Minor. This situation led to the final abandonment of Dimini for many centuries. It should be marked out that the settlement's abandonment was carried out peacefully⁴⁶, without any previous sign of intervention of an exterior threat that would confirm the later Greek tradition of the Dorian invasion.

The phenomenon of the destruction that occurred in the settlement of Dimini was also experienced by the neighbouring settlements in Kastro of Volos and in Pefkakia (fig. 15). However, those two settlements do not appear to have faced the destruction with the same way that was faced by the inhabitants of Dimini. According to the excavators, the settlement in Pefkakia is depopulated immediately after the destruction, without any effort for repair of the destroyed buildings⁴⁷. On the contrary, in the settlement in Kastro of Volos life goes on and the transition to the Early Iron Age is attained smoothly⁴⁸. However many changes took place there after the destruction. The "crater of the warriors" rather suggests a new society of martial sovereigns that dominates the harbour and the plain of Volos. The well-known, so far, archaeological data from Kastro Volos do not suggest that the population from Pevkakia or from Dimini resorted there, since there are no architectural finds dating to that period.

The image of the power and wealth of the northern centre of the Mycenaean civilization – Iolkos – before its destruction was reinforced lately by the recent excavation in 2004, in Kasanaki located in the Volos area, of an intact tholos tomb⁴⁹ also associated with Iolkos. Kasanaki's tholos tomb, that dates in the 15th and 14th cent. B.C., is of great importance, since it gives as useful information about the burial customs of this area.

⁴⁶ Cf. V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Le palais de Iolkos", 1-54.

⁴⁷ D. Theocharis, "Anaskafai en Iolkos (in Greek)", *PAAH* 1956, 28-29, 119-130; idem, 1957, 54-69; idem, 1960, 49-59; idem, 1961, 45-54. A. Efstathiou-Batzioy, "Apotelesmata ton prospathon anaskafikon ereunon ste N. Ionia kai ste perioche Pefkakion (in Greek)", in *Neotera dedomena ton ereunon gia ten Archaea Iolkos. Praktika Epistemonikes Synantises*, 12 Maiou 1993, Volos 1994, 59-70.

⁴⁸ A. Efstathiou-Batzioy, *He Hysreri epoche tou chalkou sten perioche tes Magnesias: To Kastro (Palia) kai ta Pefkakia*, Volos (unpublished PhD), 59-70.

⁴⁹ V. Adrymi-Sismani, "Kasanaki tholos tomb", *Archaeological Reports of the British School of Athens* 50, 2004-2005, 59-61. V. Adrymi-Sismani & St. Alexandrou, "Mykenaikos tholotos taphos ste thesi Kasanaki (in Greek)", in *Proceedings of the 2nd Conference "Archaeologiko Ergo Thessalias kai Stereas Ellados"*, Volos-University of Thessaly 2006 (under publication).

Seven deceased (4 adults and 3 children) had been buried in the tholos tomb, accompanied by decorated pottery, golden, glass and faience jewellery, one sword, golden and glass plaques, seal stones made of agate and rock crystal, clay figurines (*kourotrophos*), and golden sheets bearing holes belonging probably to the decoration of the deceased's clothes or shroud. Long after their initial burial, the deceased were burnt all together, during a ceremonial fire, and their vestiges were placed again into the tholos tomb without any order. Similar funeral customs are observed in the contemporary Kapakli and Dimini A tholos tombs.

The similarities of the four tholos tombs finds and of the architectural features are not surprising, since these tombs are located around the inlet of the Pagasetic gulf along with the Late Bronze Age settlements of Kastro Volos, Dimini and Pefkakia (fig. 16). According to our latest considerations, all these three settlements – Dimini, Kastro of Volos and Pefkakia – actually belong together to the legendary centre of Ancient Iolkos. They function together around the biggest port of Thessaly in order to control the exchanges of the Thessalian plain products and generally all the maritime communications via the Aegean with the rest of the well known world. This port of Iolkos was located around a deep *Iolka* (word used by Hesychius to describe the marine passage)⁵⁰ shaped in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf during the 3rd millennium B.C., according to the geological research of Zannger⁵¹.

However, from the three coastal Mycenaean settlements located in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf, only Dimini makes a real candidate, since it displays clearly the role of a town with an administrative, economic and religious centre, important workshops and use of the Linear B script that testify the existence of a powerful and wealthy centre. The inhabitants of these settlements were keen sailors that had developed sailing from a very early period, as is indicated by the early representations of ships that were depicted on their vases (fig. 17). The first ships, the first long voyages and the adventures of those pioneer sailors of Ancient Iolkos generated the legend of the Argonautic expedition, which must be placed within the Mycenaean times, one generation before the expedition to Troy, judging by the genealogy of the heroes that took part in both expeditions.

Moreover, the material's analysis of the golden items of the Kasanaki tholos tomb – that was made in the Laboratories of the Museum of Louvre in Paris in order to identify the source of the gold used for the fabrication of the jewellery of the deceased – has revealed that this gold is of an alluvial type,

⁵⁰ Hesychius, s.v. *Ιόλκα*.

⁵¹ E. Zannger, "Prehistoric Coastal Environments in Greece. The Vanished Landscapes of Dimini Bay and Lake Lerna", *JFA* 18, 1991, 1-7.

meaning that it comes from a river's deposits⁵². We hope that future analysis will display if this gold can actually be associated with the rich in precious metals and gold sources in the region of the Ancient Colchis where the kingdom of Aetes was placed, and perhaps in river Phasis, where even recently chips of gold seem to be selected with sheepskins. This would be an ideal and desirable conclusion that could bring in our times Iolkos and the Argonautic Expedition from their mythical perspective to a historical reconsideration.

⁵² M. F. Guerra, S. Röhrs, J. Salomon, Ph. Walter, V. Adrymi-Sismani, "L'origine de l'or de la tombe mycénienne de Kasanaki", in *Proceedings of the Conference "To archaeologiko Ergo ste Thessalia kai Sterea Ellada II, Volos (University of Thessaly) 2006"* (under publication).

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H EISODOS APO TO ESWTERIKO TOU TAFOU.
THE ENTRANCE FROM TOMBS INTERIOR.



SCEDIASTIKH ANAPARASTASH.
DRAWING SECTION.



H EISODOS TOU TAFOU META TIS ERGASIES ETEREWSHS.
THE TOMBS ENTRANCE AFTER CONSOLIDATION WORKS.



ERGASIES EPANAFORAS TOU ANATOLIKOU TOICOU TOU DROMOU.
RESTORATION AT THE EASTERN WALL OF THE DROMOS.



SFRAGIDOLIQUII KAI DAKTULIOI.
SEAL, STONES AND RINGS.



PERIDERAIO ME CANDRES
APO CRUSO.
BEADNECKLACE MADE
OF GOLD.



PERIDERAIO ME CANDRES
APO UALOMAZA.
BEADNECKLACE MADE OF
GLASS-MASS.

ΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΝΙΟΥ (ΙΩΛΚΟΣ)
 MYCENAEAN SETTLEMENT AT DIMINI (IOLKOS)

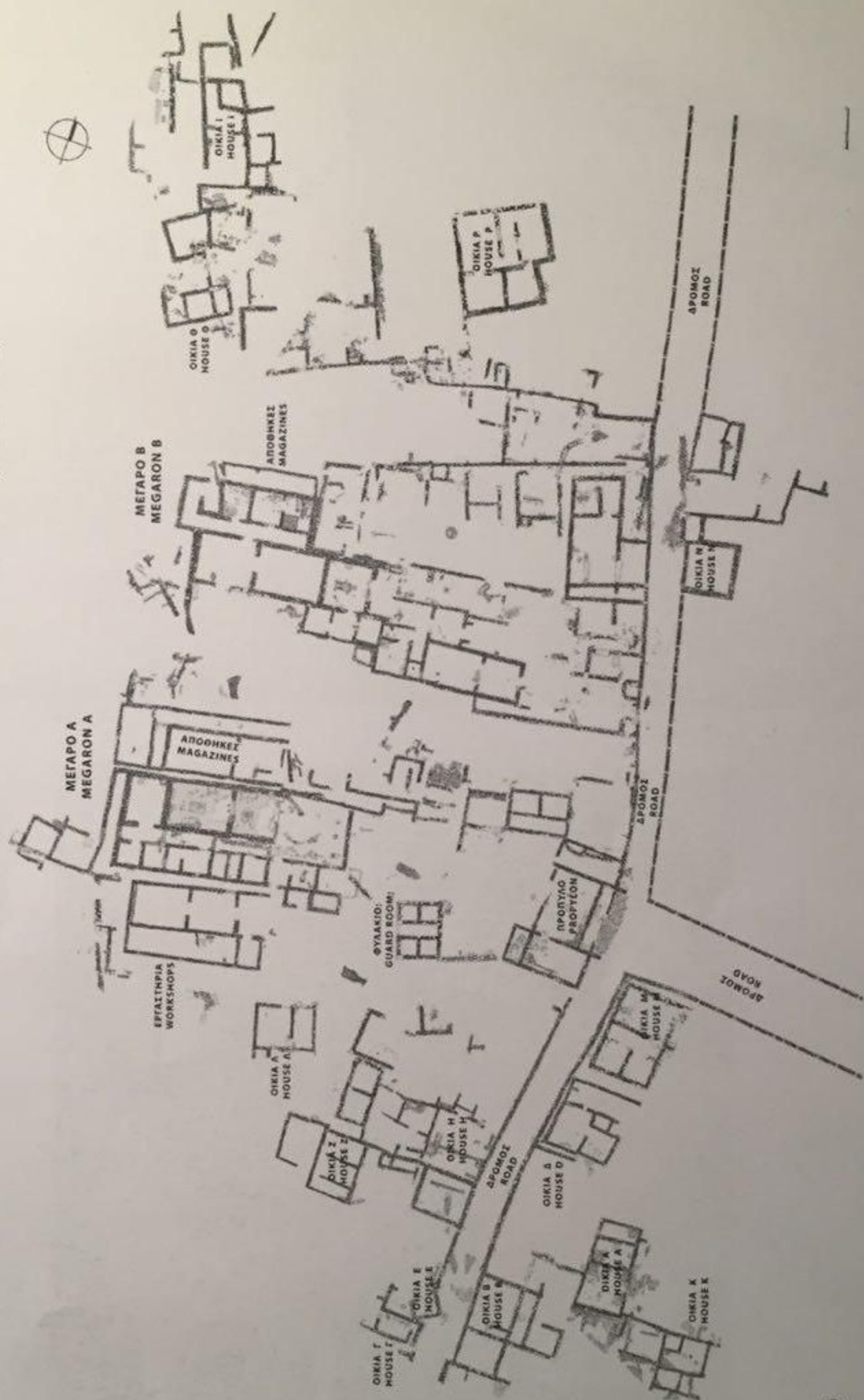


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

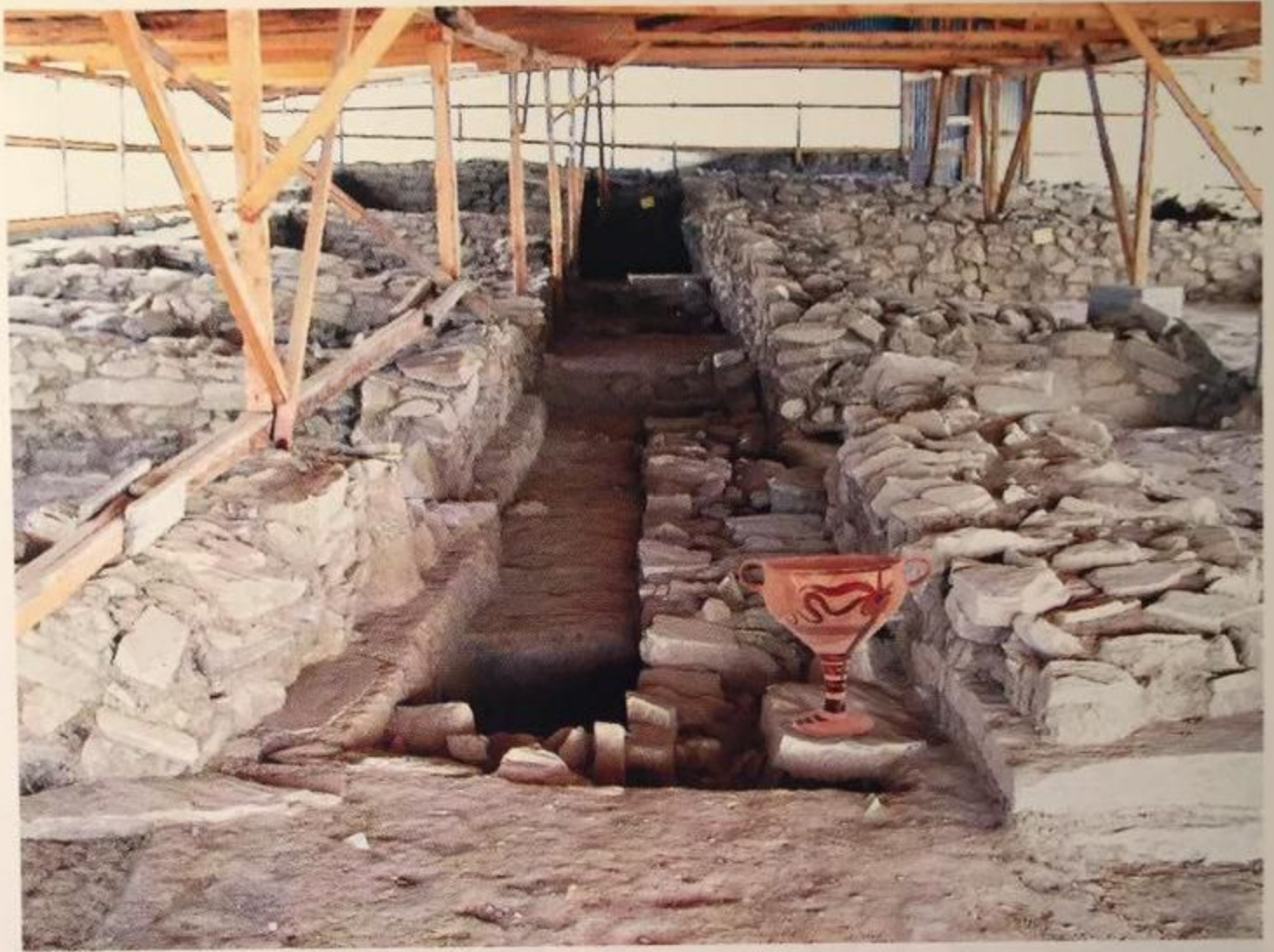


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

Claire Barat (Bordeaux)

SINOPE ET LES ARGONAUTES: D'UN MYTHE UTILE À UNE RÉALITÉ RELIGIEUSE

A première vue, il paraîtrait logique qu'il existe un lien entre Sinope, "perle de la mer Noire"¹, patrie du philosophe Diogène le Cynique et du terrible Mithridate Eupator, et la geste des Argonautes, mythe le plus glorieux du Pont-Euxin, qui a influencé la toponymie de la côte turque jusqu'à aujourd'hui (cap Jason). Dans cet article, nous allons voir que ce lien n'est pas si évident: il n'est pas attaché aux grands moments de la geste et il n'est pas forcément très ancien, mais qu'il s'inscrit dans un véritable souci de propagande de la part de Sinope. Nous allons montrer comment, à partir du IV^e s. av. J.-C., Sinope va s'approprier une partie du mythe des Argonautes et comment ce lien mythologique va être justifié au moment de la conquête de Sinope par le général romain Lucullus en 70 av. J.-C.

I. Les liens de Sinope avec les Argonautes à travers les sources littéraires.

Sinope est mise en relation avec la geste des Argonautes à travers le héros Autolykos, qui y séjourne plus ou moins longtemps, avec ou sans compagnons.

Le premier auteur à évoquer Autolykos est Apollonios de Rhodes, dans le livre II des *Argonautiques*²:

Αὐτίκα δ' Ἀσσυρίας ἐπέβαν χθονός, ἔνθα Σινώπην
θηγατέρ' Ἀσσωπίῳ καθίσσατο καὶ οἱ ὄπισσε
παρθενίην Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ὑποσχεσῆσι δολωθεῖς.
Δῆ γὰρ ὁ μὲν φιλότητός ἐέλδετο, εὖσε δ' ὅ γ' αἰτή

¹ Garland 1995, 32.

² Apoll. Rhod. 2. 946-961.

- 950 δωσέμεναι ὃ κεν ἦσι μετὰ φρεσὶν ἰθύσειεν·
 ἢ δέ ἐ παρθενίην ἠτήσατο κερδοσύνησιν.
 Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παρήπαφεν εὐνηθῆναι
 ἰέμενον, ποταμόν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἄλυν. Οὐδὲ μὲν ἀνδρῶν
 τὴν γέ τις ἡμερτῆσιν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι δάμασσεν.
- 955 Ἐνθα δὲ Τρικκαίοιο ἀγαυοῦ Δημιάχοιο
 υἱες, Δηλέων τε καὶ Αὐτόλυκος Φλογίος τε,
 τῆμος ἔθ' Ἡρακλῆος ἀποπλαγχθέντες ἕναιον·
 οἳ ῥα τόθ', ὡς ἐνόησαν ἀριστήιον στόλον ἀνδρῶν,
 σφῶς αὐτοὺς νημερτῆς ἐπέφραδον ἀντιάσαντες·
- 960 οὐδ' ἐπι μιμνάζειν θέλον ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ νηί,
 Ἄργεσταιο παρᾶσσον ἐπιπνεΐοντος, ἔβησαν.

"Bientôt ils mirent le pied sur la terre assyrienne, où Sinôpé, fille d'Asôpos, fut établie par Zeus qui, dupe de ses propres promesses, lui avait accordé de rester vierge. En effet, désirant la posséder, il s'était engagé à satisfaire le vœu qu'elle formerait en son cœur et elle lui avait demandé avec astuce de garder sa virginité. Par la même ruse, elle trompa aussi Apollon qui convoitait sa couche, puis, après eux, le fleuve Halys. Nul homme non plus ne put la dompter en d'aimables embrassements. C'est là que les trois fils de l'illustre Déimachos de Tricca, Déilon, Autolykos et Phlogios, habitaient encore après s'être égarés loin d'Héraclès. Dès qu'ils virent arriver l'expédition des héros, ils vinrent à leur rencontre et se firent connaître sans détour. Ils ne voulaient pas rester encore là, pour toujours, et on les fit embarquer à bord dès que l'Argestès vint les favoriser de son soufflé."³

Dans ce passage, la présentation d'Autolykos est établie: c'est un Thessalien, originaire de Tricca, fils de Déimachos, et frère de Déilon et Phlogios. Il a participé à l'expédition d'Héraclès contre les Amazones, et c'est au cours de cette expédition qu'il s'est égaré. Il devient un Argonaute "de la dernière heure" à Sinope, lors du passage de Jason et de ses compagnons.

Les autres sources littéraires postérieures à Apollonios de Rhodes ont repris plus ou moins partiellement ces données. Le Pseudo-Scymnos, dans son poème dédié au roi Nicomède de Bithynie et datant de la période 133-110 a.C.⁴, évoque les Thessaliens Autolykos, Déilon et Phlogios, qui avaient participé à la campagne contre les Amazones et qui avaient habité Sinope⁵, mais il ne dit pas que ce sont des Argonautes⁶:

³ Traduction E. Delage, CUF.

⁴ Marcotte 2000, 7-16.

⁵ Ps-Scymnos, *GGM*, 944-946 = 986-997 Diller = *Anon. Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, 22, 8v35-38 = F27 (CUF).

⁶ Texte et numérotation de Diller 1952.

- (Σινώπη πόλις) ἐπώνυμος
 Ἀμαζόνων τῶν πλησιοζώρων <ἀπό>μιάς,
 ἦν ποτε μὲν ὄκουν ἐγγενεῖς ὄντες Σύροι ὅσοι
 990 ἐπ' Ἀμαζόνων διέβησαν, Αὐτόλυκός τε καὶ
 σὺν Δειλέοντι Φλόγιος, ὄντες Θετταλοί·
 ἔπειτα <δ' > Ἄβρον τῷ γένει Μιλήσιος,
 ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων οὗτος <δ' > ἀναιρεῖσθαι δοκεῖ·
 μετὰ Κιμμερίουσ Κῶς πάλιν δὲ Κρητίνης
 995 οἱ γενόμενοι φυγάδες <τε> τῶν Μιλησίων.
 οὗτοι συνοικίζουσι δ' αὐτὴν ἡνίκα
 ὁ Κιμμερίων κατέδραμε τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατός,

"La ville de Sinope qui a reçu son nom d'une des Amazones habitant dans la région; les Syroï, des indigènes, l'ont habitée auparavant, puis, à ce qu'on dit, les Grecs qui avaient participé à la campagne contre les Amazones, à savoir Autolykos et Philogios, avec Déiléon, les Thessaliens; puis Habron, Milésien d'origine qui a été tué, semble-t-il par les Cimmériens; après les Cimmériens de nouveau Koos et Krétinès, des exilés milésiens. Ils ont reconstruit la ville quand l'armée cimmérienne faisait une incursion en Asie."⁷

Strabon, dans le livre XII de sa *Géographie*, évoque la prise de Sinope par le général romain Lucullus en 70 av. J.-C. et le fait que celui-ci enleva la statue de Lucullus, œuvre de Sthénis⁸. Il propose ensuite une brève notice sur Autolykos:

τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, Σθένιδος ἔργον, ὃν ἐκεῖνοι οἰκιστὴν ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐτίμων ὡς θεόν· ἦν δὲ καὶ μαντεῖον αὐτοῦ· δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν Ἰάσονι συμπλευσάντων εἶναι καὶ κατασχεῖν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον. Εἴθ' ὕστερον Μιλήσιοι τὴν εὐφυΐαν ἰδόντες καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐξειδιάσαντο καὶ ἐποίκουσ ἔστειλαν.

"Autolykos était considéré par les habitants comme le fondateur de la cité et ils le révéraient à l'égal d'un dieu; il avait un sanctuaire oraculaire. On croit qu'il fut un compagnon de Jason dans ses navigations et qu'il prit alors possession de ce lieu, que plus tard les Milésiens s'approprièrent et où ils installèrent des colons, s'étant rendu compte de ses avantages naturels et de la faiblesse de ses occupants."⁹

Strabon est le premier à faire état du sanctuaire oraculaire de l'Argonaute Autolykos et à son statut de fondateur de la cité.

⁷ Traduction A. Ivantchik, Ivantchik 1997, 34.

⁸ Strab. 12. 3. 11.

⁹ Traduction F. Lasserre (CUF).

Dans ses *Fables*, Hygin évoque Autolykos en tant qu'Argonaute et compagnon d'Héraclès. Le nom des compagnons d'Autolykos ne correspond pas entièrement à ce qui était connu précédemment et le lien avec Sinope n'est pas manifeste¹⁰:

Item accesserunt ex insula Dia Phruxi et Chalciopé Medeae sororis filii, Argus, Melas, Phrontides, Cylindrus, ut alii aiunt uocitatos Phronius, Demoleon, Autolycus, Phlogius, quos Hercules cum eduxisset habiturus comites dum Amazonum balteum petit, reliquit terrore percussos ...

"Vinrent également les rejoindre, depuis l'île de Dia, les fils de Phrixus et de Chalciopé sœur de Médée, Argus, Méla, Phrontis, Cylindrus, auxquels d'autres donnent les noms de Phonius, Démoléon, Autolycus, Phlogius: Hercule, quand il les eut fait venir à lui comme compagnon dans sa quête de la ceinture des Amazones, les laissa frappés de terreur ..."¹¹

Dans ses *Argonautiques*, Valerius Flaccus¹² reprend quasiment la même trame qu'Apollonios de Rhodes, avec quelques informations en moins sur l'origine thessalienne d'Autolykos:

110 Assyrios complexa sinus stat optima Sinope,
 nympa prius, blandosque Iouis quae luserat ignes
 caelicolis immota procis: deceptus amatae
 fraude deae nec solus Halys nec solus Apollo.
 Addidit hic casu comites fortuna benigno
 Autoycum Phlogiumque et Deileonta, secutos
 Herculis arma uiros; uagus hos ibi fixerat error.
 Vt Graiam uidere manum puppemque Pelasgam,
 Prima ruunt celeres ad litora seque precantur
 accipiant socios. Noua dux accedere gaudet
 nomina, desertos et iam sibi currere remos.

"L'opulente Sinope est là qui embrasse un golfe assyrien; ce fut autrefois une nymphe qui se joua des feux caressants de Jupiter et resta insensible aux prières d'immortels prétendants: l'Halys et Apollon ne furent pas les seuls dupes de cette déesse aimée d'eux.

Fortune, en un heureux hasard, donna aux Argonautes trois nouveaux compagnons, Autolycus, Phlogius et Déilon, qui avaient suivi les armes d'Hercule; au bout de leur course errante, ils s'étaient établis là. Aussitôt aperçu l'équipage grec et le vaisseau pélasgien, ils se précipitent en hâte au bord des flots et supplient les marins de les accepter comme compagnons. Le

¹⁰ Hygin, *Fab.* 14. 30.

¹¹ Traduction J.-Y. Boriaud (CUF).

¹² Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 5. 109-119.

chef se réjouit de ces nouvelles recrues et de voir maintenant s'agiter les rames qui avaient perdu leurs rameurs."¹³

Dans son catalogue des Argonautes, Apollodore cite un Autolykos, fils d'Hermès¹⁴, mais ne précise aucun lien avec Sinope.

C'est ensuite dans les récits de la prise de Sinope par Lucullus en 70 av. J.-C. qu'il est question d'Autolykos. Plutarque, dans sa *Vie de Lucullus*, donne un développement conséquent¹⁵, reprenant l'origine thessalienne d'Autolykos, les noms de ses compagnons, mais en faisant simplement de lui un compagnon d'Héraclès et non un Argonaute, tout en indiquant qu'il est le fondateur de Sinope:

Ἐδόκεν τινὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἰπεῖν παραστάντα: "Πρόελθε, Λεύκολλε, μικρόν ἤκει γὰρ Αὐτόλυκος ἐντοχεῖν σοι βουλόμενος." 4 Ἐξαναστάς δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὃ τι φέροι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶλε κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τῶν Κιλικῶν διώκῳ ὄρᾳ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνδριάντα κείμενον, ὃν ἐκκομίζοντες οἱ Κίλκεσοὺκ ἔφθησαν ἐμβάλεσθαι τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦν Σθέννιδος τῶν καλῶν. Φράζει οὖν τις ὡς Αὐτολύκου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην ὁ ἀνδριάς εἶη. 5 Λέγεται δ' ὁ Αὐτόλυκος γενεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἐκ Θετταλίας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσάντων, Δημάχου παῖς· ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀποπλέον ἅμα Δημολέοντι καὶ Φλογίῳ τὴν μένναυν ἀπολέσαι περίπεσοῦσαν τὴν Χερρονήσου κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Πηδάλιον, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς τὴν Σινώπην ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Σύρου γεγονότες τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ Σινώπης τῆς Ἀσωπίδος.

"Il [Lucullus] lui avait semblé voir pendant son sommeil un homme qui s'approcha de lui et lui dit: "Avance un peu, Lucullus, car Autolykos est venu pour te rencontrer." A son lever, il se trouva incapable de comprendre ce que cette vision signifiait. Or il prit la ville ce jour-là et, comme il poursuivait ceux des Ciliciens qui essayaient de s'enfuir par mer, il aperçut sur le rivage une statue couchée, que les Ciliciens avaient voulu emporter, mais qu'ils n'avaient pas eu le temps d'embarquer. C'était un chef-d'œuvre de Sthennis, et on lui apprit que cette statue représentait Autolykos, le fondateur de Sinope. Autolykos fut, dit-on, l'un des compagnons d'Héraclès qui partirent avec lui de Thessalie pour aller combattre les Amazones; il était le fils de Déimachos. En revenant de cette expédition avec Démoléon et Phlogios, il perdit son vaisseau qui se brisa contre un écueil dans un endroit de la Chersonèse appelé Pédalion, mais lui-même, sauvé avec ses armes et ses compagnons, aborda à

¹³ Traduction G. Liberman (CUF).

¹⁴ Apoll. I, 9, 16.

¹⁵ Plut., Luc., 23, 3-5.

Sinope et enleva la ville aux Syriens, car elle appartenait alors aux Syriens, issus, dit-on, de Syros, fils d'Apollon et de Sinopè, fille d'Asopis."¹⁶

Enfin, le dernier auteur à évoquer Autolykos en relation avec Sinope est Appien, dans sa *Guerre de Mithridate*¹⁷:

Λούκουλλος δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλευθέραν ἤφει δι' ἐνύπνιον, ὃ τοιόνδε ἦν· Αὐτόλυκόν φασιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἁμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι· ἀνδριάς τε σεβασμῖος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα, ὃν οἱ μὲν Σινωπεῖς, ὧν φθάσαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐπαγαγέσθαι, ὀθόναις καὶ καλωδίοις περιέδησαν· οὐδὲν δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος εἰδὼς οὐδὲ προμαθῶν ἔδοξεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖς ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα τινῶν περιβεβλημένον παραφερόντων ἐκλύσαι κελεύσας ἰδεῖν, οἷον ἔδοξε νυκτὸς ἔωπακέναί.

"Lucullus accorda immédiatement la liberté à la ville en raison du rêve que voici. On dit qu'Autolykos, accompagnant Héraclès dans son expédition contre les Amazones, fut contraint par une tempête d'aborder à Sinope et se rendit maître de la ville. Une statue vénérée de ce héros rendait des oracles aux Sinopéens et ces derniers, sans avoir le temps de l'emporter dans leur fuite, l'avaient enveloppée dans des étoffes de lin serrées par des cordelettes. Alors que Lucullus n'était au courant de rien et n'avait été préalablement informé de rien, il crut que le héros l'appelait et qu'il le voyait; et le lendemain, quand certains apportèrent devant lui la statue enveloppée et qu'il eut ordonné de la libérer de son emballage, il la vit telle qu'il avait cru la voir pendant la nuit."¹⁸

Il est intéressant de constater un glissement dans les récits concernant Autolykos: les deux dernières sources, si elle font état du sanctuaire oraculaire, semblent avoir oublié qu'Autolykos était un Argonaute, pour mettre uniquement en valeur son implication aux côtés d'Héraclès dans le combat contre les Amazones. Quoi qu'il en soit, il faut supposer qu'Autolykos avait les deux aspects car le récit de Strabon fait de lui un Argonaute et reprend le motif de la statue exécutée par Sthennis. Autre point à remarquer: si Autolykos et ses compagnons ont simplement habité Sinope dans les sources les plus anciennes (Apollonios de Rhodes, le Pseudo-Scymnos), à partir de la notice de Strabon, Autolykos est considéré comme le héros fondateur de Sinope, l'oikiste, et c'est à ce titre qu'il bénéficie d'une statue et d'un sanctuaire oraculaire. Ce glissement de sens est surprenant.

¹⁶ Traduction R. Flacelière et E. Chambry (CUF).

¹⁷ Appien, *Mithr.* 83.

¹⁸ Traduction P. Goukowsky (PUF).

2. L'Argonaute Autolykos, oikiste de Sinope: une affirmation surprenante

Il est en effet assez étonnant de voir qu'au moment de la conquête romaine, le héros Autolykos est vénéré comme le fondateur de Sinope, alors que Sinope est reconnue comme une fondation milésienne, et non thessalienne, par la majorité des auteurs de l'Antiquité¹⁹. Elle est en effet considérée comme la plus ancienne fondation de Milet dans le Pont-Euxin et a souvent été étudiée dans le mouvement général de la colonisation milésienne²⁰. Même si les colonies étaient politiquement indépendantes de leur métropole, des liens religieux, linguistiques et institutionnels pouvaient être notés²¹. Des liens entre Milet et Sinope peuvent donc être soulignés.

Au niveau linguistique tout d'abord, les inscriptions grecques de Sinope éditées par D. French²² sont toutes en grec ionien, parlé à Milet et caractérisé par des génitifs en -εος par exemple. Le système politique, tel qu'il apparaît dans les inscriptions de Sinope d'époque classique, donne à voir une organisation politique avec une *Ecclésia*²³, une *Boulé*²⁴, des stratèges²⁵, un *nomophylax*²⁶, des prytanes²⁷, un épistate de la *Boulé*²⁸, un secrétaire²⁹. Ce sont des institutions et des magistratures que l'on retrouve à Milet, mais aussi dans d'autres cités grecques aux époques archaïque et classique. Si la présence de la même langue, des mêmes institutions et des mêmes magistratures à Sinope qu'à Milet est une condition nécessaire à la justification de relations coloniales, elle n'est cependant pas une condition suffisante³⁰.

La parenté coloniale entre Sinope et Milet peut être mise en évidence par l'usage du calendrier milésien, à Sinope comme dans les autres colonies milésiennes³¹. Dans les inscriptions de Sinope, certains mois milésiens apparaissent, à savoir les mois de Panémios³², de Posidéon³³ et de Tauréon³⁴.

¹⁹ Xen. *Anab.* 6. 1. 15; Strab. 12. 3. 11; Diod. 14. 31. 2; Arrien, *Per.* 14; Eust. *Comment.* 772 (GGM II).

²⁰ Bérard 1960, 92-107; Mossé 1970, 61-62; Lévêque 1964, 212-214; Boardman 1995, 289-297; 308-309.

²¹ Bérard 1960, 80-91; Mossé 1970, 62-64.

²² *IK*, 64-Sinope.

²³ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°1, 3, 5, 6.

²⁴ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

²⁵ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°3, 5.

²⁶ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

²⁷ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

²⁸ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

²⁹ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

³⁰ Pierart 1979, 439-440.

³¹ Bischoff 1884, 396-397; Ehrhardt 1983, 113-119; Trümper 1997, 10-14; 89-93.

³² *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

³³ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°8.

³⁴ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°8.

Dans les timbres amphoriques de Sinope, on trouve des noms de magistrats comme Apaturios³⁵ et Anthesterios³⁶, ainsi que le nom de fabricant Lénaios³⁷, qui peuvent être rapprochés des mois milésiens d'Apaturion, Anthestérion et Lénaiion³⁸.

Au niveau religieux, on peut chercher des coïncidences avec les cultes de Milet, car les colons continuaient d'appartenir à la communauté religieuse de leur cité d'origine³⁹. Le culte de la divinité principale de Milet, Apollon Delphinios⁴⁰ semble attesté par une inscription funéraire mentionnant Δελφίνιος Ὀργιάλεος⁴¹. Le nom théophorique Delphinios se réfère directement au culte d'Apollon Delphinios et le patronyme Orgialéos (au génitif mais dont le nominatif est inconnu) peut être relié aux pratiques sacrées, mais pas forcément extatiques du collège des Molpes⁴², dont la présence à Sinope peut être inférée de l'examen des timbres amphoriques de Sinope portant le nom Μολπαγόρης⁴³. N. Ehrhardt propose aussi de voir dans le nom de Iétroklès, présent sur une inscription d'Olbia du V^e s. a.C. et accordant l'atélie au Sinopéen du même nom⁴⁴, une référence au culte d'Apollon Iétros⁴⁵. Une inscription de Sinope détaille les droits et les responsabilités du prêtre de Poséidon Hélikonios⁴⁶, qui était honoré par tous les Ioniens au cap Mycale⁴⁷. Enfin, Hestia était honorée à Milet⁴⁸ et on retrouve une liste de prytanes dédiée à Hestia Prytanéia à Sinope⁴⁹.

Dans son article sur les légendes de fondation de Sinope du Pont, A. Ivantchik a différencié les oikistes historiques des oikistes mythiques de Sinope⁵⁰. Pour lui, la notice du Pseudo-Scymnos montre que la colonisation historique de Sinope par Milet a eu lieu en deux temps, avant et après les invasions cimmériennes. La colonisation "mythologique" de Sinope par

³⁵ Garland 2004, 139, gr. IV, cat. 136-138.

³⁶ Garland 2004, 201-203, gr. VI, cat. 403-409.

³⁷ Garland 2004, 293, gr. VI.

³⁸ Ehrhardt 1983, 117; Trümper 1997, 90, n. 409.

³⁹ Vatin 1997, 71-80.

⁴⁰ Ehrhardt 1983, 130; 136; 142-144.

⁴¹ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°14; le nom de Delphinios se retrouve aussi dans le timbrage amphorique: Garland 2004, 239-240, gr. VI, cat. 564-570; 290, gr. II.

⁴² Jones 1988, 193-194.

⁴³ Garland 2004, 197, gr. VI, cat. 382-384.

⁴⁴ Dubois 1996, 5-6, n°1.

⁴⁵ Ehrhardt 1983, 136; 144-147.

⁴⁶ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°8.

⁴⁷ Hdt. 1. 143; Ehrhardt 1983, 171; Lohmann 2004, 33-35.

⁴⁸ Ehrhardt 1983, 175-176.

⁴⁹ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°7.

⁵⁰ Ivantchik 1997.

Autolykos est placée avant la colonisation historique, mais après l'explication mythologique de l'Amazone Sinopè.

Pourquoi faire intervenir une double explication mythologique pour les origines de Sinope? A. Ivantchik explique cela en indiquant que la tradition de l'Amazone Sinopè est purement livresque alors que la tradition de la fondation de Sinope par Autolykos et ses frères est une tradition indigène⁵¹. Pour A. Ivantchik, le fait de faire coexister deux légendes de fondation, l'une remontant à une tradition historique et l'autre étant le fruit de la création des mythes et issue de patriotisme local est tout à fait typique des colonies grecques: "Les légendes du deuxième type ont été créées pour prouver l'existence de la cité à l'époque héroïque et l'inclure dans le contexte de l'histoire légendaire panhellénique, notamment dans les grands cycles des mythes, comme les légendes d'Héraclès, des Argonautes, le cycle troyen etc. Les personnages des légendes du premier type ont souvent été les fondateurs réels de la cité, et ceux des légendes du deuxième type des héros panhelléniques ou locaux"⁵².

La relation de Sinope avec les Argonautes, en la personne du héros Autolykos, est donc une création assez récente: la première source littéraire à en faire état est Apollonios de Rhodes au III^e s. av. J.-C. et si l'on suit Plutarque, Strabon et Appien, la statue d'Autolykos dans son sanctuaire oraculaire daterait de la deuxième moitié du IV^e s. av. J.-C., période d'activité de Sthennis d'Olynthe. C'est une création récente et c'est une création issue du patriotisme local. Pourquoi créer si tardivement un mythe de fondation alors qu'il était facile d'être contredit par les autres cités grecques d'ancienne origine?

On peut tout d'abord supposer que Sinope souffrait d'un complexe d'infériorité par rapport à Héraclée Pontique, autre grande cité grecque de la côte sud de la mer Noire, dont le nom dérivait de son héros fondateur Héraclès. Le héros Héraclès apparaissait sur les monnaies d'Héraclée de l'époque classique⁵³ alors qu'à la même époque les monnaies civiques de Sinope sont ornées de la tête de la nymphe Sinope⁵⁴, fille d'Asopos⁵⁵, dont la renommée mythologique est nettement moindre que celle d'Héraclès. En introduisant dans la mythologie sinopéenne le héros Autolykos, compagnon d'Héraclès et/ou de Jason, les Sinopéens se sont rattachés aux grands mythes panhelléniques de la région (le combat contre les Amazones et la quête de la toison d'or) sans pour autant inventer un mythe faisant intervenir Jason ou

⁵¹ Ivantchik 1997, 39-41.

⁵² Ivantchik 1997, 41.

⁵³ *SNG Black Sea*, n°1566-1587; 1593-1602.

⁵⁴ *SNG Black Sea*, n°1374-1445.

⁵⁵ Eumelos de Corinthe, *FGrHist* 451 F5 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 945-954.

Héraclès, ce qui n'aurait pas manqué de susciter des protestations. La subtilité de la création mythologique sinopéenne est d'avoir utilisé comme héros fondateur un héros assez bien identifié dans des groupes prestigieux (les compagnons d'Héraclès ou les Argonautes), mais secondaire dans ces grands mythes. La création mythologique pouvait donc passer en douceur et être diffusée dans le monde grec de sorte qu'au III^e s. av. J.-C., Apollonios de Rhodes reprend cette information dans ses *Argonautiques*.

Le début de l'époque hellénistique est un moment particulièrement important dans l'histoire de Sinope puisque c'est une période où elle passe d'une autonomie de fait au sein d'un empire perse agité par des révoltes à une autonomie bien réelle après 322 av. J.-C. Au moment du passage de Xénophon et du reliquat des Dix-Mille, Sinope s'est taillé un petit empire côtier qui comprend Trapézonte, Cotyôra et Cérasonte, cités grecques tributaires de Sinope⁵⁶. C'est en tant que cité prospère maîtresse de ses relations internationales que Sinope est assiégée par Datamès⁵⁷, satrape en révolte autour de 370 av. J.-C. C'est en tant que cité jalouse de son intégrité territoriale que Sinope passe un traité d'alliance défensif avec Héraclée entre 353/2 et 346/5 av. J.-C.⁵⁸; les deux cités s'engagent à intervenir en cas d'agression de l'une d'elles et promettent de ne pas s'immiscer dans la politique intérieure de l'autre. On peut même se demander si la mise en avant d'un héros fondateur de Sinope ancien compagnon d'Héraclès contre les Amazones n'a pas été créé précisément au moment de ce décret d'alliance, afin qu'un compagnonnage mythologique puisse resserrer les liens entre les deux cités. Enfin, après la disparition en 322 av. J.-C.⁵⁹ d'Ariarathès satrape de Cappadoce qui tenait Sinope⁶⁰, la cité est pleinement indépendante et peut souhaiter s'assurer une propagande religieuse positive en se rattachant aux grands mythes panhelléniques de la région de la mer Noire, établissant ainsi un parallèle avec l'histoire mythologique d'Héraclée.

3. L'utilité du mythe au III^e s. av. J.-C.

S'il est facile de considérer que Sinope a créé un épisode de son histoire mythologique afin de pouvoir rivaliser avec Héraclée ou du moins de se montrer digne de son alliance au IV^e s. av. J.-C., il est intéressant de constater que c'est au III^e s. av. J.-C. que ce mythe est utilisé dans les relations internationales de Sinope.

⁵⁶ Xen. *Anab.* 5. 5. 7-12.

⁵⁷ Enée, *Pol.*, 40. 4-5; Polyen 7. 21. 2.

⁵⁸ *IK*, 64-Sinope, 1.

⁵⁹ Appien, *Mithr.* 3. 2; Diod. 18. 16. 1-3; 31. 194; Plut. *Eum.* 3; Justin. *Epit.* 13. 6. 1.

⁶⁰ Harrison 1982a, 282-290; Harrison 1982b, 181-182; Ariarathès avait émis à Sinope des monnaies à son nom avec une légende en araméen.

Au début du III^e s. av. J.-C., Sinope est une cité indépendante qui n'appartient à aucun royaume des Diadoques et qui n'entre pas dans l'alliance d'Héraclée au sein de la Ligue du Nord⁶¹. Ses alliances sont plutôt égéennes comme on le voit lorsque Sinope est attaquée par le roi du Pont Mithridate II en 220 av. J.-C. Polybe⁶² nous apprend que Rhodes avait répondu aux demandes à l'aide des Sinopéens et avait envoyé trois hommes et 140 000 drachmes à Sinope pour faire face à ses besoins, ce qui permit d'obtenir 10 000 amphores de vin, 300 talents de crin travaillé et 10 000 talents de cordes préparées, 1 000 armures, 3 000 pièces d'or monnayé et quatre catapultes avec des gens chargés de les faire fonctionner. Ce déploiement de moyens permit de mettre en fuite Mithridate II et l'on peut supposer, grâce à cet épisode, qu'il existait un traité d'alliance ou du moins une convention d'assistance entre Sinope et Rhodes⁶³. Sinope bénéficiait des alliés de Rhodes, comme on peut le voir à travers un décret pris en l'honneur de Dionnos de Cos, daté autour de 220 av. J.-C. et qui fait état de l'aide de la cité de Cos envers Sinope en temps de guerre⁶⁴.

Dans ces deux épisodes, la création mythologique de Sinope en ce qui concerne Autolykos n'est pas mise en avant, même s'il est intéressant de constater que le premier poète à faire état d'Autolykos compagnon d'Héraclès et de Jason est précisément Apollonios de Rhodes qui après des débuts à Alexandrie, fit toute sa carrière littéraire à Rhodes au III^e s. av. J.-C., précisément au moment de l'alliance de Sinope avec Rhodes. La propagande religieuse de Sinope avait dû être suffisamment efficace pour qu'Apollonios de Rhodes consacre quelques vers à Autolykos, Déilon et Phlogios dans ses *Argonautiques*.

C'est à travers un document épigraphique que la propagande religieuse sinopéenne semble à l'œuvre. Il s'agit d'un décret d'Histiée en Eubée rappelant l'amitié et la parenté entre Histitée et Sinope et garantissant les privilèges des résidents sinopéens⁶⁵. Ce décret a été daté du milieu du III^e s. av. J.-C., avant ou après 220 et l'assaut manqué de Mithridate II⁶⁶. Ce qui a attiré l'attention des commentateurs se situe tout d'abord ligne 22 où les Sinopéens sont dits amis et frères des Histiéens depuis l'Antiquité:

[κα]ὶ [τοῖ]ς Σινωπε[ῶ]σιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ φίλοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς [οὔ]σιν ---

⁶¹ Sartre 2003, 56-57.

⁶² Polyb. 4, 56.

⁶³ Fernoux 2004, 118.

⁶⁴ Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998; *SEG*, 48, 1998, n°1097.

⁶⁵ *IG XII*, 9, 1186, Robinson 1905, 332, n°96.

⁶⁶ Asheri 1973, 71; *SEG* 1994, n°96.

La fraternité entre Sinope et Histiée a été interprétée comme une parenté mythologique, qui était une chose assez courante à l'époque hellénistique.

Les débats se sont cristallisés sur la restitution de la ligne 3 où il était question de la métropole de Sinope: Ziebarth, l'éditeur des *IG* avait proposé de restituer ἐπειδὴ Σινωπεῖς ἄποικοι [ὄντες Μιλησίων], alors qu'à partir des années 1970, d'autres suggestions ont été faites. Ainsi, D. Asheri a proposé de restituer [ὄντες Ἰσπιαίεων]⁶⁷ car il voit dans la suite du décret (précisément la ligne 22) un rapport de parenté, de συγγένεια, qui peut être de pure invention à l'époque hellénistique⁶⁸, comme dans le cas des Spartiates et des Hébreux qui se disent frères et descendants d'Abraham⁶⁹. Pour justifier sa restitution, D. Asheri convoque Autolykos, fils de Déimachos, véritable oikiste de Sinope. Il explique en effet qu'Autolykos, Déilon et Phologios étaient originaires de Tricca, centre majeur de l'Histiaiotide thessalienne et qu'une homonymie a permis de glisser vers l'Histiaiotide eubéenne, à savoir la région d'Histiée⁷⁰. De plus, D. Asheri cite Stabon⁷¹ à propos de la région de Tricca afin de justifier la proximité de l'Histiaiotide:

"Il y avait ceux qui habitaient Tricca et la rocheuse Ithomé. Ces localités font partie de l'Histiaiotide, qui s'appelait, dit-on, primitivement Doride. Mais, après son occupation par les Perrhèbes, qui venaient de dévaster le territoire d'Histiée en Eubée et d'en arracher la population pour la faire passer sur le continent, l'afflux des colons Histiéens fut tel qu'on donna au territoire occupé le nom tiré de leur"⁷².

Ainsi, d'après D. Asheri, à travers ce décret, Sinope et Histiée avaient mis en valeur leur parenté mythologique en convoquant le héros Autolykos de Tricca, ville de l'Histiaiotide thessalienne⁷³.

O. Curty a repris l'argument de la parenté légendaire entre Sinope et Histiée mais a proposé de restituer à la ligne 3 du décret ἐπειδὴ Σινωπεῖς ἄποικοι [ὄντες Τρικκαίων]⁷⁴, faisant ainsi des deux cités sœurs (ligne 22 du décret) les colonies d'une métropole commune, à savoir Tricca en Thessalie. Les parentés légendaires sont mises en avant dans les décrets d'alliance à l'époque hellénistique⁷⁵ et souvent justifiées par des

⁶⁷ Asheri 1973, 72.

⁶⁸ Asheri 1973, 72-73.

⁶⁹ I Macc. 12. 21; Flav. Joseph. *Antiqu.* 12. 226.

⁷⁰ Asheri 1973, 74.

⁷¹ Strab. 9. 5. 17.

⁷² Traduction R. Balladié (CUF).

⁷³ Suivi par Rigsby 1980, 245.

⁷⁴ Curty 1992, 247, n. 9.

⁷⁵ Robert 1987, 78-90; 173-186; Curty 1995.

arguments mythologiques sérieux, comme c'est le cas à Sinope avec l'intervention d'Autolykos.

On voit donc que si la création du mythe d'Autolykos a pu intervenir au IV^e s. dans un contexte d'alliance avec Héraclée, ce mythe a pu être véhiculé chez l'allié rhodien grâce aux poèmes d'Apollonios de Rhodes au III^e s. av. J.-C. et enfin utilisé fort à propos dans un décret d'alliance avec Histée en Eubée.

4. La justification du mythe lors de la conquête romaine

La création mythologique sinopéenne aurait pu être cantonnée aux IV^e et III^e s. av. J.-C. et ne refléter que le souci de prestige religieux d'une cité de la côte nord de l'Anatolie, qui sait utiliser le personnage d'Autolykos fort à propos autour de 220 av. J.-C., mais qui ne développe pas ce mythe outre mesure.

Or, les récits de la prise de Sinope par Lucullus en 70 av. J.-C. nous apprennent qu'au contraire Sinope avait organisé un culte d'Autolykos autour d'une statue et d'un sanctuaire oraculaire. Strabon emploie le terme d'oikiste pour qualifier Autolykos⁷⁶, alors que Plutarque lui préfère celui de *ktistès*⁷⁷. Ces deux auteurs rapportent qu'il y avait à Sinope une statue d'Autolykos exécutée par Sthénis d'Olynthe, en activité à Athènes dans le dernier tiers du IV^e s. av. J.-C., ce qui prouve l'ancienneté du culte. Strabon⁷⁸ et Appien⁷⁹ rapportent l'existence d'un sanctuaire oraculaire d'Autolykos à Sinope, ce qui prouve l'organisation du culte.

Il faut donc imaginer qu'il y avait à Sinope un lieu de culte dédié à Autolykos, un *héroôn*, puisqu'Appien qualifie Autolykos de héros.

Sans l'épisode de la prise de Sinope par Lucullus et du rêve de Lucullus dans lequel Autolykos ou sa statue lui apparaissent, nous n'aurions jamais su qu'il y avait un tel culte à Sinope. En effet, si le nom de Phlogios apparaît dans une inscription de la fin de l'époque classique⁸⁰, le nom d'Autolykos est inconnu de l'épigraphie sinopéenne.

Par le rêve de Lucullus et la piété de ce dernier, la création mythologique sinopéenne se trouve justifiée, et, par un retournement des choses, c'est ce rêve qui justifie l'attitude de Lucullus à l'égard de Sinope. Autolykos devient une caution religieuse des deux côtés. Appien et Plutarque rapportent le songe que fit Lucullus alors que Strabon ne l'évoque pas. Selon Appien, Lucullus crut

⁷⁶ Strab., 12. 3. 11.

⁷⁷ Plut., *Luc.*, 23. 4.

⁷⁸ Strab. 12. 3. 11.

⁷⁹ Appien, *Mithr.*, 83.

⁸⁰ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°62 en suivant la lecture d'Ivantchik 1997, 40; 1998, 305; 2005, 142: dédicace de Léomédon à Phlogios.

pendant la nuit qu'Autolykos l'appelait et qu'il le voyait. Le lendemain, on lui apporta la statue d'Autolykos et il la reconnut telle qu'il l'avait vue dans son rêve. Appien établit un lien entre ce rêve et le fait que Lucullus ait accordé immédiatement la liberté à la cité de Sinope et qu'il l'ait repeuplée. Plutarque apporte le plus de détails sur le rêve de Lucullus tout en précisant par avance que c'est grâce à ce rêve que Lucullus se montra bon envers les Sinopéens et leur rendit leurs biens. Dans le rêve de Lucullus, Autolykos se nomma comme tel et dit à Lucullus d'avancer car Autolykos était venu le rencontrer. Le matin suivant, Lucullus prit la cité et, en poursuivant les Ciliciens qui voulaient s'enfuir, trouva sur le rivage la statue d'Autolykos que les Ciliciens n'avaient pas eu le temps d'emporter. Comme on lui faisait le récit des exploits d'Autolykos, il comprit le sens de son rêve et, suivant les préceptes de Sulla, considéra comme dignes de foi les signes envoyés par les rêves.

Cette apparition de la divinité des ennemis n'est pas un procédé unique dans la littérature: Héraclès apparaît aussi à Alexandre lors du siège de Tyr en 332⁸¹. On peut rapprocher cet épisode de celui de Sérapis qui était apparu en rêve à Ptolémée Philadelphe. Dans les deux cas, la divinité apparaît à un homme puissant, monarque ou général, et lui délivre un message qu'il interprète par la suite. Dans les deux cas, il est question d'une statue, celle de Sarapis qui est installée en Egypte et celle d'Autolykos qui est retrouvée sur la grève de Sinope. Il y a également une similitude dans les conclusions apportées à ces apparitions: l'homme pieux doit y être attentif. C'est parce qu'Autolykos est apparu à Lucullus que ce dernier s'est montré bon avec Sinope. Il lui accorda en effet la liberté en raison de ce rêve, mais aussi de son philhellénisme⁸².

Le récit du rêve de Lucullus peut aussi avoir une fonction de propagande afin de montrer que l'oïkiste de Sinope souhaitait favoriser la victoire romaine et que c'est pour cela que Lucullus s'était montré clément.

5. La géographie du culte d'Autolykos à Sinope?

Grâce aux récits de la prise de Sinope, nous savons qu'il y avait à Sinope un sanctuaire oraculaire d'Autolykos avec une statue de ce dernier. Il est tout à fait possible d'imaginer l'existence d'un *héroôn* où serait honoré Autolykos. Il est difficile d'identifier clairement un édifice qui aurait pu être le temple d'Autolykos à Sinope car la ville moderne de Sinop recouvre le site antique. Quelques sondages ont néanmoins été pratiqués dans les années 1950 par l'équipe germano-turque de L. Budde et E. Akurgal⁸³ et ont permis de mettre au jour une zone de temple extra-muros, une zone de nécropole et quelques

⁸¹ Plut. *Alex*, 24, 5.

⁸² Bernhardt 1971, 134.

⁸³ Akurgal & Budde 1956.

quartiers d'habitation. Suite au plan proposé par D. Winfield et A. Bryer⁸⁴, il est possible de localiser les divers sondages⁸⁵ et de dresser un plan archéologique de Sinope⁸⁶. Le lieu idéal pour le culte du héros fondateur de Sinope est bien entendu l'agora, mais aucune fouille n'a été menée dans cette zone de la ville et les inscriptions retrouvées dans la muraille proche de la zone supposée de l'agora datent toutes d'époque romaine⁸⁷.

La zone du temple "de Sarapis", est assez intéressante. Elle présente un temple de 15 m sur 8, 60 m avec un autel identifié grâce à une couche d'incendie et de nombreux ossements⁸⁸. Le tracé et l'ordre du temple⁸⁹ ne sont pas clairs et les éléments d'architecture⁹⁰ ont été classés en cinq groupes allant du VI^e s. av. J.-C. à l'époque sévérienne, et correspondant aux divers états du temple d'après L. Budde. Ce classement est aujourd'hui remis en cause par L. Summerer⁹¹.

Le temple a été attribué à Sarapis par L. Budde en raison du récit de Tacite sur la statue de Sarapis⁹², d'une inscription mentionnant un temple de Sarapis et trouvée dans cette zone⁹³ et de figurines en terre cuite représentant un taureau⁹⁴. Or l'inscription a été datée des I^{er}-II^e s. ap. J.-C. par D. French, ce qui permet d'avancer que le temple pouvait avoir un tout autre occupant à l'époque hellénistique. L'histoire de la statue de Sérapis apparaissant à Ptolémée Sôter et réclamant de venir à Alexandrie est à mettre en relation avec la propagande de Vespasien auquel Sérapis apparaît: il y a un décalque politique et idéologique⁹⁵. Sinope n'intervient dans cette affaire qu'à cause d'une déformation phonétique: A. Bouché-Leclercq⁹⁶ fait remonter l'invention de cette histoire à un "charlatan d'érudition", le grammairien Apion d'Alexandrie. Comme il y avait à Memphis un sanctuaire de Sérapis sur une colline appelée Σινώπιον, nom dérivé très certainement d'une déformation de *Se-n-Hapi*, la "demeure de Hapi"⁹⁷, il a pu être très tentant d'opérer un rapprochement étymologique qu'Apion a pu exécuter après sa découverte du nom du lieu du sanctuaire de Sérapis. Il est aussi intéressant de constater le

⁸⁴ Bryer & Winfield 1985, 88-89.

⁸⁵ Doonan 2003, 1402; Doonan 2004, 77.

⁸⁶ Pl. III.

⁸⁷ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°87, 90, 91, 108, 116, 125.

⁸⁸ Budde 1956, 27-32, pl. VIII-XV.

⁸⁹ Pl. II.

⁹⁰ Pl. I.

⁹¹ Summerer 2008.

⁹² Tacite, *Hist.* 4, 83-84.

⁹³ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°172.

⁹⁴ Budde 1956, 31.

⁹⁵ Borgeaud & Volokhine 2000, 42-43.

⁹⁶ Bouché-Leclercq 1902, 23.

⁹⁷ Bouché-Leclercq 1902, 22.

côté pratique d'une telle démarche: il n'y avait aucun démenti à attendre de la part de Sinope car il était très difficile, trois siècles plus tard, de démontrer qu'une statue de Sérapis, qui n'était plus à Sinope, n'y avait jamais été⁹⁸.

C'est à partir du règne de Vespasien que le culte de Sarapis est particulièrement visible dans la numismatique sinopéenne⁹⁹. On trouve Sarapis sur les monnaies de Vespasien¹⁰⁰, d'Hadrien¹⁰¹, d'Antonin le Pieux¹⁰², de Marc Aurèle¹⁰³, de Marc Aurèle et L. Verus¹⁰⁴, de Caracalla¹⁰⁵, de Geta¹⁰⁶, de Macrin¹⁰⁷, de Sévère Alexandre¹⁰⁸, de Maximin¹⁰⁹, de Maxime¹¹⁰, de Gordien¹¹¹, de Philippe le père¹¹², de Valérien le père¹¹³ et de Gallien¹¹⁴. Les représentations de Sarapis varient d'une série monétaire à l'autre: Sarapis en pieds peut être couché, debout ou trônant, ou bien être représenté uniquement par son buste¹¹⁵.

Les remarques d'ordre numismatique concernant l'apparition de Sarapis sur les monnaies sinopéennes coïncident avec les apports de l'épigraphie. Il n'est en effet nullement mentionné de Sarapis dans l'épigraphie sinopéenne d'époque hellénistique. Trois inscriptions mentionnent le nom de Sarapis à l'époque romaine¹¹⁶ et rien ne permet de prouver que la divinité était honorée avant l'époque romaine.

Avant l'époque romaine, le "temple de Sarapis" devait être affecté à une autre divinité. Le héros fondateur de Sinope, Autolykos, dont le sanctuaire oraculaire est attesté jusqu'à la prise de Sinope par Lucullus en 70 av. J.-C.¹¹⁷, est un candidat envisageable. Il y a une certaine ressemblance entre les deux divinités qui apparaissent en rêve, l'une à Lucullus, l'autre à Ptolémée Sôter, et dont les statues sont "voyageuses". Pourtant, la localisation du temple peut

⁹⁸ Bouché-Leclercq 1902, 23.

⁹⁹ Borgeaud & Volokhine 2000, 44; *SNRIS*.

¹⁰⁰ *RPC II*, n°720.

¹⁰¹ *Recueil*, n°109.

¹⁰² *Recueil*, n°113, pl. XXVII, fig. 23.

¹⁰³ *Recueil*, n°115.

¹⁰⁴ *Recueil*, n°117, pl. XXVII, fig. 25.

¹⁰⁵ *Recueil*, n°128, pl. XXVIII, fig. 1; n°129; n°133, pl. XXVIII, fig. 3; *BMC Pontus*, n°57.

¹⁰⁶ *Recueil*, n°136, pl. XXVIII, fig. 6; n°137, pl. XXVIII, fig. 7; n°138, *BMC Pontus*, n°58.

¹⁰⁷ *Recueil*, n°143, pl. XXVIII, fig. 11, *BMC Pontus*, n°59.

¹⁰⁸ *Recueil*, n°146, pl. XXVIII, fig. 14; n°147, pl. XXVIII, fig. 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Recueil*, n°151; n°152, pl. XXVIII, fig. 17.

¹¹⁰ *Recueil*, n°154, pl. XXVIII, fig. 19.

¹¹¹ *Recueil*, n°155, pl. XXVIII, fig. 20; n°156-157; n°158, pl. XXVIII, fig. 21; *BMC Pontus*, n°60.

¹¹² *Recueil*, n°160, pl. XXVIII, fig. 23.

¹¹³ *Recueil*, n°163, pl. XXVIII, fig. 25.

¹¹⁴ *Recueil*, n°169.

¹¹⁵ *SNRIS*.

¹¹⁶ *IK*, 64-Sinope, n°114, 115, 172.

¹¹⁷ *Strab.* 12. 3. 11.

poser problème. En effet, le temple se trouve en dehors des limites de la muraille hellénistique, ce qui correspond assez peu à la localisation habituelle d'un *héroôn*. La physionomie du temple ne correspond pas non plus à celle d'un *héroôn*: on n'y a pas retrouvé le tombeau du héros fondateur. Le bâtiment du temple peut tout à fait s'appliquer au cas d'un sanctuaire oraculaire, où un culte pouvait être rendu dès l'époque archaïque (des dépôts archaïques sont attestés en dehors des murailles de la ville¹¹⁸). A la fin de l'époque classique, un culte dédié à Autolykos a pu être mis en place dans un sanctuaire consacré à une autre divinité. L'instauration de ce nouveau culte a pu s'accompagner de l'installation dans le temple d'une statue exécutée par un sculpteur réputé, Sthénis d'Olynthe, ce qui aurait accru le prestige du héros-fondateur de Sinope.

A l'époque romaine, le culte d'Autolykos a pu être abandonné car le fondateur de la colonie romaine de Sinope était Jules César en 45 av. J.-C. Enfin, quand le culte de Sérapis s'est répandu en relation avec Vespasien et l'origine sinopéenne de la statue d'Alexandrie, le sanctuaire d'Autolykos a pu être réattribué à la divinité tutélaire de Vespasien, Sérapis.

Conclusion

Les relations de Sinope avec la geste des Argonautes semblent courir au moins du IV^e s. au I^{er} s. av. J.-C. On ne peut que saluer la pérennité d'une création mythologique à vocation patriotique destinée à combler le manque de prestige supposé de Sinope quant à ses origines. Sinope a certainement voulu se rattacher aux grands mythes panhelléniques de la région de la mer Noire (Héraclès et Jason) et a pour cela utilisé la figure d'Autolykos, Argonaute peu connu dont on ne contesterait pas la présence dans la mythologie sinopéenne.

L'importance d'Autolykos est attestée au moins dans le second quart du IV^e s. et peut servir dans le cadre de relations avec Héraclée au IV^e s., puis avec Histiée au III^e s. Le héros Autolykos aurait pu tomber dans l'oubli lorsque Sinope a fait partie du royaume du Pont en 183 av. J.-C., mais il n'en fut rien, car un temple et un oracle sont attestés lors de la conquête de Sinope par Lucullus en 70 av. J.-C. Le coup de génie mythologique de Sinope réside dans la justification involontaire de son mythe de fondation par Lucullus. Une fois le rêve de Lucullus rapporté, il est impossible d'affirmer qu'Autolykos n'est pas un Argonaute héros fondateur de Sinope.

¹¹⁸ Pl. III.

Abréviations:

FGrHist: F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Leyde, 1957-

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873-

IK, 64-Sinope: D. French, *Inscriptions of Sinope*, Cologne, 2004.

Recueil: W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon et T. Reinach, *Recueil Général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure, I.1-I.4*, Paris, 1908-1925.

SNG Black Sea: Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum [Great Britain] 9, The British Museum 1, The Black Sea, Londres, 1993.

SNRIS: L. Bricault, *Sylloge Nummorum Religionis Isiaca et Sarapicae*, à paraître 2008.

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1a



1



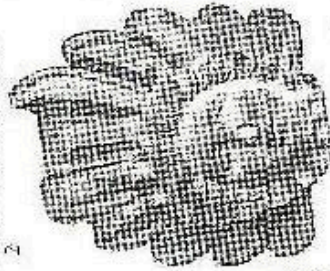
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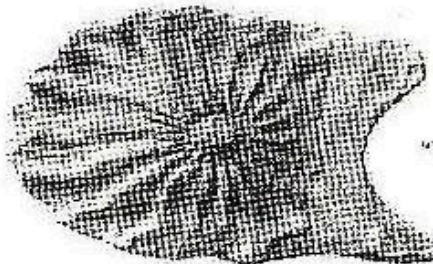
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5

2. Fragments architecturaux provenant des fouilles du temple.
(d'après Akurgal & Budde 1956, pl. X, XII)

1. Antéfixes provenant des fouilles du temple.
(d'après Akurgal & Budde 1956, pl. X, XI, XII)

TABLE VIII

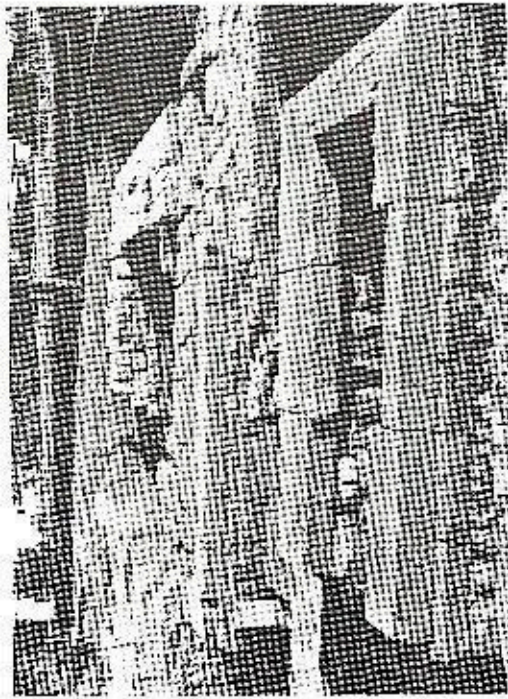


Fig. 1: Le temple avec l'autel.

TABLE IX



Fig. 3: Le temple avec l'autel.

PL. II

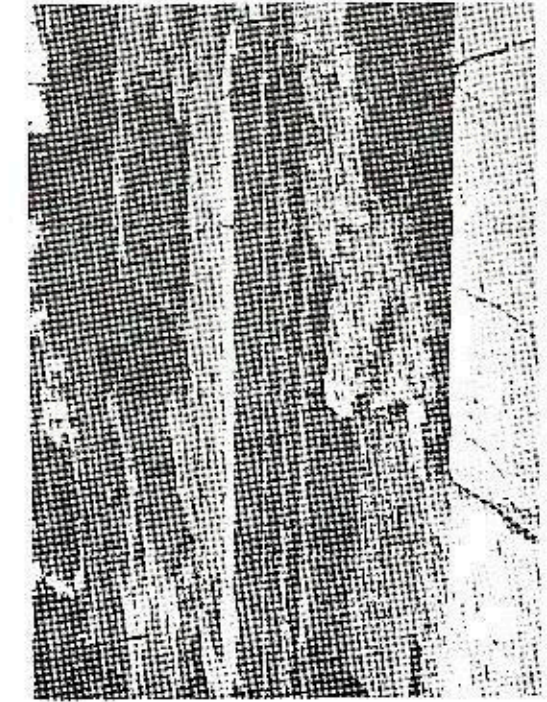
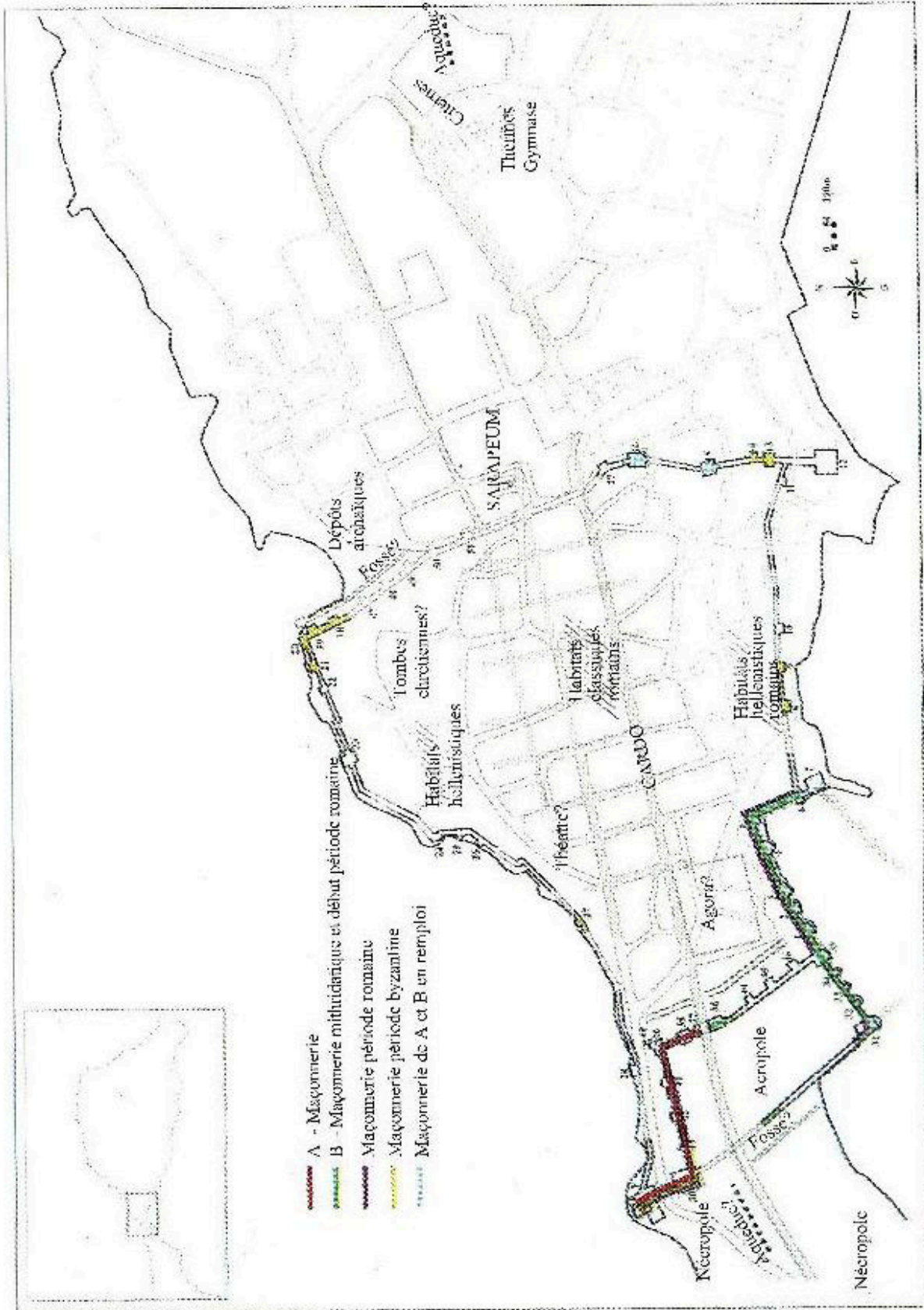


Fig. 2: Le temple avec l'autel et la mosaïque de galets.
(d'après Akurgal & Budde 1956, pl. VIII)



Fig. 4: Angle sud du temple avec le petit bâtiment plus ancien.
(d'après Akurgal & Budde 1956, pl. IX)



Plan general de Sinope.

Lela Chotalishvili (Tbilisi)

THE COLCHIAN 'HERITAGE' OF HELIOS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF LINGUISTIC DATA

The genealogy of Helios and his Colchian descendents are very important for the understanding of the formation of the Argonaut legend. In this regard, the question on what kind of historical or mythopoetic information could have been reflected in proper and place names connected with the legendary Aia may have several answers: a. The myth, as well as its component connected with Aia, was developed in the Greek tradition and is the result of the Hellenic mythopoetic imagination. b. This episode of the myth and the associated characters reflect the story of the Mycenaean expedition undertaken somewhere to the east and is related to the facts and events connected with the so-called legendary Aia. c. Although the story of the Argonauts' voyage to Aia was developed in the Greek tradition, it more or less reflects the information related to the supposed target of the Argonauts' expedition. As concerns the popularity of this part of the myth in ancient Colchis, this could have resulted from the influence of Greek mythology over the Eastern Black Sea region.

The present paper has a specific objective: try to decide which linguistic facts are reflected in the proper and place names associated with the so-called Colchian descendents of Helios – the names which does not seem to have Greek etymology but must be connected with the earliest versions of the myth.

Let us start with the name of Ἥλιος. According to Homer, it is ἥλιος, while its Dorian, Aeolian and Arcadian versions are ἀέλιος and ἄλιος (Cf. IG IV 760).¹ In Hesichius, it is ἀβέλιος (Hesych. ἀβέλιον ἥλιον Κρήτες. -

¹ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, I-III, Berlin 1921-24, II, 667.

ἀβελίην ἡλιακὸν Παμφύλιοι). It is interesting whether the deity is inherent in the Greek religious or mythological system or not. Although the cult of sun was an intrinsic element in the mythological thought of many various peoples; it holds quite a modest place in the hierarchical system of Greek deities proper. Admittedly, it must not have a Greek origin and presumably belongs to pre-Greek world.² And in fact, Helios can be identified as a second-rate god in the Greek Pantheon, whom people address with humbleness. Remarkably, he often even acts at the behest of Greek Gods (Hom. Il. XVIII, 239; Od. XII, 374 ff. 415; XIX, 276; Apollod. I. 3). Homer mentions him not as a god, but as – ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν (equal to the immortals) (Hom. Hymn. XXXII, 7). It is also interesting that according to Aristophanes, barbarians esteem Helios more highly than the Greeks. (Aristoph. Aere, 406 ff. Schol. 406, 407, 410).

As concerns the etymology of the term Ἥλιος, part of scholars believe that the god bore this name from the very start, while according to Schmitt-Brandt, Helios is a Greek appellative, and its pre-Greek equivalent must have been τιτάν.³ Evidently, this viewpoint is based on the idea widespread in the Indo-European studies that the term Ἥλιος has an Indo-European origin. Ἥλιος is reconstructed to the common Indo-European level as *S(a)uHel- / n-, *sūl; ancient Indic tongue, Ved. – sūryah (sun, sun deity), suvar (sun, light, sky, brightening), Avestian – hvar (sun), Lithuanian – saulė (sun), Prussian – saule (sun), Old Slavic – slūnīce (sun), Gothic – sauil (sun), Old Upper Germanic – sunna (sun), Old English – sunne (sun), Latin – sōl (sun). Cf. Old Irish – súil (eye).⁴ Another part of scholars links the term to an Indo-Germanic root *suēl* – burn, light.⁵

In 1986, Furnée questioned the assumption that the name Ἥλιος can be reconstructed to the common Indo-European name. According to the scholar, it must have entered the late Indo-European linguistic environment from the Kartvelian, while the Indo-European roots denoting the sun are presumably derived from the Georgian *šū-/ *šw- root (Cf. Kartvelian mšweneba

² M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* (Erster Band, Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft), Verlag C. H. Beck, München 1992, 34.

³ R. Schmitt-Brandt, *Zur Etymologie von Μήδεια*, *Phasis, Greek and Roman Studies*, VII, 2004, 88-92.

⁴ Т. Б. Гамкрелидзе, Вяч. Вс. Иванов, *Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы*, II, Тбилиси 1984, 684; E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve 1935, 12. Cf. Kuhn, *Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* XXVI, 9 (J. Schmidt). XXXI, 351. 452 (Kretschmer). XXXVI, 278 (Pedersen); H. Frisk, *Griechische etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960, I, 631-632. RE, VIII. 1, 58, Roscher 1993-2025.

⁵ H. Frisk, *Griechische etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960, I, 631-632. RE, VIII. 1, 58.

(beauty), šwenis suits, mšwenieri (beautiful). The term ἥλιος itself could have been derived from the pre-Kartvelian *šew-el- or *šw-en-.⁶ If we follow Furnée's viewpoint, we may assume that late Indo-European as well as pre-Greek versions could have been derived from the Kartvelian linguistic environment. Naturally, in this case the following question comes up: how can we explain the fact that the root borrowed from the Kartvelian language is *šw- and not the one denoting the sun?

If the etymology of the name of Helios itself causes dispute, it is quite clear that the names of his descendents, at least the names of those related to the legendary Aia or Colchis, are derived from the roots having the meaning of the "lighting", "brightening" and so on: Παισιφάη, Χαλκιόπη, Πέρσης, Πέρση, Φαέθων, Αἰγιάλευς (the versions of the name of Aietes' son). Part of these names can be regarded as the so-called speaking names and they were obviously composed on the basis of the Greek language, while the Greek origin of other names invites doubts. Let us consider the names of our immediate interest:

Αἰήτης is undoubtedly among the most important names. According to ancient sources, it must have been very popular in the historical Colchis. According to Xenophon, the name Aietes was widespread among the kings of Colchis (Ksen. Anab. V, 8, 36-37), while according to Strabo, the name Aietes is local among the Colchian population (Strab. I, 2, 39). Therefore, part of scholars believes that the name Aietes has a Colchian origin. However, more acceptable is the assumption according to which Αἰήτης must have been derived from Αἶα within the Greek proper, and the name can be understood as the man from "Aia" or the "Aian".⁷ If the Mycenaean a₃-wa-ta (KN Vc 7612) truly corresponds to the name of Aietes⁸, then we can assume that the Hellenized version of the name was known as early as the Mycenaean period. Therefore, it is possible that the popularity of the name in Colchis was caused by the influence of the Greek myth itself. As concerns Αἶα, I will dwell on it later.

The name of Aietes' son, Ἀψυρτος, is found in early Greek sources. It could have been mentioned as early as in the naupactic texts (the 7th c. B.C.). Interestingly, the etymology of Apsyrtus is not unambiguous. Some scholars consider it to be a speaking name and connect it with the Greek verb ἀποσύρω "tear up", or with the Semitic root basâru "cut, turn into pieces",

⁶ E. J. Furnée, *Paläokartvelisch-Pelasgische Einflüsse in den indogermanischen Sprache. Nachgewiesen Anhand der spätindogermanisch-griechischen Reflexe urkartvelischer Sibilanten und Affrikaten*, Leiden 1986, 181.

⁷ Cf. A. Lesky, *Aia*, Wiener Studien 63, 1948; RE, I, 942-944.

⁸ St. Hiller, *The Mycenaeans and the Black Sea. Thalassa. L'Egee prehistorique et la mer*, Liège 1991, 207 ff.

consequently, the name Apsyrtus should denote "torn".⁹ I agree with Mr. Gordeziani in that such an assumption would have been acceptable if the Greeks or the Semites had given the name to the character after his death.¹⁰ According to another viewpoint, "Αψυρτος was derived from a geographical name connected with the character in the mythological tradition. According to some scholars, "Αψυρτος implies reference to the Caucasian root abs-/aps attested in the tribal name of the Apsils and the Colchian geographical name Apsarus.¹¹ In Mr. Gordeziani's opinion, the Greek derivative -τος suffix was added to a certain initial local root (presumably, "Αψαρ-), and as a result a mythological name "Αψυρτος was formed from the geographical name within the Greek tradition.¹²

Especially interesting is the name Μήδεια, the etymology of which was beyond any doubts for a long time. Many scholars consider it to be a speaking name and relate it to the Indo-European root *mēd- (μήδομαι – I think, I invent). Consequently, Μήδεια was believed to denote "clever, giving advice". mēd- / mēd- is relevant in terms of Mycenaean onomastic studies as well: a-pi-me-de, e-u-me-de, pe-ri-me-de. *mēd- is found in many Greek male and female names: 'Αγαμήδη, 'Αλιμήδη, 'Αμφιμήδης, Εὐμήδης, Περιμήδης, Διομήδης. However, in the overwhelming majority of the cases, it is the second component. The exception is Μήδειος (Hesiod. Th. 1001), which has only one root – *mēd-, and occurs only as a Masculine form. The female form of this name is found neither in Mycenaean texts, which include only masculine me-de-i-jo (KN B 8004).

The first scholar to question the Indo-European origin of Medea was Schmitt-Brandt, who believes that in this case a foreign name was Hellenized and included in the group of names with *mēd- root. The scholar focuses on the Georgian female name Mzia derived from the Kartvelian mze- root, denoting the sun (through the suffix -ia which has diminutive and identifying function. Cf. Bidzia – uncle, Ghvinia – of wine-color). The Mengrelian parallel of Georgian mze (sun) is bža and the Svan parallel is miž < *məž with the main South-Caucasian syllabic m in the anlaut.¹³ The Greeks must have perceived Kartvelian z as ζ, pronounced as zd. Consequently, Georgian Mzia must have sounded in Archaic Greek and Mycenaean as mzdia > mezdia. ζ/δ interchange is widespread in Greek. According to

⁹ M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica. An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece*, Leiden 1967, 295.

¹⁰ R. Gordziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III, 485-86, Tbilisi 2007 (in Georgian).

¹¹ III. P. Инал-Ипа, *Абхазы, Сухуми* 1965, 98.

¹² R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 486-87.

¹³ Cf. Th. Gamkrelidze, *Sonantensystem und Ablaut in der Kartwelsprachen* Günter Narr-verlag, Tübingen 1983.

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¹⁰ R. Gordziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III, 485-86, Tbilisi 2007 (in Georgian).

¹¹ Ш. Р. Инал-Ипа, *Абхазы, Сухуми* 1965, 98.

¹² R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 486-87.

¹³ Cf. Th. Gamkrelidze, *Sonantensystem und Ablaut in der Kartwelsprachen* Günter Narr-verlag, Tübingen 1983.

reduplication: $\text{kar-kal} > *k\text{ir-kal} > *k\text{ir-al} > *k\text{r-i-al} > *k\text{rial-i}$.¹⁹ R. Gordeziani does not rule out that the $*k\text{ir}\text{-}$ element (meaning "shining", "sparkling") resulted from the reduplication of the $*k\text{ir-}$ version of the root could have formed the name of one of the descendents of Helios in the hypothetical Greek tradition.²⁰

Evidently, proper names including the root or stem περσ- are related to the earliest versions of the tradition. On the one hand, the root is included in the name of Helios' wife Πέρση (Περσηΐς), and on the other hand – in the name of his son Πέρσης. According to Schmitt-Brandt, pe-re-^*82 (perswā) attested in the Linear B texts must be the Mycenaean version of Πέρση, the name of Helios' son.²¹ The semantics of the root περσ- stirred disputes from quite an early period. Although there are many names including the root, it is very difficult to argue whether the root found in the proper names of Helios' descendents and other historical or mythological (either proper or geographical) names have the same origin. In fact, despite their similarity, it is not clear whether the name of the mythical hero Perseus Περσεύς, the ethnonym Persian (περσέα), the names Helios' wife Πέρση, Περσηΐς and of his son Πέρσης have the same root. Since the περσ- root is admitted to have ambiguous etymology, it is very difficult to say anything specific. Perhaps, it is reasonable to share the assumption that in the case of Helios' descendents περσ- root is associated with the meaning of lighting up, shining, dazzling, brightening.²² Some scholars link it to Pelasgian $*b\text{herek}$ (shining).²³ According to quite an interesting opinion, περσ- root can be related to the Georgian $*b\text{r}\check{c}q\text{-}$ root.²⁴ Recently, Fenrich suggested that there existed alternative roots at the common Kartvelian level: $b\text{r}\check{c}q\text{inva}^*b\text{er}\check{c}q\text{-}/^*b\text{r}\check{c}q\text{-}$ or $*b\text{er}\check{c}q\text{-}/^*b\text{r}\check{c}q\text{-}$.²⁵

Evidently, the name of Phrixus, Κυτίσσωρος/Κυτίσσωρος must be related to the earlier layers of the tradition, which is indicated by two facts: a. The mythological character is known to Herodotus. b) Homer names Κύτσωρος among Paphlagonian cities, which were associated with the name of Cytisorus as early as ancient times. It is likewise remarkable that this proper

¹⁹ F. Ertelishvili, *The Issues of the Phonematic Structure and History of Verbal Roots*, Tbilisi 1970, 214 (in Georgian).

²⁰ R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 485.

²¹ R. Schmitt-Brandt, *Zur Etymologie von Μήδεια*, *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, VII, 2004, 88-92.

²² Hes. περσος , περσευς – the name of fish, red-born fish.

²³ See: P. Gordeziani, *Αἶα* в древнейших греческих источниках, *Λεκτά*, *Selected Works*, Tbilisi 2000, 125-143, 133.

²⁴ See: P. Gordeziani, *Αἶα*, 133.

²⁵ H. Fähnrich, *Beiträge zur Kartvelologie*.

name included the same root as the name of the principle city of Colchis *Κύταια*. Later I will consider this point in detail. Georgian scholars suggest that this is the case of double suffixation – *Κυτ-ισσ-ωρος*.²⁶ Both of these suffixes are typical of the Kartvelian linguistic environment.

If the etymology of proper names is rather disputable, I believe that geographic names are far more unambiguous. I mean those names, which are doubtlessly related to the earliest versions of the tradition.

It is beyond any doubts that *Αἶα* as the target of the Argonauts' voyage was found in the earliest versions of the tradition. Homer is not aware of the name Colchis. He merely mentions the land of Aietes which, according to the name of the king (*Αἰήτης*), must have been called *Αἶα*. Supposedly, legendary Aia became synonymous of *Κολχίς* from a certain period.²⁷ However, some scholars find these names different and believe that such identification was made in the later period. Some even categorically reject the parallel between Aia and Colchis,²⁸ while others exclude the actual existence of Aia and regard it as a fabulous city.²⁹

Admittedly, the etymology of the name invites many diverse interpretations: Since Homer uses *αἶα* form along with *γαῖα*, there is an assumption that *Αἶα* was derived from *γαῖα* as a result of aphairesis (the etymology of *γῆ* and *γαῖα* is not clear). Some associate Aia with the roots attested in the Semitic, Hittite, Assyrian nor Kartvelian languages. According to Et. M., the glossa *αἶα* denotes the closest female relative (mother, aunt, sister), as well as a spring in Peonia, or a certain plant or fruit. Some associate *Αἶα* with the root attested in Semite 'ayya formative (hawk, bird of prey). Consequently, *Αἶα* must be a symbolic designation of the sun-land.³⁰ According to one of the assumptions, *Αἶα* must be related to "the World Tree" of the Hittite ritual tradition *GIS³¹ eja*, on which the ship-skin used to hang.³¹ Some scholars associate the "Colchis" of the Argonaut legend with Hittite *Hayasa* or Assyrian *Dayeaen*.³² Aia is found in some compounds preserved in the Kartvelian languages: Megr. *aia-žešxa* "The name of the

²⁶ See: P. Гордезиани, *Αἶα*, 133.

²⁷ R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, Tbilisi 2007, III, 469, 473.

²⁸ P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa. Der Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur. Teil I. Theos Aitios*, Stuttgart 1993, 315; A. Lesky, *Aia*, *Wiener Studien* 63, 1948, 22ff.

²⁹ M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 283; V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter. I. Vegetationskulte und Pflanzenmagie*, Berlin, Hamburg 1977, 114.

³⁰ M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 283ff.

³¹ Т. Б. Гамкрелидзе, Вяч. Вс. Иванов, *Индоевропейский ...*, II, 582. Cf. V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen...*, 117.

³² Cf. G. Kavtaradze, *The Ancient Land of the Taokh and the Origins of Georgian Statehood (Language and Culture, 5-6, 2005)*, 92 ff. (in Georgian).

fifth Sunday of the Lent",³³ Svan. *aia-mišladeg*.³⁴ There also exists an opinion that Aia must have been formed within the Greek tradition from the name of the Colchian city Kjutaia owing to the transformation of its second element Aia into an independent root.³⁵

Aia is also related to the name of the island of Circe Αἰαίη. According to Lesky, νῆσος Αἰαίη should be interpreted as the island of Aia³⁶. More than that, *a₃-wa-ja* (PY En 74/ Eo 160) of the Mycenaean documents may correspond exactly to Αἰαίη.

Admittedly, the collocation Τιτηνίς Αἴη found in the work of Apollonius Rhodius must go back to quite an early period. The Scholia of the Argonautica offers the following explanation: "River Titanus, owing to which the land is called titanic, is mentioned by Eratosthenes in the *Geographica*" (IV, 131). Apparently, Apollonius referred to an early record, where Titenis must have had a particular function. Remarkable, Titan is the name of one of the tributaries of the Enguri River, associated with the glory of obtaining gold in Colchis (Strabo, XI, 2, 19).³⁷ According to Mr. Rismag Gordeziani, this very name must have been reflected in the work by Apollonius Rhodius.³⁸

Another important name is Κύταια. The fact that the name appears in the Greek records no earlier than the Hellenistic period may indicate its later origin. However, the root *κυτ-* is found in the proper name *Κυτίσωρος* as well as in the names of Anatolian cities *Κύτωρος* (Paphlagonia), *Μασσί-κυτος* (Lycia), and possibly *Μασσί-κυτος* (Caria).³⁹ This leads to the thought that the name must have been included in this or that way in the earliest versions of the tradition. Such an assumption can be grounded on certain arguments existing in contemporary studies: 1. The city on the Cretan Island with a similar name (*Κύταιον*). The existence of the city in the Mycenaean period is attested by recurrent mentioning of it in the Linear B texts: *ku-ta-i-jo* (KN As 1517), *ku-ta-i-si-[jo]* (KN X 7891), *ku-ta-i-to* (KN C 902, Xd 146), *ku-ta-si-jo* (KN Dr 1237, 1394), *ku-ta-to* (KN [Ce59]), De 1648, Df 119, Dk 1072, 1074).⁴⁰ According to Gordeziani and R. A. Brown, the root reflects the pre-

³³ O. Kajaia, *Megrelian-Georgian Dictionary*, I-III, Tbilisi 2001-2004.

³⁴ T. Mikeladze, *Researches into the History of the Earliest Population of Colchis and the Black Sea South-East Coast*, Tbilisi 1974 (in Georgian).

³⁵ R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 474.

³⁶ A. Lesky, *Aia...*, 46 ff.

³⁷ P. Гордезиани, *Аἴα*, 125-143, 133.

³⁸ R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 488.

³⁹ R. A. Brown, *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources*, Amsterdam 1985, 132.

⁴⁰ Cf. I. Anejo, *Diccionario miceneo*, I-II, Madrid 1985-1993.

Greek root $\kappa\upsilon\tau-$ and Kartvelian root $*kut$.⁴¹ Importantly, H. Vogt reconstructed the $*kut-/kurt-$ root to the common Kartvelian level (scraping out, taking out the core, kurdi, thief).⁴² 2. It has repeatedly been mentioned by Georgian scholars that the name of the settlement has regular parallels in the Kartvelian languages (Georg. Kutaisi, Mengr. kuteši, Svan. kutāši-),⁴³ which allows to suppose that the name existed at the level of Kartvelian languages.

Another very important name that must have been related to the earliest version of the tradition is $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. The name is mentioned by Hesiod among the names of well-known rivers (Hesiod. Theog. 340). Since in *The Catalogue of Women* (Fr. 241) the name is mentioned with reference to the Argonauts, we may assume that from the earliest period Phasis was associated with Aia, the target of the Argonauts' voyage. There are several opinions on the etymology of $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. The stem attested in the name is often associated with Circassian, Svan, Georgian-Zan roots.⁴⁴ According to quite a convincing assumption suggested by Vogt and afterwards shared by Gordeziani, Greek $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, as well as Zan. Poti is derived from the hypothetical Georgian-Zan $*pat-$ root.⁴⁵ According to Mr. Gordeziani, Greeks must have adopted the name with a vowel in the root, i.e. as $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ($<*φατ\iota\varsigma$) prior to the splitting of Georgian and zan languages. As concerns the $*pat-$ root itself, the scholar associates it with the common Kartvelian $*pat-$ root (Georg. paṭ-ar-i, gamo-piṭ-v-a "rotten", "hollow"; "eroding", "erosion", "exhausting"); Mengr. puṭ-ur-el-i "empty", "worm-ridden"; Svan. li-peṭ "pierce"),⁴⁶ which is attested not only with i, o, u vowels, but also with t consonant in the auslaut of the root: top: pot-ar-o, dial. ga-pat-eba "equalizing".⁴⁷

⁴¹ R. A. Brown, *Evidence...*, 132; R. Gordeziani, *The Pre-Greek and the Kartvelian*, Tbilisi 1985, 117 ff.

⁴² H. Fähnrich, *Beiträge ...* (87 ff.)

⁴³ А. Ониани, З. Сарджвеладзе, Против извращения вопросов грузинской топонимики, *Мацнэ* 3, 1971.

⁴⁴ See M. Berdzenishvili, *For the History of the City of Phasis*, Tbilisi 1969 (in Georgian); G. Melikishvili, *The Issues of the Earliest Population of Georgia, the Caucasus and the Near East*, Tbilisi 1965 (in Georgian).

⁴⁵ H. Vogt, *Remarque sur la préhistoire des langues khartveliennes*, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, Bd. IX, 1938; R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 477. According to M. West (see the paper published in this volume) the name Phasis "has a clear and simple Greek etymology, and means *shiner*." This etymology would certainly be acceptable but for one circumstance: The Greeks called Phasis the city located at the estuary of the river, which is unanimously admitted as modern Poti. The name cannot have been derived from Greek $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ or Indo-European $bhātis$ as the shifting of *a* into *o* could occur only within the Kartvelian languages.

⁴⁶ H. Fähnrich, Z. Sarjveladze, *The Etymological ...*, 460ff.

⁴⁷ R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 478-79.

Another interesting lexical formative, which is very often discussed, is $\mu\omega\lambda\nu$. It is used by Homer only on one occasion and refers to an unknown plant having magic power. As we learn from *The Odyssey*, Hermes tears out of the soil a magic plant which gods call $\mu\omega\lambda\nu$ (Od. X, 302-306). The fact that $\mu\omega\lambda\nu$ is hapax legomenon and is used only in connection with the island of Circe points to its foreign origin. The etymology of $\mu\omega\lambda\nu$ is unknown. Georgian scholars have suggested its relationship with a Georgian word *moli* – grass.⁴⁸ Until recently, scholars who were skeptical about this assumption used to point to the fact that the Georgian word failed to be reconstructed to the common Kartvelian level. However, after its Svan correlates have been found, Heinz Fenrich reconstructed it to the common Kartvelian level as **mol-* (Georg. *mol-i* "herbs"), Svan. *mweul-/melw* (herbs, fresh pasture).⁴⁹

The target of the Argonauts' voyage, or the Fleece ($\kappa\omega\alpha\varsigma$), is first found in Mimnermus as $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \kappa\omega\alpha\varsigma$, the "Great Fleece". Presumably, it is mentioned as early as in the Mycenaean documents as *ko-wo*.⁵⁰ According to T.V. Gamkrelidze, $\kappa\omega\alpha\varsigma$ at the time of the hypothetical expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis and it must have been derived from the Zan **tqov-/tqov-* version of the Georgian-Zan **tqav-root*.⁵¹ This may point to the Greek-Georgian relationship back in the Heroic Age and to the Mycenaean expedition connected with the Fleece. In this case, R. Gordeziani accentuates the fact that in the Mycenaean documents and in the Homeric, $\kappa\omega\alpha\varsigma$ functions as an average formative, having no mythological implication, e.g. PY Un 718 *ko-wo* ← *kowos* "(sheep) skin". It is not connected with the Golden Fleece either in any fragment of *The Odyssey*, where it merely means denoting "skin", or "sheep-skin". Bearing this in mind, the scholar does not exclude that the given formative could have entered the pre-Greek language from Kartvelian, and must have been introduced into the Aegean through the so-called Kartvelian migrations as early as the second millennium B.C. As concerns the initial Kartvelian form, according to R. Gordeziani, the Greek language must have borrowed the formative from the West-Common-Kartvelian transitional **tqov-* root of the pre-common Zan period. This root must have produced Mengr. **tqeb-* and Laz *tqeb-*.⁵²

⁴⁸ See: R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 489; II, 235.

⁴⁹ H. Fährnich, Z. Sarjveladze, *The Etymological ...*, 334.

⁵⁰ I. Anejo, *Diccionario...*; Казанскене, Казанский, 1986, 95.

⁵¹ T. V. Gamkrelidze, *The Ancient Greek Name of the "Golden Fleece" and the Issue of the Population of Ancient Colchis*, *Language and Culture*, 3, 2002, 45 ff. (in Georgian).

⁵² R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea...*, III, 490. Cf. H. Fährnich, Z. Sarjveladze, *The Etymological ...*, 443.

The above-mentioned may invite the following question: What accounts for the fact that some of the earliest terms related to the legendary Aia may truly imply links with the Kartvelian linguistic environment? It is difficult to doubt that the myth itself was formed within the Greek tradition. This is attested by the majority of speaking names related to the myth as well as by archeological discoveries.⁵³

As Mr. Martin West has stated, it is possible that the myth was developed in the region of the Hellespont. It is likewise logical to suppose that the Greek tradition had remarkable impact on the development of the whole system of identifications in Colchis, which points to the relationship between the Argonautic events and the Caucasian region. Consequently, we may suppose that the development of the myth in the Hellespont to a certain extent reflected the actual episodic contact or contacts that existed between the Kartvelian Black Sea environment and the Mycenaean world.

We could even go further and state that if the so-called Colchian formatives are attested in the earliest versions of the myth, they may be associated with an actual expedition of the Mycenaean period.

Iamze Gagua (Tbilisi)

**FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME DETAILS
FROM THE ARGONAUT LEGEND ACCORDING TO
THE ARGONAUTICA BY APOLLONIUS RHODIUS**

Admittedly, the Argonaut legend reflects ancient contacts of Hellenic sailors and Colchian tribes. They are evidenced by the myths about Aeetes' leaving Corinth and residing in Aea-Colchis, Phrixus' fleeing to the land of Aeetes, and Jason's voyage to Colchis to retrieve the Golden Fleece. This legend, treated by ancient authors, was transformed as the time passed.

Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* is the most extensive account of the Argonaut legend. The author referred to numerous sources and offered a lot of noteworthy information regarding particular episodes of the legend, the settlement of Colchian tribes and their customs and habits.¹ The *Argonautica* presents a logical and coherent account of the Argonauts' preparations for the perilous voyage, of the voyage itself, the arrival of the heroes in the land of Aeetes, Aea-Colchis (Κυτταῖς²), the obtaining of the Golden Fleece and their way back. I would like to dwell only on some of the details: 1. The main

¹ See A. Urushadze, *Ancient Colchis in the Argonaut Legend*, Tbilisi 1964 (in Georgian). The Greek text of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, together with the Georgian version of it, was published, introduced, commented on and supplemented with an index by A. Urushadze, Tbilisi 1970.

² It is obvious that Kutaia is connected with Kutaisi. Bearing in mind the Kartvelian etymology of kut- stem, the place-name can be interpreted as 'a settlement on a vacant area between the mountains' – R. Gordeziani, *The Pre-Greek and the Kartvelian*, Tbilisi 1985, 174 (in Georgian). Remarkably, according to Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the Argonauts sailed to the Plain of Ares, located opposite the city, to accomplish Aeetes' tasks. The Colchians stood on the Caucasian hill to watch them, while Aeetes was walking along the river bank to witness the accomplishment of the tasks (III, 1274-1275). So, the place described by Apollonius Rhodius exactly corresponds to the geographical name Kutaia – 'the site between the mountains'.

objective of the Argonauts' voyage to Colchis; 2. The motivation that underlies Jason's claims for the Golden Fleece; 3. The cause of Aetes' rage; 4. The complexity of Aetes' tasks.

Jason went to Colchis not of his own, but at the behest of his uncle, Pelias, who was reluctant to hand down the royal throne to the legal successor, Jason. He was sure that Jason would be killed either during the journey or in the land of Aetes (I, 15-17; I, 202-206; I, 446-447). As an argument in favour of the voyage, Pelias referred to Zeus' will to retrieve Phrixus' ram to Hellas (I, 1193-1195; III, 338-339).

Why did Jason obey Pelias, who certainly did not favour him? Why did the courageous heroes from different parts of Hellas, including sons of Pelias, choose to go together with Jason? The Golden Fleece was only a favourable occasion for the true motivation – the aspiration of the heroes to earn fame, and at the same time to see the legendary Aea and King Aetes (185-189). This very purpose compelled Augers, the son of Helios, to join the Argonauts (172-274).

Jason's companions are brave men, experienced either in navigation or in warfare (II, 869-875), or in both (I), and this voyage made them even more experienced and renowned. It is arguable whether the obtaining of the Golden Fleece was a heroic feat or not as ancient written sources reflect different appreciations of this fact. Apollonius Rhodius states in the beginning of the *Argonautica* that he is going to recall 'the famous deeds of men of old' (παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν), who sailed into Pontus to obtain the Golden Fleece at Pelias' behest (I, 1-4).

It is not clear what exactly is implied in Apollonius' words: whether the heroic feat refers to the obtaining of the Golden Fleece or to undertaking the hazardous voyage to Colchis – probably to the distant voyage.

The obtaining of the Fleece was not the dream of the Argonauts; it was rather a proof to attest to their feats.

Although the Argonauts encountered numerous dangers, they courageously went on their way to Colchis. They believed that gods would not abandon them. The prophecy of Phineus encouraged them to hope that they would succeed in overcoming the perils of the sea. However, Phineus said nothing about the ways of obtaining the Fleece, as gods are reluctant to give humans a detailed account of their decisions (II, 178-182).

Jason and his men hoped to obtain the Fleece either freely or by force. Jason had envisaged from the very start these alternative ways of acquiring the Golden Ram. He believed that the leader of the Argonauts was to decide what to do – νείκεα συνηθείας τε μετὰ ξείνοισι βαλέσθαι (I, 340) – seek an agreement with strangers or fight them.

Every Hellene knew that if Aeetes did not let the Argonauts have the Fleece, they would immediately set his palace to fire (I, 244-245). With this belief people saw off the heroes.

This plan was acceptable for all the Argonauts. When Argos, the son of Phrixus, told Jason and his men that dangers awaited those in pursue of the Golden Fleece, Peleus declared proudly and threateningly that if Aeetes refused to give the Fleece to the heroes, hardened in the war, for friendship's sake (φιλότητι), the king would find it extremely difficult to resist them in fight (II, 1220-1225).

However, the Argonauts gave up the aggression as they came to Colchis. Aeneas, one of the sailors, advises Jason to think it out how to behave with Aeetes: address him courteously, with 'soft words' (μειλιχίη), or find some other way to achieve their goal (II, 1277-1280). Jason is of the same opinion. He does not intend to start fighting even if Aeetes refuses to give away the Golden Fleece. 'And when I meet him I will first make trial with words to see if he will be willing to give up the golden fleece for friendship's sake or not, φιλότητι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσαι (III, 180), but trusting to his might will set at naught our quest. For so, learning his forwardness first from himself, we will consider whether we shall meet him in battle, or some other plan shall avail us, if we refrain from the war-cry. And let us not merely by force, before putting words to the test, deprive him of his own possession – σφέτερον κτέρας. But first it is better to go to him and win his favour by speech. Oftentimes, I ween, does speech accomplish at need what prowess could hardly catty through, smoothing the path in manner befitting. And he once welcomed noble – ἀμυμόνα – Phrixus, a fugitive from his stepmother's wiles and the sacrifice prepared by his father' (III, 179-191).³

Why do the Argonauts assume that Aeetes may willingly give away the Fleece, and if there is such a chance, why do they doubt that the king may refuse? Whose property is the Fleece, Colchian or Greek?

Why does not Jason intend to demand the Fleece categorically? He directly states that the Golden Fleece is Aeetes' possession 'σφέτερον κτέρας' (III, 186). Consequently, the Argonauts consider it to be somebody else's possession, not their own ὀθνεῖον κτέρας (III, 389). Aeetes also thinks that the Argonauts are trying to seize a strange (i.e. his) property ὀθνεῖοις κτεάτεσσιν (III, 591). Neither does Jason say that the Hellenes have any claims regarding the Fleece. According to Argus, the son of Phrixus, if Aeetes gives the Fleece away of his own will, it will be a gift for the Argonauts δωτίνης (III, 352).

³ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, translated by R. C. Seaton, Loeb Classical Library, London, William Heinemann LTD, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press MCMLXVII.

Aeetes once took pity on fugitive Phrixus Φρίξος ἀλύξας (I, 291), and now Jason is a 'suppliant' – ἰκετής (III, 987). However, the king finds them altogether different. According to Aeetes, Phrixus was chivalrous μελιχίη and pious θεουδέη (III, 586), and besides, he received the fugitive at Zeus' request. The king offered him a shelter and gave him his daughter in marriage. So, his progeny settled in Colchis. Phrixus gave the king the Fleece as the sign of his gratefulness – Aeetes had not asked him to do so (III, 148). Moreover, he asked his sons before his death to go to his fatherland and fetch the fortune of Athamas ((II, 1093-1094); II, 1153). Paradoxically enough, the sons of Phrixus first recovered the fortune of their father and later helped the Argonauts obtain the Fleece.

To accomplish Peleas' order, the Argonauts asked Aeetes to give them the property which rightfully belonged to the king. The Hellenes did not even attempt to present the hospitable king with gifts. They offered gifts (including a sacred robe, which Hypsipyle had given to Jason, IV, 421-435) to Apsyrtus only after he overtook the Argo.

According to Pelias, Zeus was enraged as he requires that the Hellenes retrieve the Fleece and redeem (ποινάς) the grave sin (ἄτλητον ἄγος) of Phrixus (III, 336-338). What is implied in the phrase 'the grave sin' of Phrixus? He should not have fled from the wrath of his mother-in-law; or perhaps, the phrase refers to Athamas' sin to Phrixus, as it was Hermes who made the Ram golden, and upon whose advice Phrixus sacrificed it to Zeus (III, 1140-1145). Why does Pelias demand the Ram back? According to an early version of the myth, Phrixus sacrificed himself because hunger threatened the country. And the Ram, which was later sacrificed to Zeus, was the substitution for Phrixus.⁴ So, Pelias' behest to retrieve the Ram certainly had grounds if we suppose that Phrixus, prepared for the sacrifice, had fled the country or had been taken away by the Ram. However, the king of

⁴ Evidently, this episode reflects a human offering ritual against draught. Phrixus represents the so-called lad-to-offer, who is to sacrifice himself of his own will for common benefit. According to Pherecydes, the Scholiast on Pindar (the 4th century B.C.), the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar (228) implies that Phrixus allowed to be sacrificed on his own free will after the loss of crops. See *The World of Greek Myths, The Argonauts*, narrated and commented on by R. Gordeziani, Logos, Tbilisi 1999, 56-57 (in Georgian).

According to J. Frezer, the Phrixus myth reflects an ancient custom when the king sacrificed himself in the time of a disaster, mostly hunger. Sometimes, the king sacrificed his child. So, Athamas was substituted by Phrixus, and later by Melicertes and Learchus born by Ino, who Athamas killed in madness. Д. Д. Фрезер, *Золотая ветвь*, Москва 1986, 276-278.

According to one of the assumptions, Peleas wished to retrieve Phrixus' Ram (i.e. Phrixus' soul) because the Colchian tradition of handing dead male bodies on trees was unacceptable for him (i.e. for the Hellenes). And the description of this rite by Apollonius Rhodius is believed to be motivated by his attempt to justify Peleas. See П. Грейвс, *Мифы Древней Греции*, Москва 1992, 449.

Colchis was sure that Pelias' demand was a slander against gods (III, 381). Neither did Jason find Phrixus guilty. He called him 'noble' – ἀμυμόνα (III, 190). Aeetes was not going to give up the Fleece as he identified it with the royal power (III, 596-597). The king of Colchis was sure that through taking away the Fleece, the Argonauts intended to seize his royal scepter and power σκῆπτρα δὲ καὶ τιμὴν βασιλείδα (III, 375-376).

Aeetes has enough grounds for such doubts. Once father Helios prophesied that Aeetes should expect evil from his own progeny (III, 594-595). The sons of Phrixus are Jason's relatives as Cretheus, who was the grandfather of Jason, and Athamas, father of Phrixus, were brothers (III, 340-366). Therefore, Aeetes can not categorically turn down the request of the men who are relatives of his son-in-law and his grandchildren. It seems that the Argonauts are demanding tribute from Aeetes, which the king understands as the threat to his power and independence. Aeetes became furious with the sons of Phrixus, first, because they agreed to act as mediators for the Argonauts; besides, they told the king of Colchis with delight the stories about the Argonauts' courageous voyage and described the splendid Argo as the ship which Colchians had never had. Neither did Jason's offer to support him in the fight against the Sauromatae flatter the king. Aeetes defends his rights, and the name and power of his land. If Colchis truly owes its power to the Hellenes (as the Golden Ram of Phrixus is obviously the symbol of wealth and strength), they have to prove this through their courage and gallantry instead of acting as impudent men, felons – λοβητηῆρας (III, 372), who came to Colchis with a malicious intention αὐτοῖσι δόλοισι (III, 373). So, Aeetes agrees to let Jason take away the Fleece if the latter accomplishes his tasks; otherwise, the brave are not supposed to give up anything to the weak (III, 401-421); all should treat the unbeatable hero (Aeetes) with reverence and fear (III, 437-438).

Undoubtedly, Aeetes is sure that Jason will fail to accomplish the tasks – to yoke the fire-breathing bulls to a plough, till a field, sow dragon's teeth and kill the armed men who will spring from the ground. Jason also finds the task too difficult to undertake and astounded with the mischief ἀμηχανέων hesitates for a while whether to make a promise or not (III, 422-425).

Other Argonauts, likewise perturbed and desperate from the hard lot and hopeless situation, dare not break the silence:

...πάντεσσι δι' ἀνήνυτος εἶσατ' ἄεθλος
 δὴν δι' ἄνεψο γαί' ἀναυδοὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὀρώωντο
 ἄτη ἀμηχανίη τε κατηφέες...

III, 502-503.

Peleus also finds the task impossible to implement (III, 504). Why did the Argonauts become so intimidated? What is the reason for their fear and hesitation?⁵ The Argonauts are afraid neither of the distant and hazardous voyage, nor of the war, but they have no idea of the rules of the games which Aetes sets for them.

The Argonauts knew nothing about tillage or metalwork; therefore, they were frightened at the necessity to subdue the fire-breathing bulls (III, 1284-1319). Apollonius Rhodius clearly compares the struggle of Jason with the fire-breathing bulls with the activities of smiths (III, 1285-1301). Protecting himself with his shield against the flames, Jason firmly grabbed the bulls by their iron horns and started beating his legs against their brazen feet, piercing his spear into their sides with great force. These details remind of metalwork practice, after metal is softened in the fire.

The second task – fighting the armed men sprung from the dragon's teeth – was the most complicated one. This episode of the myth presumably refers to resisting the aggression of the neighbouring united tribes. Jason was to be aware of the character traits of those people, and of the rules of fighting against them. Following Medea's advice, Jason threw a rock into the crowd of the warriors and hid away behind his shelter. Unable to realize where the rock had come from, the infuriated soldiers attacked and defeated one another (III, 1365-1375). The secret throwing of a rock presumably refers to causing dissension among the neighbouring tribes of Colchis, and beating them with the method 'divide et impera'.

Aetes calls these tasks the trial of courage and might through hazardous activities:

πεῖρα δὲ το μένεός τε καὶ ἀλκῆς ἔσσειε ἄεθλος
τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς περίεμι ξεροῖν ὀλοόν περ ἔοντα.

III, 407.

⁵ There are controversial opinions on whether Jason should be regarded as a hero or not. Apollonius Rhodius does not deheroize him – *primus inter pares*. See: U. Gärtner, *Gehalt und Funktion der Gleichnisse bei Valerius Flaccus*, Hermes, Stuttgart 1994, 67, 285.

Scholars come up with a question: why should Jason be regarded as a hero if he owed glory solely to Medea? When he hesitates, he finds it difficult to take a firm decision, characterized by *αμειχανία*. See: K. H. Stanzel, *Jason und Medea* (Beobachtungen zu den Gleichnissen bei Apollonios Rhodios, *Philologus*, 143, 1999, 2, 250; A. Ferenczi, *Sine honores labores – Valerius Flaccus*, *Philologus*, B. 139, 1995, H. I. 147-156.

However, we certainly should not forget that although after hesitation, Jason nevertheless agrees to undertake Aetes' tasks. This should be regarded as his bravery. His actions are likewise brave as he is accomplishing the tasks, although he copes with them with the help of Medea.

Aeetes states that he practices such activities every day. This is why the Argonauts dare not take up the tasks. Jason addresses Aeetes:

Αἰήτη, μάλα τοί με δίκη περιπολλὸν ἔεργεις.
(III, 427.)⁶

In my opinion, this passage can be translated in the following way:

‘With your customs, Aeetes, you have burdened me overmuch.’

I.e. here τοὶ δίκη must refer to a ‘custom’. Jason’s reproach implies that the accomplishment of Aeetes’ tasks requires knowledge of Colchian customs and practices as well as of the character of tribes in the neighbourhood of Colchis, and of the rules of fighting against them. That is why Jason finds it difficult to accept Aeetes’ condition.

As concerns the dragon, guarding the Fleece, putting him to sleep was not among Aeetes’ tasks; however, realizing that Jason owed his success to Medea, the king decided to stop the Argonauts in time. Jason took the Fleece away from the oak tree again with the help of Medea, who invoked Hypnosis and Hecate. Putting Dragon to sleep symbolically means weakening the vigilance of the Colchians.

Undoubtedly, the voyage of the Argonauts to the farther land of Colchis is certainly a brave and heroic feat. Jason is not a distinguished hero of the expedition, but he is a truly just, sensible, shrewd and balanced person. He modestly agrees to be the leader of the Argonauts only after Heracles refuses to assume the honourable duty (I, 351-352); generously forgives Telamon his mischief (I, 1332-1344); feels responsibility to his companions – with these character traits he closely resembles Aeneas. Jason obediently listens to Aeetes’ reproaches and agrees to accomplish the task hoping to find a way-out. His appreciation of the situation is realistic; he is guided by his common sense and not by emotions. He chooses to refrain from offensive activities against Aeetes only because he believes that the truth is on the king’s side. Therefore, he tries to win the king’s favour. Jason admits that he owes his successful voyage to farther Colchis to the Argonauts, and the retrieval of the Golden Fleece to Medea. He wants to acquire the Fleece only because he knows that all the Hellenes expect the brave Argonauts to retrieve it into their

⁶ The Georgian translation of this fragment sounds as ‘მეტიხმეტად შემბოჭვე შენო სამართავლოთ, აიეტო!’ (A. Urushadze, 1970).

In Russian: ‘Много помех и по праву, Эит, для меня создаешь ты.’ See Аполлоний Родосский, *Аргонавтика*, перевод, введение и примечания Гр. Ф. Церетели, Тбилиси 1964.

In English: ‘With thy plea of right, Aeetes, thou dost shut me in overmuch.’ See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, translated by R. C. Seaton.

land (IV, 203-204). He does not argue with Aeetes on who the Fleece rightfully belongs to, but after accomplishing the tasks, he believes that he has every right to claim the Fleece. Aeetes, understanding that the Argonauts are helped by his daughters (IV, 5-10), finds their victory unfair and therefore, is still reluctant to give up the Fleece to the strangers. Aeetes' refusal is clearly substantiated in Medea's dream. She dreamed that her father broke his promise and refused to let the Argonauts take away the Fleece because the tasks were accomplished by Medea and not by Jason. Medea was entrusted to resolve the conflict between the stranger and the Aeetes, and she took Jason's side (III, 616-635).⁷ The Argonauts, seeing that they were pursued by the Colchians and willing to avoid a conflict with numerous tribes supporting Aeetes, decided to agree with their pursuers that under the rightful decision (εὐδικίη) and in compliance with Aeetes' promise, the Argonauts would retain the Fleece for ever (ἐμπεδόν), as, although cunningly, they anyway succeeded in overcoming the ordeal of Aeetes (IV, 338-349). In return, Jason was to give up Medea.

So, the Ram, which had fled Hellas, was retrieved (whether rightfully or not) with the considerable help of half-Hellenic sons of Phrixus.

The legend has obviously preserved the traces of a Hellenic expedition to the Black Sea East coast. It accounts for the mixed Colchian-Hellenic population of the legendary kingdom of Colchis and attests to the Hellenic attempt to make peaceful relations with Colchians tribes, and at the same time gain control over the land distinguished for its riches, the country that pursued agriculture and metalwork. Evidently, this was the cause for conflicts between these two ancient nations.

⁷ Here Medea's dream is not prophetic, and neither does it determine the future; it reflects the spiritual state of a person. U. Gärtner, *Träume bei Valerius Flaccus*, Philologus, 140, 1996, 2, 303.

Tsisana Gigauri (Tbilisi)

**PERSONAL MOTIVES
IN THE *ARGONAUTICA* BY VALERIUS FLACCUS**

The *Argonautica* by Valerius Flaccus presents the literary images of Medea and Jason in an altogether new way, quite differently from the Greek tradition¹, so that it could provoke readers' interest. Although this epic work, as well as its author, was highly appreciated as early as by Quintilian², it failed to secure a worthy place in world literature. Valerius Flaccus belongs to the group of less-studied authors. There are not many critics who take interest in his works. However, I believe that this should be attributed to the high, and by no means poor, quality of his works. The Roman author is distinguished by rare erudition, which is attested by every line of the *Argonautica*. According to I. Peters, the scholar who studies the life and literary heritage of Flaccus, the *Argonautica* is the invaluable treasure (thesaurus locupletissimus).³ And in fact, it includes quite a lot of important information related to literature, mythology, history, archaeology, geography and other fields of the humanities and sciences, and the author presents this truly diverse and encyclopedic information not only in each plot element, but also through the images of the characters and through their deeds. This last aspect is certainly related to remarkable challenges on the part of the reader as it invites deeper thought, stronger concentration of mind, and even labor so that to be able to grasp the central theme of the work. The 'originality and talent'⁴ of Valerius Flaccus, 'who offered an absolutely different interpretation of the popular

¹ Ts. Gigauri, *Colchis in the Roman Literature*, Tbilisi, 1985, 84 (in Georgian).

² Quintiliani institutio oratorum, X, 1.

³ I. Peters, *De Valerii Flacci vita et carmine*, Regimonti, 1890, 2.

⁴ M. Val. Martialis epigrammaton, Lips., 1925, lib., VIII, 56, 45, 48 etc.

plot',⁵ 'who presented it with new episodes'⁶, and embellished with 'fine, pathetic style and harmonious hexameters'⁷, was not left unnoticed by European scholars of ancient studies, including Ursula Gärtner⁸ and David R. Slavitt.⁹

Remarkably, Valerius Flaccus, who had not been much privileged with the attention of literary critics before, in 2000 attracted considerable interest of not only classical philologists, but also of average readers. Such popularity of Flaccus should be ascribed to the translation of David R. Slavitt.

Ursula Gärtner studies the literary images of Medea, Jason and Heracles on the basis of comparisons. Heracles captures attention not only owing to Flaccus' ingenious elements, but also in order to make Jason's image more complete. Heracles has positive properties in the work, like Medea and Jason. Apart from having superhuman power, which enables him to fight against the mythological monsters, he is at the same infinitely noble. This quality of his is attested by his relationship with average people and Hillas. If Heracles of Apollonius Rhodius is more powerful than Jason, who is conveyed by the constant thematic accent, Valerius Flaccus presents Heracles and Jason as characters with equally distinguished personalities. Heracles is unanimously proclaimed the leader by the men of the *Argo* in Apollonius' *Argonautica*¹⁰, and only owing to his resolute request and calling that it was Jason who assembled them; they agree to make Jason their chief. This element is purposefully missing in Flaccus' work: Jason is the real leader from the start of the poem¹¹ and to its end. I would like to note here that David Slavitt 'puts right' what he considers a sheer discrepancy in Flaccus work.¹² Although Jason is characterized in a completely positive way, the text says: 'Let us recall how we all were filled with admiration and gratitude when Heracles joined us.'¹³ When the Argonauts were enjoying themselves in the company of the women of Lemnos, Heracles watched them indifferently. He proudly remained in solitude and complained to Jason: 'Why did you hire me. Give me Phasis, Aeetes, the hazards of Scythian seas, challenge me in a competition, and let me experience the sweetness of adventures and not

⁵ M. Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, München, 1913, 138.

⁶ *A History of Latin Literature* by Moses Hadas, New-York, London, 1964, 265.

⁷ *A History of Roman Literature*, Moscow, 1962, V. II, 183 (in Russian).

⁸ U. Gärtner, *Gehalt und Funktion der Gleichnisse bei Valerius Flaccus*, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1994.

⁹ *The Voyage of the Argo, The Argonautica of Gaius Valerius Flaccus*, translated by D. R. Slavitt, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

¹⁰ Apollonius Rhodius, *The Argonautica*, The Loeb Classical Library, 1955, I, 341-9.

¹¹ Ts. Gigauri, *Colchis in the Roman Literature*, Tbilisi, 1990, 103 (in Russian).

¹² See Debra Hershkowitz: www.scholar.lib.vt.edu

¹³ D. R. Slavitt ..., *ibid.*, III, 765-8.

idleness and emptiness. I came with the love for perils, and you take pleasure in the perils of love' (II, 378-84).¹⁴ Ursula Gärtner prefers Heracles to Jason. When describing Jason's character in Flaccus' *Argonautica*, she refers to Apollonius and notes that although Jason is presented as 'primus inter pares', he is not recognized anywhere to be on the first place.¹⁵ In her opinion, Jason, who falls short of heroic qualities in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, is remarkably altered in Flaccus' epic. Putting forward general arguments and avoiding details, Ursula Gärtner concludes that the Roman epic writer presents Jason as a true hero, but at the same time she mentions Heracles and his heroic feats. What the scholar finds important is Jason's moral status and not whether he meets the functions of a leader or not.¹⁶ Comparing the opinions of various scholars, U. Gärtner states that Jason's positive qualities, which he often demonstrates, and which set him apart from other Greek heroes, can be generalized as his bravery. Comparing him to Heracles (134 ff., 387 f., VII 623 f., VIII 125 f., 228 ff.), the scholar admits that Jason is capable of presenting himself as a hero owing to his looks as well as to these qualities, which he has in common with Heracles.¹⁷

Ursula Gärtner refers to Flaccus' comparisons, when Jason, as a brave hero, is compared to Mars (Arg., III, 83 f.), to the tempest of winter (III, 151f.), to a lion (VI, 613 f., VII 645f.), a fighting steed, kept idle for a long time (II, 386 ff.).¹⁸ Dwelling on the comparisons, Ursula Gärtner notes that the gods which Jason is compared to are not positive, especially Mars, who is enraged, and embodies the eagerness for war. Consequently, Flaccus' comparison is more associated with a war-thirsty person, than a brave hero.¹⁹

This is how the majority of the comparisons, including those related to Medea, are interpreted.

In my opinion, Jason is compared with Mars not because the author regards war as a beneficial phenomenon, but in order to accentuate Jason's courage and heroic qualities. I believe that close consideration of Flaccus' epithets will enable us to find out his attitude to his characters.

The analysis of the characters of Flaccus' *Argonautica*²⁰ in the context of epithets will facilitate the understanding of their personal qualities and behavior. Since I am presently interested in Jason, I will recall the following

¹⁴ D. R. Slavitt . . ., *ibid.*, II, 378-84.

¹⁵ U. Gärtner . . ., *ibid.*, 285.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 286

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Flaccus Valerius, Works with an English translation by T. H. Mozley, The Loeb Classical Library, 1959.

epithets: individual – Aesone natus, Aesonides – the offspring of Aeson (I, 148f., II, 334 f., III, 8, IV, 675f., etc.), neutral – ductor – the leader (IV, 703f.), dux – leader (V, 310), heros – hero (VII, 614, VIII, 24, 109ff.); positive – decus – pride (I, 56f.), pulcher – good-looking (VII, 263f.), ferox – courageous (VI, 615f.), turbidus – swift, quick (VII, 67f.), fortissimus – most powerful (VIII, 419f.); genealogical – dux Thessalus – Thessalian leader (V, 277f.), ignotus – unknown (VII, 173f.); compassionate – profuga – fugitive (VII, 129f.).²¹

I find it relevant to cite the epithets because, despite the emphasis on the positive aspect, U. Gärtner sometimes questions the positiveness of Medea's and Jason's images.²² I believe that epithets, which vividly characterize literary personalities, will help to remove any undesirable doubts. In the scholar's opinion, the poet is distinguished by remarkable psychological intuition, and despite this, U. Gärtner finds Medea a dull character, unlike Flaccus, who presents Medea's personality in bright colors. Gärtner believes that all the characters in general suffer from ill anticipation. Admitting to a slightly more delightful disposition of the characters in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the scholar anyway concludes that both epics are dominated with the fair of destiny, and therefore, the reader can feel sympathy rather than delight.²³

To illustrate the above-mentioned, I have attached Flaccus' text to the comparisons cited by Gärtner. Remarkably, Gärtner quotes the comparisons which picture tender looks of the virgin and the power of her character. Flaccus' Medea is the fair daughter of the king, compared to a lily issuing irradiating white light (VI, 492f.), to a scared bird (VI, 505f.), caught in white flames (VI, 664f.). Gärtner understands the latter comparison as the storm, and parallels with an ear in the rain (VII, 24f.) and the emphasis on dog-like devotion (VII, 124f.), as well as the use of mythological figures, merely stirs sympathy in the scholar.²⁴

Undoubtedly, Ursula Gärtner is quite right as she talks about the moral conflict within Medea – when her love and responsibility to her father and homeland collide with her newly-born love for stranger Jason. I also appreciate that she finds Medea an attractive character, who stirs compassion.²⁵

In order to be convinced in Medea's attractiveness, virtues and noble mind, it is not necessary to closely consider the whole epic work; it suffices to

²¹ Ts. Gigauri, *Colchis ...*, 1984, 137-8.

²² U. Gärtner..., *ibid.*, 285.

²³ U. Gärtner..., *ibid.*, 280

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*..., 283.

look at the epithets. Valerius Flaccus accentuates Medea's nobleness at every step. According to Ludwig Radermacher, Medea, as the rescuer of Jason, could have belonged to the level of Hera, Athena and Aphrodite by her rank.²⁶

Valerius Flaccus refers to Medea with the following epithets: genealogical – Aeeta virgo (IV, 14f., VI, 267f.), Aetida – the daughter of Aeetes (VI, 481, VII, 445, VIII, 233), Regis filia (I, 61), Regina (V, 373, 441; VI, 657); positive – Medea iuventa – charming Medea (V, 257); sympathetic – infelix – poor (VI, 490; VIII, 160). She is compared to the sun and is referred to in the following way: Sol magne – the Great Sun (VIII, 350).

The detailed analysis of Flaccus' texts showed me that the negative attitude to Medea, shared by the majority of scholars, and even the meek attempt to praise her, the 'biting' praise, as illustrated above, is the influence of the established tradition. Admittedly, the literary source which lowered the set of Medea's and Jason's values was Euripides' *Medea*. Considering mythological material, scholars admit that, in fact, Medea did not kill her children, and that the child-slaughter was the imagination of Euripides.²⁷ The great gift of the tragedian and his reputation proved sufficient to blindly accept and 'be subdued' by this version, which defamed the distinguished, beautiful daughter of Colchis and brought her so much mischief. I will cite one opinion out of many related to this question: 'Euripides hat hier den überkommenem Sagenstoff, nach dem einst die Korinther Iason und Medeias Kinder getötet haben sollen, um sich von der Herrsonaft eines mit Barbarenblut gemischten Geschlechtes zu befreien, mit größter Freiheit behandelt. Medeia als Mörderin der eigenen Kinder ist seine Erfindung.'²⁸

It can be openly declared that ancient tradition, which goes far beyond the personal fate of Medea and Jason, has no actual grounds.

Flaccus' Medea is not a blind weapon, a toy in the divine hands; she is an independent and smart young woman, who, seeing a brave and good-looking lad in the battlefield, fell in love with him in her devoted and frank manner.²⁹ This is the very element which proves innovative in the Argonautica-related literature. Inspired with pristine love, she is driven towards the supreme goal by a wild zeal; she unsparingly resorts to her potential faculties and is ready to sacrifice herself.

Valerius Flaccus freed Medea from the disgraceful label of a woman obsessed with passion, of a woman, who discarded all and everything for the

²⁶ L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*, Darmstadt, 1968, 235.

²⁷ See Ts. Gigauri, *Medea and Jason in Roman Literature*, Tbilisi State University Works, Tbilisi, v. 249, 1984, 226 (in Russian).

²⁸ Euripides, *Tragödien, Erster Teil, Medeia*, Griechisch und Deutsch von Dietrich Ebener, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1972, 31.

²⁹ Flaccus Valerius, *Argonautica*...., *ibid.*, VI, 663-7.

sake of her own desires, and deserved no sympathy as she remained in the memory of readers as a repugnant traitor. Flaccus' Medea is embellished with the best qualities, like Jason, who prior to the *Argonautica* by the Roman poet was notorious for his treachery, unfaithfulness, dishonesty and ruthlessness. It is only his name that Flaccus' Jason has in common with his prototypes. Instead of the perfidious, cowardly, insidious and murderous traitor, Valerius Flaccus presented a brave hero, who finds his good name and honesty most important, who intentionally meets any kind of peril; in short, he is the best Roman with his best and negative qualities.³⁰ The traditionally negative image of Jason acquires new qualities in Flaccus' epic. Jason is an active and promising person. This is the image of a Roman commander the conqueror.³¹

Valerius Flaccus, who dedicated his epic poem to the victory of Titus, made Titus the prototype for Jason. The Roman hero is noble and merciful. Despite Pelias' treachery, he is remorseful of Acastus' secret escape with him, without informing his father.³²

Jason is peaceful and benevolent not only with his friends, but with everybody. He is ready to help even those who he meets for the first time. This is illustrated by the episode with Cyzicus, whom he promises to help in the fight against savage tribes.³³

Jason is the worthy pupil of Chiron and justifies his royal descent. He behaves worthily when Aetes deceives him; he shows fabulous courage as he is fighting against Aetes' enemies, or the fire-breathing bulls of the field of Mars. Jason deeply falls in love with Medea and tries to arouse her love through his dignity and devotion to her.

Aetes' hopes to scare the hero with the sight of the monster proved groundless. Jason, with the Golden Fleece on his shoulders, is compared to Heracles, after he slew the Nemean lion.³⁴

It is owing to such an innovative interpretation of the Argonaut legend that the famous poet and translator, David Slavitt took interest in Flaccus' work. He transformed the adventure of Medea and Jason in an original way, according to his own imagination. Commenting on his own translation, which not only altered the actions of the characters, but also rendered their language in modern terms, David Slavitt commented that he is delighted he has taken the courage of interpreting the language of Flaccus in terms of English.³⁵ D. Slavitt calls for peace on those fond of libraries and book-stores, and tells

³⁰ A History of Roman Literature..., *ibid.*, 180.

³¹ N. Deratani, I. Nakhov, A History of Roman Literature, Moscow, 1954, 442 (in Russian).

³² Flaccus Valerius, *Arg.*, *ibid.*, I, 693-703.

³³ *Ibid.*..., II, 656-664.

³⁴ *Ibid.*..., VIII, 121-6.

³⁵ D. Slavitt..., *ibid.*, IX.

them that he was admired by the episode from Book 8, when Flaccus allows Medea to put the dragon to sleep, thus giving Jason an opportunity to acquire the Fleece with a single strike of hand. None of the Latin authors thought of carrying this out in one minute. Only Medea allowed herself to take pity on the dragon. According to D. Slavits, this was such a surprise, that he was compelled to translate the poem in a new way.

David Slavits's translation, which made Flaccus' *Argonautica* popular in the 20th-21st centuries, succeeded in precise rendering of the main idea of the original and in making the book acceptable to modern readers. The public became acquainted with the brilliant epic author and at the same time, through the use of agreeable humor, D. Slavits skillfully 'cheered up' the 'sadness' and the 'gloom' which Ursula Gärtner found with the images of Medea and Jason. David Slavits admits that he had a lot of fun when working on the translation and calls on the readers to do the same.

Such 'transformations' are not alien to world literature. I. Kotlyarevski's *Aeneid*³⁶ is another example of it. The author treats the positive characters with considerable humor, but does not humiliate them. Through the humorous account, I. Kotlyarevski turned everything upside down – the 'high' became 'low', the heroic and pathetic – casual, the past became the present, and the present – the future, the great epic of the Roman poet was transformed into an amusing joke. I. Kotlyarevski made the Roman author extremely popular and owing to his work, the modern *Aeneid* was included in the classical literary fund of the Ukraine.³⁷

David R. Slavits's translation produced the same effect. Robert V. Albis³⁸ wrote in the *New England Classical Journal* that Valerius Flaccus became more agreeable and acceptable for the reader in Slavits's version, while the Brown University professor David Konstan stated that D.R. Slavits's translation will remarkably increase the number of readers of Flaccus' work.³⁹

³⁶ I. Kotlyarevski, *Aeneid*, translation from Ukrainian into Russian by I. Braghin, Moscow, 1955.

³⁷ I. Eriomin, I. P. Kotlyarevski and His *Aeneid*, introduction to the translation, *ibid.*, 9.

³⁸ For details see: www.amazon.com/VoyageArgo-Argonautica-ValeriusFlaccus/dp.

³⁹ For more details see: www.addall.com/detail.

Levan Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

THE ARGONAUTICA AND LINEAR B TEXTS

It is commonly admitted that the Mycenaean texts are mostly economic reports and because of their specific character, do not include clear and direct information on the contacts between the Mycenaean world and the states of the East.

The indirect information can conventionally be split into two groups:

Lexical borrowings;

Place names and ethnonyms.

The second group can itself be divided into two sub-groups:

The names reflecting the origin of an individual or a group of individuals, and the ones attested in proper names or adjectives.

Along with the archeological finds, linguistic material is very important for the study of the Argonautica, which in fact refers to the Hellenic and Colchian or Aegean and Caucasian contacts. Since both sides are highlighted at the present conference, I will confine myself solely to the hypothetical mentioning of Colchis in the Linear B texts.

Admittedly, Colchis is mentioned in Assyrian, Urartian and Greek written records. Moreover, apart from being an actual country, Colchis is a mythological setting in classical Greece. After the Linear B texts were read, it was suggested that Colchis was known to Greeks as early as the Mycenaean period. The assumption is based on the name ko-ki-da, ko-ki-de-jo found in three texts from the Knossus archive (ko-ki-da: KN Sd 4403, 4430, ko-ki-de-jo: KN Fh 5465). Some scholars read the word as Κολχίδας, Κολχίδειος. However, this is not the only possible version.¹ In fact, peculiarities of

¹ Diccionario Griego-Español. Anejo I. Diccionario micénico, I-II, Redactado por F. Aura Jorro, Bajo la dirección F. R. Adrados, Madrid 1985-1993 (DMic), I, 372sq.

Mycenaean writing allow several ways of reading. Only open syllables were graphically represented (vowel, consonant + vowel, rarely – consonant + consonant + vowel). The final consonant of the closed syllable (a vowel + a consonant or a consonant + a vowel + a consonant) was not normally recorded. The lack of the final consonant (ν , s) rendered ambiguous the case form and gender of the word. Besides, the written language does not distinguish between γ - κ - χ consonants, which very often make it rather difficult to identify a particular word.

Let us consider the texts that include the word of our immediate interest:

KN Sd 4403 :] e-re-pa-te-jo , o-po-qo , ke-ra-ja-pi , o-pi-i-ja-pi 'ko-ki-da , o-pa' CUR 3// i-]qi-ja , / a-ja-me-na , e-re-pa-te , a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na , a-ra-ru-ja [

"3 horse-chariots without wheels inlaid with ivory, fully assembled, equipped with bridles with cheek-straps decorated with ivory and horn, produced by ko-ki-da."²

KN So 4430: ko-ki-da , o-pa ne-wa // e-ri-ka , / o-da-twe-ta , a-ro₂-a ROTA ZE 22 MO ROTA 1

"produced by ko-ki-da: new, toothed wheels of willow, of superior quality."³

KN Fh 5465: ko-ki-de-jo qa[

Only one word is fully preserved in this fragment.

It is absolutely clear that the word of our interest is used here in the genitive. In the first two texts, the word can be interpreted as either the nominative or the genitive case form.

To understand the texts, it is essential to find out the meaning of the term o-pa. Part of scholars considers it to be a state, feudal duty, while others interpret it as an enterprise or a workshop.⁴ J. T. Killen, who as far as I know, is the author of the latest work on the term, agrees with M. Lejeune and J. L. Melena that the term corresponds to an ancient Greek word /hopā/ (nomen actionis derived from the same root as ἔπω); however he offers a different interpretation of the term and suggests that it used to denote the final stage of working a product.⁵ Therefore, I find it acceptable to translate the

² Cf. M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, Cambridge 1973², 365ff.

³ Cf. J. T. Hooker, Linear B. An Introduction, Bristol 1983², 164f.

⁴ *DMic* II, 30sq.

⁵ J. T. Killen, Mycenaean o-pa. Floreant Studia Mycenaea, Akten des X. internationalen mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995, hrsg. v. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, St. Hiller, O. Panagl, Wien 1999, 325ff.

term as ‘produced by ko-ki-da’ although, it should not be ruled out that in the given context the word could have been used in a specific technical sense.⁶

We learn from the texts that ko-ki-da was somehow connected with the production of expensive articles – richly decorated war chariots for the court.

The dating of the Knossos archive is disputable. Arthur Evans was the first to date the texts discovered on Crete back to the 1400 B.C. Following the 1950s, linguistic parallels with other archives caused the popularity of another version (1200). Archeological or textological studies of the latest decade seem to testify again in favour of the outset of the 14th century.⁷ Is it possible that a man either coming from Colchis or called Colchian could have served for the royal palace on Crete in the 14th century B.C.?

In my opinion, such a hypothesis should not be ruled out.

The first argument to mention is the lexical parallels between pre-Greek and Kartvelian environments, which have been highlighted several times in special literature. One of those words to be necessarily mentioned at the conference on the Argonautica is the well-known ko-wo (κῶφος, κῶας) ‘skin, fleece’ found in one of the Mycenaean texts.

Those linguistic parallels speak at least of the important contacts and migrations between the South Caucasus and the Aegean Sea region in the Bronze Age and offer grounds for the hypothesis on remote relationship between the tribes inhabiting the regions.⁸

Owing to their specific character, Mycenaean texts mention the geographical areas outside their kingdom on a very rare occasion.

Archeological finds make it absolutely clear that the Mycenaean world enjoyed commercial contacts with Phoenicia and Cyprus. This is also attested by the texts where the following adjectives either specify a product or function as proper names of individuals: Phoenician, Phenicese – φοίνιξ: po-ni-ke-a (KN Ln 1568), po-ni-ke- (PY Ta 714, 722), po-ni-ki-ja/jo (KN);⁹ Cyprian, Cypriot – κύπριος: ku-pi-ri-jo (KN Fh 347, 361, 371, 372, 5446, 5447, Ga 517, 676, 677, Gg 995, K 773, X 468; PY Cn 131, 719, Jn 320, Un 443).¹⁰

Egypt, another important partner of the Aegean world, is represented through an adjective used as a proper name – Egyptian – a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo (KN Db 1105) – Αἰγύπτιος. Presumably, the second name used in the same sense

⁶ Cf. wozee – “work”, which may designate a specific state obligation in the E-class texts.

⁷ R. Plath, *Linear B. Der Neue Pauly (DNP)* 7, 1999, 245ff.

⁸ In detail see: R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica, I-III vol.*, Tbilisi 2007.

⁹ DMic II, 138sqq.

¹⁰ DMic I, 405.

must have been derived from the Semitic name of Egypt — mi-sa-ra-jo (KN F 841).¹¹ Interestingly, ‘Egyptian’ is used only once (or twice) in the Cretan texts. Therefore, the single mentioning of ‘Colchis’ can not serve as a proof to assert that the Cretan Achaeans had no idea about Colchis.

The Achaeans could have been aware of Colchis.

In 1984, Tim Severin demonstrated that a Mycenaean ship could sail against the stream through the Dardanelles and Bosphoros.¹² Besides, the archeological excavations headed by Manfred Korfmann, started in 1988, points to quite intensive movements between the Mediterranean and the Black sea regions in the late Bronze Age.¹³ Apart from the Hittite Empire, which the Achaeans could reach by a shorter cut, in those times there was only one major political entity in the Black Sea region – Colchis. Its name was presumably mentioned for first time in the 12th century B.C. Assyrian texts,¹⁴ however, archeological materials from western Georgia suggest that large political entity was formed as early as the 15th century.¹⁵

Consequently, the Argonaut legend may reflect an actual expedition of the Mycenaean period. Moreover, it includes several indicators that facilitate its dating.

The tradition assigns the Argonauts to the generation of the Trojan heroes’ fathers. There are several ways of dating the Trojan War, and the date ranges between 1334-1135. Out of the proposed versions the most popular one was the dating by Eratosthenes – 1184 B.C., which almost coincides with the date of the fall of Troy VIIa (VII¹⁶ according to the latest classification) as suggested by archeologists. However, the war that could have inspired the Homeric epics should anyway be dated to the 13th century, when Mycenae was a powerful state.¹⁷

Consequently, the Argonauts must have visited Colchis almost by the end the 14th century B.C. or the start of the 13th century. However, one generation of myths does not always span just 30-40 years. For example, the 400 hundred year long histories of Crete and Mycenae correspond to only three generations of kings, while Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, fought

¹¹ E. Cline, *Contact and Trade or Colonization? Egypt and the Aegean in the 14th-13th Centuries B.C.* *Minos* 25-26, 1990-1991, 18; *DMic* I, 136, 454.

¹² T. Severin, *The Jason’s Voyage*, London 1985.

¹³ M. Korfmann, *Das homerische Troia war größer – Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1988-1995. Troia. Mythen und Archäologie.* Hrsg. H.D. Galter. Graz, 1997, 83ff.

¹⁴ Г. А. Меликишвили, *Наири-Урарту*, Тбилиси 1954, 22 и слл.

¹⁵ Cf. О. Лордкипанидзе, *Наследие древней Грузии*, Тбилиси 1989, 204 и слл.

¹⁶ M. Korfmann, *Die Arbeiten in Troia/Wilusa 2003*, *Studia Troica* 14, 2004, 5f.

¹⁷ Different dating possibilities are discussed in: L. Gordeziani, *Der Trojanische Krieg in den Linear-B-Texten? Phasis, Greek and Roman Studies*, 8, 2005, 52ff.

against the Dorians in the tenth century B.C. I fully agree with the opinion of F. Schachermeyr, who states that the folk memory has preserved only the names of the distinguished kings and has adjusted them to particular periods.¹⁸ The king to rule pre-Greek Crete before the 15th century B.C. was Minos. Deucalion, mentioned among the Argonauts, reigned in the meantime between the first and the second invasions of the Achaeans (1450-1370 B.C.), while Idomeneus appears to be the ruler of completely Mycenaean Crete (for over a century's period!). We have the same picture in the Mycenae: Pelops must have come to Mycenae from Asia Minor in a war chariot in the middle of the 16th century B.C.¹⁹ The reign of Atreus must cover the first half of the 14th century;²⁰ while the rule of Agamemnon should be anchored in the 13th century B.C. Owing to the literary treatment and systemic approach to the fragments of history, Minos became the father of Achaean Deucalion, Pelops – father of Atreus, and the latter – father of Agamemnon, etc. Literary systematization must have also resulted in the fact that out of the successful campaigns of the 15th-13th centuries B.C. Greeks recalled only the Trojan War, and out of the marine expeditions – the Voyage of the Argonauts. The 'catalogues of heroes' are also connected with these or other famous plots. If a sizeable team of celebrated heroes of the Trojan War does not seem unusual, the participation of so many prominent individuals in the events of comparatively local significance may stir doubts. For example, the presence of many princes and nobles on board a single ship is really surprising, while Heracles looks so unnatural among the Argonauts that he was compelled to leave the ship half way down the voyage. The surviving Argonautica includes other chronological discrepancies as well; Being the native of Iolcus of the Late Bronze Age, Jason must have gone to extremes to marry the daughter of the Corinthian king of the Middle Bronze Age; neither could Medea have become acquainted with yet childless Egeus as the Cretan adventure of his son Theseus should be dated no later than to the early 14th century B.C.

Undoubtedly, as time passed the story of the Argonauts was either enriched with certain details or abridged. The myth probably united the events related to several important expeditions, which is indicated by the homeward route of the Argonauts. It was interlinked with other real or invented stories. As a result, a whole cycle of myths was composed, where it is rather difficult to distinguish the historical core. Here I won't even attempt to reconstruct the

¹⁸ F. Schachermeyr, *Die griechische Rückerinnerung im Lichte neuer Forschungen*, Wien 1983, 36f.

¹⁹ F. Schachermeyr, 106ff.

²⁰ Cf. F. Schachermeyr, *Mykene und das Hethiterreich*, Wien 1986, 161ff.

initial shape of the myth, or to analyze its particular parts; I will dwell only on one aspect of the issue.

Already ancient Greek authors found the deeds of the Argonauts heroic as they were the first Achaeans to penetrate the Black Sea.²¹ A titanic volcanic explosion occurred on the Island of Thera (Santorini) in 1500 B.C. The island was half drawn in the water. The eruption and the accompanying waves and ashes reached Crete as well; the famous Minoan fleet was destroyed, which enabled Mycenae to enter the sea. In the middle of the 15th century, Mycenaean products start to be spread on the territory under Minoan influence (Miletus in Asia Minor, Mellus, Rhodus, Cyprus), which could as well have been accompanied by the spread of the Mycenaean authority in a particular shape. The Mycenaean expansion in the Aegean region is obvious in the 14th century B.C. Mycenae ultimately dominates over Crete, and the Achaeans confront the Hittite Kingdom in Asia Minor and Cyprus.

The earliest Mycenaean ceramic discovered in Troad belong to the same period. This may indicate the start of the Achaean influence over the Black Sea. A ship of the Bronze Age could have sailed against the stream through the Dardanelles and Bosphoros only with the help of the tail-wind. The ships sailing from the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea would stop by the coast of Troy to wait for the tail-wind, which was quite profitable for Trojans. The removal of obstacles on the way to the Black Sea could indeed have become the motivation for assaulting Troy.

Although the number of the ceramic ware discovered on the city site and the coast is not remarkable, and several fragments of the LH II period can be explained merely by the Achaean visit to Troy, the increasing number of Mycenaean products and the traces of the temporary camp of sailors clearly attest that the Black Sea route was not unknown to them. The discovery of Mycenaean ceramics dating back to the period from the second half of 15th century B.C. at the entrance to the Dardanelle suffices to date the first Greek expedition to the Black Sea to the turn of the 14th century B.C. The date coincides with the rule of Deucalion, who represented the first dynasty of the Achaeans on Crete, and the start of the reign of Atreus in Mycenae, which exactly fits the Argonautic campaign.

Thus, in my opinion, this first penetration must have given rise to the myth about the Argonautic voyage.²²

An indirect prove to this assumption are the names found in the Mycenaean texts: Aiaia – a₃-wa-ja: PY En 74/ Eo 160; Aiates – a₃-wa-ta: KN Vc 7612; Athamas – a-ta-ma-ne-u: PY Cn 655; Kretheus – ke-re-te-u: PY Ea

²¹ О. Лорджипанидзе, 215.

²² L. Gordeziani, Zur Datierung des Argonautenzuges, Gs. A. Urushadze, Tbilisi 1999, 22ff.

59 etc.; Amythaon – a-mu-ta-wo: PY Nn 831, KN V 756, TH Ug 9; Iason – i-wa-so: PY Cn 655; Mopsos – mo-qo-so: KN Dc 1381; Lynkeus – ru-ke-wo (-wo-wi-ja): PY Nc 1053.

Out of this list offered by St. Hiller,²³ the first two names are especially interesting for the present research. A low-ranking priest (te-o-ja do-e-ra) Aeaea is presented as a tenant of a land parcel in private ownership.

PY En 74:

.20 pi-ke-re-wo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 2 T 6

.21 o-da-a₂ , o-na-te-re , e-ke-si , pi-ke-re-wo , ko-to-na

.22 a₃-wa-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1

"The private plot of Pirkeus, so much seed: 312 l. wheat. Now this is how the tenants hold plots belonging to Pikreus: Aiwaia, servant of the god, holds a lease, so much seed: 12 l. wheat."

PY Eo 160:

.1 pi-ke-re-wo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 2 T 6

.2 a₃-wa-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , pi-ke-re-we GRA T 1

"The private plot of Pirkeus, so much seed: 312 l. wheat. Aiwaia, servant of the god, holds a lease from Pirkeus so much seed: 12 l. wheat".²⁴

As concerns Aietes, (a₃-wa-ta), the name is without a context.

We can add to the list of St. Hiller one anthroponym me-de-i-jo (KN B 800 – Μήδειος), a theonym i-pe-me-de-ja (PY Tn 316 – Ἰφιμέδεια), and a Cretan place name ku-ta-to (Kuvtaion, Kuvtaion together with its derivatives: ku-ta-i-jo, ku-ta-i-si-jo, ku-ta-si-jo, ku-ta-ti-jo – Κυταίος, Κυταίσιος, Κυταίτιος).²⁵

Of course, neither Cretan and Mycenaean shepherds and landowners were among the Argonauts, nor was Cretan Kutaion the Royal city of Colchis Kutaia/Kutaisi. Anyway, such parallels may speak in favour of the earliest version of the myth.

In view of the above-mentioned material, we may argue that the mentioning of Colchis in the linear B texts should by no means be ruled out, although it should not be regarded as ultimately attested.

²³ St. Hiller, *The Mycenaeans and the Black Sea. Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer*, Liège 1991, 214.

²⁴ M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 244, 248.

²⁵ DMic I, 412sq.

Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi)

THE LAND OF AIETES AND THE ARGO IN THE HOMERIC TRADITION

The theme of the Argonauts' campaign, naturally, holds a modest place in the Homeric epics; anyway, scholars find the data from *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* very important when they discuss certain key issues related to the earliest version of the legend. In the present paper, I will dwell on two aspects: the Homeric perception of the land of Aietes and the understanding of the Argo's role in the Homeric tradition.

When discussing the location of the land of Aietes in the earliest assumed Greek sources, scholars find it highly important to pay due attention to the data from the Homeric epics that reflect the situation prior to the Great Greek colonization. XII, 59-72 of *The Odyssey*, which have been analyzed many times, and especially line 70 Ἄργῳ πᾶσι μέλουσα / πασιμέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα, as well as other data from the poem, lead to several conclusions: a) The mission of the Argo was widely known in the Homeric times. Regardless of how we interpret the epithet of the Argo – as composed of two components πᾶσι μέλουσα 'desired by all'¹ or as a single composite πασιμέλουσα 'famed by many in songs' (allbesungne) or 'related by all' (die alle in den Erzählungen beschäftigt)², it is doubtless that the epithet refers to considerable popularity of the mission. b) The objective of the mission was connected with the land of Aietes. And the name Αἰήτης enables to reconstruct the name of the land itself as Αἶα.³ The same is suggested by Αἰαίη νῆσος that refers to the island of Circe. The name must be interpreted

¹ Such interpretation is presented in the editions by Th. W. Allen and P. von der Mühl.

² For the details in favour of such interpretation cf. P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa*, Stuttgart 1993, 14 ff.

³ For more details see A. Lesky, *Aia*, Wiener Studien 63, 1949, 22-68 = A. Lesky, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bern, München 1966, 26-62 (the present paper refers to this text).

as the island of Αἶα or Αἶάη.⁴ Since Homer does not mention the name Κολχίς, it should be assumed that it entered the Greek tradition after the colonization, replacing the earlier name Αἶα.⁵ c) According to the Homeric epic, the location of Αἶα is connected with the location of Circe's Island, which gave rise to ambiguous interpretations already in ancient sources. Consequently, similarly to Αἶάη of Circe, the land of Aietes must be a certain fabulous spot in the area where Helios was supposed to rise. Some scholars believe that the supposed fabulous spot should by no means refer to the Black Sea basin as Greeks had quite a vague idea of the region before colonization. In this regard, Paul Dräger, who believes that Αἶα must have been located somewhere within Ethiopia, goes so far as to attribute any attempt of relating legendary Αἶα to Colchis solely to the expression of local patriotism on the part of Georgian scholars.⁶ In this respect, we should bear in mind that the identification was suggested by ancient Greek authors, who must have been less likely to suffer local Georgian patriotism.⁷ Likewise categorical is the following statement of the Hittitologist Haas: 'In the earliest tradition, Aia had nothing in common with Colchis. In fact, Aia is the nether land, a mythic land, supposedly located far to the East, on the Black Sea coast.'⁸

Since the Homeric poems are believed to be of almost primary relevance as concerns the discussion of the location of the land of Aietes, let us find out whether *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* offer any implications in this respect. The disputes over the location of Αἶάη νῆσος or Circe's island can hardly be of any help as, whether it reflects or not certain geographic realities, I believe

⁴ For the etymology see A. Lesky, *Aia*, 46 ff.

⁵ Some scholars regard the collocation ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα (I, 2), ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα (VII, 193), ἐξ Αἶης τῆς Κολχίδος (VII, 197) attested by Herodotus as a proof in favor of an assumption that in the times of Herodotus there were several theories on the location of Αἶα, which could explain simultaneous use of two formatives Αἶα and Κολχίς by Herodotus. It is difficult to assume that Herodotus, distinguished for his honest account of the information available to him, could have refrained from the discussion of those theories and confined himself solely to allusions through the simultaneous mentioning of the two names. It seems far more realistic to assume that in this way Herodotus distinguished between the land of Aietes of the Heroic Age, Aia-Colchis, and historical west Georgia – simply Colchis. Cf. also P. Гордезиани, Αἶα в древнейших греческих источниках (Античность и современность, Москва 1972, 178 dd. = Λεκτά, 125-143), 131.

⁶ P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa*, 315, Note 75: 'Für die mit quälender Penetranz von dem Georgier Lordkipanidze vertretene Ansicht, Aia / Kolchis sei von Anfang an mit Georgien identisch gewesen, gibt es nur lokalpatriotische, keine wissenschaftliche Begründungen.' Also cf. *Aia*, DNP, I, 1 by the same author.

⁷ See also O. Lordkipanidze, *At the Origins of Ancient Georgian Civilization*, Tbilisi 2002, 148 (in Georgian).

⁸ V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter. I. Vegetationskulte und Pflanzenmagie*, Berlin, Hamburg, s.a., 283.

that the island obviously goes beyond the limits of actual geography.⁹ Its name must certainly be related to the name of Αἶα, the legendary land of the Golden Fleece; however, this is not sufficient to believe that the island of Circe was located near the land of Aietes. The poem does not refer to contacts with so-called continental Aia, or any other settled land. However, the mythical or unreal nature of Aiaia does not mean that the land of Aietes should be assigned to the same category. In my opinion, it is less likely that generations of poets, who found the importance and popularity of the Argonauts' voyage unquestionable, failed to specify to a certain degree the location of the land of Aietes already at the early stages of the formation of the tradition.

I believe that such indicators and landmarks can be found in the Homeric epics as well.

It has repeatedly been mentioned that the Homeric epic unambiguously names one point of the Argo's voyage, the island of Lemnos. Euneos, the son of Jason and Hypsipyle, is mentioned three times in *The Iliad*. The presentation of the character follows the principle that in fact works as a system in the poem: episodic characters are at first presented in a comparatively ample way, which enables the author to mention them briefly later on, as they again appear in the plot.¹⁰ VII, 467-475 present 'Euneos, the son of Jason, born to him by Hypsipyle', who had sent from Lemnos (ἐκ Λήμνου) ships loaded with wine. XXI, 34-36 present the story of Lycaon, who was sold on the island of Lemnos. The lines mention 'the son of Jason' (υἱὸς Ἰήσονος), without the name. Again, in connection with the story of Lycaon, Chapter 23, lines 740-749 mention 'Euneos the Jasonid' ('Jason's son Euneos') (Ἰησονίδης Εὐνηος), without referring to his mother. The author of the lines should have undoubtedly been aware that the Argonauts, heading for the land of Aietes, stopped at the island of Lemnos.¹¹ It is natural to assume that after leaving Iolcos the Argonauts were to pass the island located north to the Aegean if their destination was the Hellespont. Both

⁹ The undefined location of Circe's island and its metaphorical likeness with the bridge between this world and the nether world is implied in *The Odyssey* itself. Odysseus' words 'My friends, we know not where darkness is, or where the dawn, neither where the sun, who gives light to mortals, goes beneath the earth, or where he rises' (Od., X, 190 ff.) are an impressive description of the location of Aiaia. Cf. N. Marinatos, *Circe and Liminality: Ritual Background and Narrative Structure, Homer's World. Fiction, Tradition, Reality*, ed. Øivind Andersen and Matthew Dickie, Bergen 1995, 133 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. R. Gordeziani, *The Iliad and the Issues of History and Ethnic Genesis of the Aegean Population*, Tbilisi 1970, 42 ff. (in Georgian).

¹¹ Although some researchers believe that these fragments from *The Iliad* can be later insertions, or the phrases may refer not Jason the Argonaut, but to some other Jason, such ideas of 'skeptics' are not shared by the majority of scholars (cf. P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa*, 12 ff.).

ancient and modern scholars believe that the Island of Lemnos was very important to the navigation between the Aegean and the Black Sea.¹² The latest archeological discoveries from Troy revealed that navigations between Aegean and Pontus were undertaken as early as the Bronze Age, and Lemnos and Troy played key roles in this process.¹³

The frequent mentioning of the name the Hellespont is likewise remarkable. As it has repeatedly been mentioned, the name refers not only to a narrow strait, but to a larger area of the North Aegean.¹⁴ *The Iliad* presents the name either without an epithet, or with four epithets. It is noteworthy that none of the epithets makes up a fixed collocation that would repeat unchanged later.

If any of the four epithets of the Hellespont (ἀγάρροος, ἀπείρων, πλατύς, ἰχθυόεις) repeats, it is presented either as a different case form (VII, 86: ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ / XVII, 432: ἐπὶ πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον), or in a different position and case (II, 845: Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος / παρ' ἀγάρροον Ἑλλήσποντον).

This leads to an assumption that by the Homeric times it had not been long that the name had been established in the epic tradition and it had not yet become a steady poetic formula. If we bear in mind that the majority of geographical names of the region were not Greek by origin, the absolutely unambiguous Greek name Ἑλλήσποντος may suggest that it was formed within the Greek tradition. The widely accepted etymology of it is Helle's (Ἑλλης) sea (πόντος), which is shared by almost every scholar after P. Kretschmer.¹⁵ Whether the myth about Phrixus and Helle was initially an independent traditional story or not¹⁶, there is enough ground to suppose that in the mythopoetic tradition it was obviously linked to the story of the Golden-Haired Ram and the voyage of the Argonauts at least in the period of the Dark Ages. Consequently, in the period when the name Ἑλλήσποντος originated, i.e. in the pre-Homeric tradition, it was believed that the golden

¹² A. Archontidou-Argyri, Poliochni and the Islands of the Northeastern Aegean in the Bronze Age, Poliochni on Smoke-Shroud Lemnos, An Early Bronze Age Centre in the North Aegean, Aqhvna 1997, 66: 'Lemnos was the first and last port of call for mariners and merchants from and to the Hellespont, and it naturally received the raw materials – above all metal – that were the cargoes of their ships.'

¹³ Cf. R. Gordeziani, Die Argonautensage im Lichte der neuesten Forschung, Lektav – Ausgewählte Schriften, Tbilisi 2000, 311 ff.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Latacz, Homers Ilias, Gesamtkommentar, Bd. II, 2. Gesang, Fasz. 2: Kommentar, Leipzig 2003, 276 ff.

¹⁵ V. Georgiev, Hellespontos und Bosporos, Linguistique Balkanique, III, 2, Sofia 1961, 19 ff. offers a partly differing etymology, but neither does he go against the opinion that in Greek mythopoetic tradition the name was interpreted as 'the sea of Helle's' from an earlier period.

¹⁶ Cf. R. Gordeziani, Die Argonautensage..., 311 ff.

ram flew over this place as it left Greece and fled to the land of Aietes;¹⁷ and this would be possible only if the ram headed for the Black Sea. *The Iliad* provides quite specific information that the Homeric perception included the Anatolian coast of Pontus. Here are Paphlagonia, presented through a number of geographical indicators (ethnonyms – the Enetoi, toponyms – Cyturus, Sesamus, Cromna, Aegialus, hydronyms – Parthenius, highlands Erithynoi) and Halizones from Alybe, identified with a Colchian tribe of Chalybes as early as the ancient times.¹⁸

Since it has become more or less clear that Homer, or the tradition he referred to, either intentionally or unintentionally, linked the land of Aietes with the Black Sea basin, we could even try to go farther and look for a more specific location of the land. In this regard, it is essential to single out several questions: a) which was the region of Pontus that prior to the Greek colonization corresponded to the ideas and beliefs regarding the fabulous land of Aietes built in the mythopoetic tradition? There may be an unambiguous answer to this question. According to one of the most reliable specialists in ancient Black Sea studies, Mr. Otar Lordkipanidze, ‘before the Greeks settled the Black Sea coasts, i.e. in the 8th-7th centuries B.C., the western and northern coasts of the Black Sea were completely uninhabited. Only the Colchian coast was densely populated.’¹⁹ What is more important, the settlement carried on the traditions rooted in the brilliant Colchian culture of the Bronze Age.²⁰ b) According to ancient sources, which was the particular territory of the Black Sea or of some other region which either Greek or local tradition linked to the land of Aietes and the related events? I believe that the answer is likewise unambiguous. All of the sources providing specific information in this regard locate the destination of the Argonautic expedition on the territory of Colchis. In this case, Greek sources naturally invite primary attention as regardless of whether the tradition reflects or not the possible Mycenaean expedition to the Black Sea region, it is doubtless that this cycle of traditional stories was formed exactly within the Greek mythopoetic tradition. Presumably, the basic geographical indicators, later insistently related to the land of the Golden Fleece, figured in early beliefs on the kingdom of Aietes. It is likewise remarkable that, again according to ancient sources, it was the population of historical Colchis that identified themselves with the descendents of the

¹⁷ In this case it is not relevant which of the versions (that of flying over or sailing by ship) was the initial one.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Latacz, *op. cit.*, 851 ff; R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III, *The Etruscans. Conclusive Comments*, Tbilisi 2007 (in Georgian).

¹⁹ O. Lordkipanidze, *At the Origins of Ancient Georgian Civilization*, Tbilisi 2002, 185 (in Georgian).

²⁰ O. Lordkipanidze, *op. cit.*, 124 ff.

powerful land of Aietes, even if predominantly due to the influence of the Greek tradition.²¹ Interestingly, archeological material has revealed the traces of the reflection of the Argonautic events going back to the period before the Greek colonization.²² It is less likely that the land of Aietes and the related events, which in fact had firmly been established in the system of the Heroic Age, could have changed location so summarily and drastically as early as the 8th century, more so that the tendency of changing the setting has not occurred ever since. c) It is certainly important to analyze the lexical formatives (proper names and appellations) found in ancient Greek sources and presumably related to the land of Aietes which in fact neither belong to the group of the so-called speaking Greek words nor have Greek etymology. Relevant studies reveal that almost all of them go back to Kartvelian roots, mainly represented through the forms that must have been found in common Kartvelian language, i.e. in the 2nd millennium B.C. Here belong: Κύταια, Φᾶσις, Πόλα, κῶας, μῶλυ, Ἄψυρτος, Κίρκη, and according to Schmitt-Brandt, even Μήδεια.²³

As a follow-up, it would be natural to touch the point which in modern studies is a priori found settled. What was the name that was used to refer to the land of Aietes in the early Greek mythopoetic or Homeric tradition? After the well-known work by A. Lesky no one questions the name Αἶα. The arguments are clear enough: a. The name Αἰήτης enables to reconstruct the name of the land Αἶα through the typical Greek – (vocal) της suffix and should be understood as ‘a man from Aia’, or ‘Aian’ (‘der Mann von Aia’). b. νῆσος Αἰαίη, the land of Circe mentioned by Homer should be understood as ‘the island owned by Aia’ (‘die zu Aia gehörige Insel’).²⁴

However, what escapes attention is that Αἶα as an independent formative standing for the name of the land of Aietes is attested neither by Homer, nor in any other early source. Only Mimnermus (11/11a W, 11 D, 10 GP) mentions Aia (ἔξ Αἶης), from where Jason took away the ‘great fleece’ (μέγα κῶας), but if we bear in mind that the same fragment mentions as well a ‘city of Aietes’ (Αἰήταο πόλιν), ‘where divine Jason went’ (ἵν’ ᾗχετο θεῖος Ἰήσων), it may appear that Αἶα is a city and not a country. Obviously, the name gradually expanded and was eventually referred to the land of Aietes in general. The process is evident from the Classical Period, when Αἶα was used as either the synonym of Colchis, or the city of Colchis, or even its

²¹ For comparing the sources refer to A. Urushadze, *Ancient Colchis in the Argonaut Legend*, Tbilisi 1964 (in Georgian).

²² Cf. V. Licheli’s article published in the present volume.

²³ For more details cf. R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III, 469 ff; L. Chotalishvili’s article in this volume.

²⁴ A. Lesky, *Aia*, 46 ff.

capital.²⁵ This certainly allows supposing that Αἶα was initially the name of the place or the city where Aietes resided and its outskirts. It was this name that the anthroponym Αἰήτης and the name of Circe's island originated from in the Greek tradition. Another supporting argument is that there is no term derived from Αἶα that would function as an ethnonym to refer to the population of the land of Aietes. The only exceptions are Circe and Medea, who Homer and Apollonius Rhodius sometimes refer to as Αἰαίη.²⁶ Naturally, despite the remark by Stephanus of Byzantium²⁷, it is difficult to consider the formative to be the widespread ethnikon derived from Αἶα as it is not normally used to refer to any other person coming from the land of Aietes. And certainly, if Αἶα is synonymous of Κόλχις, there is in fact no synonym for Κόλχοι. In the same way, in collocations τὸ (τὰ) Κόλχων ἔθνος (ἔθνεα), γένος, φύλα, ἄστρα, ἤθεα and so on Κόλχων is never replaced with Αἰαίων or any other ethnonym derived from Αἶα even in clearly mythological contexts. All this leads to the thought that the name of land of Aietes should have been Κόλχις even in the earliest Greek sources. It is common knowledge that the name is found in Eumelos' work, according to whom Aietes 'went to the land of Colchis' (ᾤχετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν).²⁸ At present, I would like to refrain from joining the disputes over the period when Eumelos' *Corinthiaca* was composed, which is traditionally defined as the 8th-7th centuries B.C., although there are attempts in favor of a later period.²⁹ I will only mention that the name corresponding to the version of Eumelos is the one found in the 8th century B.C. Urartian records that refers to one of the well-known state units of west Georgia (Qulḫa). Evidently, the same country is mentioned as 'Kilḫi' (Qilḫi) in the 12th century inscription of Tiglatpileser I.³⁰ If the correspondence between Mycenaean ko-ki-da, ko-ki-de-jo and Κολχίδας, Κολχίδεος- is ultimately attested³¹, we will have enough grounds to suppose that Κόλχις was the name for the land of Aietes as early as the period prior to the colonization. As concerns Αἶα, if it truly reflects any geographical name, in my opinion, it must have resulted from the Greek interpretation of the name of Κύταια, the principle city of Colchis, as a unity

²⁵ For comparing the sources see A. Urushadze, op. cit.

²⁶ Cf. A. Lesky, *Aia*, 46.

²⁷ Cf. A. Lesky, *Aia*, 46.

²⁸ For more details see A. Urushadze, op. cit., 194; G. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis*, London 1969, 60 ff.

²⁹ For the review of the issue see A. И. Иванчик, *Накануне Колонизации, Москва-Берлин 2005*, 63.

³⁰ For the review of the existing literature on the issue cf. R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III.

³¹ Cf. L. Gordeziani's article published in the present volume.

composed of two components, and its subsequent reduction.³² This may explain the fact that seemingly earlier Αἶα and later Κύταια sometimes are presented in Greek sources as synonymous names for the principle city of Colchis.³³ Κύταια corresponds to the western Georgian place name Kutaisi, which is among the rare place names that can linguistically be reconstructed to the common Kartvelian level, i.e. at least to the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.³⁴

The Homeric epics are likewise relevant to the interpretation of another aspect of the myth about the Argonauts. In my opinion, the poet either creates himself or reflects the idea formed in the earlier tradition, which I would call the concept of the expedition of the Argo and the Argonauts to the land of Aietes. The above-mentioned abstract from *The Odyssey* is relevant in many ways. After describing the severe nature of the Planctae, Circe says to Odysseus:

‘One seafaring ship alone has passed by those, that Argo famed of all, on her voyage from Aietes, and even her the wave would speedily have dashed there against the great crags, had not Hera sent her through because Jason was dear to her’ (12, 69-72).

The lines are noteworthy in several ways. As Homer relates the story of the expedition, he highlights the Argo, which is either *πάσι μέλουσα* ‘desired of all’ or *πασιμέλουσα* ‘famed by many in songs’. Although the Argo overcame the dangers of the Planctae owing to Hera’s fondness for Jason, none of the lines illustrate personal contribution of Jason as the performer of heroic feats. If we bear in mind that the most distinct protagonist of *The Odyssey* is the son of Laertes, and that his companions managed to overcome the perils of the Planctae solely owing to the courage and skillfulness of their leader, we may conclude that Homer intentionally accentuates the parallels between the routes followed by Odysseus and the Argo; However, if in the first case the primary accent falls on Odysseus, in the second case the attention is concentrated on the Argo and not Jason or any of the Argonauts. Consequently, we may say that the object of glorification, the one ‘famed by many in songs’, is the Argo and not any of the heroes. In my opinion, the tendency of interpreting Jason as an anti-hero, which is also discernible in *The Theogony* of Hesiod (992-1002), Mimnermus (10 PG), and is distinctly shaped following the works of Pindar and Euripides, can be traced already in *The Odyssey*.

³² Cf. R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III, 473.

³³ For comparing the sources cf. A. Urushadze, *op. cit.*

³⁴ Cf. R. Gordeziani, *Mediterranea-Kartvelica*, III, 471 ff.

Besides, in my opinion, the significance of Odysseus' roaming in the Homeric epic is different from the significance of the Argonautic expedition. The whole process of Odysseus' roaming after the Trojan War is to a certain extent motivated by the personal desire of the protagonist to return home. His reckless companions doomed themselves to death due to the acts of violence and haughtiness (*ἀτασθαλίησι*), and neither of Odysseus' ships was allotted to carry the son of Laertes home as they crashed to pieces while the Argo, having a great mission, successfully accomplished it carrying its passengers back safe and bringing into their country the principle target of the mission – the Golden Fleece. That is why the ship is 'desired of all', or 'famed by many in songs'. I believe that it was the Homeric tradition that largely contributed to the development of the image of the Argo into the unfading symbol of a successful naval expedition, and later on, to the formation of such terms as the Argonauts and the Argonautica, which have most comprehensive and diverse senses. Ever since ancient times, the Argo has been a perpetual symbol.

Askold I. Ivantchik (Moscow / Bordeaux)

ARGONAUTES, L'OCÉAN ET LA MER NOIRE

Le mythe des Argonautes a souvent attiré l'attention des antiquisants, non seulement des spécialistes de la littérature grecque, mais également des historiens et des archéologues. Ces derniers ont essayé de l'utiliser comme un témoignage direct de contacts précoloniaux entre la civilisation grecque et les côtes de la mer Noire, notamment le territoire de la Géorgie actuelle. En outre, on a souvent fait remonter ces contacts jusqu'à l'époque mycénienne¹. Bien qu'un tel traitement de ce mythe ne soit pas rare dans la littérature scientifique, il s'agit d'une utilisation plutôt naïve de la source, à l'origine de nombreuses erreurs. Il n'existait sans doute pas de contacts entre l'Égée et les littoraux de la mer Noire, en tout cas par voie maritime, jusqu'au milieu du VII^e siècle av. J.-C. En effet, on constate l'absence dans la région pontique² d'importations grecques d'une époque plus ancienne. Il en est de même pour l'époque mycénienne. Les objets qu'on croyait pouvoir interpréter comme des importations mycéniennes sont en réalité d'origine locale et leur ressemblance avec des objets égéens est dans le meilleur des cas le résultat de contacts culturels passés par la médiation de nombreux intermédiaires. Au début des années 90, Stefan Hiller est revenu à l'hypothèse de l'existence de contacts maritimes réguliers entre la civilisation mycénienne et la mer Noire et a donné une synthèse des arguments archéologiques en sa faveur³. Malheureusement, sa synthèse ne démontre que la faiblesse de cette

¹ Cf. par exemple Urushadze A. V., *Drevnjaja Kolkhida v skazanii ob argonavtakh*, vol. I-II, Tbilissi, 1964 (en géorgien, avec un résumé russe).

² Cf. Boardman J., Early Greek Pottery on Black Sea Sites?, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, 1991, 387-390.

³ Hiller S., The Mycenaean and the Black Sea, in: *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer*, éd. R. Laffineur, L. Basch. Liège, 1991, 207-215.

hypothèse, car aucun des arguments apportés ne résiste à la critique⁴. Le seul exemple indubitable d'importations mycéniennes dans la région pontique au sens large du mot réside dans des vases trouvés à Maşat Höyük⁵. Ce site est cependant séparé de la côte par des montagnes difficilement franchissables et en est éloigné de 150 km. En outre, ces vases ont été trouvés ensemble avec des fragments de céramique de Chypre, ce qui a amené l'auteur des fouilles à y voir des importations venant "du sud" et non "du nord". Ils ont donc été transportés en Anatolie centrale par voie terrestre et ne peuvent témoigner de voyages de marins mycéniens en mer Noire.

Mais même s'il avait existé des témoignages archéologiques indubitables de contacts entre l'Égée et la mer Noire à l'époque mycénienne, cela n'aurait pas changé l'essentiel. Les mythes, et notamment les légendes grecques, diffèrent radicalement des œuvres historiques, et les utiliser comme des témoignages historiques revient à ignorer leur spécificité.

La légende des Argonautes remonte sûrement à une époque plus ancienne que celle du début des contacts directs entre l'Égée et les littoraux de la mer Noire, et elle n'était pas initialement lié à la Colchide, comme ce fut le cas à l'époque tardive. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff avait déjà remarqué que cette légende représentait une variante du mythe de voyage dans l'Au-delà; le but de ce voyage était le pays mythique d'Aia, une variante d'Elysium⁶. Cette conclusion, acceptée par la majorité des chercheurs, a ensuite été développée par Albin Lesky qui a également apporté de nouveaux arguments en faveur de l'identification du roi d'Aia, Aiètès, avec le dieu des morts et de son pays avec le royaume des morts⁷. Cela correspond parfaitement à l'étymologie du nom *Aiètès* qui est proche du nom *Aidès*, comme l'a montré Jacob Wackernagel⁸. Il n'est pas donc étonnant qu'Aia, le pays d'Aiètès, ait été considéré comme une contrée située au bord de l'Océan, ou comme une île océanique. En effet, l'Océan, dont on pensait que c'était un fleuve d'eau salée, ou une mer entourant la terre habitée, était lié dans différentes traditions à l'Au-delà. Il suffit de se rappeler que l'île des Bienheureux, ou l'Elysium, était alors toujours considérée comme une île au milieu de l'Océan (cf. par exemple Hom. *Od.* IV, 563-569; Hes. *Op.*, 171;

⁴ Voir plus en détail: Ivantchik A. I., *Am Vorabend der Kolonisation. Das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet und die Steppennomaden des 8. – 7. Jhs. v. Chr. in der klassischen Literaturtradition: Mündliche Überlieferung, Literatur und Geschichte*. Berlin, Moscou, 2005, 106-107.

⁵ Özgüç T., *Maşat Höyük. I. A Hittite Center Northeast of Boğazköy*, Ankara, 1978, 66, pl. D, 83-84.

⁶ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff U., *Griechische Tragödien*. Bd. III. Berlin, 1906, 171 suiv.

⁷ Lesky A., Aia, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*. München, Bern, 1966, 40 suiv.

⁸ Wackernagel J., *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde*, Basel, 1897, 7.

Pind. O. II, 70-72 etc.)⁹. L'entrée dans le monde des ombres telle qu'elle est décrite dans le chant XI de l'*Odyssée* se trouvait également au bord de l'Océan. La localisation d'Aia au bord de l'Océan est directement attestée par l'une des mentions les plus anciennes des Argonautes dans la littérature grecque, à savoir par un fragment de Mimnerme (11 West, Allen, 10 Gentili – Prato)¹⁰, dont l'activité est habituellement datée du dernier tiers du VIIIe siècle av. J.-C.:

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο
 ἄκτινες χρυσέωι κείαται ἐν θαλάμωι
 Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος, ἴν' ὄιχετο θεῖος Ἴήσων.

Les Argonautes devaient donc effectuer un voyage océanique pour atteindre le pays d'Aiètés. D'autres mentions anciennes de ce sujet dans la littérature grecque attestent le même fait. Il s'agit de l'*Odyssée* homérique qui contient la mention directe la plus ancienne des Argonautes, ou pour être précis, de leur bateau: Ἄργω πᾶσι μέλουσα παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα (*Od.*, 70). L'épithète d'Argo Ἄργω πᾶσι μέλουσα qui peut être traduit comme "celle qui intéresse tout le monde", "universellement connue" témoigne de la grande popularité de ce sujet au moment où l'*Odyssée* a été écrite, et même de l'existence d'un poème épique qui lui était consacré. Il faut spécialement noter que cette mention se trouve chez Homère dans un contexte océanique et sous-entend que les Argonautes naviguaient dans l'Océan.

Le but de l'expédition des Argonautes dans les versions les plus anciennes de cette légende était donc le pays mythique d'Aia, l'une des variétés du royaume des morts et, pour l'atteindre, les Argonautes devaient effectuer un voyage océanique. La question se pose ici de savoir quand et pourquoi cette Aia légendaire a été identifiée à la Colchide réelle, un pays qui se trouvait au bord de la mer Noire et non de l'Océan.

Selon l'opinion la plus répandue, la première source qui témoigne de l'identification d'Aia avec la Colchide serait un fragment d'Eumèle de Corinthe (fr. 3 Bernabé): ὁ (Αἰήτης scil.) δ' ὄχετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν. Le poète Eumèle de Corinthe semble avoir été un personnage réel, qui vécut à la fin du VIIIe et au premier quart du VIIe siècle av. J.-C.¹¹ Mais le fait

⁹ Cf. Lesky A., *Thalatta. Der Weg der Griechen zum Meer*, Wien, 1947, 70-73; Nady G., *The Best of the Achaeans. Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry*. 2nd ed. Baltimore, London, 1999, 167-168, 194-197.

¹⁰ Pour ce fragment et la restitution de son contexte, voir Lesky. Aia, 27-31; Dräger P., Ein Mimnermos-Fragment bei Strabon (11/11a W, 10 G/P, 11 A), *Mnemosyne* Ser. 4. 49, 1996, 30-45.

¹¹ Bowra C. M., Two Lines of Eumelus, in: *On Greek Margins*, Oxford, 1970, 46-58; Drews R., The Earliest Greek Settlements on the Black Sea, *JHS*, 46, 1976, 19, cf. cependant West M. L.,

qu'Eumèle lui-même soit situé chronologiquement d'une façon plus ou moins sûre ne signifie pas que cela soit vrai des poèmes connus sous son nom. Ainsi, Edouard Will¹² pensait que les écrits connus sous le nom d'Eumèle ne pouvaient être rapportés à un seul auteur mais à toute la tradition corinthienne, dont les éléments les plus anciens remontaient en effet au VIII^e siècle, mais avaient été ensuite maintes fois remaniés et n'avait été fixés en langue épique que tardivement. Martin West¹³ a apporté récemment de nouveaux arguments en faveur de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les *Corinthiaka* et les autres poèmes connus sous le nom d'Eumèle ont été fixés par écrit au VI^e siècle, bien qu'ils puissent contenir des éléments beaucoup plus anciens. Ces poèmes auraient été attribués à Eumèle à une époque tardive, parce qu'il était le poète corinthien le plus célèbre. Si cette hypothèse est juste, la présence d'éléments tardifs dans les fragments d'Eumèle est facilement compréhensible et les fragments eux-mêmes perdent leur valeur chronologique. La mention de la Colchide dans le fragment en question ne peut donc être utilisée pour dater son identification avec Aia, parce que le poème d'Eumèle contenait des éléments de différentes époques.

On peut cependant trouver des indications de la localisation pontique de la légende des Argonautes dans l'*Odyssee*. En effet, Adolf Kirchhoff¹⁴ a proposé une hypothèse, qui fut ensuite argumentée en détail par Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf¹⁵, selon laquelle les chants X-XII de l'*Odyssee* utiliseraient abondamment le matériel d'un poème épique plus ancien, consacré aux Argonautes et qui localisait déjà leur voyage dans la mer Noire. Karl Meuli a consacré ensuite une monographie spéciale à ce problème¹⁶, dans laquelle il a développé les arguments de Wilamowitz et démontré que les chants X-XII de l'*Odyssee* s'appuyaient dans une large mesure sur un poème des Argonautes qui avait lui-même déjà utilisé le matériel pontique. Cette hypothèse, qui est devenue presque une opinion commune, rend compte d'une façon convaincante de l'existence de contradictions évidentes entre les différentes descriptions des errances d'Ulysse chez Homère: une partie de ses voyages est clairement localisée en Occident, tandis que l'autre l'est d'une façon également évidente à l'extrême Orient. Il ne s'agit pas, bien entendu,

'Eumelos': A Corinthian Epic Cycle?, *JHS*, 122, 2002, 109-110 qui le date du milieu du VII^e siècle.

¹² Will E., *Korinthiaka. Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*, Paris, 1955, 124-129.

¹³ West, 'Eumelos', 109-133.

¹⁴ Kirchhoff A., *Die homerische Odyssee*. 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1879.

¹⁵ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf U., *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1884, 165-167; *idem*, *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin, 1916, 361-363, 490-492.

¹⁶ Meuli K., *Odyssee und Argonautika*, Berlin, 1921.

d'une vraie localisation, parce que l'action de l'*Odyssée*, ainsi que celle des *Argonautiques* se passe dans un espace légendaire qui tolère ce genre de contradictions, mais l'utilisation de détails de la géographie réelle dans la description de ces voyages ne peut être niée. Les détails du récit homérique qui sont clairement liés à l'Est sont probablement empruntés aux Argonautiques anciens.

Les arguments en faveur de cette hypothèse qui s'ajoutent à ceux que j'ai déjà mentionnés, peuvent être résumés d'une façon suivante. Les détails "orientaux" de l'*Odyssée* comprennent avant tout l'île de Circée. Son nom Αἰαίη ne peut être séparé du nom du pays de son frère Αἰήτης Αἴα, le but de l'expédition des Argonautes. Les liens de parenté entre ces deux personnages sont directement mentionnés dans l'*Odyssée* (X, 137). En outre, l'*Odyssée* donne une indication directe de la localisation orientale de l'île de Circée: c'est sur cette île que "les chambres et les danses d'Eos" se trouvent et c'est ici qu'Hélios monte. Il s'agit donc d'une localisation claire de l'île de Circée à l'extrême est, c'est-à-dire dans le Pont, ce qui est en contradiction avec sa localisation en Occident universellement acceptée à partir de l'époque d'Hésiode au plus tard (*Theog.*, 1011-1016).

Il est probable que la description du pays des Lestrygons ainsi que de la source voisine Artakiè (X, 107), identifiée avec la source homonyme dans la région de Cyzique, proviennent également des *Argonautiques*. Enfin, les Planktes homériques qui étaient durant toute l'Antiquité identifiées aux Cyanées, petits îlots près de l'entrée au Bosphore, appartiennent sans doute également aux *realia* pontiques mythologisés. Cette identification est déjà attestée chez Hérodote (IV, 85). D'autres détails permettent de conclure qu'au moins le sujet de la légende des Argonautes était connu non seulement de l'auteur de l'*Odyssée*, mais également de celui de l'*Iliade*¹⁷.

On peut donc conclure que les chants X-XII de l'*Odyssée* utilisent largement le matériel pontique emprunté aux *Argonautiques* anciens. Il faut spécialement souligner le fait qu'Homère utilise ce matériel justement dans la description de l'Océan en imitant sans doute son prédécesseur.

La tradition liée aux Argonautes n'est qu'un des nombreux témoignages de ce que la mer Noire était considérée par les Grecs de l'époque ancienne comme une partie de l'Océan, et ceci jusqu'au VIIe siècle av. J.-C. Les Grecs de cette époque pensaient que l'Océan commençait immédiatement au-delà du Bosphore et ignoraient l'existence même des littoraux nord et est de la mer Noire, bien qu'ils connussent ses littoraux thrace et anatolien¹⁸. Ils n'ont appris l'apparence réelle de la mer Noire qu'au cours de sa colonisation, dans

¹⁷ Voir plus en détail Ivantchik. *Am Vorabend*, 59-62.

¹⁸ Voir en détail *ibid.*, 67-109.

la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C. C'est justement à l'époque où la mer Noire était identifiée à l'Océan que les détails de la géographie pontique furent introduits dans la description du voyage océanique des Argonautes, elle-même ensuite réutilisée dans l'*Odyssée*.

L'identification d'un légendaire pays océanique à un pays pontique réel n'était possible qu'à cette époque. Les localisations successives de l'Aia légendaire reflètent l'élargissement des connaissances géographiques des Grecs. Ce pays a été chaque fois localisé dans un point le plus éloigné du monde habité¹⁹. A une étape du développement de la tradition, à savoir dans la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C., il a été identifié à un pays pontique éloigné nommé Qulha. Georgii Melikishvili a noté à son époque que le toponyme *Kolchis* ne représentait que la transmission grecque du nom *Qulha* mentionné dans les inscriptions du roi urartéen Sarduri II (762-735 av. J.-C.)²⁰. Ce pays se trouvait dans la partie orientale du littoral sud de la mer Noire, à l'ouest de la rivière de Chorokhi. Les textes cunéiformes montrent que Qulha existait comme État indépendant et prospère durant la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle et n'a sans doute pas survécu à la fin du siècle. Il n'a donc pu être identifié à l'Aia de la mythologie grecque que pendant cette période. Qulha était sans doute connu des Grecs par ouï-dire comme un pays riche situé à l'extrême est du monde habité, et que l'on pouvait atteindre plutôt par voie terrestre que par la mer.

Plus tard, avec l'élargissement des connaissances géographiques, l'Aia qui était déjà identifiée à la Colchide, a été transférée plus loin vers l'est, dans le bassin du fleuve Phasis – Rioni, d'autant plus facilement que Qulha n'existait plus sur la carte politique de la région. C'est cette région qui a gardé définitivement le nom de Colchide. Mais des survivances de l'ancienne localisation de la Colchide continuèrent à exister pendant longtemps encore. Ainsi, Xénophon considère toujours Trapézonte comme une partie de la Colchide (*Anab.*, IV, 8, 22). Même à l'époque tardive, alors que la Colchide était depuis longtemps localisée dans le bassin de Phasis et que la mer Noire n'était plus considérée comme une partie de l'Océan, la tradition antique

¹⁹ Cf. Seeliger, Argonautensage, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, hrsg. von W. H. Roscher. Bd. I. Leipzig, 1884, 532; Kubitschek W., Zur Geographie der Argonautensage, *RhM*, 82, 1933, 292.

²⁰ Melikishvili G. A., *K istorii drevnej Gruzii*. Tbilissi, 1959, 188 suiv.; *id.*, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi*, Moscou, 1960, Nos. 278-282; *id.*, Kulkha, in: *Drevnij mir*. Moscou, 1962, 320 suiv. La proposition de lire le même toponyme dans l'une des inscriptions du roi assyrien Teglath-Phalasar Ier (1115-1077 av. J.-C.) (Melikishvili G. A., *Drevnevostochnye materialy po istorii narodov Zakavkaz'ja*. I. *Nairi – Urartu*. Tbilissi, 1954, 26) n'est cependant pas convaincante, cf. D'jakonov I. M. c.r. Melikishvili, *Drevnevostochnye materialy, Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 1956, No. 2, 61.

garda l'idée que la Colchide représentait le point le plus éloigné du Pont ou même de tout l'oikoumene, bien que cela contredît la réalité géographique²¹.

La légende des Argonautes ne peut donc être utilisée comme argument en faveur de l'existence de contacts précoloniaux entre l'Égée et le Caucase. L'Aia des versions les plus anciennes des *Argonautiques* n'était pas localisée dans le Caucase. Dans la seconde moitié du VIIIe siècle, ce pays mythique était identifié à Qulha, un pays qui ne se trouvait pas non plus dans le Caucase, mais plus à l'ouest. L'identification de la mer Noire à l'Océan était la raison principale de la localisation colchidienne de la légende des Argonautes et elle a beaucoup influencé le développement de la tradition liée à cette légende.

²¹ Pour les textes, voir: Ivantchik, *Am Vorabend*, 83-84.

Ekaterine Kobakhidze (Tbilisi)

MEDEA IN THE RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT ITALIC PEOPLES

The popularity of Greek mythology spread to the Apennines in the 8th-7th centuries B.C.

Scholars attribute this fact to the establishment of the first Greek colony by Euboeans on the opposite side of the island of Schia.¹ The population of Pithecusa started intensive economic, trade and cultural relations with the peoples of Italy.

Owing to these relations, Greek artifacts, lavishly decorated with mythological plots, very soon became the items for daily use among the population of the Apennines.

At first, as numerous attested by studies², having no idea about the contents of the Hellenic myths, the Italic peoples tried to simply copy in their workshops the plots depicted on the Greek artifacts.

Later, when the plots started to be perceived with the help of oral traditions as well as written sources, the processes of adoption started – the characters of Greek plots were replaced with the heroes, cults and deities of local myths.

At the following stage, the mythological characters, sometimes ‘interpreted’ locally, transferred from art to religion and cult.

As an example, we can refer to one particular character of Greek mythology, Heracles. He initially entered the Etruscan world through tra-

¹ A. G. Garbini, *Lingua etrusca e aritmetica*, La parola del Passato, CLXIV, 1975, 32.

² G. Camporeale, *La Mitologia Figurata nella cultura Etrusca Arcaica*, Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco, 26. V-2. VI, 1985, ATTI, vol. I, 1989, 905-924; Cesare Letta, *Contatti dei Marsi con la Campania greco – etrusca; miti grecizzanti in: I Marsi e il Fucino nell' Antichità*; Milano, 1972, 52-59; L. B. Van der Meer, *Interpretatio Etrusca, Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*, Amsterdam, 1995.

ditional plots.³ A vase painting presents the ‘Etruscanized’ Heracle fighting with the Nemean Hydra, the lion, pythons and Achelous. Later, Heracles is the character of myth unknown to the Greek tradition – Heracle abducts an unknown woman called Munthukh. In another case, Uni, the goddess of heaven, breastfeeds grow-up bearded Heracles. Finally, Etruscan Heracle moves to the sphere of cult service – his name is recorded in Segment #27 of the bronze model of the liver of Piacenza.⁴ Besides, there are a number of temples built in his honour on the territory of Italy.

Like the Etruscans, the Hercules of the Latins too has certain peculiarities although the image is rooted in Greek mythology. Namely:

Unlike Heracles, Hercules belongs to the sphere of cult rather than mythology;

Roman celebrations in honour of Hercules are characterized by many vernacular elements. In particular, Hercules had special priests, *Salii*, similarly to Mars;⁵

The cult service of Hercules was a mystery. For example, Cicero mentions certain Caecus in ‘Questions Debated at Tusculum’, a censor, who went blind because he gave away the secrets of the cult-service in honour of Hercules.⁶

According to Porphyry, women were not admitted to the celebrations in honour of Hercules and they were strictly forbidden to mention Hercules’ name when making an oath.⁷

Remarkably, in the mythology and religion of ancient Italy, such an honour was granted only to, so to say, distinguished characters. One of them was Medea from the Argonaut legend.

It should be mentioned from the very start that unlike other cycles of Hellenic myths, this legend became popular in the Apennines in the pre-Roman period.

The Etruscans, the first among the Italic peoples to establish close contacts with Greek colonists, were already familiar with the Argonaut legend in the early archaic period.

For example, the Villa Julia collection includes an Etruscan bucchero olpe (110976) dated back to the 3rd quarter of the 7th century B.C. Several mythological plots are depicted on the vessel. Interestingly, scholars argue that one of them represents a magic ritual of healing a youth performed by

³ About the issue see E. Kobakhidze, ‘Italian’ Heracles, *Logos, The Annual Journal in Greek and Roman Studies*, 2, Tbilisi, 2004, 174-181 (in Georgian).

⁴ G. Colonna, *A proposito degli dei del fegato di Piacenza*, SE, 1993, 245.

⁵ Serv., *Verg., Aen.*, VII, 285; Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 12, 7.

⁶ Cicero, V, 112.

⁷ P. Porphy., II, 6, 12.

Medea. The identity of the figure on the olpe with the daughter of Aeetes is attested by an Etruscan inscription – *Metaia* – it is a female figure with a long mantle and a scepter.⁸

Although some scholars discern Medea's image on the earlier Etruscan artifacts⁹, the assumption has even more opponents.¹⁰ Anyway, one thing is doubtless: before the period of the so-called literary treatment of Medea, the character functioned in the tradition as a woman skilled in magic and sorcery.

Importantly, along with featuring Medea, the artifacts present as well particular cases of the local interpretation of the myth.

For example, the following image is engraved on one Etruscan mirror from Chiusi: Certain Chaluchasu strangles Kasutru and Pulutuke (Castor and Pollux). On the left stands Athena, and on the right – Turan, holding a box in her right hand and trying to touch the left leg of Chaluchasu.

Disputes over the plot depicted on the mirror, dated approximately to 330 B.C., go on even at present.

I find Van der Meer's interpretation more convincing.¹¹

According to the scholar, the scene features one of the episodes from the Argonaut legend. In particular, it is commonly known that the Greek sailors encountered on Crete a bronze giant Talos, who guarded the island from undesirable guests. Unbeatable Talos had a weak point, like Achilles. Medea managed to drive the monster mad and ruin him by a spell.

It is noteworthy that Medea is not depicted on the Etruscan mirror. She is replaced with Turan. Turan, the deity giving natural energy,¹² who later assimilated with Aphrodite, is obviously performing a certain ritual.

Van Der Meer provides the following explanation for this substitution. According to him, the local craftsman must have made a mistake – he misunderstood the scene depicted on one of the Attic vases, which must have featured Medea killing Talos, and Aphrodite and Eros watching the scene.

This interpretation sounds erroneous due to the following facts:

Aphrodite from the Attic vase is merely present at the scene; she does not perform the magic ritual;

The Attic vessel does not feature Athena at all.

⁸ In this connection, see N. Lortkipanidze, *The Reflection of the Argonaut Myth in Early Greek Culture*, TSU, Tbilisi, 2004, 17ff. (in Georgian).

⁹ E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, 1964.

¹⁰ G. Camporeale, 1989.

¹¹ L. B. Van Der Meer, *Interpretatio Etrusca, Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*, Amsterdam, 1995, 164.

¹² About the functions of Turan, see E. Kobakhidze, *Turan the Etruscan God of Love? Mneme*, Tbilisi, 2000, 127-133 (in Georgian).

Is it possible to draw etymological parallels between the names Chaluchasu and Talos?¹³

In my opinion, the scene pictures an Etruscan mythological plot with Turan and a certain Chaluchasu.

Evidently, a local craftsman somehow associated the well-known episode from the Argonaut legend with the local mythological plot and found it quite natural to include Turan in it.

Etruscan culture lacks the third and the last stage – Medea's transfer to the sphere of religion and cult.

What accounts for this is the conservative character of Etruscan mythology. Although Etruscan beliefs abound of borrowings and innovations, they hardly penetrate the sphere of religion and cult. Besides, by the time when Greek mythology spread in Italy, Etruscan religion was already a fully developed system.

In fact, the place of Medea as the expert of sorcery and magic must have been occupied by diverse types of Tyrsenian prophetic art, incorporating phyto and zoomagic.

And finally, it must have been impossible to perceive Medea as the sun-goddess because the cult of the sun and, what is more important, of the daughter of the sun, already existed in Etruscan religion.

Recent archeological discoveries attest that the practice of worshipping the sun (Catha) and the daughter of the sun (Cavatha) was quite widespread in Etruria.

It is noteworthy that, as believed nowadays, the Etruscans considered themselves the progeny of the sun. An inscription on a mirror from Orbetello mentions the sun as 'the parent': *Cathe San*.

Some scholars even suggest that the inscription implies¹⁴ *Pater indiges – genarchv'*.

Apart from this, the image of the sun-god in the Pyrgi temple points to *Padre indiges*.¹⁵

In Pyrgi existed the cult of the divine couple, *Suri* and *Cavatha*. *Suri* is identified with Italian *Apollo* of Mount *Soracte*, the god of the underground thermal waters, prophecy and healing.¹⁶

¹³ Some scholars associate Chaluchasu with *Kalchant* – Van der Meer, *op. cit.*, 169.

¹⁴ G. Colonna, *A proposito degli dei del Fegato di Piacenza*, SE, LIX, 1993, 134; M. Pallottino, *Il Culto degli antenati in Etruria*, in: *Saggi di antichità*, 810-811.

¹⁵ G. Colonna, *Santuari d'Etruria*, Milano, 1985, 133.

¹⁶ G. Colonna, *Note preliminari sui culti del Santuario di Portonaccio a Veio*, *Scienze dell'Antichità, Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia*, I, 1987, 433; A. Comella, *Apollo Soranus*, *Il programma figurativo del tempio del scusato di Falerii, Ostreae*, II, 2, 19-93; 301-316.

As concerns Catha or Cavatha, she is a celestial goddess, the daughter of the sun, as indicated by Martianus Capella.¹⁷ This opinion is completely shared in our contemporary studies.¹⁸

However, it is also noteworthy that according to Dioscorides, Catha was the Etruscan name for one of the plants, which in Latin was called *oculum solis* or *millefolium*.¹⁹ Pliny wrote that the plant was later named *achilea* – the plant of Achilles.²⁰

In my opinion, it may not be accidental that after his death, Achilles married Medea (Lycophr., 174, 798).

And the Scholia of Apollonius Rhodius attest that such links were known to Ibcus as well as to Simonides of Amorgos.²¹

Apart from the Etruscans, the central character of the Argonaut legend figures in the cultures of other peoples of Italy as well.

For example, according to Pliny, the Marsians, inhabiting the central part of Italy, regarded the son of Medea (or Circe), Marsias, as their ancestor²² and identified Medea with their central goddess Angitia.²³

The Marsians attributed their relationship with Medea in ancient period to the fact that they were known as the followers of magic and as snake tamers.

In the opinion of the Marsians, the taming of snakes was especially typical of Medea as she easily defeated the dragon guarding the Golden Fleece with the help of sorcery.

Regrettably, the surviving monuments of Marsian material culture do not include even a single image of Medea, which would make it possible to verify the information from ancient records. Anyway, it is doubtless that, unlike the Etruscans, the Marsians freely ‘allow’ Medea to penetrate religion and cult, presenting her one of the central characters of their genealogical myth.

Medea, as the ‘expert’ of sorcery and magic transformations, figures in the mythological plots of other peoples of Italy, the Latins.

Roman myths mention Medea as *Bona Dea* and associate her with the names of *Picus* and *Faunus*.

This information is offered by numerous ancient sources. In particular, according to the *Fasti* of Ovid when Numa Pompilius decided to become initiated into the art of sooth-saying by lightning, he turned to *Faunus* and

¹⁷ Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Merc. et. Phil.*, I, 50.

¹⁸ G. Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza*, Gieszen, 1906, 50.

¹⁹ V. Bertoldi, *Nomina Tusca in Dioscorido*, SE, X, 1936, 305-309

²⁰ Plin, N. H., XXV, 42.

²¹ Appolod., *Epit.*, V, 5; Apoll. Rh, IV, 814.

²² Plinius, N. H. VII, 15; G. Letta, *op. cit.*, 53-56.

²³ Servius, *Aen.*, VII, 750; Ovid, *Ars am.*, 101-102, Gellius, *fr.* 9P, Silius Italicus, VIII, 498.

Picus, famous for their knowledge of magic herbs, which they used to collect in the forest of Medea. The tinctures, which could transform a human being into a beast, were prepared according to Bona Dea's (N. B. Bona Dea – Medea) recipes.²⁴

In the *Metamorphosis*, Ovid once again indicates that in her magic, Medea used innards of wolf, which gave a human being an ability to transform.

Pliny specifies that Bona Dea prepared tinctures from peonia and natrix for women, so that they could protect themselves from Faunus.²⁵

In the *Bucolica*, Virgil calls them the herbs of Pontus, and ascribes to them a miraculous power:

Has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta
 veneva ispe dedit Moeris, nascuntur plurima
 Ponto. His ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere
 silvis Moerim, saepe imis excire sepulcris ... vidi
 (*Bucolica*, VIII, 95-100)

The identification of Bona Dea with Medea in the perception of the Latins is also attested by the fact that, according to Macrobius, the temple of Bona Dea was closed for men, because Medea suffered from Jason:

‘Quidam Medeam putant, quod in eadem eius omne genus herbarum sit, ex quibus antistites dant plerumque medicinas, et quod templum eius virum introire non liceat propter iniuriam quam ab ingrato viro Iasone perplessa erat’ (I, 12-26).

So, we can say that Medea easily adapted to the mythology and religion of the Marsians and the Latins and became the analogy of Angitia and Bona Dea.

Unlike them, the Etruscans did not allow this Hellenic mythological character to penetrate the deeper layers of their religious beliefs.

In my opinion, this fact may have the following specific reasons:

By the time when the Argonaut legend appeared on the Apennines, the mythology and religion of the Marsians and the Latins were being developed, and were, consequently, open to borrowings and innovations.

Unlike the Marsians and the Latins, the Etruscan religion was a developed system by the 8th-7th centuries, and sooth-saying and magic was among its most conservative spheres.²⁶

²⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 291. Plut., *Numa*, 15.

²⁵ Plin., *N.H.* XXV, 29, XXVII, 107.

²⁶ This is testified by several ancient sources; see E. Kobakhidze, *The Etruscans in Ancient Literature*, Logos, 2007.

Besides, the place of Medea, as the daughter or the grand-daughter of the sun-god, was already 'occupied' in the Etruscan religion by Cavatha, who had strictly defined functions.

Unlike the Marsians and the Latins, Medea was evidently never regarded as a shrine for cult service. The character, transformed into Angitia and Bona Dea, was perceived by the inhabitants of Italy as the patron of sorcery and magic. In my opinion, they must have been acquainted with her story through oral tradition.

In Greece, the worshipping of the grand-daughter of Helios was prevented by the profound knowledge of other Hellenic myths (the appalling murders of Absyrtus, Pelias, Agave, and Creon) and the Euripides' literary version, where the daughter of the Colchian king does not spare her own children.

Vakhtang Licheli (Tbilisi)

NEW DISCOVERIES IN COLCHIS AND AN INTERPRETATIVE VERSION

The first millennium B.C. was marked in Colchis with significant advancements in metalwork and agriculture. Especially noticeable is the unparalleled development of stylized bronzework attested by the archeological materials from the Colchian territory. We may say that Colchian metalworkers tested their craftsmanship with every kind of metal product (Lordkipanidze O., 1972, 16-60). In this regard, I should mention such artifacts as Colchian axes, buckles and fibulas, mainly discovered in Colchian graves, distinguished for a particular burial manner (Mikeladze T., 1995, 2-22).

Thousands of artifacts found with hundreds of bodies buried in those grounds are distinguished for surprising diversity, and at the same time point to the obvious advancement of Colchian society, which reached a new stage of development at that very period. Such an intensive development logically resulted in the expansion of Colchian culture, which is clearly evidenced on the territory adjacent to Colchis (Inner Kartli, Samtskhe, the North Caucasus) and which was logically followed by an increasing number of articles characteristic of Colchian culture outside the Colchian territory. Archaeological attestation of Colchian elements within Greek environment is especially relevant to the present theme. I mean the patterns found on the Sammos Island, in Heraion, which N. Jansen, M. Voiatsis and O. Lordkipanidze unhesitatingly assign to the Colchian cultural circle (Lordkipanidze O., 2002, 184-193). Allow me to remind you that those articles are an equestrian female figurine, bells and buckles dated to the 8th-7th centuries B. C. Specialists have repeatedly noted that the information about Colchis first appeared in ancient Greek literature at that very period – i.e. as soon as these two worlds started actual and more or less regular contacts, they were immediately reflected in Greek written records (mostly in Homer and Eumelos of Corinth).

Admittedly, such a coincidence is not accidental, which has repeatedly been underlined by scholars. The appearance of the information about Colchis in Greek sources became a corner stone for the relations between these two worlds. A most natural question comes up in such circumstances: were those relations reflected only unilaterally, i.e. only in the Greek world, which has been attested by factual evidence, or the bilateral process was more or less reflected in both worlds?

This question has long become the focus of scholarly interest and some of the elements of material culture revealed in Colchis have been found relevant for the description of the period on a number of occasions. I mean metal and pottery, which is believed to attest to the contacts between these worlds as early as prior to the colonization.

First of all, this concerns equestrian female figurines found on Greek as well as Colchian territory. Immediately upon the discovery of this category of articles they were assigned to the Colchian cultural circle, which is justified by thematic identity. However, it is also obvious that equestrian female figurines used to be produced in various workshops in compliance with this general concept. This becomes clear through comparing, for instance, the figurine from the Benaki museum with the ones recently found in Colchis (Tsaishi) by R. Papuashvili. I believe that particularly relevant is the very fact of parallelism as it points to a certain common concept uniting these worlds (Papuashvili R., 1998, 3-18).

As concerns fibulas, the question is posed differently. It is believed that the earliest samples of fibulas appear from the second half of the 9th century B. C., although another assumption, which I find inadequately substantiated, names even an earlier date (the second half of the 11th century B. C. see: Apakidze J., 2002, 21-66). It is noteworthy that recent studies find invalid an assumption shared by part of scholars (Kozenkova, Scheffer, Tekhov and others), that bow fibulas were not produced any more in the 8th-7th centuries B. C. and consequently they could not have been imported into the Caucasus. Sapouna-Sakellarakis believes that they continue to exist in the archaic age as well. Besides, according to John Boardman's research, that very period is characterized by increasing production of Phrygian fibulas moulded after their Greek originals (Boardman J., 1975, 83-86). He points out that the modification of Greek fibulas into the Phrygian type was caused by a far higher level of Phrygian metalwork. Remarkably, a mould of a Phrygian fibula of that period was found in Smyrna. Moreover, again according to John Boardman, the image of a fibula on an early western Greek electrum coin may point to the use of fibulas as an informal currency. With respect to morphological identity, especially important are silver bow fibulas recovered from Gordion, which are identical with Colchian ones. As concerns Colchis, a

particularly large number of bow fibulas appear from the 8th-7th centuries, i.e. from the same period when the practice of producing equestrian female figurines is characteristic of both worlds.

According to O. Lordkipanidze's researches, the shapes of ceramic ware discovered apart from metalwork closely resemble the synchronic Greek materials (cantharos and calathus-shaped vessels).

Consequently, it should not raise doubts that early Greek and Colchian relations developed as early as the 8th-7th centuries B. C., and were crowned by the legend about the Argonauts' voyage to Colchis.

Now, I will not dwell on various problems related to the myth, and will draw your attention only to one point – If Greek and Colchian worlds enjoyed contacts, as mentioned above, could the myth, reflected in Greek literature, have found its way in this or that shape in Colchian culture as well?

First of all, I would like to mention that Greek literature, composed 4-7 centuries later than the events in question; describe some Colchian rituals with marvelous precision. I mean the Colchian burial ritual. According to T. Mikeladze, the information from written sources (by Apollonius Rhodius, Niphodore of Syracuse, Nicolaus of Damascus, Claudius Elianus) on a double burial (wrapping a body in skin, hanging it on a tree, and afterwards burying it together with some artifacts) is archeologically attested during the excavations of Colchian burial grounds (Mikeladze T., 1990, 32-67). I believe that another piece of information from written sources can be likewise authentic: Phrixus' arrival in Colchis and later the visit of the Argonauts could have certainly been popular and significant events among Colchians.

In this connection, I should once again recall the information offered by Ariane (131 A. D.) that he was himself shown in Phasis 'the iron anchor of the Argo'. 'Here I was shown', he continues, 'pieces of an old stone anchor, which is more likely to have been a piece of Argo's anchor.' I believe that this obviously points to a vernacular tradition, the folk memory of the Argonauts' voyage.

Another evidence of the popularity or democratization of the Argonaut legend among the Colchians is later but no less interesting information found in *De Bello Gothico* (VIII, 2) by Procopius of Caesarea (the 5th century). It is obvious that the population was not only aware of the myth in general terms, but even pointed to a more or less specified location. According to Procopius, 'somewhere in this part of Lazica, as the **local population** (sic!) said, was kept the Golden Fleece, for whose sake, as poets have it, the Argo was built.' It is clear that even in the 5th century, the local population remembered well enough the plot of the myth. This can be assumed from another fragment in which Procopius argues with the locals. 'In my opinion', he writes, 'they talk about this (the obtaining of the Golden Fleece – V. L.) without any grounds. I

think Jason, together with Medea, having the Golden Fleece on them, could not have got away from here secretly of Aeetes unless the King's palace and other residential places of the Colchians were detached by the Phasis River from the spot where that Fleece was protected.'

Is it possible to trace the initial date of this information? Or to put it in other words, when, in which period did the local population become aware of the stories of Phrixus and the Argonauts?

Recent discoveries provide grounds for building certain assumptions. I mean extremely specific ram figurines dating back to the 7th-6th centuries B.C. It should be stated from the very start that although individual ram figurines appear as early as the Bronze Age, ram images become especially popular in Colchis exactly in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. They are used as decorative elements to ceramic ware (for example, the pottery recovered from Pichori, Tsarche and Tamish residential sites), or represent bronze sculptures. Hardly any of such images belong to a later period. It is likewise important that the increasing role of sheep / ram in farming is not archeologically attested. Therefore, the growth of the cult of ram in Colchis should have some other explanation.

The figurines in question were discovered in Nokalakevi, Vani and Kulevi.

A multifunctional workshop (producing jewelry and bids) dated to the 8th-7th centuries B.C. was discovered in the eastern part of the lower terrace of Nokalakevi. Even more important is the cult complex discovered in the same place with hundreds of fragments of broken ceramic figurines, where cattle bones and intentionally broken ceramic utensils were also found. All the sculptures are zoomorphic and are directly analogous of the Vani finds of the same type. The figurines are made from the same clay as the ceramic ware and their surfaces were also treated in a similar way.

The use of terracotta figurines in Vani is obviously connected with a certain ritual – apart from the ram and other statuettes, large and small-size cannellured vessels, drinking vessels with cone-shaped bases, bowls, pots and other articles made on a fast-revolving wheel were also found on the offering ground. The pottery is embellished with various ornaments (concentric circles, polished lines, imprinted spiral, and shaded triangles). In Nokalakevi and Vani complexes particular attention is paid to four-legged and double-protome figurines, whose semantics is not completely revealed. Apart from the figures of ram, calf and swine, the finds also included two- or three-headed creatures with prolonged snouts and raised crowns on their heads. All the figurines were produced locally. Out of different assumptions about the origin of such statuettes (Asian, Urartian, Luristan, Greek), I find the most logical (following O. Lordkipanidze's opinion) the one relating their

appearance in Colchis to the Greek world, in the same way as locally produced Cantharus- and Calathus-shaped vessels found in the same layers.

In this context, particular attention should be paid to the Kulevi complex of terracotta figurines. The multi-layered Kulevi settlement is among the most important monuments of the Colchian coast as it clearly reflects the general development tendency of the country. Together with other finds, this is attested by uncovered moulds pointing to a broad scale of metal production. Here, as well as in Vani, terracotta figurines should be analyzed with respect to the context. First of all, I should mention that the ram figures found in Colchis are different from each other; they feature the same animal through different shapes.

In connection with the interpretation of ram figures, I should mention structural elements, quadrangle ceramic details of a small-size model discovered in Kulevi. They are relevant to our study as far as they attest to the use of models. Another model is also made from earthenware – a stylized figure of a ram found in Kulevi, which is different from other figurines as it lacks an ordinary, earthy look. The article in question is stylized to a greater degree than any other statuettes and is undoubtedly a part of a small structure, which is attested by the survived grooves on its body. A closer look reveals that the figurine represents a frontal part of a model of a certain item as the grooves broaden towards its back side. Although other finds belonging to the same context do not facilitate interpretation of the figurine in question, we may still venture an assumption – it can be a decorative front part, a prow to a model of a boat. Such an assumption is prompted by archeological as well as written materials: 1. Archeological – Chronological affiliation of the figurine – a bronze boat model recovered from Tsaishi by A. Papuashvili belongs to that very period and no such model is found either earlier or later. The bronze model replicates the shape of Colchian boats, clearly attested in Colchian ethnography and described in ancient Greek literature (Strabo). 2. A written source – according to one of the versions, Phrixus came to Colchis exactly in a ram-prowed ship. I mean the information ascribed to Hecateus of Mileth (appr. 549-472 B.C.: ‘some say that (Phrixus) sailed in a ram-prowed ship. The same is attested by Diodorus Siculus (the 1st century B.C.) He writes: ‘The same story is included in traditions about Phrixus. Some say that he sailed across the sea in a boat with the image of a ram on its prow.’ Later Eudocia also linked a ram with the sea: ‘The ram ... took (the children) on his back, went into the sea, sailed off and took them away ...’ In view of these facts, we may assume that the story of Phrixus’s arrival in Colchis was known to and could even have been popular among Colchians in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. I believe that this can be explained by pre-colonization contacts, which as mentioned above, was equally reflected in written sources as well as in

archeological materials. However, it still remains unclear to me why Phrixus' arrival in Colchis became such a significant event to the local population.

Now I would like to touch one issue, which has likewise been repeatedly discussed and archeologically attested. It is well known that the epitaph ascribed to Aristotle describes Colchis as 'gold-abounding', like the wealthiest centers of ancient world – Mycenae, Sardes and Babilon. The riches of Colchis are attested by Strabo as well (let us recall his famous phrase 'The richness of this country in gold, silver, iron and copper explains the true motivation for the campaign'.) Otar Lordkipanidze's studies repeatedly attested to the authenticity of this information and the ancient Greek tradition about gold-abundance of Colchis was once again confirmed by recent discoveries in Vani. After late O. Lordkipanidze, these archeological operations are headed by Ms. Darejan Kacharava. I am particularly grateful to her for providing us with visual materials. I believe that the burial ground presented does not need many comments.

This burial ground was discovered in the eastern part of the Vani settlement. Along with other structures studied, a wall dated to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. was also unearthed. When the lower, the first row of the stone structure was being prepared, a burial inventory was discovered directly at the base of the wall. The inventory included glass bids, silver vessels and golden ware. It was clear that the wall had damaged a far earlier burial ground. The ground, as typical of Vani, was cut out in the limestone layer and was covered with cobblestone. After the preparation work was over and cobblestones were removed, a Heracleian amphora was discovered, while the cleaning of the remaining part of the ground revealed the basic contents of the inventory and the contours of a burial ground. The human skeleton was hardly preserved, which is typical of Vani excavations, but the arrangement of the inventory pointed that the body was laid with its head to the East, in an embryonic posture. This is indicated by the surviving in situ line of duckling images to be fastened to the shroud, and the concentration of ornaments. The cleaning of the burial ground revealed that it contained inventory made of different materials in Colchis as well as outside its borders (for example, a Colchian jug with a handle and a Heracleian amphora). At the same time, in the course of the archeological operations by the head of the body, a very interesting ornament started to appear. Greater part of it was made of gold. The complete cleaning of the burial ground exposed the following picture. To make it clear, I will present several details: golden tubes and a head ornament recovered by the head of the body; a golden brooch pin, pendants and bids from the same place; pendants and ornamented tubes; the images of ducklings and eagles to be fastened to the shroud; a triangle pendant, whose earliest analogue, dated to the 6th century B.C., was found in the Simagre settlement site. This attests

to the hereditary character of Colchian goldsmithery. Such tradition was maintained from the 6th century to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.; pendants, which likewise vividly include the elements of Colchian goldsmithery – rose images and birds decorated with granulations; and finally, an altogether unique example of Colchian goldsmithery – a head ornament having diverse scholarly value. It suffices to mention that its shape is totally different from the shape of other surviving head ornaments. However, the central decorative motif is the same – the upper part of the frame is embellished with zoo-morphic figures, whose basic technical element is traditionally a granulation. Another traditional element is bird images. I would like to pay particular attention to the compositional details of the inner space of the image placed in frames. The zoomorphic plot, which in this particular head ornament is completely developed, remains unmodified throughout the 4th century B.C. and in the 1st century B.C. as well as at the outset of the new era can frequently be found in various parts of Georgia in the shape of bronze openwork buckles. In my opinion, this best attests to the hereditary character of Colchian metalwork.

In the end, I would like to repeat that my above assumption about the Colchians' awareness of Phrixus', and later, of the Argonauts' story in the 8th-7th centuries is rather hypothetical and requires more evidence. However, the materials presently available provide no grounds for any other suggestion either, because as stated above, archeological operations performed in Colchis attested some information from Greek written sources with unique precision.

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Nevena Panova (Sofia)

DAS EPISCHE MEER ZWISCHEN HOMER UND APOLLONIOS

Im Ersten Buch der Argonautika (I, 496-511) beschreibt Orpheus in seinem Lied wie die bekannte Welt entstanden ist; wie Erde, Himmel und Meer, einst in einer Form gewesen, getrennt wurden:

ἦειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῆσυναρηρότα μορφῆ,
βεῖκεος ἐξ ὄλοοιο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα.¹

Dieser berühmte Gesang über die Kosmogonie nach Empedokles soll uns als eigenartiger Schlüssel zu den Betrachtungen der Apollonianischen Konzeption über die Stellung und die Bedeutung des Meeres im Kosmos der Argonauten, und eben im Vergleich zu dem der homerischen Heroen, gelten. Wir wollen untersuchen, oder wenigstens skizzieren, was eigentlich die beiden epischen Dichter als Gleichsamkeiten, oder umgekehrt, als Divergenzen zeigen, wenn sie von den Beziehungen zwischen Menschen und Natur, besonders was das Meer angeht, reden, und auch wie sie, als Repräsentanten vom gleichen Genre, jedoch in zwei verschiedenen Literaturepochen, darüber sich äußern. Die Heranziehung vom Orpheus' Gesang kann hier unseren Ausgangspunkt für die folgenden knappen Beobachtungen derart liefern: Ist das Meer in der *Argonautika* wirklich etwas Selbstständiges und genau in seiner Selbstständigkeit interessant, aber auch

¹ Die oben zitierte Stelle enthält, seinerseits, eine von den ziemlich wenigen Verwendungen von θάλασσα. Noch diese erste lexikalische Bemerkung könnte als ein Unterschied zwischen Apollonios und Homer betrachtet werden: Apollonios interessiert sich schon weniger von der See im abstrakten Sinne, er beschreibt sie vor allem funktionell, als der Weg durch das Wasser, der einfach (trotz aller Gefahr und Unklarheit, der er darbietet) verschiedene Orte auf dem Festland verbindet. Deshalb ist eher ποντός Grundbegriff mit Bedeutung "Meer" in der *Argonautika*.

gefährlich, auf einmal "süß und bitter"², wie wir es bei Homer und gewissermaßen sogar in der klassischen Zeit auffinden?

Sehen wir zuerst wie die beiden Dichter im großen und ganzen den Stoff behandeln. Die *Argonautika* erzählt von einer langen Meeresreise mit einem bestimmten Ziel und mit erwartetem Erfolg, wie wir zu beweisen versuchen werden. Homer seinerseits beschreibt in der *Ilias* die Ereignisse nach einer längeren Seefahrt – die nach Troia, nicht aber die Fahrt allein, und in der *Odyssee* – eine lange Rückkehr, zersplittert aber in mehreren kleineren Seereisen und der Blick scheint immer auf deren eher unerwartet glückliches Ende gesetzt zu sein, und außerdem bleibt das homerische Umherwandern der See selbst immer noch sehr exotisch. Auch solche zu allgemeine und gedachte Feststellung erlaubt uns einen ersten Unterschied zwischen den beiden Autoren herauszuziehen: es scheint, daß die von Apollonios geschilderte Helden schon ruhiger längere Seereisen unternehmen, da das Meer für die hellenistischen Menschen mehr bekannter geworden ist. Deshalb ist die Seereise kein großes Abenteuer mehr, deshalb sind die Argonauten natürlicher "Wanderer durch das Salzwasser" genannt: der Bebrykenkönig sprach sie genau mit ἀπίλαγκτοι an (A. R. II, 11), also mit einem Attribut, welches in Homer nicht zu finden ist.³

Apollonios erzählt aber eine uralte Sage, einen Mythos und wir erwarten, daß auch angesichts des Bildes des Meeres er eine alte Ansicht darstellen sollte. Obgleich ist es unmöglich, daß er die ganze Erfahrung der Griechen zwischen der Zeit von Homer bis in seiner eigenen Gegenwart nicht irgendwie wiedergibt. Deshalb wird der Vergleich in dieser Beitrag eher genau zwischen der zwei Literaturepochen durchgeführt werden und nicht zwischen der Zeit von den Argonauten und der von den Heroen von Homer, obwohl der Zug der Argonauten (eine oder sogar zwei Generationen) früher als dieser nach Troia fand statt. Andererseits, das Epos ist nicht das beliebteste hellenistische Genre und deswegen hat sich Apollonios bemüht ein fleißiger Nachfolger von Homer zu sein und es wird gewöhnlicherweise anerkannt, daß er keinen wesentlichen eigenen Beitrag erreicht hat.⁴ Für die Ziele unseres Textes werden wir aber versuchen genau die Erfindungen von

² Nach Platon, Nom. 705 a: πρόσκοικός γὰρ θάλαττα χώρα τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἦδύ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἀλυμρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα.

³ Obwohl noch im zweiten Vers der *Odyssee* die Form πλάγῃθι verwendet ist, um das Schweifen von Odysseus zu benennen.

⁴ In diesem Sinne bemerkt auch A. Lesky, daß "...Apollonios auch dort, wo er in den Beiwörtern von Homer abweicht, im großen und ganzen in dessen Vorstellungsbereich bleibt, ohne wesentliche Prägnanz zu erreichen" (Lesky, *Thalassa*, 255). Diese Aussage betrifft vor allem den Stil von Apollonios und das werden auch unsere Beobachtungen beweisen, was aber die Vorstellung vom Meer im allgemeinen angeht, behaupten wir, daß etwas wesentlich Neues zu spüren ist.

Apollonios zu verfolgen, und nicht nur was Lexik und Stilistik angeht, sondern eher die Vorstellung vom Meer im allgemeinen. Deshalb werden wir uns auf einigen Stellen von *Argonautika* konzentrieren, die eine bedeutsame Rolle für die Entdeckung dieser Vorstellung spielen, aber auch für die Charakteristika vom späteren Epos und von den Stimmungen der hellenistischen Epoche überhaupt repräsentativ sind.

Im Zusammenhang mit der schon größeren Erfahrung der Griechen im Schiffwesen und in Seefahrten steht zunächst die Rolle, die das Schiff Argo in der *Argonautika* spielt. Noch sein Name deutet auf eine sicherere und schnellere, das bedeutet auch – gefahrlose – Fahrt hin. "Schnell" und / oder "glänzend" ist Argo genannt,⁵ schnell bewegend ist es noch bei der Ausfahrt der Argonauten beschrieben und dafür ist von Apollonios mit Leichtigkeit das Adverb *ρίμφο* verwendet (A. R. I, 387: ἡ δ' ἔσπετο Πηλιῖς Ἀργῷ *ρίμφο* μάλ'). Dieses Adverb ist auch von Homer benutzt; dort wo es aber ein Schiff oder überhaupt die Bewegung durch das Meer beschreibt, passiert das nur in Sonderfällen, wie z. B. um die Geschwindigkeit, mit der Odysseus und seine Freunde an den Sirenen vorbei fuhren (Od. 12, 182), oder die Fahrt des Schiffes mit dem die ausgezeichneten Seeleute, die Phäaken, Odysseus nach Ithaka geschickt haben (Od. 13, 83; 88), zu schildern. Bei Apollonios finden wir dasselbe Adverb auf einigen weiteren Stellen (z. B. A. R. II, 1230; III, 1270), wo damit wieder den Anfang des Fahrtes und die Bewegung des Schiffes geschildert ist (z. B. A. R. III, 1270), und wir dürfen diese Definition von Argo als eine – wenigstens gewissermaßen – Anspielung für das selbstverständlich glückliche Ende der Fahrt des schnellen Schiffes bewerten.

Außerdem, zunächst eben durch ihr Schiff erhielten die Argonauten göttliche Unterstützung. Argo wurde von Athena geleitet und der Sage nach, die Göttin hat noch beim Schiffbauen geholfen, Argo wurde eigentlich nach dem von der Göttin gewählten Schiffbauer Argos benannt und erhielt von Zeus' Tochter ein heiliges Stück Holz von der Eiche in Dodona, das sprechen konnte⁶:

αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ νῆα θοῖην κάμει· σὺν δὲ οἱ Ἄργος
τεῦξεν Ἀρεστορίδης κείνης ὑποθημοσύνησιν.
τῷ καὶ πασῶν προφερεστάτῃ ἔπλετο νηῶν
ὄσσαι ὑπ' εἰρεσίησιν ἐπειρήσαντο θαλάσσης.

(A. R. I, 111-114)

⁵ *Ἀργῷ* > *ἀργός*

⁶ Vgl. Apollod. 1, 110, 1-7: ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεμπόμενος Ἰάσων Ἄργον παρεκάλεσε τὸν Φρίξου, κακείνους Ἀθηνᾶς υποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατασκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Ἀργῷ· κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρόραν ἐνήρμοσεν Ἀθηνᾶ φωνήεν φηγοῦ τῆς Δωδωνίδος ξύλον. ὡς δὲ ἡ ναὺς κατασκευάσθη, χρωμένῳ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ πλεῖν ἐπέτρεψε συναθροίσαντι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Die Tatsache, daß Apollonios hier ein homerisches Attribut (προφερεστάτη, "weit überlegen") verwendet, führt uns zu einer Stelle von *Odyssee*, wo das Schiff der Argonauten wieder sehr hoch bewertet ist⁷ – als das einzige Meerüberquerende Fahrzeug, das die Durchfahrt durch die Plankten bezwungen hat:

οἷη δὴ κείνῃ γε παρέπλώ ποντοπόρος νηὺς
 Ἀργῶ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταιο πλέουσα.
 (Od. 12, 69-70)

Interessant ist weiterhin auch das Ende der Fahrt der Argo. Sie endet mit einer fröhlichen Landung am Ufer von Pagasae (ἄσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηίδας εἰσαπέβητε. – A. R. IV, 1780). Diese Fröhlichkeit kommt aber nicht nur von der Tatsache, daß die Argonauten von keinem Sturm auf ihrem Weg von Aegina aus überrascht wurden (... ἐπεὶ οὐ νό τις ὑμῖν ἄεθλος / αὐτίς ἀπ' Αἰγίνῃθεν ἀνερχομένοισιν ἐτύχθη – A. R. IV, 1776-7), sondern ist eher eine Verallgemeinerung ihrer Erfolge während des ganzen Unternehmens auf der Suche nach dem Goldenen Vlies, bekannt als die Argonautika.

Die Hypothese, daß die von Apollonios beschriebene Welt schon mehr den Menschen bekannt war, und zwar in ihrer Gesamtheit, konnte auch durch manche Gleichnisse wie das folgende aus dem Zweiten Buch der *Argonautika* bewiesen werden. Nach dem Sieg der Argonauten über die Bebryken überwinden sie auch die nächste Seegefahr dank der ausgezeichneten Fertigkeiten von Tiphys. Die Gefahr kommt von einer Woge mit einem hohen Gebirge verglichen (ἡλίβατω ἐναλίγκιον οὐρεῖ κῦμα). Eben diese Gewandheit die selbständigen (nach dem Orpheus' Gesang) Naturelemente zusammen darzustellen erlaubt uns zu denken, daß in der *Argonautika* das Meer nicht mehr etwas zu Ungewöhnliches ist, die Gefahr im Meer konnte sogar geringer als manches Gefährliche auf dem Festland sein; das Meer allein ist nicht mehr so gewalttätig. Das oben skizzierte Bild ist, andererseits, von Lesky als Beispiel dafür gegeben, daß die hellenistische Schilderung "das abseits Gelegene aufsucht und im Ungewöhnlichen, Mirakulösen starke Wirkungen erreicht".⁸ Unserer Meinung nach, bedeutet das eigentlich, daß die See *per se* nicht mehr etwas (genug) Mirakulöses war.

Ähnlichkeiten mit Homer oder Abweichungen von seiner Konzeption könnten natürlich auch dort gefunden werden, wo es um die Psychologie der

⁷ Diese erste Erwähnung von Argo könnte weitere Beobachtungen zum unseren Thema liefern: Selbst Homer anerkannte, daß der Zug der Argonauten wirklich glücklicher als die spätere Seereisen seiner Heroen war – das kann als eigenartiger Widerspruch zur unserer Anfgsthese betrachtet werden, aber obwohl der Ruhm von Argo zweifellos vorapollonianisch war, hat der Dichter, unserer Meinung nach, diesen Ruhm auch durch seine hellenistischen Weltansicht vertieft.

⁸ Lesky, *Thalassa*, 260.

Beziehungen zwischen Meer und Mensch geht, oder besser gesagt – der Hellenismus hat freilich die noch seltenen bei Homer Gefühlsschilderungen aufgenommen und sie weiter entwickelt. Und so finden wir in der *Argonautika* den Mensch wieder oft am Gestade des Meeres. Nur ein Beispiel soll reichen um die Bedeutung dieser Situation zu betrachten: im Dritten Buch beschreibt Iason vor Medeia die klagenden am Ufer des Meeres Mütter und Frauen der Argonauten (ἡρώων τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ μητέρες, αἱ νύ που ἤδη / ἡμέας ἠτόνεσσιν ἐφεζόμεναι γοάουσιν – A. R. III, 994-5). Und soweit wir daran zielen, etwas Neues bei Apollonios im Vergleich zu Homer zu finden, würden wir hier die folgende Interpretation vorschlagen: für den hellenistischen Dichter scheint es logischer, daß die auf dem Festland Gebliebene klagen und die Fahrende vermissen⁹, während bei Homer finden wir öfter die Fahrende selbst, seien sie die Krieger vor Troia oder selbst Odysseus, am Gestade der unklaren Perspektive des Rückwegs willen klagend.

Hier sollen wir natürlich auch an Iason und Medeia als ein Muster von Personenbeziehungen, die von großen Unternehmen durch das Meer wie der Fahrt der Argonauten, oder dem Troianischen Krieg abhängig geworden sind, denken. Auch für Apollonios ist das Meer ein enormer Raum, der die Menschen trennen, aber auch verbinden kann: in der Geschichte von Iason und Medeia, wie auch in der von Odysseus und Penelope, können wir beides finden. Und das ist nicht nur von der Rolle der See – buchstäblich gemeint – als der Weg zwischen den verschiedenen Teilen der bekannten Welt bedingt, sondern kann das Salzwasser auch im metaphorischen Sinne das Leben auf dem Festland erleichtern, aber auch stören.

Wenn wir das Gemeinsame zwischen Homer und Apollonios als Schöpfer vom Großepos betrachten wollen, ist es unvermeidlich weiter die Frage zu untersuchen, was für eine Stelle die See in der Gesamtstruktur des Sujets bei den beiden Autoren aufnimmt. Hierfür sollen wir zunächst die expliziten Aussagen derer Autorenzwecke verfolgen. In den ersten Versen der *Argonautika* lesen wir:

νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἐπικλείουσιν αἰετοὶ
 Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνησιν.
 νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην

⁹ Das passiert natürlich auch in den homerischen Epen und hier reicht z. B. das berühmte Gleichnis mit Penelope und den wenigen glücklich geretteten Schiffbrüchigen, wenn sie Odysseus nach der ganzen langen und traurigen Erwartung schon erkannt hat, herangezogen werden (Od., 23, 233-240).

ἠρώων, δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἄλός, ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
 πλαζόμενοι: Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν αἰοιδῆς.
 (A. R. I, 18-22)

Hier entdecken wir zuerst eine mögliche Abgrenzung Apollonios' von den "οἱ πρόσθεν αἰοδοί", von den ehemaligen Sängern, die von Athena's Hilfe für Argo gesungen haben; Apollonios selbst will aber eher von den Menschen und von den langen Wege des Salzwassers, durch die die Heroen gewandert haben, singen.¹⁰ Obgleich hier noch keine feste Bewertung vom Ernst des Zuges der Argonauten – genau als eine Meeresreise – zu spüren ist, ist die gesuchte thematische Nähe zur *Odyssee* unverkennbar zu finden, die auch lexikalisch betrachtet werden kann. Der Ausdruck πόρους ἄλός finden wir in der *Odyssee* dort, wo Odysseus vor Alkinoos festlegt, daß das Treffen mit Szylla und Harybdis für ihn die schlimmste aller Prüfungen, die er durch die Wege des Meeres erlebt hatte, war: οἰκτιστον δὴ κείνο ἐμοῖς ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι· πάντων, ὅσσ' ἐμόγησα πόρους ἄλός ἐξερεείνων. – Od. 12, 258-259.¹¹ Das ist aber nicht der gewöhnlichste homerische Ausdruck mit dieser Bedeutung – also wieder geraten wir in einen, möglicherweise unbewussten, Versuch von Apollonios im Vorstellungsbereich von Homer zu bleiben, aber auch eine Abgrenzung von ihm eben dort zu schaffen, wo er gemäß der gesamten, auch wissenschaftlichen, Erfahrung seiner Zeit Situationen, Orte oder seltsame fremde Gewohnheiten, die den Argonauten während derer Fahrt mit Argo bekannt wurden, nicht mehr so abenteuerlich wie Homer schildert, obwohl er im großen und ganzen sogar seinen Wortschatz verwendet.

In dieser Hinsicht, als eine letzte Schlussfolgerung dürfen wir hinzufügen, daß das ruhigere Apollonianische Meeresbild teilweise auch von den höheren Literarizität vom Apollonianischen Epos bedingt ist. Apollonios verwendet z. B. die homerischen Formula schon nicht nur dort, wo er sie für die Versstruktur braucht, sondern eher mit der Absicht sich als Nachfolger von Homer und von den Besonderheiten seines epischen Stils zu zeigen und deswegen modifiziert sie häufig, wobei sie aber wenigstens einen Teil von

¹⁰ Genau in diesem Punkt kann der Vergleich mit Homer und mit dem Beginn der *Odyssee* gemacht werden: Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά πλάγχθη / ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πολίεθρον ἔπερσε (Od., 1, 1-2) usw. Und überhaupt ist die Parallele mit der *Odyssee*, und nicht mit der *Ilias* fruchtbarer, weil auch unsere knappe Beobachtungen gezeigt haben.

¹¹ Aufgrund dieses und weiterer Beispiele schliesst И. В. Рыбакова, daß Apollonios lexikalisch näher zu Homer eben dort bleibt, wo er eine explizite Parallele zwischen dem Zug der Argonauten und den Abenteuern von Odysseus ziehen wollte und besonders dort, wo er bestimmte homerischen Episoden wiedergibt (Рыбакова, *passim*). Diese Aussage finden wir für berechtigt und sehr interessant und bei einer ausführlicher Untersuchung würden wir auch weitere Betrachtungen in dieser Richtung machen.

ihrer originellen sinnlichen Kraft verlieren. Aber, obwohl begründbar und wertvoll, ist diese Schlussfolgerung nicht so bestimmend für unseren interpretativen Ziel, weil wir eher zu schliessen versucht haben, daß Apollonios die homerische Lexik bei der Beschreibung der See meisterhaft und plastisch verwendet, aber das wirklich Eigentümliche in seiner Vorstellung vom Meer besser als eine Gesamtkozeption durchzuschauen ist.

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Annegret Plontke-Lüning (Jena)

**APSAROS, APSYRTOS, ANDREAS, MATHATA.
HEROENTRADITIONEN IM POLITISCHEN KONTEXT**

Die Welt des republikanischen Rom kannte die Geschichten der Argonauten gut, wie wir aus Vasenmalereien und Überlieferungen zu Dramen von Ennius, Pacuvius und Accius zum Sagenkreis der Argonautica wissen. Im letzten Jahrhundert vor der Zeitenwende erlangte der Argonautenmythos in Rom neue und politische Bedeutung. Es war zunächst Pompeius, der während seines Feldzuges gegen Mithradates VI. von Pontus (69-65 v. Chr.) auf den Spuren der Argonauten im Schwarzen Meer unterwegs war, und auch Caesar feierte in seinem Triumph von 46 v. Chr. einen pontischen Sieg: Der Argonautenmythos war eine Parabel auf die Eroberung des Ostens durch Erkundung, wie D. Braund¹ herausgearbeitet hat. Diese Eroberung und Hereinholung der bis dahin kaum bekannten Regionen in die römische Welt hatte jedoch noch eher abstrakten Charakter.

In der Zeit Hadrians ist ein neues und spezifischeres Interesse am Argonautenmythos zu beobachten, worauf A. Geyer² hingewiesen hat: Die widersprüchlichen Traditionen des Mythos zum Schicksal des Apsyrtos werden neu betrachtet und verortet: Nicht mehr an der getischen Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres, wie bei Ovid und Apollodor, findet der kleine Bruder Medeas sein grausiges Schicksal, sondern noch – wie bereits in der früheren Überlieferung bei Pherekydes, Sophokles und Kallimachos – an der kolchischen Küste: Sein Grab verehrt man jetzt, wie Arrian, Hadrians Gouverneur in Kappadokien, berichtet, in Apsaros³. An diesem Ort (Abb. 1, 2) inspizierte

¹ Braund 1993; Braund 1994, 179ff.

² Geyer 2003.

³ Arrian. peripl. 6, 4.

Arrian die römische Festung mit fünf Kohorten, Speicher, Valetudinarium und "allem was zu einem großen Militärstützpunkt gehört"⁴, ehe er seinen Periplous zu den anderen Kastellen der ostpontischen Küste fortsetzte. Neben Apsaros besichtigte er Phasis beim heutigen Poti an der Rionimündung, wo 400 *epilektoi* standen und die Festung soeben mit Mauer und Innenbauten aus Backstein ausgestattet worden war, Sebastopolis beim heutigen Sukhumi, wo er ebenfalls den Zustand der Festung inspizierte und den Sold auszahlte, und machte schließlich mit seiner repräsentativen Flotte Halt in dem "bequemen Hafen" in Pityous, wo wenige Jahre nach seiner Inspektion eine weitere römische Festung eingerichtet wurde⁵.

Apsaros ist unter den römischen Festungen im Bereich der georgischen Schwarzmeerküste die bei weitem größte und auch literarisch am besten bezeugte. Noch im 6. Jh. weiß Prokop von Caesarea von einer blühenden Stadt mit Theater, Hippodrom und allen Bauten bzw. Einrichtungen, die zu einer Stadt im Sinne der griechisch-römischen Welt gehörten⁶. Allerdings beschreibt er Apsaros als zu seiner Zeit verfallen. Dies kann aber so schlimm nicht gewesen sein, denn 556 wurden hier die rhomäischen Mörder des lazischen Königs Gubazes arretiert⁷, und mit dem rhomäischen Gefängnis dürfte doch wohl eine gewisse Infrastruktur verbunden gewesen sein.

Die heute erhaltenen Mauern (Abb. 2) stammen – mit zahlreichen Erneuerungen und Reparaturen in byzantinischer, mittelalterlicher, osmanischer und sowjetischer Zeit wohl aus dem späteren 6. Jh.⁸ Von der frühen Festung, die Arrian inspiziert haben dürfte, zeichnet sich im Gelände des Kaps von Gonio nordwestlich der imposanten Festungsmauer eine Runddecke, wie sie typisch ist für frühkaiserzeitliche "Spielkartenlager", ab (Abb. 3). Innerhalb des von dieser Festung eingeschlossenen Territoriums fand sich archäologisches Material der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit – wie auch im Innern der erhaltenen Festung: die kaiserzeitliche Anlage befand sich ganz offensichtlich an derselben Stelle, an der die frühbyzantinische Festung errichtet wurde, muß aber angesichts der hier stationierten (mindestens) 3000 Mann deutlich größer gewesen sein⁹.

Östlich von Festung und Lagerstadt lag, wie noch Prokop von Caesarea in der Mitte des 6. Jhs. berichtet, das Heroon des Apsyrtos, das leider noch nicht lokalisiert werden konnte. In Phasis zeigte man zu Arrians Zeit den Anker der Argo, aber Arrian hatte doch erhebliche Zweifel an Alter und Echtheit des

⁴ Arrian. peripl. 6, 1-3.

⁵ Phasis: Arrian peripl. 9, 4; Sebastopolis: 11, 1ff.; Pityous: 18, 1f.

⁶ Procop. BG 4, 2, 11-14.

⁷ Agath. 3, 14, 5-6.

⁸ Plontke-Lüning 2003, 13f.

⁹ Plontke-Lüning 2003, 13.

Stückes¹⁰ – bereits die Alten hatten, wenn sie mit die Welt mit Ratio betrachteten, Zweifel an verehrten Devotionalien. In jedem Fall war die Ostpontusküste mit ihren römischen Festungen mit einer Argonauten-Topographie versehen, die die weit entfernte Region in die römische Welt einbezog.

Einige der römischen Festungen an der östlichen Schwarzmeerküste begegnen uns wieder im *Diamerismos tes ges*, einer von Hippolytos verfaßten und in seiner Chronik veröffentlichten Beschreibung der Verteilung der Länder an die Söhne Noahs, wo unter der Kapitelüberschrift *ta klimata ton agnoston ethnon* die parembole Apsaros, die polis Sebastopolis, Hyssu Limen und der Fluß Phasis genannt sind; von Hippolytos abhängige Werke geben diese Zusammenstellung ebenfalls wieder¹¹.

Auch das Martyrium des Orentius oder der Sieben Brüder von Lazika, das im 5. Jh. entstand, integrierte in christlichem Sinne die Region in den Orbit der römischen bzw. rhomäischen Welt¹². Das Martyrium erzählt, wie Soldaten der in Satala stationierten römischen Kräfte zur Zeit Diokletians ihrem christlichen Glauben nicht abschwören; sie werden nach Trapezunt gebracht und von dort aus per Schiff die Ostpontusküste entlang transportiert; in jeder der römischen Stationen erleidet einer der Sieben Brüder das Martyrium: Der erste, Eros, stirbt noch in Kaine Parembole, Orentius in Rhizaion (Rize), Pharnakios in Kordylos-Kordyle (Sivri kale westlich von Athenai-Pazar), in Apsaros finden immerhin zwei, Firmus und Firminus, ihr Ende, und der letzte, Longinus, wird schließlich tot an den Strand von Pityous gespült. So war jeder römische Küstenort mit einem Lokalheiligen versehen, der zugleich die Verbindung mit dem auch in der *Notitia dignitatum*¹³ verzeichneten römischen zivilen und militärischen Verwaltungszentrum für die Ostpontus-Region, Satala im kleinarmenischen Kappadokien, herstellte. Eine weitere Geschichte aus der diokletianischen Verfolgung, die eng mit dem Martyrium der Sieben Brüder von Lazika verbunden ist, erzählt das Martyrium der Fünf Heiligen von Arauraka, das ebenfalls im 5. Jh. entstand¹⁴ und zur hagiographischen Integration der Region in die rhomäische Welt beitrug.

Als Memorialbau für den Ortsheiligen von Pityous, Longinus, gilt seit langem die im 5. Jh. errichtete Basilika in der Festung von Pizunda-

¹⁰ Arrian. *peripl.* 6, 3.

¹¹ Hippolytos *Chron.* p. 39, § 232 Bauer – Helm; *Lib. gen.* p. 34, 35; *Excerpta Barbari*, ed. Frick, *Chron. min.* p. 216, 217.

¹² AASS. Junii IV (Antwerpen 1707) 809-11, vgl. dazu Bryer – Winfield 1985, 325; Khroushkova 2006, 24; Plontke-Lüning 2007, 84. 133. 242.

¹³ *Not. Dign. Or.* 38.

¹⁴ Bryer – Winfield 1985, 165-169; Plontke-Lüning 2007, 304.

Bitschwinta mit ihren Mosaiken¹⁵. In Pitiunt bestand bereits in konstantinischer Zeit eine christliche Gemeinde, wie die Teilnahme des Bischofs Stratophil von Pitiunt am Konzil von Nikaia im Jahre 325 – gemeinsam mit seinen Brüdern Domnus von Trapezunt in Pontus und Longinus von Kaisareia in Kappadokien – belegt. Zu der kürzlich von Ludmila Khrushkova ausgegrabenen oktagonalen Kirche in der römischen Festung von Sebastopolis-Sukhumi¹⁶ gehört ein im Südosten gelegener Memorialraum mit Ziegelpflasterung, in dem lt. Inschrift ein "Söldner Orestes" bestattet war und verehrt wurde, bei dem es sich um einen der Martyrer der Fünf Heiligen von Arauraka handeln dürfte.

In Apsaros ist bisher keine Kirche gefunden worden. Die Kirche innerhalb der Festung dürfte sich am Ort der osmanischen Moschee befunden haben, die heute als Grabungsmagazin dient. Im Oberdorf von Gonio liegt im Hofbereich eines Hauses ein Bogenfragment, das zu einem mittelalterlichen Kirchbau gehört haben könnte¹⁷.

Heute wird in der Festung der "Apostel Mathata", also Matthias, verehrt (Abb. 4). Der Schüler des Andreas, nicht zu verwechseln mit dem Evangelisten Matthaueus, soll sein Ende in Apsaros gefunden haben. Seine Geschichte erzählen die wohl um 400 in Ägypten entstandenen apokryphen *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos*¹⁸. Diese Akten, die im 9. Jh. auch ins Georgische übersetzt wurden¹⁹, berichten, wie der Erstberufene Andreas auf Gottes Weisung in die "Stadt der Menschenfresser" gelangt, wo er dem im Gefängnis schmachtenden und auf seine Hinrichtung bzw. Verspeisung wartenden Matthias zu Hilfe eilt, um ihn und seine Mitgefangenen zu befreien. Die Geretteten lassen sich taufen und ziehen mit Matthias "an die östliche Küste" – wo sich allerdings ihre Spur verliert.

Der im Sinne einer Horrorgeschichte reich ausgeschmückte Apostelroman von der Menschenfresserstadt war außerordentlich beliebt; er ist u.a. auch ins Äthiopische²⁰ und Armenische²¹ übersetzt worden. Doch bleibt die Geschichte geographisch eigentümlich nebulös, auch wenn einige Handschriften für die Kannibalenstadt den Namen Myrna überliefern, der bereits 1864 von Gutschmid²² zu Myrmekion auf der Krim gedeutet worden ist; 1989 hat Kahl angemerkt, daß es sich auch um eine verderbte Lesart von Smyrna oder

¹⁵ Khroushkova 30-32; Plontke-Lüning 2007, CD s.v. Pitiunt II.

¹⁶ Khroushkova 2006, 57-70.

¹⁷ Plontke-Lüning – Geyer 2003, 25 Abb. 22.

¹⁸ Blatt 1930; zur Datierung: Kahl 1989, 18ff.

¹⁹ Kurzikidse 1959, 21-42; vgl. dazu Garitte 1961, 393 Nr. 13.

²⁰ Wallis Budge 1976, 223-245.

²¹ Leloir 1986, 191-227.

²² Gutschmid 1864, 390-395.

Myrmidonia (Aigina), zwei frühchristlichen Zentren, handeln könnte, aber auch zu Recht mit Flamion darauf hingewiesen, daß es keinen Grund gebe, diese Stadt zu lokalisieren²³. Mac Donalds hat schließlich darauf hingewiesen, daß die Kannibalengeschichte auch als christliche Umdeutung von Szenen der Ilias verstanden werden konnte²⁴ – die Kannibalenstadt erinnert an Achills Myrmidonenepisode, was auch den gelegentlich angegebenen Namen der Stadt erklärt. In der Tat handelt es sich viel eher um eine phantastische Erzählung zum Gruseln und zur Erbauung, die keinen realen Ort braucht. Erst in späten Handschriften wird die Anthropophagenstadt mit Sinope (!) verbunden.

Auch die lateinische Übersetzung der Andreasakten des Gregor von Tours kennt zwar die Kannibalengeschichte, erwähnt aber noch keine Lokalitäten im Ostschwarzmeer. Diese erscheinen zuerst in Apostellisten, die um 700 in Kpel entstanden und verhältnismäßig wirr sind: So im Ps.-Epiphanius, einer Liste, welche die 12 Apostel mit knapper Angabe ihrer Wirkungsstätten und Todesorte erfaßt und bei Epiphanius Monachus im 9. Jh. dem Epiphanius von Kyros (†403) zugeschrieben ist, aber eher gegen Ende des 7. oder zu Beginn des 8. Jhs. in Konstantinopel zusammengestellt worden sein dürfte²⁵. Danach predigte Andreas "bei den Skythen, Sogdianen, Sauromaten und in Groß-Sebastopolis, wo auch die Parembolē Apsaros und Zychoulimen und der Fluß Phasis sind und wo auch die Iberes und Susoi und Phoustoi und Alanen wohnen"²⁶. Der Ps.-Epiphanius faßt also die weite Region nördlich von Schwarzmeer und Kaukasus (Skythen, Sarmaten) bis nach Zentralasien (Sogdiana) und die Ostschwarzmeerküste, an die auch die nordkaukasischen Alanen geraten sind, als Missionsgebiete des Andreas zusammen²⁷. Die Orte der ostpontischen Küste sind uns bereits aus dem Periplous Arrians, Hippolyts Chronik (Diaperismos) und dem Siebenbrüdermartyrium bekannt, wobei sich die beiden letzteren zweifellos auf Arrian stützten²⁸.

²³ Kahl 1989, 18-21.

²⁴ MacDonalds 1994, 35-46.

²⁵ Kahl 1989, 25, Dvornik 1958, 175-180.

²⁶ Schermann 1907, XXXIVf. 108f.

²⁷ Khrouchkova 2006, 21 verbindet die "Sogdianen" mit den Einwohnern von Sugdaia, dem heutigen Sudak auf der Krim, die "Äthiopier" mit den Kolchern – wohl im hier nicht eigens genannten Kontext mit Herodots (II, 104) vielzitiertes Überlieferung, die Kolcher stammten von den Ägyptern.

²⁸ Von den genannten Orten ist Phasis als Metropole mit den vier Suffraganen Rhodopolis, Petra, Saisinos und Ziganeos in der vor 641 zusammengestellten ersten Notitia episcopatum erwähnt; der Metropolit von Phasis hatte das Recht, die Bischöfe von Lazika zu weihen; dies blieb so bis ins 10. Jh. Die zweite Notitia episcopatum aus dem frühen 8. Jh. nennt für den Ostpontos außer der Metropolis Phasis die Eparchie Abasgia mit dem Sitz in Sebastopolis: Darrouzès 1981, 7-8, 205-212, 217f.; vgl. dazu Khrouchkova 2006, 26f.

Eine ähnliche Ortszusammenstellung für den Ostpontus findet sich auch in der sog. Ps.-Dorotheos-Apostelliste, die ebenfalls im späten 7./frühen 8. Jh. zusammengestellt worden sein dürfte. Sie enthält auch zum ersten Mal die Stachys-Legende, integriert in die hier erstmals erscheinende 70-Jünger-Liste (nach Lk 10,1). Danach hätte Andreas den Stachys als ersten Bischof von Byzanz eingesetzt²⁹ – Basis des seit dem frühen 8. Jh. deutlich artikulierten Anspruchs auf die Apostolizität des Episkopates von Konstantinopel, v.a. gegenüber der alten *cathedra Petri* in Rom³⁰. Zudem wird Andreas nun geradezu zum Apostel des Schwarzen Meeres, und Francis Dvornik hat nachdrücklich auf die politische Bedeutung der Andreasmission östlich von Konstantinopel hingewiesen, um diese Regionen auch missionarisch dem neuen apostolischen Sitz anzugliedern.

Ein Wirken des Andreas im Inneren Lazikas, der alten Kolchis, kennen die byzantinischen Überlieferungen nicht. Doch findet die neue Sichtweise alsbald ihre Widerspiegelung in Westgeorgien: König Georg II. von Aghsart (912-947) erbaute der Georgischen Chronik Kartlis chowreba zufolge eine Kirche in Martvili, dem alten Tschkondidi. Die Ortstradition von Tschkondidi, "Große Eiche", berichtet, die Bischofskathedra sei über den Wurzeln der Eiche gegründet worden, welche der Apostel Andreas hier während seiner Bekehrung der lokalen Bevölkerung habe fällen lassen.

Auch in die iberische, ostgeorgische, Glaubenswelt findet die Andreas-tradition Eingang: Die Georgische Chronik enthält eine längere Geschichte über das Wirken des Apostels Andreas im Auftrag der Gottesmutter in Kartli-Iberia zur Zeit des Königs Aderki. Doch diese Erzählung ist, wie Robert Thomson gezeigt hat, erst eingefügt worden, nachdem die Georgische Chronik im späten 12. Jh. ins Armenische übersetzt worden war³¹. Bereits Iwane Dshawachischwili hatte darauf hingewiesen, daß die Erzählung über das Wirken des Erstberufenen im Auftrag der Gottesmutter im Zusammenhang mit dem Autonomiestreben der Iberischen Kirche im 11. Jh. zu sehen ist. Jüngst hat jedoch Vaktang Licheli anhand seiner Grabungsergebnisse in der unmittelbaren Umgebung der großen Kathedrale des frühen 11. Jhs. in Atskuri auf frühe Wurzeln der Andreas-Tradition in Ostgeorgien hingewiesen³².

²⁹ Schermann 1907, XXXIVf., 108f.: "Andreas, sein [Petrus'] Bruder, predigte, wie es uns unsere Vorfahren berichteten, den Skythen und den Sogdianern und Gorsinern, und im Großen Sebastopolis, wo das Lager Apsarus und die Bucht von Hyssus und der Fluß Phasis sind, hinter welchen die Äthiopier leben..."

³⁰ Zur Andreas-Verehrung in Rom s.a. Biering – von Hesberg 1987.

³¹ vgl. dazu Thomson 1996, XXXVf. 355-357.

³² Licheli 1998.

Nun war die Andreas-Verehrung, die spätestens mit der Translation seiner Reliquien im Auftrag Constantius' II. im Jahre 356 in die Konstantinopler Apostelkirche einsetzte, auch im spätantiken Südkaukasien nicht unbekannt, wie die armenische Übersetzung der Andreas-Akten zeigt, die für die Rekonstruktion des griechischen Textes von großer Bedeutung sind³³ – sie bieten keine "Lokaltradition". Eine auf der Zitadelle der armenischen Hauptstadt Dvin gefundene Andreas-Ampulle (Abb. 5) wohl kleinasiatischer Produktion des 5.-6. Jhs.³⁴, möglicherweise aus Lampsakos an der Südküste der Dardanellen³⁵, ist ohne Zweifel ein mitgebrachtes Andenken wie die zahlreichen Menasfläschchen oder Ampullen mit Darstellungen der *loca sancta* Palästinas in allen Bereichen der frühchristlichen Oikumene. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht eo ipso eine eigene, noch spätantike Andreastradition in der Region.

Viel eher ist die Andreasmission auch im inneren Georgien im Zusammenhang zu sehen mit dem erneuten Interesse der Byzantiner an der Ostschwarzmeerküste im Zusammenhang mit der Ausschmückung der Stachys-Geschichte, die den Anspruch auf Gleichwertigkeit der von Andreas in der künftigen Kaiserstadt am Bosphorus eingerichteten *cathedra* mit der römischen *cathedra Petri* begründen sollte: Die alten Ostgebiete, die zuerst mit dem Argonautenmythos an Rom herangeholt worden waren, wurden nun mit der Andreasmission mit Konstantinopel verbunden, und die lokale Tradition spann diesen Faden sehr erfolgreich weiter. Zu klären bleibt noch die Frage, wann die Mathata/Matthias-Tradition in Apsaros-Gonio verortet wurde.

³³ Calzolari 2000, besonders 151ff.

³⁴ Zalesskaja 1986; Kalantarian 1996, 123 Taf. 61. 2f.; Armenia sacra 2007, 103 Nr. 29.

³⁵ In Lampsakos ist die Gruppe von Petrus, Andreas, Paulus und Dionysia im Martyrium Hieronymianum für den 15. Mai genannt, dazu Delehay 1933, 147. Archäologische Untersuchungen in Lampsakos haben erst 1996 begonnen: Körpe – Treister 2002; zu neueren Untersuchungen: Arslan 2004 und 2005.

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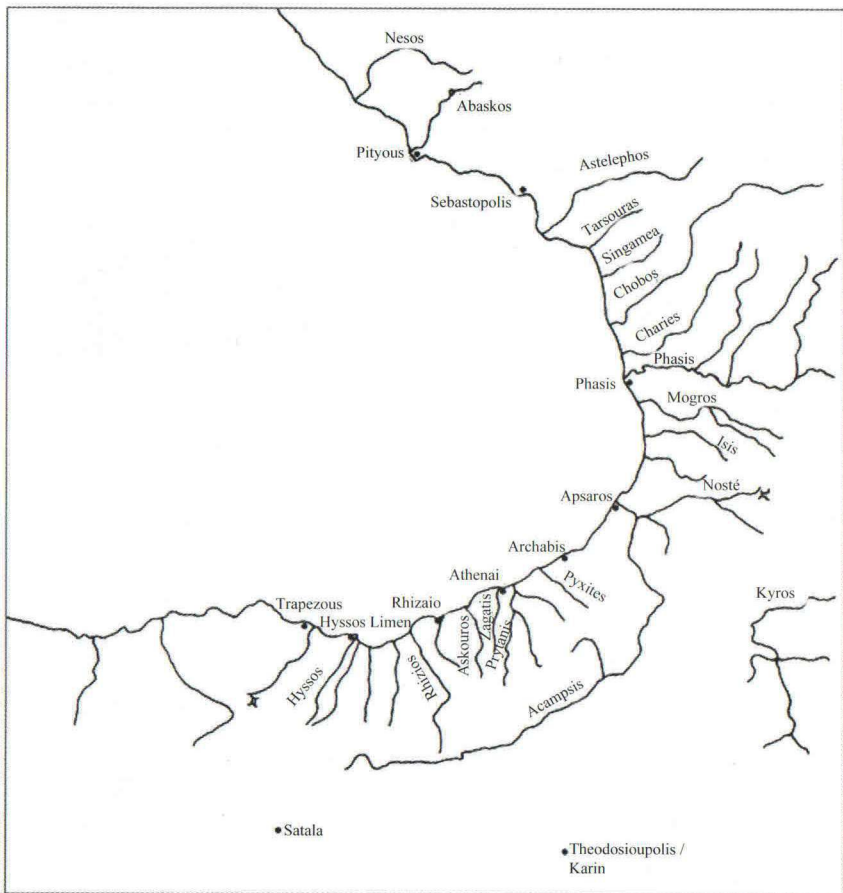
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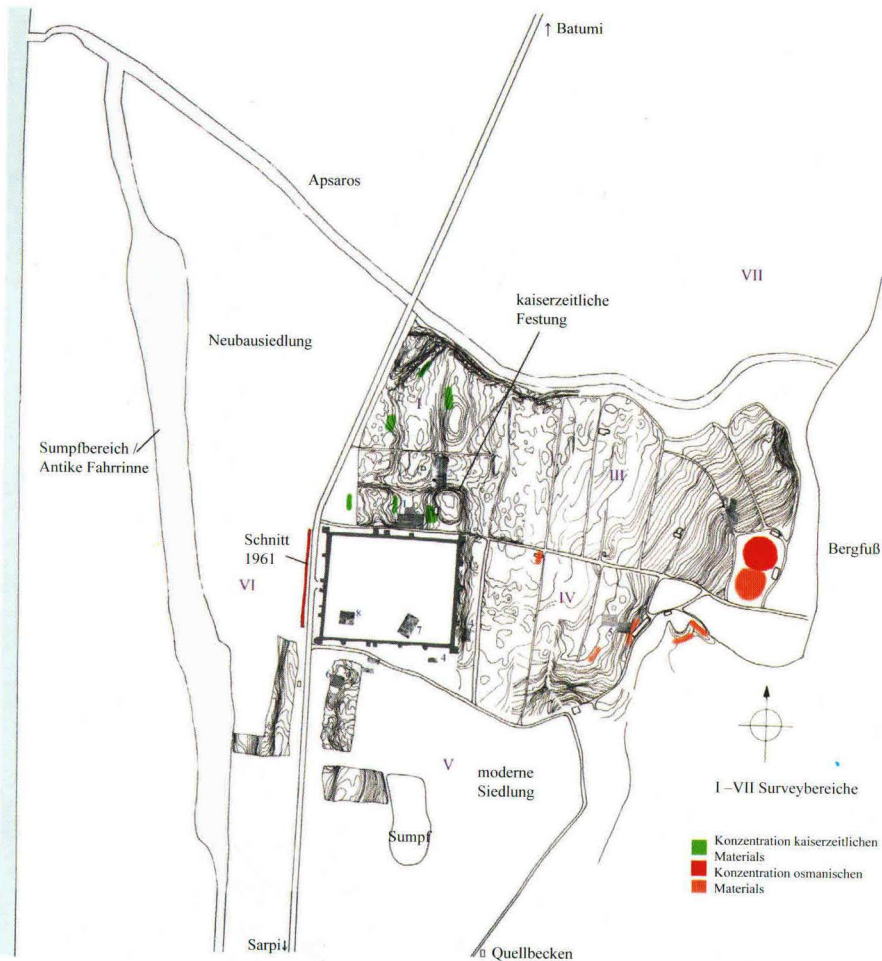
1. Ostschwarzmeerküste nach Arrian. Zeichnung:
 Annegret Plontke-Lüning, Yvonne Seidel.



2. Festung Apsaros von Südwesten. Aufnahme: Annegret Plontke-Lüning 2000.



3. Plan des Kaps Gonio. Geodätische Neuaufnahme der Firma Bühn Netzinfo Naila (Klaus Schellmann) mit zeichnerischen Ergänzungen von Jörg Fritz, Annegret Plontke-Lüning und Yvonne Seidel.



4. Mit geometrischen Reliefs geschückter Sein und Holzkreuz für Mathata im Zne-
trum der Festung Apsaros. Aufnahme: Annegret Plontke-Lüning 2000.



3



2

5. Andreas-Ampulle von der Zitadelle in Dvin. Nach Kalantarian 1996 Taf. 61.

Filippomaria Pontani (Venice)

THE UNFORGETTABLE FIRE: MEDEA'S DREAMS IN POXY 4712

*"Tu che guardi verso di me / hai visto i tori nel
sonno / ed hai lasciato Madrid.*

*Stai nei miei occhi e racconti / le Sirene e gli
inganni / del tuo sogno che va"*

(G. Nannini)

116 fragments of a papyrus roll written in the early first century have been masterfully edited by Giovan Battista d'Alessio three years ago. They have presented us with meagre remains of what seems to be a Hellenistic epic poem on an Argonautic theme¹. I shall briefly concentrate here on some details of reading and interpretation concerning fr. 1 and 2, virtually the only ones long enough to leave some room for speculation. Both seem to deal with a dream, in which Medea saw her beloved Jason being slaughtered by Aetes' bulls – a scene very similar to the famous dream of Medea in Ap. Rhod. 3.616-636². Here is d'Alessio's text.

fr. 1.5-16

Κ]ολχι[δες ἀρήσου]ται ὄμω[
ώ]ς φαμένη λέκτ[ρ]οιο καταμ[
κ]άππεσε· κекλ[ι]μέ[λ]η δετο[
ἡ]ρέμα δὲ βλεφ[ά]ροι] καταπτ[

5

¹ Apart from the evidence of fr. 1 and 2, an important clue in this direction is the occurrence of the name Φαέθων (the alternative name of Medea's brother Apsyrtos) in fr. 14.3. d'Alessio 2005, 57 rightly rules out the attribution of this papyrus to Apollonius' proekdosis of the *Argonautica* (on which see Fantuzzi 1988, 87-120 and Schade 2001, 30-33).

² On this dream, one of the most debated passages in the entire Apollonius (and a well-known subject in antiquity, judging from the title of the Thessalian pantomime Μηδείας ὄνειρος: see Luc. *salt.* 53), see Fränkel 1957, 16-17. Hunter 1989, 163-167. Sansone 2000, 159-162. Walde 2001, 175-184 (with earlier bibliography).

λ[.]ν ὑπο[. . . .]οισιν αν.[
 οἶα καθυπνώουσα· διὰ κραδίη[10
 μειθῆραι σοβέεσικρον· ἀποπρ[
 Αἰσινίδην ὀρά[ασθ]αι· ἀεὶ δ'ἔνικ[
 ὁ ξένος ἢ ταύροισ[] πεπαρμένοις
 ἀνδ[ρο]φόνους γενετῆρος· ὑπ[.] [15
]ν καὶ πού τι κεκ[.] [15
]ρυσε[.] κυκωφμεν

fr. 2

δι[
 εἰθ[
 ταυρ[
 ημί[
 ἀρπ[5
 ὑπν[.] [5
 πλήσειε[
 φεῦγελεη[
 ἔννεπ[.] [10
 πῦρ ἄφατ[10
 καιπ[.] [10
 ὕπνος οἶ[
 μερμηρα[.] [15
 δεῖμα καὶ ἐκ κ[ε]φ[α]λῆς
 τ[α]ύρων γὰρ σ[τ]ομ[α]τ 15
 ἐ[κ]χυμένην [.] [15
 εἰ[λ]υφόων ἄτε κυμ[15
 .] ην δὲ κρωσσοῖο κ[15
 .] προχέειν· τόσον [15
 ἐκ[] λεχέων ἀνέπαλτ[ο] 20

1.

Ll. 6-10 of fr. 1 have one and the same subject, namely Medea. The sense we gather from the remains is the following: "Having uttered these words, she fell back on the bed³; once she lay down... [something]⁴... Then slowly on her eyelid(s)...[here we have the blank of l. 9] as if asleep."

³ I have not found any convincing solution for the second hemistich of l. 6, though I would incline to restore there an accusative depending on κατά, e. g. εὐνήν in the last foot, preceded by an adjective. Syntactically, this would match structures like e. g. Ap. Rhod. 3.927 πεδίοιο κατὰ στίβον; semantically, this would create with λέκτροιο a hendiadys otherwise attested in tragedy, as Aesch. *Pers.* 543 λέκτρων εὐνάς ἀβροχίτωνας or Eur. *Alc.* 925 λέκτρων κοίτας ἔς ἐρήμας and Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 859 ἔς κλισίαν λέκτρων δόλιον; the difference between λέχος / λέκτρον (the underlying bed) and εὐνή (the sheets / blankets) is clear from many passages of Greek literature (e. g. the last couplet of Nonn. *Dion.* 25. 572-3 λαοὶ δ'ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χαμιστρώτων ἐπὶ λέκτρων / ἔσπερίη μετὰ δόρπον ὀρειάδι κάππεσον εὐνή). Should we take λέκτροιο with either κατὰ or κάππεσον, I believe this would imply the

Let us take a look at line 9. I believe the first word, which d'Alessio did not identify, should be read as $\mu\upsilon\epsilon\nu$, imperfect from the verb $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, "to close, esp. to close one's eyes (or mouth, or ears)", with an object as in *Il.* 24.637 οὐ γάρ πω μύσαν ὄσσε ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ἐμοῖσιν (of Priam's sleeplessness since the day of Hector's slaughter), or absolute⁵. What the first editor took as traces of a *lambda* preceded by a lost letter belong in fact to the second half of a *my*, in the very peculiar shape this letter has e. g. in *l.* 13, where d'Alessio himself remarked: "μ is traced in an anomalous way that could suggest λλ, but no doubt μ was meant." The *hypsilon* under the very evident circumflex accent had already been suggested by the first editor.

At the end of the line, the dot of ink after *ny* must belong, for metrical reasons, to a vowel: its high position rules out any other possibility except *hypsilon*. With *ανυ*, the most attractive integration is the rare adjective ἀνύστακτος, "sleepless", an adjective not attested before Gregory of Nyssa, and always connected with a word meaning "eye"⁶. Here, ἀνύστακτος might be connected to the lost dative in the first half of the line, and it might describe the state of Medea's eyes prior to this moment, in a sort of oxymoron heightening the salvific value of her present sleep. I have two suggestions for the lost dative: given that ὀφθαλμοῖσιν is ruled out on palaeographical grounds (no trace of the high vertical of the φ can be detected on the

(implausible) image of Medea falling down from the bed (as e. g. in *Od.* 10. 559 ἀλλὰ καταπικρὸν τέγεος πέσειν): καταπίπτω is construed with several prepositions (περί + dat., ἐν + dat., ἐπί + dat. or acc., ἐς + acc., ἀμφί + acc.) or with the simple dative (see esp. Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 331 ἐρημάδι κάππεσον εὐνή; 34. 86 ἀσχαλῶν ὑπ' ἔρωτι κατηφέι κάππεσον εὐνή), never with κατά + gen. For the latter construction I can find no parallel outside of Ps.-Luc. *Ocyrus* 73 κείται κατ' εὐνῆς ὑπτιος βεβλημένος (with a different verb, however). It is easy to imagine that a pregnant adjective should have qualified Medea's bed, the bed she kisses before leaving Colchis for good in *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 26, "the place of her virginity" (Beye 1982, 136), and one of the remote protagonists of Euripides' tragedy (cp. Boedeker 1997, 141).

⁴ The easiest solution for the sequence δετο is δὲ το, whereby the most likely solution is a form of the adj. τόσος, probably referring to Medea's sorrow. de Stefani's conjecture τόσην κούφιζε μέριμναν implies a form of relief occurring upon her lying down in bed, as in *Hom. Od.* 18. 188-89 (but things look differently e. g. in *Od.* 19. 524-29; see also by contrast *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 671-672 ἐκ θαλάμου θαλαμόνδε διαμπερές, ᾧ ἔτι κούρη / κέκλιτ' ἀκηχημένη, δρύφην δ' ἑκάτερθε παρειάς; *Theocr.* 2. 86-7).

⁵ For a very interesting use of the verb $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (not unknown to Hellenistic and later poetry: *Nic. fr.* 74. 56; *Tryphiod.* 15; *Nonn. Dion.* 26. 132) in the sense of "to close slowly one's eyes, as if in sleep" cp. e. g. *Gal. in Hipp. epid.* 3.17a.554, 3-5 K.: οὐ γὰρ ὡς οἱ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντες ἔκοιμάτο, ἀλλὰ δι' ἄρρωστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως ἄκων ἔμμεν, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνεωγότας ἔχειν, ἔκλειε τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σμικρὰ κατεκοιμάτο.

⁶ Either ὀφθαλμός or ὄμμα: I refer to *Greg. Nyss. in s. Ephr., PG* 46.829.51; *Theod. Stud. epist.* 11. 47; *Mich. Psell. theol.* 101.74; *enc. in matrem* 518 Crisc.; *Mich. Attal. hist.* 196. 12. The only other possibility for our line would be a form of the verb ἀνυγραίνω, in a context similar to *Ps. Luc. Amor.* 3. 20 τῶν ὀμμάτων αἱ βοαὶ τακερῶς ἀνυγραίνοντο; 14. 22 τακερόν τι καὶ βέον ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι πάθος ἀνυγραίνων.

papyrus), one possibility is the diminutive δ[ι]ματ[ι]οισιν, not unknown to Hellenistic poetry (see Call., *SH* 305.1), but a more intriguing one, powerfully backed by the aforementioned Homeric line (*Il.* 24. 637) is [βλεφά]ροισιν, which also has interesting matches in Hellenistic and later poetry, particularly together with the noun ὀπωπαί, "eyeballs" or "pupils"⁷.

My tentative reading for *Il.* 9-10 thus runs:

μῦ[ε]ν ὑπὸ [βλεφά]ροισιν ἀν[ι]στάκτοισιν ὀπωπάς
οἶα καθυπνώουσα.

"She closed her pupils under her sleepless eyelids, as falling asleep".

If this is accepted, we find ourselves confronted with l. 8, whose subject must be Medea⁸: it is very unlikely that the same word βλέφαρον could be repeated in two subsequent lines; we might thus look for a different integration for the lacuna after ἡρέμα δέ⁹. While I have no really convincing suggestion for the second hemistich¹⁰, I observe that d'Alessio's φ is *littera incerta*, only the top and the bottom of a long vertical being actually extant (these traces suit both φ and ψ). Therefore, I put forward very cautiously the hypothesis that here we might read

ἡρέμα δὲ βλεψ[ι]ασα καταπτ[ι]

The *iunctura* ἡρέμα βλέπειν, in the sense of "to see faintly", "to look with faint eye", is indeed very rare, but it occurs in three significant passages by Aristotle, all variously dealing with visions or dreams¹¹. It designates a

⁷ See Opp. *cyn.* 3. 348-349 τοίην μὲν πυρβόσσαν ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ὀπωπαί / μαρμαρυγὴν στράπτουσιν. Naumach. 67 Heitsch μηδὲ μέλαινε τεοῖσιν ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ὀπωπάς. Q. Smyrn. 12. 414 λευκαὶ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ βλέφαρ' ἔσταν ὀπωπαί. See also Ap. Rhod. 2. 109 δρύψε δέ οἱ βλέφαρον, γυμνὴ δ' ὑπελείπετ' ὀπωπή. For ὀφθαλμός see Opp. *cyn.* 1. 421 ὀφθαλμοὶ χαροποῖσιν ὑποστίβοντες ὀπωπαῖς.

⁸ Mūen in l. 9 syntactically rules out solution as βλεφάροισι καταπτερος ἀμφεχύθη νύξ (for which see e. g. Q. Smyrn. 8. 313) or the like with ὕπνος as subject (on the model of e. g. Od. 23. 309 or Hes. fr. 294. 4 M.-W.: see Mosch. *Eur.* 3 and Bühler 1960, 50-51).

⁹ It should be noted in passing that the adv. ἡρέμα is far from common in hexametric poetry (which is why its meaning in the present context has been debated, either "a little" or "slowly", see de Stefani 2006). The only comparable instance I could find is Opp. *cyn.* 4. 343-4, where the leopards προσώπατα δ' ἔς χθόνα διαν / ἡρέμα νευστάζουσι κάτω, and then fall asleep.

¹⁰ I have toyed for a while with the idea of κατὰ πτύχας, as in Ap. Rhod. 2. 992 ἄλσεος Ἀκμοῖοιο κατὰ πτύχας εὐνηθείσα; but another possibility might be καταπτίξασα τε..., and no doubt many more can be found. One cannot help remarking the particular preference of our author for κατὰ, which recurs, as preposition or preverb, in ll. 6, 7, 8 and 10 of fr. 1: a preference not shared by Apollonius, as we learn from Redondo 2000, 143.

¹¹ Arist. *meteor.* 3.4.373b ἡρέμα καὶ οὐκ ὀξὺ βλέποντι (see also 1.6.343b παραβλέπουσι δ' ἡρέμα τὴν οὐρανόν); and particularly Arist. *insomn.* 3.462a19-24 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐνίοις συμβαίνει καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαί τῃ καὶ ψόφῳ καὶ φωτὸς καὶ χυμοῦ καὶ ἀφῆς, ἀσθενικῶς μέντοι καὶ οἷον πόρρωθεν ἤδη γὰρ ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν ὑποβλέποντες, ὅ

sort of weak visual perception, occurring either before a vision, or inside a dream as a remnant of the external world: it occurs in Aristotle when the philosopher is describing the first steps of the psychic processes leading to dreams, those still half-way between awakesness and sleep¹².

Whatever we make of l. 8, we must remark that in his work *De insomniis*, probably the most important Greek treatise on the physiology of dreams (little is known of Theophrastus' and Demetrius of Phalerum's works on the subject), Aristotle believed that dreams were originated by the movement of perceptions (κίνησις τῶν αἰσθημάτων) from the sense organs through the blood back to the "principle of perception" (ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰσθήσεως), namely the heart, which a tradition starting with the tragedians had consecrated as the true *sedes* of dreams¹³. It is thus no surprise that in l. 10 we find καρδίη: the μινθηραὶ (a very rare word for φρουτίδες, *curae*, "sorrows", see d'Alessio *ad loc.*) stand here for the "imaginative movements" (or κινήσεις φανταστικάι) that run through (διὰ καρδίη[ς]) or shake the heart (διὰ καρδίη[ν]... σοβέεσκον)¹⁴ and mouth in the δόξα (an aorist form of the verb δοκέω most probably stood at the end of l. 11) of what we perceive as dreams¹⁵. According to Plato's *Timaeus*, it is precisely by closing our eyelids that we are able to dream¹⁶, which might also explain our author's detailed description in ll. 7-9.

ἡρέμα ἐώρων φῶς τοῦ λύχνου καθεύδοντες, ὡς ῥοῖτο, ἐπεγερθέντες εὐθὺς ἐγνώρισαν τὸ τοῦ λύχνου ὄν.

¹² For a detailed and extremely accurate discussion of Aristotle's often complicated and contradictory statements see van der Eijk 1994, 36-52. The vision described in *de insomn.* 3.462a19-24 is not listed by Aristotle among proper dreams, yet its mechanism is presented as entirely identical with that of dreams: see van der Eijk 1994, 44-45 and 244-246.

¹³ See van der Eijk 1994, 46; van Lieshout 1980, 39-40.

¹⁴ The verb σοβέω – totally unknown to poetical language – should perhaps be regarded as more or less equivalent to other verbs of shaking or violent motion: see e. g. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1104 (quoted foll. note); 4. 351 δὴ ῥά μιν ὀξεῖται καρδίην ἐλέλιξαν ἀνῆαι; Maiist. 42-44 κακῶ θ' ὑπὸ δείματι πᾶσαν / ἦψεν τε νύκτας τε περὶ καρδίην ἐλέλιζεν / τάρβος θειοπόλοιο.

¹⁵ Designating the dreamer's first "impression" about the vision that appears to him, δόξα is a *terminus technicus* in Aristotle's *de insomniis*: see van der Eijk 1994, 42-45. As for δοκέω + inf. see Ap. Rhod. 3. 619, 4. 666 and especially Ap. Rhod. 4. 1480, with the structure δοκεῖν ἰδέσθαι, very similar to ours (see also McLennan 1973, 64). A possible solution for the end of l. 10 is διὰ καρδίη[ς] δ' ἀλεγεινῶν (see e. g. Ap. Rhod. 3.1103 τῆς δ' ἀλεγεινότητάται καρδίην ἐρέθεσκον ἀνῆαι; also 3. 764 ἀλεγεινότητον ἄχος). I am not sure I understand the syntax behind de Stefani's infinitive ἐποροῦσαι. Magnelli 2006, 11, suggests δέ οἱ αἰεὶ (perhaps less likely in view of the other αἰεὶ in l. 12).

¹⁶ Plat. *Tim.* 45e-46a (see van Lieshout 1980, 120-121; in *Tim.* 45e the verb συμμύω is used of the eyelids). Lulofs 1947, xxix believed in Plato's influence on Aristotle, whereas van der Eijk 1994, 48 note 20 is much more skeptical: on the issue see also Preus 1968. My impression is that the principles of perception theory in the two philosophers are of course very different, yet in some single images they might actually concur.

But what does Medea actually dream? Ll. 11-14 guarantee that she dreams of Jason, and particularly of his slaughter either by the bulls' horns or by Aetes' murderous swords. I shall simply append here some tentative reconstructions of these lines:

οἶα καθυπνώουσα· διὰ κραδίη[ς δ'ἀλεγειναι
 μινθῆραι σοβέεσ[κ]ρον· ἀπόπροθεν αὐτὸν ἔδοξεν
 Αἰσινίδην ὀρ[ά]σθ[αι]· ἀεὶ δ' ἐνὶ κείτο πυρῆσιν
 ὁ ξένος ἢ ταύροις[ι] πεπαρμένοις ἢε μαχαίραις
 ἀνδροφόνοις γενετῆρος· ὑπ. .[

If in l. 11 ἀπόπροθεν is right, then Medea perceives in the distance a vague resemblance of Jason: this fits in well with the dynamic of her dream, and particularly with the remarkable πόρρωθεν in Aristotle's passage quoted above note 11¹⁷. Another possibility might be ἀποπροθορόντα δ'ἔδοξεν (or -όντ' ἔδοκσεν) / Αἰσινίδην ὀράσθαι, recalling Ap. Rhod. 3. 1280 νηὸς ἀποπροθορών, where the very Apollonian verb ἀποπροθρώσκω¹⁸ is used precisely of Jason leaping off the ship in order to fight against Aetes' bulls; but in our papyrus of course there is no room for νηὸς or the like. Again in l. 12, ἐνικ- cannot correspond to ἐνικάππεσε (another Apollonian verb)¹⁹, for the good reason that ἀεὶ needs an imperfect. We thus have to separate ἐνὶ from κ-: one possibility (albeit little in keeping with our context) is to read something like ἐνὶ κύμασι (or καύμασι) πῖπτεν / πίπτων²⁰, the other is to postulate that Medea sees Jason already dead, ἀεὶ δ' ἐνὶ κείτο πυρῆσιν: the verb κείμαι is never composed with the preposition ἐνὶ, but this preposition is very common in new compound verbs created by Hellenistic poets²¹, and is often used in similar syntactical *Wendungen* (e. g. Ap. Rhod. 3. 63 ἐνὶ σθένος ἔπλετο γυίοις; Mosch. *Eur.* 6 ἐνὶ κινώσσουσα δόμοισιν). In ll. 13-4, despite the ἀνδροφόνου ταῦροι of Nonn. *Dion.* 11. 190 and 294, and despite Nonn. *Dion.* 36. 455 ταυρέοις κεράεσσι πεπαρμένον ἄνδρα

¹⁷ For ἀπόπροθεν with a verb of seeing see e. g. Q. Smyrn. 9.267; 12.477; 13.478. It is interesting that in Apollonius precisely this adverb is used to envisage the possibility of Jason's separation from Medea (3. 1065 – with ἀπόπροθι – and 1111). On αὐτὸν reinforcing Αἰσινίδην see e. g. Ap. Rhod. 3. 169 and 1077.

¹⁸ Later conspicuously used by *Arg. Orph.* 545 νηὸς ἀπο προθορόντας, ὅθι ξένος ἐν ψαμάθοισι / κείται ἀποφθίμενος. On Apollonius' fondness for this kind of compound verbs (e. g. 3. 267 ἀποπρολιπόντες; 3. 1311 ἀποπροβαλῶν etc.) see Redondo 2000, 137.

¹⁹ See Ap. Rhod. 3. 655 λέκτροισι πρηγῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιχθείσα. Also Dionys. fr. 18r.7 Heitsch ἐνικάππεσε πόνι[τ]ω]. Magnelli 2006, 11 supports ἐνικάππεσε.

²⁰ The verb πίπτω is very often construed with ἐνὶ, see e. g. Ap. Rhod. 1. 506 ἔπεσον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὀκεανοῖο, but also Ap. Rhod. 1. 1027; 2, 1012; 4, 1292. De Stefani 2006 suggests ἐνὶ καύμασι φλεχθείς.

²¹ See e. g., only in Apollonius' third book, 3. 413 ἐνιβάλλομαι; 528 ἐνιτρέφομαι; 655 ἐνικάππεσεν; 973 ἐνιπεπτημίαν; 1185 ἐνισπείρας.

δαμάζει (certainly reminiscent of this passage), it is safer to take *ἀνδροφόνους* with a different noun than *ταύρους*: good guesses might be e. g. Magnelli's *ἡὲ μαχαίραις* or my *ἡ βελέεσσιν*²². The following lines are too difficult to restore, but in l. 15 *κεκ . .* might in fact hide *κεκομ[μέν]* (limbs cut off from Jason's body?)²³, and on l. 22 there is again a mention of fire.

No speculation is possible on the dream's development, nor on its relationship with Medea's dream in Apollonius Rhodius 3. 616-636, where Medea intervenes to help Jason out of his toil. Indeed, comparisons can be established with other Apollonian passages: the alternative prospected in ll. 13-14, as noted by Magnelli, recalls Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3. 459-460 *τάρβει δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῶ, μὴ μιν βόες ἡὲ καὶ αὐτός / Αἰήτης φθείσειεν*. A verbal echo links ll. 11-12 of our papyrus with the introduction to the first secret meeting between Jason and Medea, namely Ap. Rhod. 3. 960-961 *ὡς ἄρα τῇ καλὸς μὲν ἐπήλυθεν εἰσοράσθαι / Αἰσονίδης, κάματος δὲ δυσίμερον ὤρσε φααιθεῖς*; this passage is also interesting because it is followed (ll. 962-65) by a sort of medical protocol describing Medea's erotic emotion upon the apparition of the hero. It is unlikely that these analogies are accidental.

Our text belongs to a poem that paid great attention to the process of Medea's falling asleep and starting to dream: this might have something to do with the general attention devoted to Medea's eyes in extant literature, from Euripides (*Med.* 92-93 *ὄμμα ταυρουμένην*) to Apollonius (e. g. 3. 444-45; 886; 1008-1010; 1161 *ὕγρα δ' ἐνὶ βλεφάροις ἔχεν ὄμματα*; 4. 698-99), from Grillparzer down to Pasolini and Ariel Dorfman. But the wording might also be reminiscent of Aristoteles' physiological doctrine on dreams, which would be in keeping with the interest for natural sciences typical of Hellenistic epic, as witnessed chiefly by Apollonius himself in his *Argonautica*²⁴.

2.

Let us come back for a moment to the first legible line of fr. 1: l. 5. "The Colchian women will pray..." As we learn from the subsequent formula *ὡς φαμένη*²⁵, this is clearly the last line of a monologue, where Medea envisages

²² See Q. Smyrn. 1. 348 *ἴπποι δ' ἀμφὶ βέλεσσι πεπαρμένοι ἢ μελίησιν* (cp. also 11. 307). Nonn. *Dion.* 28. 121 *ἐκ κεφαλῆς βελέεσσι πεπαρμένους εἰς πόδας ἄκρους*. It is remarkable that the term *ἀνδροφόνους* occurs only once in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (4. 701), and implicitly refers to Jason and Medea after Apsyrtos' murder.

²³ Remember Apsyrtos' *μασχαλισμός* in Ap. Rhod. 4. 477-481.

²⁴ See Erbse 1953, 186-189. Solmsen 1961, 195-196. Fusillo 1994, 95-100 (on the link between Medea's dream in Apollonius and Herophilus' theory of dreams).

²⁵ Perhaps reminiscent of *Il.* 22. 460-1 *ὡς φαμένη μεγάρουο διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση / παλλομένη κραδίην*. See also Call. *Hec.* fr. 260.62-4 Pf. = *SH* 288.62-4 *τὴν μὲν ἄρ' ὡς*

the malediction sent over her by the Colchian women. A perfect parallel, as noted by d'Alessio, is Ap. Rhod. 3. 794-795 καὶ κέν με διὰ στόματος φορέουσαι / Κολχίδες ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι ἀεικέα μωμήσονται, where Medea thinks of the Colchians' blame in case she committed suicide after helping Jason against her father (3. 785-798)²⁶.

Now, one interesting peculiarity of our passage is that Medea's monologue *precedes* the dream, whereas in Apollonius it *follows*. This is not a minor difference: it is well-known that Apollonius innovated on the literary form and narrative function of monologues, a merit on which he has been praised since the age of Sainte-Beuve²⁷. On good grounds, Apollonius has been termed the "inventor of the interior monologue", and of the related literary device of "internal focalisation", by which Medea becomes the absolute protagonist of book 3 of the *Argonautica*²⁸.

Medea's first monologue (3. 464-470) occurs when the character experiences a form of dreamlike extasis (3. 446-47) that leads her to dreadful – but growingly conscious – thoughts about Jason's imminent death (a very internally focalised section: 3. 451-462)²⁹. The second monologue (3. 636-644) follows directly her famous dream about Jason's fate, and thus gives a rational frame to the heroine's inner conflicts, which the dream had presented in an ambiguous and yet revealing form³⁰. In the pericope Ap. Rhod. 3. 744-824 the transition from a physiological and psychological level (insomnia, doubts, fear for Jason's death etc.) to a rationally verbalized level (the monologue) has been brilliantly detected and analysed by Barkhuizen³¹. It is

φαμένην ὕπνος λάβε, τὴν δ' αἴουσαν. / καδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν / σπιθίβεις ἄγχαυρος (reworking *Od.* 15. 493-495).

²⁶ In our fragment, the choice of the verb ἀράομαι in a negative sense (not a simple invocation or desire, as in most epic occurrences, cp. Hom. *Il.* 6.115; *Od.* 1. 164; Ap. Rhod. 1. 159; Opp. *hal.* 4. 577) might be reminiscent of another famous passage where a son thinks about the consequences of acting against his mother's will, namely Telemachus' words in *Od.* 2. 135 ἐπεὶ μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσετ' Ἐρινύς (if he marries her to a suitor without her consent; on Erinyes in Apollonius see Vagnone 1994). But of course in our passage ἀρήσσονται might be construed with an infinitive in the preceding line or with a different clause (see e. g. *ep. adesp.* 3. 14 Pow. οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀργείους θανέειν ἰαρήσομαι αὐτῆ, and *Il.* 9. 172 ὄφρα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ ἀρρῶμεθ' αἶ κ' ἐθελήσῃ). In either case, I would prefer to read ὁμῶς (very frequent in this metrical sedes, see Ap. Rhod. 1. 99; 321; 896 etc.), perhaps in a structure like ὁμῶς ἐμὲ Χαλκιδότῃν τε, ὁ ὁμῶς αὐταὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες.

²⁷ Sainte-Beuve 1879.

²⁸ See Fusillo 2001, esp. 146. On Medea's monologues see Fusillo 1985, 352-355 and Paduano 1972, 11-59.

²⁹ See Fusillo 1985, 349-350; Fusillo 2001, 145: the movement from thoughts to words in this section is described by Barkhuizen 1979, 35. On 3. 446-47, see Walde 2001, 175-177.

³⁰ See the brilliant analysis by Fusillo 1985, 350-351 and Paduano 1972, 38-39.

³¹ Barkhuizen 1979, 36-47. Paduano 1972, 40-41 rightly observes that the insomnia in 3.751 corresponds *per oppositum* to a sort of "struttura onirica" (see also below n. 39).

precisely the sequence dream + monologue that will enjoy the widest success in later authors, starting from the opening of Moschus' *Europa*³².

Whereas Medea's monologues in the *Argonautica* are made of reflections on her dreams or on her unconscious thoughts, in our papyrus sleep and dream come at the end of Medea's *Qual*, and probably objectivate in vivid images the fears and anguish cumulated in the heroine's *Selbstgespräch*. This difference poses even more urgently the question of relationship and priority between our poem and Apollonius, but it should also affect our view on the one similar instance of a sequence monologue-dream in the (otherwise scanty) ancient Argonautic literature³³, namely Valerius Flaccus 7.141-145 (occurring right after Medea's monologue in 7.128-140):

Dixerat haec stratoque graves proiecerat artus
 si veniat miserata quies, cum saevior ipse
 turbat agitque sopor; supplex hinc sternitur hospes,
 hinc pater, illa nova rumpit formidine somnos
 erigiturque toro.

The narrative structure of this passage – opened by a *dixerat haec* which closely recalls our ὤς φημὲν³⁴ – has been read as a deliberate variation of the Apollonian model, obtained by eliminating any reference to the intervention of Argos³⁵. Yet our fragment might suggest that this arrangement in fact clings back to a Greek source other from Apollonius. It would be tempting to identify our poem with the lost work postulated by *Quellenforscher* such as Venzke and Vian as a source of Valerius Flaccus and the *Orphic Argonautica*, in all those cases where the plot of these two works coincides against Apollonius: a first step in this direction has already been made by d'Alessio, who compared the description of the bulls in our fragment 2 with Val. Fl. 7.570ff.³⁶ The most remarkable of these *errores coniunctivi*, so to speak, concerns the handling of Medea's and Aeetes' prophetic dreams in

³² See Bühler 1960, 60-61 ("Moschos hat den ganzen Ablauf der Szene übernommen", *scil.* from Apollonius). On the literary relationship between monologues and dreams in Apollonius see Walde 2001, 178-179. On its literary and psychoanalytical implication see Fusillo 1994.

³³ It must be borne in mind that no other poem on the Argonauts is known between the age of Apollonius and the *Orphic Argonautica*: see Bowie 2000, 9-10.

³⁴ See Perutelli 1997, 237.

³⁵ Adamietz 1976, 92-94 (see esp. 94: 94: "Aus dem im Monolog ausgedrückten Widerstreit der Gefühle erwächst der Wunsch nach Ruhe und Schlaf"). On this issue see also Eigler 1988, 98-99. On Medea's dream in Valerius as indebted to Apollonius and to Virgil, but oriented towards the highlighting of the psychological description over the action proper see the acute analysis by Perutelli 1994 and more generally Perutelli 1997, 31. On Medea's dream see also Caviglia 2002, 19-21.

³⁶ d'Alessio 2005, 56 and 78.

an earlier stage of the narration, just after Jason's arrival at Colchis³⁷. And I must remind that d'Alessio has recently identified the lost Hellenistic *Argonautica* by Cleon of Kourion – about which more will be said in a moment – as a possible source for the eccentric itinerary of the Argonauts from Iolkos to Colchis in Valerius³⁸.

3.

Finally, a few words on fragment 2. It is so badly preserved that no restoration of its lines is possible beyond the intelligent supplements proposed by the first editor. That these lines dealt with the same dream as fr. 1 is likely given the mention of sleep (ὑπν- ll. 6 and 12), bulls (ταυρ- l. 3) and abductions (ἄρπ- l. 5); in l. 8, while the morphology and syntax of φεύγε(ε) remain no less mysterious to me than the (optative?) πλήσειε in l. 7, ἐλεη- might belong to the idea of Medea's pity for Jason's feared death, cp. Ap. Rhod. 3.462 and 761, both passages occurring at the end of sad *rêveries*. Indeed, an interesting comparison can be issued with Ap. Rhod. 3.744-754, where ὕπνος occurs twice, and Medea's sleepless thought contemplates precisely Jason's slaughter by the bulls (cp. here ll. 15-17)³⁹.

Are there any clues to unmask the structure of these lines? L. 9 ἔννεπ most probably closed a direct speech (perhaps another monologue by Medea, or a dialogue in the dream?)⁴⁰, and what follows must belong to the narrator's voice, as can be gathered from ll. 10, 13 and 14. In fact, I would take the πῦρ ἄφατον in l. 10 as referring not to a material, "unspeakable" fire, but rather as the usual metaphor for love (the adjective ἄφατος is conspicuously used of Eros in Ap. Rhod. 3.129)⁴¹. In l. 13 μέρμηρα, most probably in the plural, is a

³⁷ See Venzke 1941, 105-108 (on *Arg. Orph.* 773-801 and Val. Fl. 5. 331-337), and 110-111. Venzke identified the common source as "wahrscheinlich einen Scholiasten oder Kommentator" (111). Vian 1987, 27-28, taking his cue precisely from Aetes' and Medea's dreams, believes that the common source should be a poem earlier than Apollonius, known to both Apollonius himself and Valerius Flaccus. Dräger 2001, 53 (not knowing d'Alessio 2000) unconvincingly identifies the common source with Dionysios Scytobrachion.

³⁸ d'Alessio 2000, 102-104.

³⁹ See esp. 3. 751-755 ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδεϊαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβειν ὕπνος· / πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδαο πάθω μελεδήματ' ἔγειρε / δειδυῖαν ταύρων κρατερὸν μένος, οἷσιν ἔμελλε / φθεῖσθαι ἀεικελίη μοῖρη κατὰ νειδὸν Ἄρηος. / Πικνὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη στηθέων ἔντοσθεν ἔθουεν.

⁴⁰ ἔννεπεν as such in the first feet never concludes a speech (in Ap. Rhod. 1.241 it introduces one), but the verb ἐν(ν)έπω often occurs with this role in Callimachus (and already in Pindar): on this complicated issue see Führer 1967, 23-26 and Fantuzzi 1988, 66-67; on the *Schlußformeln* of Medea's monologues in Apollonius see Paduano 1972, 43.

⁴¹ Aphrodite to Eros: τίπτ' ἐπιμειδιάς, ἄφατον κακόν; On this adjective, and its possible connection to the Apollonian concept of ἀμφασία, see the intelligent words of Paduano 1972, 99. The metaphor of fire, very common in Hellenistic poetry (just think of Theoc. 2.82 and

perfect *pendant* to μενθήραι in fr. 1, 11⁴². In l. 14 δείμα is a psychological state very common with dreams⁴³, and ἐκ κεφαλῆς – I believe – points to Medea pulling off her hair⁴⁴, out of desperation for what she is seeing (γάρ in l. 15; ll. 15-17 certainly depict the fire coming out of the bulls' jaws⁴⁵, a vision that comes to an end with Medea's definitive awakening in l. 20⁴⁶).

I shall not push my analysis so far as to affirm that fr. 2 depicts the last stages of Medea's sleep, namely the moment in which ὕπνος gives way to μέρμηρα and δείμα, and the woman of Colchis starts screaming and tearing off her hair, frightened by her horrible vision. The textual basis for this very modern image of a nightmare's end – quite unparalleled in ancient literature – is very thin.

Yet, talking in general terms, I believe few will deny that the poem whose remains are preserved in POxy 4712 dealt at considerable length with genesis and contents of a dream by Medea, and shared some interesting features – on the structural and linguistic niveau – with passages from the third book of Apollonius' *Argonautica*. These two elements might be easy to reconcile with the elements we possess concerning the only other known Hellenistic poem on the Argonauts, namely the lost epic by Cleon of Kourion, which probably

131-134), has a special frequency and weight in Apollonius' third book (see e. g. *Arg.* 3.291-297; 773; 1018; Nyberg 1992, 37-43) and occurs often for Ovid's *Medea* (*met.* 7.9, 17 and 77).

⁴² See esp. *Il.* 2. 2-3 Δία δ'οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος / ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε. The sense of μέρμηρα as "the *cura* occurring before sleep" is well discussed by d'Alessio 2005, 77.

⁴³ See e. g. Maiist. 42 (quoted above note 14). Mosch. *Eur.* 16-17 ἦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν στρωπῶν λεχέων θόρε δειμαίνουσα / παλλομένη κραδίην. *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 695-6 τῆς δ'αἰνῶς ἄτλητος ἐπέκλυσε θυμὸν ἀνίη / δείματι, οἷ' ἔσάκουσεν (Chalciopie upon knowing of Medea's dreams); 3. 810; 4. 685 ἀπὸ δείματα πέμψεν ὀνειρώων. Incidentally, δείμα will be the name of the statue dedicated to Medea's sons in Corinth: see Paus. 2.3.7 and Johnston 1997, 46-49 and 55-57.

⁴⁴ The same gesture in *Ap. Rhod.* 4.18-19 πυκνά δὲ κουρίζ / ἔλκομένη πλοκάμους γοερῆ βρυχήσατ' ἀνίη. For ἐκ κεφαλῆς referring to this practice (generally in the act of mourning) see e. g. *Hom. Il.* 10.15 and 22.77-78, and *Q. Smyrn.* 13.115-6 αἶ δ' ἀλεγεινῶς / ἐκ κεφαλῆς τίλλοντο κόμην (of the Trojan women, described in l. 114 as παλλόμεναι κραδίην).

⁴⁵ The wording should be compared with *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 230-231 and 410 = 496 ταύρω χαλκόποδε στόματι φλόγα φυσίωυτε. In l. 16 ἐκχυμένην must definitely refer to the φλόξ, see Paul. *Sil. descr. S. Soph.* 208-209 οὐχ οὕτως ἀκάχησεν ἀπαίθερος ἐκχυμένη φλόξ / ἀνέρας.

⁴⁶ On the linguistic implications of l. 20 ἐκ λεχέων ἀνέπαλτο, a phrasing that returns identical in Nonn. *Dion.* 7.156 (Semele after a nightmare; on Nonnus' imitations of book 3 of Apollonius' *Argonautica* see Vian 2001, 296-307), see d'Alessio 2005, 78; on the literary image of the "Erwachen" from dreams see Bühler 1960, 60-63. The image in ll. 18-19 of our fr. 2 is obscure, perhaps connected with the famous similitude of Medea's soul with sunbeams reflected by wavy water in a vessel (*Ap. Rhod.* 3.755-760; so tentatively d'Alessio), or perhaps with the fascinating comparison of dreams with reflections of images on a liquid surface, to be read in Arist. *de insomn.* 3.461a14-18.

made the object of a comparison with Apollonius' poem in the text of literary criticism badly preserved in PMich inv. 1316v (II cent. AD)⁴⁷.

As d'Alessio has recently argued, the little we know about Cleon's poem from the scholia to Apollonius might well suggest that it deserved to be judged – in the terms used by the ancient commentator – as made up of "continuous and lengthy stories" (συνεχῆς καὶ πολὺστιχος), in comparison with Apollonius' tighter narrative, certainly closer to Callimachean literary ideals⁴⁸. This might hold true whether or not Cleon should be numbered among Callimachus' enemies in *Aet.* fr. 1 or be identified as the object of his satire in the 5th *Iambus*, as recent interpretations of (respectively) the Florentine scholia and the Milan diegesis might suggest⁴⁹. In a word, Cleon perhaps used to describe at length, whereas Apollonius complied better with the French prescription: "on indique, on court, on sous-entend; on a la grâce, la discrétion, la finesse"⁵⁰.

Even refraining from dealing closely with this issue here, I should like to mention three open questions that arise from POxy 4712:

1 – if the poem in our papyrus antedates Apollonius' *Argonautica*, should we really dismiss and minimize – as Wilamowitz did⁵¹ – the judgment of Asclepiades of Myrlea, according to whom Apollonius "took over everything" (τὰ πάντα μετήνεγκεν) from Cleon⁵²?

⁴⁷ See Rusten 1982, 53-64; *SH* 339A; d'Alessio 2000, 97-109. The identification of Cleon as the poet compared with Apollonius goes back to Peter Parsons, and is particularly important in that it guarantees that Cleon's *Argonautica* were a poetical, not a prose work. The date of Cleon is very uncertain: according to Cameron 1995, 296 he "could have been pre-Hellenistic", but it is probably wiser to date him some time in the early 3th century, not too distant from Apollonius himself.

⁴⁸ See d'Alessio 2005, 55, *contra* Rusten 1982, 56-57 and note 13, who identifies Apollonius as the author συνεχῆς and πολὺστιχος (Rusten's treatment and edition of this difficult and badly flaked papyrus are nonetheless very valuable). On the literary background and purport of the discussion in the Michigan papyrus see also Hunter 2001, 108-112. One still unexplained feature of the text in PMich 1316v is the reference to "Medea's suitors" (Μηδείας μνηστήρας) in l. 24: Rusten 1982, 62-63 believes this to be a remnant of the plot of an earlier Argonaut story, surfacing also in the plot of Medea's dream with Jason coming to Colchis for her rather than for the Golden Fleece (3.619-623).

⁴⁹ See d'Alessio 2000, 105-107 and Lehnus 2002, 12.

⁵⁰ Sainte-Beuve 1879, 394-395.

⁵¹ Wilamowitz 1924, II, 189 n. 1: "allerdings wird es schwer an Argonautika vor Apollonios zu glauben und Asklepiades mochte sich hierin täuschen lassen". Similarly Weinberger 1921.

⁵² Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.623-26a (*SH* 339): ὅτι δὲ ἐνθάδε Θόας ἐσώθη καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κουριεύς ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανὸς [FGH 697 F 5] δεικνύς ὅτι παρὰ Κλέωνος τὰ πάντα μετήνεγκεν Ἀπολλώνιος: on this scholium, and on its importance for our knowledge of an ancient debate concerning the sources of Apollonius, see d'Alessio 2000, 92-95, who also ascribes on good grounds to Asclepiades the treatise fragmentarily preserved in PMich 1316v. It is unclear whether here τὰ πάντα should be taken as referring only to the episode of Thoas'

2 – was Apollonius really the first to introduce new literary patterns for monologues and dreams? was he the first to portray the character of Medea as the incarnation of a new kind of femininity and love⁵³? and how should we gauge the possibility that centuries later Cleon might have represented a source for the plot of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*?

3 – what should we make of recent theories underscoring the very existence of an ongoing tradition of mythological epic in Hellenistic times⁵⁴?

rescue (so d'Alessio 2000, 92) or to a wider dependence of Apollonius from Cleon (as Weichert 1821, 150-154 believed).

⁵³ See Zanker 1979, 69: "As far as we can tell, Apollonius was the first to treat of the love theme in epic to this extent". See also Paduano 1972, 63-64 (with earlier bibliography). The prominent role of Medea – known to Mimn. fr. 11.1 W. – was maybe an innovation by the Corinthian poet Eumelus, though we know very little on the exact development of the Argonautic saga in its first literary *facies*: see Michelazzo 1975; Matthews 1977; Zanker 1979, 69-70; Debiasi 2003; more generally on the literary antecedents of Apollonius see Hunter 1989, 12-21; Dräger 2001, 7-30; Scherer 2006, 9-42.

⁵⁴ See Cameron 1995, 295-297 with the review by Harder 2002, esp. 603-604 and Green 1997, 20-21.

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Bernd Seidensticker (Berlin)

PLURA NON HABUI.

SENECAS MEDEA UND DER COMPARATIVUS SENECANUS¹

Am Ende des Prologs der Senecanischen Medea ruft sich die Heldin zur Rache auf:

*Per viscera ipsa quaere supplicio viam,
si vivis, anime, si quid antiqui tibi
remanet vigoris; pelle femineos metus
et inhospitalem Caucasum mente indue.
quodcumque vidit Phasis aut Pontus nefas,
videbit Isthmos. effera ignota horrida,
tremenda caelo pariter ac terris mala
mens intus agitat: vulnere et caedem et vagum
funus per artus – levia memoravi nimis:
haec virgo feci; gravior exurgat dolor:
maiora iam me scelera post partus decent.
accingere ira teque in exitium para
furore toto, paria narrentur tua
repudia thalamis: quo virum linques modo?
hoc quo secuta es. rumpe iam segnes moras:
quae scelere parta est, scelere linquenda est domus. (40-55)*

In dieser ersten 'Selbstaufreizung'² des Stücks sind zwei verschiedene Konzepte der Rache, die Medea anstrebt, auf engstem Raum miteinander verbunden: Die Taten, mit denen Medea sich dafür rächen will, daß Jason sie

¹ Der Vortragscharakter ist weitgehend gewahrt und die Sekundärliteratur auf das für die Fragestellung wesentliche beschränkt.

² Der Begriff stammt von Regenbogen, 130.

für eine neue Frau verlassen hat, sollen einerseits denen gleichen, mit denen ihre Ehe mit Jason gestiftet worden ist:

paria narrentur tua / repudia thalamis (52f.)

Andererseits sollen die neuen Verbrechen in Korinth größer sein als die in Kolchis begangenen:

levia memoravi nimis:

haec virgo feci; gravior exurgat dolor:

maiora iam me scelera post partus decent (48-50).

Im Folgenden möchte ich verfolgen, wie diese beiden im Prolog angekündigten Modi der Vergeltung (Gleiches mit Gleichem bzw. Schlimmes mit Schlimmerem) im Stück entfaltet werden. Dabei wird der Akzent auf dem für Seneca besonders charakteristischen zweiten Modus der Rache liegen, der in der Forschung weniger Beachtung gefunden hat als der erste. Zum Abschluß soll wenigstens noch angedeutet werden, welche Verbindungslinien sich von Medeas Suche nach dem 'größeren, ja nach dem ultimativen Verbrechen' zu Stil und Philosophie Senecas und zum politischen Kontext des Stück ziehen lassen.

Daß die Vergeltung einer Untat dieser gleichen muß, ist ein Grundgesetz des *ius talionis*: Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn. Seneca kündigt die Parallelität von Medeas Taten in der Heimat bzw. auf der Flucht und denen in Griechenland gleich im Prolog pointiert an:

*Quodcumque vidit Phasis aut Pontus nefas,
videbit Isthmos.* (44f.)

Medea wird mit der alten Kraft ihrer barbarischen Natur all das vollbringen, was sie schon einmal getan hat. Sie wird ihren Mann in derselben Weise verlassen, wie sie ihm einst gefolgt ist: mit Verbrechen³:

*Quae scelere parta est, scelere linquenda est domus.*⁴ (55)

In der nächsten Rede Medeas, am Anfang der ersten domina-nutrix-Szene (117ff.), zeigt sich dann, daß Seneca nicht einfach eine Parallele zwischen Kolchis und Korinth zieht, sondern eine tiefere Verbindung zwischen den bereits begangenen und den noch bevorstehenden Verbrechen Medeas

³ Senecas Helden messen sich immer wieder an sich selbst und ihren früheren Taten bzw. Verbrechen (z.B. Tro. 613f. (Odysseus); Ag. 123f. (Clytaemnestra); Thy. 180, 270f. (Atreus); Phae. 112ff. (Phaedra); HF 1239, 1276f. (Hercules)); cf. Seidensticker, 95f. (ad Med. 170f.).

⁴ Guastella, 202: "Because Medea brought about the marriage with Jason by means of a series of crimes committed against her own family in her future husband's favor, the dissolution of that marriage, in Medea's perverse frame of mind, must now be accompanied by a series of crimes balancing out her past crimes, or even exceeding those old crimes by a new unprecedented ferocity."

konstruiert. Der Hochzeitsgesang des Chors (56-109) hat ihr nicht nur die letzte Gewißheit gegeben, daß Jason sie wirklich verraten hat, sondern sie auch an die eigene Hochzeit mit ihm und damit an alles erinnert, was sie für diese Verbindung getan und geopfert hat. In der zweiten 'Selbstaufreizung' wird deutlich, daß sie die Ermordung des Bruders und die heimtückische Vernichtung des Pelias gleichsam als Verpflichtung empfindet – *scelera te hortentur tua* (129) – und daß sie diese Taten zu wiederholen gedenkt – *cuncta redeant* (130)⁵. Nachdem sie sowohl in der Creo-Szene (225-246) als auch beim letzten Versuch, Jason zurückzugewinnen (483-505), den Gatten beschwörend daran erinnert hat, daß sie alle ihre Verbrechen nur für ihn vollbracht hat⁶, verlangt sie von dem Mann, der sie verlassen will, die Mitgift zurück.

*Tibi patria cessit, tibi pater, frater, pudor –
hac dote nupsi. redde fugienti sua.* (488f.)

Da ihre Mitgift aus ihrem Verbrechen besteht, kann die Rückgabe der Mitgift, bzw. die Kompensation, die sie mit diesen Worten fordert – und androht –, nur in entsprechenden Verbrechen bestehen, und in der Tat deutet Seneca, wie der Schluß zeigt, Medeas Rache – anders als Euripides – nicht nur als Bestrafung Jasons für den Bruch der Ehe, sondern auch als Kompensation und Sühne für die alten Verbrechen⁷, die Medea als Jasons Verbrechen bezeichnet, (925), weil der, dem ein Verbrechen nutzt, der eigentliche Täter ist (500f.). So kann Medea am Ende denn auch in pervers-paradoxaer Logik davon sprechen, daß sie mit den neuen Verbrechen gegen Jason die alten für ihn gleichsam aufgehoben und damit alles, was sie Jason geopfert habe, zurückerhalten habe:

*Iam iam recepi sceptrā, germanum, patrem,
spoliumque Colchi pecudis auratae tenent;
rediere regna, rapta virginitas redit.* (982-84)

Deutlich ausgesprochen wird das nur bei der Ermordung des ersten Sohnes, den Medea dem ihr erscheinenden Rachegeist ihres toten Bruders Absyrtus opfert:

⁵ Der als Antwort auf die Frage nach den Möglichkeiten der Rache geäußerte Wunsch: "Hätte er doch einen Bruder." (124) zeigt, daß Medea zunächst daran denkt, Gleiches mit Gleichem zu vergelten.

⁶ Medeas Verbrechen gegen Familie und Heimat sind bei Seneca wesentlich stärker betont als bei Euripides, und Medeas Rachezorn speist sich offenbar vor allem aus dem Bewußtsein – so Schmidt, 150 (vgl. auch 156, 158, 161), "daß ihre Taten zu bloßen *scelera* werden müssen, wenn ihnen durch Jasons Abwendung der *merita*-Charakter entzogen wird".

⁷ Dieses wichtige Motiv ist von Haß, Schmidt und Guastella – wie es scheint unabhängig voneinander – besonders betont worden.

*Utere hac, frater, manu
quae strinxit ensem – victima manes tuos
placamus ista. (969-71)*

Es gilt aber analog auch für die Vernichtung Kreons und seiner Tochter Kreusa, mit der Medea die Ermordung des alten Pelias durch seine Töchter 'zurücknimmt'. Jason hat mit der doppelten Bestrafung – wie von Medea gefordert – die Mitgift zurückerstattet. Die perverse Logik des Ausgleichs der alten durch neue Untaten ist erfüllt. Aber das Stück ist damit noch nicht zu Ende. Die Wiederholung der Verbrechen, zu der Medea sich am Anfang des Stücks aufgefordert hatte (130), ist perfekt: *perfectum est scelus* (986); die Rache, d.h. die Befriedigung ihrer Rachelust, aber noch nicht: *vindicta nondum* (987).

Und damit komme ich zu dem zweiten der beiden Rachekonzepte, die im Prolog unverbunden nebeneinander stehen, dem Konzept, nach dem die neuen Verbrechen Medeas den alten nicht gleichen sollen, sondern größer sein müssen als diese:

*- levia memoravi nimis:
haec virgo feci; gravior exurgat dolor:
maiora iam me scelera post partus decent. (48-50)*

Dieser Gedanke ist das Leitmotiv der Tragödie, das seinen sprachlichen Ausdruck in immer neuen Komparativen bzw. komparativischen Ausdrücken und Wendungen findet. Die zitierten Prologverse sind nicht die erste Stelle, an der das Motiv der "größeren Verbrechen" erscheint. Schon als Medea nach einem Hilferuf an eine lange Reihe von Göttern die Erinyen herbeiruft und die Rachegöttinnen auffordert, ihre Feinde zu bestrafen, verlangt sie für Jason eine Strafe, die schlimmer ist als der Tod, den sie Kreusa, sowie Kreon und seiner ganzen Familie wünscht, und gleich darauf erscheint der Komparativ noch einmal in den Versen, in denen Medea sich für Jason ein Leben ausmalt, das schlimmer ist als der Tod.

*adeste, thalamis horridae quondam meis
quales stetitis: coniugi letum novae
letumque socero et regiae stirpi date.
Est peius aliquid? Quod precer sponso malum?
vivat; per urbes erret ignotas egens
exul pavens invisus incerti laris,
iam notus hospes limen alienum expetat;
me coniugem optet⁸, quoque non aliud queam*

⁸ Zum vieldiskutierten Text der Verse 22-25 und ihrer Bedeutung cf. Kraft und Hine ad loc.

*peius precari, liberos similes patri
similesque matri – parta iam, parta ultio est:
peperi. (16-26)*

Das doppelte Paradox – ein Leben schlimmer als der Tod und, schlimmer noch als alles andere, die Sehnsucht nach Kindern, die den Eltern ähnlich, d.h. genau so schlecht sind wie diese – wirkt auf den ersten Blick wie eine typisch Senecanische Pointe, deutet aber mit der triumphalen Feststellung, daß die Hoffnung auf eine solche Strafe realistisch sei, da Medea ja bereits Kinder geboren habe, auf die schlimmste Strafe voraus, die sie für Jason finden kann und wird: Medea denkt an dieser Stelle noch nicht an den Kindermord, der Zuschauer bzw. Hörer aber sehr wohl.⁹ Das gilt im übrigen auch für die schon zitierte zweite Stelle des Prologs, an der Komparative erscheinen; auch hinter der Formulierung, daß Medea ihre früheren Untaten übertreffen muß, lauert der Kindermord:

maiora iam me scelera post partus decent. (50)

Die Zeitangabe *post partus* impliziert das Instrument der vollkommenen Rache, auch wenn Medea die grausige Tat in diesem Moment noch nicht plant.¹⁰

In der *domina-nutrix*-Szene am Anfang des 2. Akts nimmt Medea das *maius aliquid*-Motiv sofort wieder auf. Angesichts des Hochzeitslieds fragt sie sich, ob Jason denn wirklich glauben könne, daß sie bereits alle ihre Untaten verbraucht habe (sich an ihm also nicht mehr werde rächen können):

Adeone credit omne consumptum nefas? (122)

Zunächst sucht sie nach einer Möglichkeit, sich an Jason mit genau den gleichen Verbrechen für die Auflösung der Ehe zu rächen, mit denen sie die Ehe möglich gemacht hat:

Utinam illi esset frater! (125) Und da das, weil Jason keinen Bruder hat, nicht möglich ist, will sie ihn mit einem vergleichbaren Verlust strafen: *est coniunx: in hanc ferrum exigatur (125f.)*. Doch Gleiches mit Gleichem zu vergelten ist ihr nicht genug. *Hoc meis satis est malis? (126)* Sie beschwört

⁹ Cf. Anliker, 35-42; Maurach, 292-96; erst 549 begreift Medea, wie sie Jason wirklich treffen kann; erst 922-25 kündigt sie den Kindermord offen an.

¹⁰ Nur sehr indirekt erscheint der *comparativus Senecanus* in der anschließenden Szene, wenn der Chor in seinem Hochzeitslied für Braut und Bräutigam bittet: *vincat femina coniuges/vir longe superet viros (91f; cf. auch 75ff.)*: Kreusa und Jason, die jetzt noch schöner sind als alle anderen Frauen und Männer werden schon bald elender sein als alle.

die alten Verbrechen; aber alle früheren Untaten sind für die jetzige Situation zu klein.¹¹

*funestum impie
quam saepe fudi sanguinem – et nullum scelus
irata feci: saevit infelix amor.*¹² (134-36)

Der implizierte Komparativ ist deutlich: Was sie jetzt aus Zorn tun wird, wird größer sein, als was sie aus Liebe tat.

Im Rest der Szene finden sich nur schwache Nachklänge des Motivs: so wenn Medea die außerordentliche Größe ihres Rachewillens mit den Worten ausdrückt:

*Levis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest
et clepere sese: magna non latitant mala* (155f.)

oder wenn sie der Amme, die ihr klar zu machen versucht, daß sie völlig isoliert und mittellos ist, stolz entgegnet:

*Medea superest: hic mare et terras vides
ferrumque et ignes et deos et fulmina* (166f.)

und auch damit – indirekt – ankündigt, daß ihre Rache alle bisherigen Taten übertreffen wird.¹³ Eben diese Naturgewalt Medeas blitzt dann noch einmal im 2. Chorlied auf, als der Chor sich die Frage nach dem "Preis für die Reise" der Argo selber beantwortet:

*aurea pellis / maiusque mari Medea malum.*¹⁴ (362f.)

Die in dem pointierten Komparativ lauernde Gefahr von Verbrechen, die zerstörerischer sein werden als das vom Sturm rasende Meer, spricht in der anschließenden zweiten Domina-Nutrix-Szene die Amme mit derselben Metapher an:

*Ubi se fluctus franget? exundat furor.
non facile secum versat aut medium scelus.
se vincet!*¹⁵ (392-94)

¹¹ Bereits in 127-29 sucht Medea nach einem Verbrechen, wie sie es noch nie begangen hat.

¹² *infelix amor* (136) erinnert Medea an Jason: Noch ist sie bereit, ihn zu entschuldigen und ruft – jetzt mit einem positiven Komparativ – ihren rasenden Zorn auf, sich zurückzuhalten: *melius, a melius, dolor furiose, loquere* (137).

¹³ Die Naturgewalt Medeas bzw. ihres Zorns wird in immer neuen Feuer- und Sturmbildern evoziert; cf. dazu Henderson, der zu recht von einem "all-pervasive and overwhelming system of elemental imagery" (100) spricht.

¹⁴ Zur Aufladung des Namens Medea durch alliterierende Attribute (*mater, monstrum, mare, malum*) vgl. Traina, 273-75; Segal, 241f.

¹⁵ Cf. Thy. 32, 195f.: *scelera non ulcisceris nisi vinces*; zu *se vincere* vgl. auch Anm. 3 und u. S. XXX.

Der wie ein Seesturm wütende *furor* Medeas ist ein sicheres Zeichen dafür, daß die Tat, die die Amme fürchtet, furchtbarer sein wird, als alles, was Medea bisher getan hat; und Medea bestätigt diese Prognose gleich darauf in ihrer dritten Selbstaufreizung mit der Formulierung, daß ihr *furor* niemals seine Kraft verlieren, sondern immer weiter wachsen werde:

*numquam meus cessabit in poenas furor
crescetque semper.*¹⁶ (406f.)

Im folgenden kündigt Medea ihre Taten zwar nicht detailliert an; die wiederholte Drohung, alles zu vernichten (416, 425) und etwas zu vollbringen, was auf ewig unvergessen bleiben wird (422f.) impliziert aber die Drohung, daß das, was sie plant, größer ist, als alles, was sie bisher getan hat.

In der nächsten Szene, in der Medea zum letzten Mal versucht, Jason für sich zurückzugewinnen (431-578), erscheint das Leitmotiv aus der Perspektive Jasons. Wenn dieser in seinem Auftrittsmonolog darüber klagt, daß sich in der Vergangenheit jede Rettung aus Gefahren als noch schlimmer herausgestellt habe als die Gefahren selber (*remedia quotiens invenit nobis deus/periculis peiora*, 433f.), ist die tragische Ironie unüberhörbar: auch der neue Versuch, die schwierige Situation zu heilen, wird ihn in noch schlimmeres Unheil stürzen; und auch der zweite Komparativ der Szene ist voll tragischer Ironie: Als Jason zu seiner Verteidigung darauf hinweist, daß er, wenn er bei Medea bliebe, gleich von zwei Königen bedroht wird (*hinc rex et illinc*, 516) erklärt Medea, daß die beiden sie noch mehr zu fürchten hätten als Jason diese (*est his maior metus: Medea*, 517f.), und impliziert mit dieser zweideutigen Formulierung auch, daß Jason vor ihr größere Angst haben müsse als vor Acastus und Creon.

Am Ende der Szene, nach Jasons Abgang, ruft sich Medea in einer paradoxen Wendung zu einer Rache auf, die sogar furchtbarer ist, als daß selbst (eine) Medea sie vollbringen könne:

*Perge, nunc aude, incipe,
quidquid potest Medea, quidquid non potest.*¹⁷ (566f.)

Nach dem 3. Chorlied (579-669), das der Chor mit der komparativischen Feststellung einleitet, daß kein Feuer, kein Sturm, kein Geschoß so gewaltig sei wie die Haßliebe einer verlassenen Frau, d.h. daß Medeas rasender Zorn und die von diesem drohende Zerstörung größer seien als Naturkatastrophen

¹⁶ Cf. 671f., 951f., 992; zur Affektsteigerung cf. Maurach, 313f.

¹⁷ Die polare Redewendung als Ausdruck der Bereitschaft, alles zu tun, gewinnt im Munde Medeas besondere Kraft.

und Kriege, beginnt die den ganzen 4. Akt füllende Zauberszene (670-848) mit einer Serie von Komparativen, mit denen die Amme den wachsenden Zorn Medeas und die daraus resultierenden Rachepläne beschreibt:

*Pavet animus, horret: magna pernicies adest.
immane quantum augescit et semet dolor
accendit ipse vimque praeteritam integrat.
vidi furem saepe et aggressam deos,
caelum trahentem: maius his, maius parat
Medea monstrum. (670-675)*

Und Seneca gestaltet im folgenden denn auch die Vorbereitung der Geschenke, mit denen Medea Kreusa und ihren Vater vernichten wird (675-704), als ein gewaltiges Crescendo: Weil ihr die Schlangen, die auf ihre Beschwörungen herbeieilen, als zu klein erscheinen, ruft sie – berichtet die Amme – die großen himmlischen und mythischen Schlangen herbei, mit deren Hilfe sie eine Tat vollbringen will, die gewaltiger ist als gewöhnliche Verbrechen:

*'Parva sunt', inquit, 'mala
et vile telum est, ima quod tellus creat:
caelo petam venena. iam, iam tempus est
aliquid movere fraude vulgari altius.'*¹⁸ (690-93)

Bei der Beschreibung der giftigen Kräuter, die das tödliche Schlangengift noch verstärken sollen (705-30), erscheinen zwar keine Komparative mehr, aber der hyperbolische Katalog der Länder, aus denen sie stammen, suggeriert dem Hörer, daß das Gift, das damit gebraut wird, stärker sein wird als jedes andere Gift, und am Ende bereitet die komparativische Litotes Medeas furchtbares Gebet an Hecate vor (*addit venenis verba non illis minus / metuenda* (737f.)). Ihre Worte werden noch furchtbarer wirken als das Gift.

In einem letzten kurzen Chorlied (849-78) konstatiert der Chor noch einmal – in einer implizit komparativischen Wendung – den zügel- und maßlosen Zorn Medeas und seine zerstörerischen Folgen:

*Frenare nescit iras
Medea, non amores;
nunc ira amorque causam
iunxere: quid sequetur? (866-69)*

¹⁸ Seneca bestimmt das *scelus*, nach dem Medea sucht, nicht nur komparativisch (*maius, peius, altius, gravius*), sondern wie hier (*vile; vulgare*) auch durch das, was es nicht sein darf (393: *non facile aut medium*; 690f.: *parva mala; vile telum*; 899: *non usitatum*; 906f.: *levia atque vulgaris notae scelerata*).

Dann erreicht das im Prolog angestimmte Leitmotiv der *maiora scelera* im Schlußakt der Tragödie seinen makabren Höhepunkt:

Als der Bote die Nachricht vom Tod Kreusas und ihres Vaters bringt (879-90), erklärt Medea mit einer rhetorischen Frage, daß die schreckliche Tat nur ein erster kleiner Teil ihrer Rache sei:

pars ultionis ista, qua gaudes, quota est? (896)

In schneller Folge erscheinen jetzt, in immer neuen Wendungen, alle Variationen des komparativischen Leitmotivs:

- Die erste Tat ist nicht genug (897f.);
- Die Strafe muß ganz außergewöhnlich sein (898);
- Die alten Verbrechen waren allzu gering und gewöhnlich (904-907),
- nicht mehr als Übungen, durch die ihre Möglichkeiten zu handeln, gewachsen sind (907f.);
- die Taten eines kleinen Mädchens, das nichts wirklich Großes in Angriff nehmen konnte (908-10):

*quid manus poterant rudes
audere magnum, quid puellaris furor?
Medea nunc sum; crevit ingenium malis.*¹⁹

So erscheint ihr die bisherige Rache als ganz unzureichend: *stulta properavi nimis* (919)²⁰. Besser wäre es gewesen zu warten, bis Kreusa Jason Kinder geboren hätte (920f.). In diesem Moment, bei dem Gedanken, daß mit der Scheidung ihre Kinder gleichsam zu Kindern Kreusas geworden sind (921f.), entsteht der Gedanke an die Tat, auf die alle Komparative und komparativischen Wendungen des Textes vorausdeuten; das *scelus ultimum*: der Kindermord

*placuit hoc poenae genus,
meritoque placuit: ultimum magno scelus
animo parandum est. Liberi quonda mei,
vos pro mpaternis sceleribus poenas date* (922-25)

Der Versuch Medeas, sich mit einem 'positiven' Komparativ zurückzurufen (*melius, a, demens furor!* 930), und die Überlegung, daß dieses Verbrechen sogar für sie zu ungeheuer ist (931f.), mißlingen. Ein letzter

¹⁹ Cf. 48-50; Johnson, 93-96, sieht die Suche nach dem *maius scelus* als obsessiven Wunsch nach Autarkie und Freiheit der Selbstverwirklichung, die mit dem triumphalen "*Medea nunc sum*" erreicht sei, und betrachtet Medea damit als "perversion of the image of the proficiens" (96); auf die vielfältigen anderen Möglichkeiten der Deutungen des "*Medea nunc sum*" kann hier nicht eingegangen werden.

²⁰ Cf. 1016: *perfruere lento scelere, ne propera, dolor*. Auch Atreus wirft sich selber vor, seine Rache durch allzu große Eile 'ruiniert' zu haben (Thy. 1052-56 und 1065-68).

Kampf der Mutter gegen die nach Rache verlangende Frau; dann gibt sich Medea dem weiter anwachsenden Zorn hin:

rursus increscit dolor ... / ira, qua ducis sequor. (951/952)

Für einen Moment sind ihr sogar die zwei Kinder, die sie Jason geboren hat, viel zu wenig:

*utinam superbae turba Tantalidos meo
exisset utero bisque septenos parens
natos tulissem! sterilis in poenas fui (954-56) -*

dann scheint sie sich aber doch damit zufrieden zu geben:

fratri patrique quod sat est, peperit duos. (957)

Mit der Ermordung des ersten Sohns (970f.) sieht sie für einen kurzen Moment am Ziel ihrer Jagd nach den "größeren Verbrechen", zu denen sie sich verpflichtet fühlt: *perfectum est scelus* (986) Doch die Rache ist immer noch nicht vollkommen: *vindicta nondum* (987). Als sie Jason kommen sieht, fühlt sie die Lust an der Rache erneut wachsen. Alles, was bisher geschehen ist, war nichts, weil Jason es nicht mit hat ansehen müssen.

*Voluptas magna me invitam subit,
et ecce crescit. derat hoc unum mihi,
spectator ist. nil adhuc facti reor:
quidquid sine isto fecimus sceleris perit. (991-94)*

Ein weiterer schrecklicher Schritt ist erforderlich: die Exekution des zweiten Sohnes vor den Augen des Vaters. Als Jason sie mit dem ebenso verzweifelten wie hilflosen Aufschrei zurückzuhalten versucht; *unus est poenae satis* (1008), erreicht das Motiv des größeren Verbrechens seinen letzten Höhepunkt. Sogar zwei Kinder sind für die perfekte Rache zu kleine Zahl:

*Si posset una caede satiari manus,
nullam petisset. ut duos perimam, tamen
nimium est dolori numerus angustus meo. (1009-1011)*

Sollte Medea noch schwanger sein, so wird sie auch das Ungeborene töten.

*in matre si quod pignus etiamnunc latet,
scrutabor ense viscera et ferro extraham. (1012f.)*

Jasons Bitte, den Sohn dann wenigstens schnell zu töten (1014f.), gewinnt Medea eine letzte Steigerung ihrer Lust ab:

perfruere lento scelere, ne propera, dolor. (1016)

Und erst als Jason darum bittet, ihn selbst anstelle des Kindes zu töten (1018a), sieht Medea sich am Ziel. Jason zu töten hieße Mitleid mit ihm zu haben (*misereri iubes*, 1018b): Ein Leben ohne die geliebten Söhne ist die größte Strafe. Mehr kann Medea ihrem Zorn nicht opfern:

*bene est, peractum est. plura non habui, dolor,
quae tibi litarem.* (1019f.)

Die Jagd nach dem "größeren Verbrechen" ist zu Ende.

Jeder Leser der Senecanischen Tragödien weiß, daß der Autor und seine dramatischen Figuren immer auf der Suche nach dem Ungewöhnlichen (*insolitum*), dem noch nie Gewagten (*inausum*) sind, mit dem sie alles, was sie selber oder andere zuvor getan oder erlitten haben, übertreffen können.²¹ Ich habe für diese Suche nach dem *maius aliquid* in einer Studie über den Atreus des Thyestes, der neben Medea das beste Beispiel dafür ist, den Begriff *comparativus Senecanus* vorgeschlagen²² und versucht, diesen bedeutungsvollen Stilzug als Ausdruck der stilistischen (1), dramatischen (2) und philosophischen (3) Intentionen des Autors und als Signum der Zeit (4), in der die Tragödien entstanden sind, zu verstehen. Das sei hier – mit einem Verweis auf die ausführliche Begründung dieses Ansatzes – wenigstens noch skizziert.

1. Es ist evident, daß der Drang der Helden, sich und andere zu übertreffen, nicht zuletzt eine Folge des Stilwillens des Autors ist, der immer bestrebt ist, Vorgänger, Zeitgenossen, ja sich selber zu übertreffen.²³ Ein Blick auf die erhaltenen literarischen und theoretischen Texte der frühen Kaiserzeit zeigt, daß dieser stilistische Aspekt des *comparativus Senecanus* sich gut in die Tendenzen des sogenannten neuen Stils²⁴ einfügt, in dem es vor allem darum ging, das Natürliche und Gewöhnliche zu vermeiden. Gesucht wurden die pointiertere Antithese und das überraschendere Paradox, die gewagtere Hyperbel und die dunklere Anspielung.

2. Wie im *Thyestes* ist das *maiora-scelera*-Leitmotiv aber in der *Medea* auch dramatisch wirkungsvoll: Es verknüpft die locker miteinander verbundenen Szenen des Stücks und verleiht der Handlung nicht nur die

²¹ Vgl. Atreus (passim; cf. Seidensticker, 1985); Juno (HF 27ff., 75ff., 100ff.); Clytaemnestra (Ag. 114ff., 192ff.); Oedipus (Oed. 868ff., 926ff.; Phoen. 8, 46ff., 90ff., 143ff., 157f., 166ff., 174ff., 241ff.).

²² Seidensticker, 1985.

²³ Schiesaro, 98f., weist auf zwei in diesem Zusammenhang interessante Stellen in *de tranquillitate animi* hin (1.14 und 17.10f.), an denen Seneca in komparativischen Wendungen über seinen (bzw. den) *furor poeticus* spricht.

²⁴ Norden, 270ff.

Einheit von Ton und Atmosphäre, sondern auch eine starke innere Dynamik.²⁵

3. Auf der anderen Seite hat der *comparativus Senecanus* aber auch philosophische Implikationen. Die Stoa definierte den Affekt seit Zenon als *hormé pleonázousa* und Seneca bezeichnet den Zorn in *de ira* als den wildesten aller Affekte, der kein Maß zuläßt (1.8), sondern seine Gewalt mehr und mehr verstärkt (3.1) und über das Maß des Gewöhnlichen hinaus rast (3.19). Medeas (oder auch Atreus') von rasendem Zorn getriebener Wunsch nach 'größeren Verbrechen' ist also auch eine eindrucksvolle poetische Demonstration der stoischen Theorie von der Natur der Affekte.

4. Und schließlich gewinnt der *comparativus Senecanus* nicht nur auf dem Hintergrund der Rhetorik und Poetik der Zeit und der stoischen Philosophie tiefere Bedeutung, sondern erscheint auch als Ausdruck einer Zeit, als deren Schlüssel und Leitbegriff *vincere* gelten kann. *Nihil iuvat solitum* lautet Senecas prägnante Formulierung (Ep. 122. 14). Das gilt, wie sich zeigen ließe, für alle Lebensbereiche: für Essen, Kleidung und Schmuck ebenso wie für private und öffentliche Bauten; es gilt für die Dichtung der frühen Kaiserzeit²⁶ und es gilt in besonderem Maße für die Spiele, die in dieser Zeit immer aufwendiger und sensationeller, immer brutaler und blutiger werden. Seneca charakterisiert in *de brevitae vitae* (12. 8.) seine Zeit als ein *saeculum*, das nur in der Erfindung neuer Laster Genie zeige, und erklärt in *de ira* (2. 9): Täglich wächst die Lust am Frevel. Den Höhepunkt der alle Lebensbereiche prägenden Tendenz stellen die *scelera maiora* eines Tiberius, Caligula oder Nero dar. Hier liegt die politische Wurzel des *comparativus Senecanus*. Mit seiner Medea hat Seneca – wie mit seinem Atreus – eine eindrucksvolle dramatische Metapher für diese Tendenzen der Zeit geschaffen.

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²⁵ Steidle, 284, hat diese dramatische Technik Senecas, die oft lockere Bilderfolge seiner Stücke zusammenzuhalten, zu recht als "Crescendo-Technik" bezeichnet.

²⁶ Cf. z.B. Burck und Fuhrmann.

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Ketevan Sikharulidze (Tbilisi)

AN UNKNOWN VERSION OF THE ARGONAUT LEGEND

The surviving Argonautic adventure is a version treated in literary terms. It is based on a folk plot, which must have certainly had versions in oral tradition. This is also attested by the fact that ancient authors sometimes provide different information about particular episodes and characters. These versions are not known, but I believe that one of them can be reconstructed with the help of the painting on a red-figured cylix kept in the Vatican Museum. It features a dragon emitting swallowed Jason. Although this scene is not attested in written records, it should be regarded not as the author's invention, but as the rendering of an episode known to him. Remarkably, painters and sculptors did not interfere with a mythic plot; they normally depicted an important scene of a mythic story, and for this purpose resorted to written records as well as folk patterns. Since some of the scenes could have failed to be reflected in literary works, they could have been cast into oblivion. So, we may often come across artifacts featuring a scene which may not be attested in the surviving mythopoetic tradition. The above-mentioned cylix belongs to such group of artifacts.

In general, the swallowing of a hero by a dragon is a very old and universal plot. It is connected with the semantic of dragon's image, which determined the mythological perception of the initiation ritual. Dragon is a complex image established in consequence of the development and merging of mythological images of snake and fish, as it unites in itself their symbols and functions. The body of a dragon represents a combination of snake and big fish (whale/dolphin) (which is exactly rendered in its Georgian name) and has wings. These outer features point to the syncretic nature of dragon and to its links with the earth, water and heaven. Thus it incorporates the knowledge of all the three spheres. Therefore, along with its physical strength, dragon also embodies wisdom. All those who achieve communion with him acquire

special faculties. This motif was later reflected in the myths about snake-eaters, according to which the characters eating the flesh of a snake understood the language of living beings and unanimated things. Owing to such beliefs, snake/dragon was related to sorcery and initiation.

In order to be entitled to the status of a soldier and the king, a hero was to be distinguished by particular strength, omnipotence and an ability to foresee. He could receive these faculties from the dragon by going down into his depths (his bosom). The hero came out from the dragon's belly already transformed. This process was perceived as the communion with the deity through death, which acquired a new semantic of re-birth.

Later, the scope of the initiation ritual was expanded. Every boy, reaching the age of maturity and preparing to enter manhood, took part in it. The rituals were performed in small dragon-shaped structures.¹

Evidently, the swallowing and omitting of a hero by the dragon was an important episode of archaic mythology. It became the foundation for the initiation ritual, and the rudiments of it survived in the ethnographic and folk material of peoples all over the world. The same is believed to be implied in the dialogues between the king and the snake included in the Hittite royal rituals, according to which the king owed its throne and power to the snake of the sea (the dragon).²

This plot can be discerned in the story of Apollo taking control over the oracle at Delphi. Delphi at first belonged to Python created by Gaea the Earth (*πυθιόν* means the bottom of the earth; through this meaning the creature is associated with the primal forces and knowledge). Some sources mention it as Dolphin, to which the oracle owed its name. Apollo killed Python and attempted to seize the oracle, but enraged Earth confused the minds of the priests. They were unable to prophesy until Apollo redeemed his sin. He stayed in the nether world for nine years to achieve catharsis. Evidently, there he came into communion with the nature of Python and, in fact, replaced it. This was physically expressed from time to time. In one of Homeric hymns, Apollo appears as a huge whale (dolphin) before the Cretans on their way to Pylus.³

Later, the changes in mythological-religious beliefs resulted in inverted roles of the characters in the archetypal plot and the classical model of snake-fighter was developed. However, the appearance and accessories of some snake-fighting heroes retained archetypal traits. In Egyptian mythology, Ra, fighting against snake Apop, gets into the body of the beast and comes out

¹ В. Пропп, *Исторические корни волшебной сказки*, Ленинград 1946.

² В. Ардзимба, *Ритуалы и мифы древней Анатолии*, Москва 1982.

³ *Homeric Hymns*, Tbilisi 1982.

from his mouth. Marduk rushed into the body of Thiamath by force and cut his innards from the inside. Consequently, he is called 'Nibim' – 'he who entered' and 'who saw the middle'. In German epos, the body of Siegfried is covered with the reptile membrane, which makes him unbeatable. The hero fighting a dragon wears symbolically a dragon skin, which points that he has been in the beast's bosom.

Saint George also fights against the Dragon and on some icons; his armor resembles fish (dragon) scales. The metal pieces of his armor are arranged in the form of fish or dragon scales. Such ornaments were also made on the Caucasian bronze articles and are called *tevzipkhuri* – 'herringbone'. Such an armor was likewise characteristic of Roman war equipment, but its mythological semantic had long been forgotten.

The fragments of the archetypal plot are also preserved in the Caucasian folklore. The dragon lying in the mountain cavity reared a hero and gave him a chain mail shirt, which made him invulnerable. Besides, the hero's ring featured sacral signs – the sun, the moon and the cross – which probably indicated the hierarchical steps of mystical initiation. The powerful cult of the dragon in the Caucasus is attested not only by the ethnographical and folk material, but also by the abundance of megalithic figures, dragonoids.⁴ Some of them bear on their backs an imprinted image of a fleece, which in the Hattian-Hittite mythology had the function of wealth and protection of royal power. Therefore, a fleece hanging on a tree was specially guarded. Consequently, the dragon of the Argonaut legend guarding the Fleece is rooted in the tradition of the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

If we bear in mind the universal character of the archetypal plot and the Caucasian tradition, Jason could as well have been among the heroes swallowed by the Dragon as he went to Colchis in order to return home in the royal capacity.

I believe that in the unpreserved version of the myth (which in my opinion is one of the earliest) Jason does not seize the Fleece; he obtains it through initiation as the symbol of royal power.

⁴ K. Sikharulidze, Archetypal Plot of Snake-Fighters in Caucasian Folklore, Kartvelian Heritage, VI, Kutaisi 2002 (in Georgian).

Itamar Singer (Tel Aviv)

WHO WERE THE KAŠKA?

During the 500 years of their history the Hittites fought many formidable enemies, but none of them was as persistent and evasive as the Kaška tribes of the Pontic ranges. All efforts of the superior and well-organized Hittite armies to keep them at bay and to efficiently protect the vulnerable northern frontier of their kingdom repeatedly failed, and the Kaška perennially invaded Hittite-dominated territories and laid waste to border cities and cult-places. It was probably the Kaška who eventually gave the final blow to the weakening Hittite capital of Hattusha. This is of course the "colonial" perspective as portrayed in Hittite sources and in Hittitological studies, in which the Kaška appear as the "aggressive" and "barbarian" nemesis from the north. In a more recent "post-colonial" perspective, as now in vogue in frontier studies, the Kaška might be conceived as the abused victims of Hittite aggression and occupation of their traditional habitat (Glatz/Matthews 2005: 49). We always have to remember that *all* the textual evidence comes from the Hittite side and the voice of the other side in this strained relationship is not heard.

The Hittite sources on the Kaška were first assembled and discussed in the monograph of Einar von Schuler *Die Kaškäer* published in 1965. In this seminal study (and in his summary in *RIA* 1976-80) the illustrious German scholar provided translations of the main sources, including treaties, administrative lists, prayers, rituals, oracles, and of course historical references. This data base was then processed into chapters on the history, the political organization, the economy, the religion, and the onomastics of the Kaška.

Von Schuler's monumental work remains the basic tool for any further studies on the Kaška, but of course, forty years of research have adduced plenty of new data and a reevaluation of some of his conclusions is necessary.

One of the most spectacular new discoveries were the texts from Maşat Höyük, published by the Turkish scholar Sedat Alp in 1991. These documents, mostly letters but also some administrative lists, provide a vivid picture of everyday life in a Hittite border town and its continuous struggle with the threat posed by the Kaška tribes. Thousands of tablets were also unearthed at Ortaköy/Şapinuwa east of Maşat, which probably contain similar information, but only a handful of documents have been published so far. Archaeological surveys conducted in the area in the 1970ties (Dinçol/Yakar 1974; Yakar/Dinçol 1974) have greatly improved our understanding of the settlement history in these remote regions and the same applies to the current survey of Paphlagonia, ancient Pala-Tumanna (Glatz/Matthews 2005). However, without full excavations at sites of various sizes, the archaeological evidence remains insufficient. One hopes that the recently launched archaeological exploration of Oymaağaç/Vezirköprü, probably ancient Nerik, will provide valuable new evidence. But again, we are dealing with a large site which was probably occupied by the Hittites most of the time and its contribution to the Kaška problem will probably be limited to the dating of the destruction levels.

Until recently, conventional wisdom saw the Kaška as inhabitants of northern Anatolia already in the Old Hittite period. This view is based on 13th century historical references to the loss of the north, notably the cities of Tiliura and Nerik, already in the days of the Hittite king Hantili.

The town of Tiliura was empty from the days of Hantili and my father Muršili resettled it (KUB 21.29 I 11-13).

And from there they (i.e. the Kaška) began to commit hostilities and Hantili built an outpost against them. Earlier, Labarna and Hattušili did not let them over the Kumešmaha River (ib., ii 2 f.).

The reference to the first great kings, Labarna and Hattušili, makes it very likely that Hantili in this and in the following passages must be the first king bearing this name, i.e. the son-in-law and murderer of Muršili I.

The city of Nerik, which was in ruins from the days of Hantili, I have rebuilt (Hatt. iii 46'-48').

The city of Nerik was ru[ined] by the Kaška]-men in the days of Hantili. In the past [the city] lay empty for four hundred years (KUB 25.21 iii 2-5; von Schuler 1965: 186).

It seems that Hattušili III and his son Tuthaliya IV, who invested plenty of energy in the restitution of Nerik into a major cult center, maintained a firm view about the time of the city's fall to the Kaška, even though the stereotyped number of four (or possibly five) hundred years falls far off the mark.

This Late Hittite historiographic tradition has already been questioned by von Schuler himself (1976-80: 461 f.) and was recently fully refuted by Jörg Klinger (2002) who serves as the philologist of the Nerik expedition. Both of them pointed out that in the Old Hittite sources of the 17th-16th centuries B.C. there is no mention at all of the Kaška, even though several Hittite kings, notably Hattušili I, operated as far as the Black Sea.

Only from the second half of the 15th century we begin to receive contemporary reports on Kaška intrusions into Hittite territory. In the annals of a Tuthaliya (CTH 142), probably Tuthaliya I the founder of the New Kingdom (Klinger 2002: 446 ff.), we hear that the "Kaška enemy" attacked Hatti taking advantage of the absence of the king who was campaigning in Aššuwa in western Anatolia. On his way home Tuthaliya still managed to drive out the enemy from Hittite land, but his successor Arnuwanda I suffered serious territorial losses to the Kaška, as lamented in his famous prayer to the Sun-goddess (CTH 375; Singer 2002: 40 ff.). The royal couple Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal deplore in particular the ravages imposed by the Kaška to Hittite temples and cult places, and in particular to the sacred city of Nerik. The correspondence from Mašat, probably dated to the next generation (Tuthaliya II/III), describes in detail the enormous difficulties encountered by local Hittite commanders in securing this frontier and the Hittite border towns along it. We hear about the defensive measures taken to protect the population of Hittite held towns and villages from Kaškan onslaughts, but at the same time there is growing evidence about the massive capture and surrender of Kaška fighters, many of whom are blinded and set to hard labour in mills (Hoffner 2002). In contemporary Amarna letters we hear for the first time about Kaška-men transported to Egypt, probably to be recruited in its armies, a phenomenon which only increased after the successful northern campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I and his able successors. Finally, the most important Hittite victory on the Kaška front was the liberation of the sacred city of Nerik, for which Hattušili III took credit for himself.

This brief characterization of Hittite-Kaškan relations raises intriguing questions regarding the nature of the Kaška tribes and their first appearance on the Anatolian orbit. If indeed their emergence in the days of Hantili I and even before is based on fictive historical constructs of the Late Hittite Empire, this would mean that they must have been newcomers who first penetrated into northern Anatolia in the second half of the second millennium (Klinger 2002: 451). This would of course be squarely opposed to the view that conceives of the Kaška as an autochthonic population of Anatolia (cf. the hesitation of von Schuler 1976-80: 463). We shall return to the crucial question of Kaškan origins later on, after briefly surveying some socio-economic and cultural aspects of the Kaška presence in Anatolia.

Not much can be said on the socio-economic organization of the Kaška without adequate archaeological investigation (for which see Yakar 2000: 295 ff.). The general impression is of sedentary pastoral communities practicing transhumance. That would mean that they lived in lower elevation settlements in winter, moving with their herds to mountain campsites in the summer (ib.: 300 f.). These were usually difficult to access for the Hittite army which operated as a rule in the summer months. The tribal organization of the Kaška, lacking a central authority, posed an additional difficulty for the Hittite attempts towards an effective control. They would sign elaborate treaties of vassalage with one group of tribes, but at the same time they were exposed to attacks from other groups. This exactly is the situation deployed in the Arnuwanda-Ašmunikal prayer, where the "uncivilized" behaviour of the treacherous Kaška is condemned before the gods.

From a passing comment in the annals of Muṣšili II we may learn a lot about the political organization of the Kaška, at least as seen through the eyes of the Hittites. In his 7th year Muṣšili led a campaign against a certain Kaška ruler named Pihhuniya, who, from the days of his father, had constantly attacked the Upper Land of the Hittites.

"This Pihhuniya", Muṣšili says, "did not rule in the Kaškan manner. Whereas among the Kaška the government was not in the hand of a single man, this Pihhuniya surprisingly ruled as a king. I, My Majesty, went and sent him a messenger and wrote to him: "Give me back my subjects that you have captured and led to the Kaška(-Land)." But Pihhuniya sent back to me and wrote me as following: "I will return to you nothing. And if you will attack me, I will not fight against you in my *territory*. Rather, I will fight you in your *territory*!" (AM 88 ff.; del Monte 1993: 69 f.).

In the following Muṣšili defeats Pihhuniya and carries him back to Hattuša as a prisoner. Thereafter he sets out towards the Land of Azzi-Hayaša, east of the Kaškan territories. This remarkable passage shows that some of the Kaška communities at least were on the verge of statehood formation under the rule of a "king" who was able to correspond with the Hittite Great King.

Another passing Hittite comment provides us some valuable information on Kaškan household economy. In his prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna Muṣšili II characterizes the Kaška as "swineherds and (linen-) weavers" (Singer 2002: 52). Does this exceptional comment contain any pejorative intent? Hittite texts do not as a rule use insults or foul language in their description of other ethnic elements, including enemies. If there is any common denominator to both occupations is that both were performed by women (Collins 2006: 157). Since Hittite rituals are much concerned, indeed

obsessed, with the preservation of masculinity, this might indeed be a rare degradation of the enemy through a feminine portrayal.

Women's role in weaving and the preparation of textiles is almost universal and must have been the rule for ancient Anatolia as well. The flax (*linum*) plant may be put to other uses as well, such as the extraction of linseed oil for cooking, lighting and lubrication of chariots (Glatz/Matthews 2005: 58). Flax has been found at Ikiztepe on the Black Sea coast from the Chalcolithic through the Middle Bronze Age.

Pigs are not easily mobile animals and are usually tended in the village by women, while the men drive the herds of sheep and cattle to high summer pastures. This may be another indication for the basically sedentary character of the Kaška population, not unlike the *yayla* pattern typical for the Pontic region throughout history (Glatz/Matthews 2005: 57). In Hittite society the consumption of pigs was very limited, and was usually restricted for special ritualistic purposes (Collins 2006). This observation derived from the texts seems to be supported by an analysis of the faunal remains from Boğazköy/Hattuša (von den Driesch/Pöllath 2003). The proportion of pig in the faunal assemblage at Büyükkaya more than doubled from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (from 2.4% to 5.4%). Now, assuming that the Kaška tribes played an active role in the fall of Hattuša and its partial resettlement in the Early Iron Age (a conclusion which seems to be supported also by the typical handmade crude pottery), the increase in the representation of pigs and the reduction of cattle and sheep may indeed support this conclusion.

From this brief overview on the material and social aspects of the Kaška problem, let us now move to more spiritual domains. In view of the total absence of Kaškan written sources, the only type of evidence available to us are private names – place names, personal names and divine names. Indeed, this was the method applied by Gregor Giorgadze as early as 1961, recently reiterated in his monograph of 2000. He noted certain suffixes typical for northern toponyms which may conceivably belong to Kaška settlements (2000: 34 f.). Whereas the endings *-iya* and *-uwa* are not sufficiently idiosyncratic, the suffix *-ška* seems to be of more linguistic value: e.g. Tatiška, Duduška, Muniška, Karikuriška, Zianteška, and of course, the name Kaška itself. Another recurring element in northern place-names is *ura* (Gazziura, Tiliura, Urauna, etc.), which probably means "spring, fountain" in Hattian (*HW* 318; Ünal 2005: 726; cf. Soysal 2004: 863 ff.; Girbal 2007: 57 f.). Other features of northern names is the lack of the thema vowel *-a* attached to the consonantal endings of names such as Nerik, Hakm/piš, Zikmar, Kakšat, etc. (Forlanini 1984: 259, n. 62), and the frequency of complex names some of which include reduplicated elements – Hašhatatta,

Tahantatipa, Kapagapa (mountain), Kadudupa, Tarittara, Taštarešša, etc. (von Schuler 1965: 94 ff.).

As for personal names, we must of course be fully aware of the multiple risks in extracting a meaningful list. First, who is "a Kaška"? Only few texts explicitly identify certain persons as belonging to the Kaška. And second, personal names are notoriously mobile, very susceptible to changes towards more "desirable" or "fashionable" names. One also finds various hybrid names composed of different linguistic elements. Besides Kaškaili (Laroche 1966: no. 535) with the typical *-ili* suffix, we also find a person named Kaškailu (ib.: no. 536), which has the appearance of an Akkadianized name, and a Kaškamuwa (ib.: no. 537) with a typical Luwian suffix. Were all of these persons Kaškans, and if not, who was and who was not? Despite these inherent difficulties, one can observe a high percentage of names ending on *-ili* and *-alli* (von Schuler 1965: 91 ff.), which we would normally categorize as Proto-Hittian. In fact, the same conclusion may apply in the case of the toponyms, or in other words, as already observed by Giorgadze (2000: 60), there is a considerable overlap between Kaškan and Hattic onomastics. It remains to be seen whether this observation also applies to Kaškan theonyms, provided that we can identify some.

A most remarkable ritual text shows that the gods of the Kaška were considered as a separate entity, indeed as a hostile cohort competing against the gods of the Hatti Land. The text KUB 4.1 (von Schuler 1985: 168 ff.; Klinger 2005: 350 ff.) begins with the statement: "When they perform a ritual on the border of the enemy land" (i 1). Later on the actual reason for the performance of the ritual is presented in detail: "The Kaška have occupied the lands of the Hittite gods – Zithariya, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god, the Protective-god and Telipinu (i 24-27) – and now they boast about their power and force, thereby denigrating the gods" (i 16-18). The god Zithariya, who was considered the chief god of the lands occupied by the Kaška, is summoned to present the charges against the gods of the Kaška in a heavenly lawsuit. Incidentally, this deity originating from the northern city of Zithara, was worshiped in the form of a ^{KUS}*kurša* made of sheepskins, an obscure object which has been compared to the "golden fleece" of the Greeks. Zithariya's indictment is unique in Hittite literature and deserves to be fully quoted (ii 1-24; *ANET* 354 f.; von Schuler 1965: 171 ff.):

Gods of the Kaška Land, we have summoned you to (this) assembly. You must eat and drink and you must listen to the charges we raise against you. The gods of the Hatti Land did not take anything from you, from the gods of the Kaška Land, and neither did they harm you.

But you gods of the Kaška Land have raised quarrel and you have driven out the gods of Hatti from the land and you have taken their land for yourselves.

And the Kaška-men have also raised quarrel and you have taken away from the men of Hatti their towns and you have driven them out from their fields and meadows and from their vineyards.

The gods and the men of the Hatti Land call for bloody vengeance. [The vengeance] of the gods of Hatti and the vengeance of the men [of Hatti will be wrought(?)] on you, the gods and the men [of Kaška.]

The continuation is broken. When the text resumes the speech of the priest representing the god Zithariya has ended. He returns to the gods of Hatti and gives them fat and bread offerings and libations. Then he takes the cultic vessels that served in the ritual and everybody returns to the army camp. All is set now for the ensuing battle.

This unique ritual text provides an excellent example of the perfectly symmetrical perception of the heavenly and the earthly worlds. Every injustice committed among humans has its mirror-image among the gods in heaven, who may rectify it if they choose to do so. The natural sequel of this worldview finds its expression in the elaborate Hittite system of state treaties in which the gods of the opposite parties serve together as witnesses to the agreement reached between the mortals.

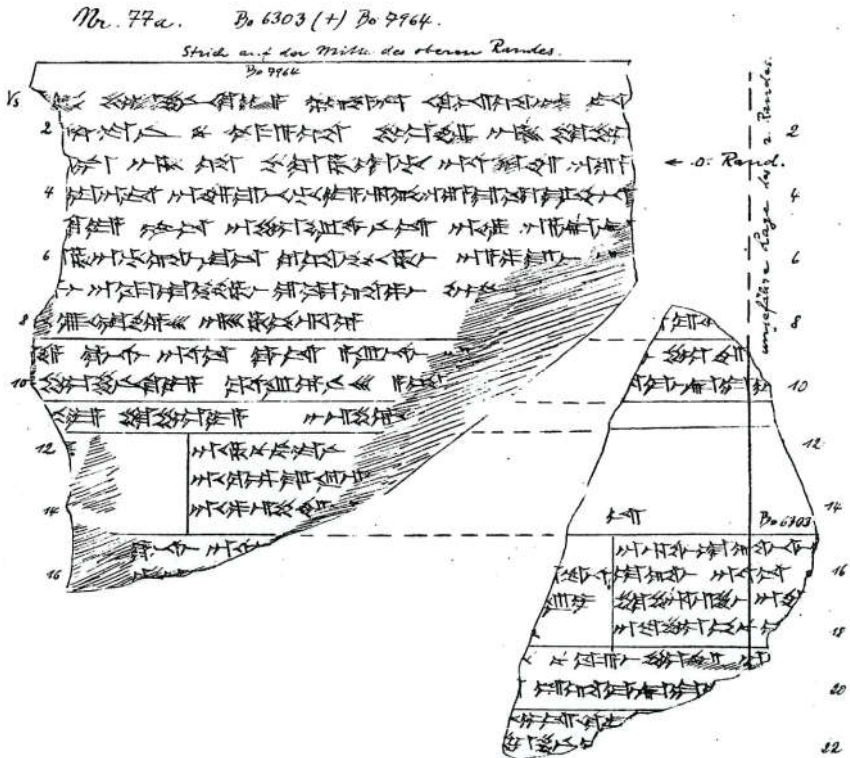
The corpus of the Kaška treaties (CTH 137-140; von Schuler 1965: 109 ff.; Neu 1983; Klinger 2005: 355 ff.), mostly dated to the late 15th century, differs from the regular Hittite treaties in form and contents. The protagonist on the Kaška side is not a king as in the regular Syrian or Anatolian monarchies, but rather a group of tribal leaders or even a full tribal assembly. In this respect the Kaška treaties exhibit parallels with the treaties concluded with eastern Anatolian political entities in a similar stage of socio-political development: Pahhuwa, Išmeriga and especially Azzi-Hayaša (Schwemer 2006: 246).

Some of the Kaška treaties are in a poor state of preservation, whereas in others the gods of the Hatti Land and the gods of the Kaška Land are listed collectively. One such list, KBo 8.35 ii 8-13 (von Schuler 1965:110) has the appearance of a regular Hittite divine list, with the notable exception that the War-god ZABABA is promoted to the beginning of the list, immediately after the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god (l. 9). The same god figures in a frightful curse formula directed against the treaty protagonists who might betray their oath and attack the Hatti Land:

If you come to attack the Hatti Land, let ZABABA turn around your weapons and devour your own flesh! Let him turn around your arrows to pierce your own hearts! (KBo 8.35 ii 19-21; von Schuler 1965: 111).

It appears that the War-god played a central role in the religion of the Kaška (von Schuler 1965: 79). What stands behind the logographic writing ZABABA is difficult to say, but my guess is the Hattian god Wurunkatte.

There is only one text which provides a detailed list of Kaškan gods, but regrettably it is only partially preserved (CTH 138.1; von Schuler 1965: 117 ff.). After the stereotyped list of the gods of the Hatti Land (i 1-10) we read the following list of the Kaškan side (KUB 23.77a+ obv. 11-20):



11 [DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA KUR^{URU} *Ga-aš-g*] *a-ya tu-li-ya ḫal-zi-ša-u[-en]*]

12 | ^DU *ḫa-nu-up-te-ni* [

13 | ^DU *ku-tup-pur-ru-z[i]* []

14 | ^DU *pa-zi-im-x*[[-iš

]

15] *tak-na-aš* ^DUTU-*u[š]*] | ^Dḫu-wa-at-ta-aš-ši-i[š

16] x x [] *x-te-na* | *at-ta-aš* ^DUTU-*uš* [

17 -] *ru-i* | *tu-uz-zi-aš* ^DI[M-*aš*

18] x | ^D*Te-li-pi-nu-u[š*

19] x *nu ka-a-aš LI-IM* DINGIR.[MEŠ

20] x *iš-ta-ma-aš-kán-du-y[a]*

11 We have also summoned to the assembly [the gods of the Kaška].

12 | the Storm-god *ḫanupteni* [

13 | the Storm-god *kutuppuruzi* [

14 | the Storm-god *pazim*[]iš

15] the Sun-goddess of the Earth | *Ḫuwattašši*

16 -] *tena* | father Sun-deity

17 -] *ru-i* | Storm-god of the Army

18] | *Telipinu*

19 | Behold, the thousand gods

20 [we have summoned to assembly and they shall be witnesses] and they shall listen.

This unique list of Kaškan gods has received surprisingly little attention, perhaps due to its fragmentary nature. Von Schuler (1965: 127) assumed that only the three Storm-gods in ll. 12-14 represent Kaškan deities, whereupon the list returns to the Hittite gods in ll. 15-18, as some kind of appendix or afterthought. This assumption, which has been followed by most commentators, ignores the structural difficulties entailed in it (see Singer 1981: 123, n. 3; 1994: 96, n. 68). I am not aware of any parallel in Hittite

treaties for a similar switching back and forth between the Hittite and the foreign lists of deities. Not only that, but according to this interpretation the Sun-goddess of the Earth would appear twice among the Hittite deities (ll. 9, 15), allegedly by mistake (von Schuler 1965: 127). I see absolutely no ground for such an interpretation of this "third" list of deities, which allegedly included more Hittite gods (Yoshida 1996: 38). Why not assume that the Kaška too venerated the Sun-goddess of the Earth and Telipinu who were deities of Hattic origin? In my opinion, both paragraphs in lines 12-18 belong to the divine list of the Kaškan side and they are enclosed as usual between the stereotyped phrases calling upon "the thousand gods" to come and testify in the assembly (ll. 11, 19 f.). Another exceptional feature shared by both paragraphs are the inner divisions marked with a vertical divider. Unfortunately, in the first paragraph all is lost left of this vertical divider, whereas in the second only one name (the Sun-goddess of the Earth) and remnants of two other remain.

Obviously, this basic change in the comprehension of this unique list bears far-reaching consequences for Kaškan religion. The three Storm-god epithets in ll. 12-14 (*hanupteni*, *kutuppurruzi*, *pazim[]is*) remain as before unknown. Could they represent some Kaškan names or attributes? Perhaps the lost left side of the paragraph contained some more conventional names of these gods.

On the other hand, the following paragraph includes several well-known or clearly transparent names, all belonging to the Hattian cultic sphere. The Sun-goddess of the Earth was a well-known deity of the Underworld, later assimilated with the Sun-goddess of Arinna (Haas 1994: 421 ff.; Popko 1995: 89).

^DHuwattašši bears a seemingly Luwian ending (Starke 1990, 374, n. 1349), probably derived from Hittite *huwant-*, "wind" (HEG 2, 328: "der zum Wind gehörige Gott"), but actually the theonym is only found in the Hattian cultic sphere, probably associated with the cult of Nerik.

The name ending on *-tena* in l. 16 has been restored by von Schuler (1965: 117) as Hu]tena(?), but the pair of destiny goddesses Hudena-Hudellurra is Hurrian (Haas 1994: 372) and has nothing to do here. There are other deities whose name ends on *-tena*, e.g. Gatena and Hewaptena.

Equally rare is "the father Sun-god" (*attaš* ^DUTU-*uš*; Laroche 1946-47: 106; Yoshida 1996: 39). I do not think he has anything to do with the Hurrian "father deities" (*enna attani=we=na*; for which see Haas 1994: 111).

The Storm-god of the Army (l. 17) is also rare (is it the same as ^DU BEL KARASŠ ?), but his appearance alongside ZABABA would not be surprising.

Finally, Telipinu (l. 18) is a typical Hattian vegetation god who is "at home" in northern Anatolia. His consort Hatipuna, "the Daughter of the Sea"

(Laroche 1946-47: 24), was apparently also venerated among the Kaška, according to an interesting passage in the annals of Mušili II. In his 25th year he occupied several northern localities, burnt them to the ground and deported the population. However, in the township Kapperi he did not damage the temple of Hatepuna, neither did he touch her servants (*AM* 176 f., iii 35-40). The same docile treatment he accorded to the temple of the Storm-god of Hurna immediately thereafter (*ib.*, iii 41-45). Obviously, Mušili was showing off his pious attitude towards the Kaškan gods in contrast with the barbaric attitude of the Kaškans towards the gods of Hatti and their temples.

To sum up, our information on Kaškan cult and religion is still very limited, but the reinterpretation of the divine oath list in the treaty KUB 23.77+ considerably improves our perspective on one aspect, their pantheon. With all due caution it may be stated that the Kaškan pantheon did not differ much from the Hattian and could possibly be regarded as a provincial offshoot thereof. This conclusion is hardly surprising for those who have already suspected a considerable overlap between the Hattian and the Kaškan cultural spheres, as also emerging from the study of their toponyms and onomastics. In short, I can only reiterate the conclusions reached by Gregor Giorgadze already in 1961, and by myself some time later, when I wrote: "... it seems to me very plausible that the Kaška can be one of the ethnical remnants of the indigenous Hattian population which was pushed northward by the Hittites" (1981: 123; already indicated in 1973). There are numerous historical examples of indigenous populations pressed by new intruders to the margins of their habitat, usually in hardly accessible mountainous regions. Quite often in such cases the more central and influential elements of the original population become assimilated with the newcomers forming a new hybrid culture, whereas the peripheral elements preserve their distinctive cultural identity much longer: e.g. the Copts in Egypt, the Berbers in north Africa, the Basques in Spain, to name but a few, and I am sure you can add many more examples from the Caucasus (see Schmitt-Brandt 2002: 122 f.). Perhaps we have to conceive of the connection between the Hattians and the Kaškans in a similar way, i.e., the Hattians in the fertile valleys and in the main urban centers, such as Hattuš and Zalpa, became assimilated with the Hittite (Nešite) occupiers, whereas the tribal elements in more remote areas kept to their age-old traditions and came to be known as the Kaška.

Needless to say, this tentative historical reconstruction completely overturns the more common interpretation of Hittite-Kaškan relations. Instead of considering them as newcomers who pushed the Hittites southwards in the first half of the second millennium (e.g. von Schuler 1976-80: 461; Klinger 2002), the Kaškans were rather the autochthonic population of northern Anatolia whose original habitat was gradually limited to the Pontic ranges by

the intrusive Hittites. To the justified question why were these Kaška not mentioned at all in the earliest Hittite sources, one can only respond by pointing to the numerous historical examples for local population groups who "lurk in the darkness" so to say for very long periods, only to suddenly rise on the historical horizon when the opportunity presents itself. What do we know, for instance, about the Gutians before they contributed to the fall of the mighty Akkadian Empire? Or the Arameans before they swept over the entire Syro-Mesopotamian realm? Yet, few would claim that these peoples were complete strangers in the areas that they invaded at a certain point in history.

A last intriguing question which I would like to briefly raise is how far east did the Kaška communities extend? Can one detect any possible "genetic" connections with other ethnic elements along the southeastern littoral of the Black Sea and beyond?

Moving east from the central Pontic area, we first confront the question of the interface between the Hattian and the Hurrian cultural zones, with a possible overlap and cross-cultural influences between the two. In fact, some of the main Hattian and Hurrian deities appear to be suspiciously similar to each other: the moon-gods Kašku and Kušuh and the Sun-gods Šimešu and Šimegi, respectively. Where should we draw the cultural borderline between the two zones? East of the Kaškan territories lay the kingdom of Azzi/Hayaša, whose king Hukkana was subjected by Šuppiluliuma I. The main god of this land is indicated by the logogram ^DU.GUR, which may conceivably represent the Hattian deity Šulinkate (Forrer 1931: 6 ff.). Another deity of the region bears the name Tarumu, which is very similar to Taru, the Hattian Storm-god. If the kingdom of Azzi-Hayaša turns out to be predominantly Hattian in character, the resulting ethnic map may indicate a continuous Hattian belt along the southern coastline of the Black Sea, at least in the second millennium B.C. It is not without interest to recall in this connection the Chalybes (or Chaldei) of the classical sources, the eponymous iron smelters of the Pontic region (Strabo XII, 3, 19; Lordkipanidze 1996: 164-178; Kavtaradze 1996: 214 ff.; 2002), whose name may very well derive metathetically from the Hattic word for iron, *hapalki-*, which was also adopted by the Hittites, the Hurrians (*hapalkinnu* in the Mittanni letter from Amarna) and perhaps by the Greeks (cf. Gr. *chalups*, gen. *chalubos*, "steel"; Laroche 1957: 9-15; 1973: xix; Puhvel, HED 3: 118). This linguistic indication for an early iron-smelting technology in the Pontic region must of course be related to the rich archaeological vestiges of an advanced metallurgical industry in Colchis (see Braund 1994: 90 ff.; Bertram 2003, with refs.).

The Kaška not only survived the cataclysm which caused the fall of the Hittite Empire, but they even profited from the new situation. In the Assyrian

sources we encounter the Kaška, whose southeastwardly drive was no longer blocked by a powerful state, as far as the region between Kayseri and Malatya (von Schuler 1976-1980: 462, with refs.). They now bordered on Urartu in the east and on Tabal in the south. After Sargon II in the late 8th century B.C. they finally disappear from the contemporary sources.

Here ends my paper, but perhaps I should add a brief epilogue on the postulated genetic connections between the language of the Kaška and some Caucasian languages. I am treading here on thin ice in a domain which is unfamiliar to me, so I will merely cite here the views expressed by Gregor Giorgadze in his 1999 and 2000 articles "On the Ethnic Origin of Kashkean Tribes according to Hittite Cuneiform Sources."

One hypothesis that has been put forward was to relate the Kaška to the North-West Caucasian language group, namely, to the Abkhazo-Adyghean. The main argument for this suggestion was the very name of the Circassians in their own language, "Kashag". Giorgadze refuted this theory, regarding the similarity between the names as simply fortuitous or at least insufficient to prove the connection. Far more attractive in his view is a postulated genetical connection between the Kaška and a South-Colchian language, such as Megrelian or Laz (Zan language). If so, there is a hardly inconsequential overlapping with the Hattian language, for which a Western Caucasian connection is postulated by various scholars, such as Dunajevskaja, Ardzinba, Gamkrelidze, Ivanov and Diakonoff (1990: 63).

Needless to say, I cannot judge these proposals myself, but perhaps I am aloud to observe that a linguistic and cultural continuum stretching along the entire southeastern Pontic coastline, from Sinop to the Caucasus range, seems quite plausible to me. Also, there are too many accounts of population movements from Anatolia to the Caucasus and vice versa in Classical and later sources to simply ignore this *longue durée* phenomenon (Kavtaradze 1996 with refs.). The fine details of this general observation must be worked out by specialists in the relevant domains.

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Irene Tatišvili (Tbilisi)

AIETES – SON OF HELIOS
(FOR THE STUDY OF HITTITE-GEORGIAN RELIGIOUS PARALLELS)

According to Apollonius Rhodius, Aietes, Medea and the whole royal family of Colchis were the progeny of Helios, the sun-god. As far as I know, Aietes is the son of Helios in all the versions of the myth, which does not seem accidental. The Greeks could have adopted this tradition 'on the spot'. The sun was one of the supreme deities in Colchis and among the Kartvelian tribes in general. Apart from the ethnographic materials, this is testified by a Greek inscription found in Vani, ancient Colchis, which goes back almost to the times of Apollonius. According to the inscription, the major deities of Suryon (the name of Vani at that period) were hJ Gh' kai; oJ \$Hlio" kai; oJ Meiv" – 'the earth, and the sun and the moon'.¹

Remarkably, the sun is normally associated with a woman in Georgian world and exactly the female sun deity could have been among the central figures in the pantheon of Kartvelian tribes.² Ethnographic materials include as well a male solar character.³ It is difficult to argue whether the character is a male deity, or the son of the sun-goddess, a young god, a king or a hero.

Close connection of the king with the sun, the rank of the Georgian sun deity in the pantheon as well as its sex certainly reminds of the Hittite sun deity.

Kartvelian and Hittite religious worlds include quite a number of parallel elements, studied in many interesting works.⁴

¹ T. Kauchtschischwili, *Korpus der griechischen Inschriften in Georgien*, Tbilisi, 2004², #116, 149f.

² I. Javakishvili, *History of the Georgian Nation*, I (in Georgian), Tbilisi, 1951, 58f.; I. Kikvidze, *Agriculture and Agricultural Cult in the Ancient Georgia* (in Georgian), Tbilisi, 1976, 156 ff.; cf. I. Surguladze, *Symbolism of Georgian Folk Ornament* (in Georgian), Tbilisi, 1993, 169.

³ Н. Абакелия, *Миф и ритуал в Западной Грузии*, Тбилиси, 1991, 24 и сл.

⁴ See e.g. M. Tsereteli, *The Land of the Hittites, Its Peoples, Languages, History and Culture* (in Georgian), Constantinople, 1924, 77ff.; Н. Бендукидзе, *Хеттский миф о Телепину и его*

What kind are the parallels between Anatolian and Kartvelian religious beliefs? Are they the instances of typological similarity, or certain borrowings, or do they point to their belonging to the common ethno-cultural world? The materials are quite specific and difficult to compare with one another. More so that no methodology has yet been developed to compare the traces of the cosmologies reflected in the Hittite religious texts, composed with a particular intention, and in Georgian folklore, archeological material and written records. Therefore, there cannot be an ultimate and undisputable answer to the question. Anyway I still believe that the above-mentioned parallels cannot be altogether accidental and corresponding studies promise many interesting findings.

If we borrow a method of the most precise branch of the humanities, the linguistics, in my opinion, comparison of systems would be the most appropriate one to evaluate the significance of the parallels. This is the task of the future. Now I will only present my own version of reconstructing the Hattian-Hittite cosmological system⁵ and will find my objective achieved if the present paper will help my colleagues in the study and systematization of the mentioned parallels.

The religion referred to as ‘Hittite’ includes the elements adopted from various ethno-cultural environments, and therefore, the study of it invites various approaches. I share the viewpoint suggesting the existence of a certain system which, although influenced by strongly modified alien elements, still represented a certain core, the basis for the Hittite state religion. The core must have been the Hittite (or Hattian-Hittite) religious system, developed as a result of the fusion of Hattian and Nesite beliefs and ideas – the system mainly based on Hattian elements.

This religious system must have had its own cosmology. I believe that its traces can be discerned in the Hittite religious texts. The fragmental implications scattered in the Myth about Illuyanka (CTH 321) and some ritual

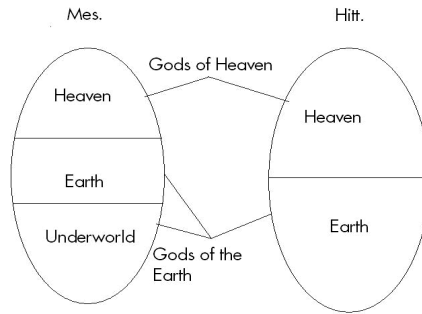
сванский параллели, ВДИ 4, 1973, 95 и сл.; С. Girbal, Weiterleben des Telepinu-Mythos bei einem kaukasischen Volk, SMEA 22, 1980, 69f.; V. Haas, Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen, Mainz am Rhein 1982, 210; M. Beriashvili, Z. Skhirtladze, For the Interpretation of the Scenes on the Silver Bowl from Trialeti (in Georgian), Proceedings of the Kakheti Archeological Expedition VI, Tbilisi, 1984, 133ff.; Н. Абакелия, 1991, 108 f.; G. Giorgadze, Hethitisch-hurritische und armasische ‘Triaden’, Archiv Orientalni 67/4, Praha, 1999, 547ff.; R. Schmidt-Brandt, Zur Etymologie von Mhvdeia, Phasis 7, 2004, 88ff.; N. Khazaradze, From the history of ethno-cultural relationships of Georgia with the world of Ancient Anatolia (in Georgian), The Southern Caucasus and the Near East, Tbilisi, 2005, 111ff.; N. Khazaradze, T. Tsagareishvili, The Cult of the Sacred Tree in Georgia (Mythological parallels), The Southern Caucasus and the Near East, Tbilisi, 2005, 221ff.

⁵ In detail see I. Tatišvili, Problems of Hittite Cosmology (in Georgian), Sprache und Kultur 3, 2002, 141ff.

texts may reflect Anatolian, Hattian cosmogony,⁶ more primitive and undoubtedly earlier than the Hurrian cosmogony, presented in the ‘Song on Ullikummi’ (CTH 345) and ‘Theogony’ (CTH 344).⁷ The texts also include bits of information about Hittite ideas on the world order. It is not easy to make up a single system of such beliefs as they were developed in different ethno-cultural environments.

According to the texts, the world is divided into three vertical zones: heaven, the earth and the underworld. Such a division has parallels in the religious beliefs of Indo-Europeans, relatives of the Hittites, as well as in the beliefs of Mesopotamians, their neighbors. The Mesopotamian cultural impact on the Hittites is doubtless, and the effect seems even stronger due to the use of cuneiform script by the Hittites.

In these circumstances, the majority of scholars is inclined to find parallels between the Mesopotamian and Hittite cosmogonies. It is believed that the Mesopotamian perception of the world underlies the division of the Hittite pantheon into the deities of heaven and the earth or the underworld,⁸ which admittedly corresponds to the two-fold division of the world in the Hittite cosmogony: heaven (and) earth.⁹



⁶ See about ‘Illuyanka’ as a cosmogonic myth M. Eliade, *Traité d’histoire des religions*, Paris, 1996, 336.

⁷ In my opinion, the Hurrian myths are not relevant to the studies of the Hittite cosmogony. See I. Tatišvili, *Quelques réflexions sur l’évolution de la pensée religieuse chez les Hittites*, Phasis 7, 2004, 93 sqq.

⁸ G. Steiner, *Gott. D. Nach hethitischen Texten*, RLA 3/7, 1969, 552; E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites*, Paris, 1947, 18; E. von Schuler, *Die Mythologie der Hethiter und Hurriter*, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I, 1965, 161.

⁹ H. Otten und J. Siegelová, *Die hethitischen Götter-Gottheiten und die Erschaffung des Menschen*, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23, 1970, 32 f.; N. Oettinger, *Die ‘Dunkle Erde’ im Hethitischen und Griechischen*, *Die Welt des Orients* 20/21, 1989-90, 86; V. Haas, *Death and the Afterlife in Hittite Thought*, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Sasson), N.-Y., 1995, 2021 f.

I fully agree with I. Singer as he distinguishes between two cosmogonic concepts and finds the traces of both in the ‘prayer of Muwatalli’ (CTH 381). According to the scholar, the original version must reflect the division of the world into heaven (and) earth, while in the later copy of the same text the world is divided into three parts in compliance with the Mesopotamian cosmogony. They are: the dark netherworld, the (surface of the) earth, and heaven.¹⁰

Where can the elements of the Hattian-Hittite cosmology be traced?

To answer this question, it certainly seems relevant to consider one important aspect of the Hittite cosmology – the Hittite understanding of the deities of heaven and earth, their functions and interrelationships.

One of the Hittite expressions referring to pantheon¹¹ (‘all deities’- DINGIR^{MEŠ} humanteš/dapiyanteš; ‘thousand deities of the land of Hatti’ – LIM DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR^{URU} Hatti; ‘great gods (and) minor gods’ – DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL[.GAL^{TIM}] DINGIR^{MEŠ} TUR.TUR^{TIM}]; ‘male gods (and) goddesses’ – DINGIR^{MEŠ}.LÜ^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ}.SAL^{MEŠ}) sounds as ‘celestial gods (and) earth gods’ (nepišaš DINGIR^{MEŠ} taknaš DINGIR^{MEŠ} / DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠAMÊ DINGIR^{MEŠ} ERS^SETIM), the parallel expression of which is ‘upper deities (and) lower deities (DINGIR^{MEŠ} UGU DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠAPLĪTI). Sometimes the members of these groupings are also mentioned separately: ‘celestial’ (nepišaš DINGIR^{MEŠ} = DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠAMÊ/AN^E) or ‘upper’ deities (UGU-zeš = šarazzeš DINGIR^{MEŠ}) and ‘earth’ (taknaš DINGIR^{MEŠ} = DINGIR^{MEŠ} KI/ERS^SETIM) or ‘lower’ (kattereš DINGIR^{MEŠ} = DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠAPLĪTI) deities. Who are they and what does their common name imply?

Earth deities are quite numerous. First of all, among the members of the group are:¹²

Deity Lelwani of the Hattian origin¹³ identified with the ‘sun of the earth’, which on its part is identified with Hurrian Allani, Akkadian Allatum, Sumerian Ereškigal;¹⁴ The Mesopotamian common name – Anunnaki unites

¹⁰ I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning* (CTH 381), American Schools of Oriental Research, 1996, 62 f.

¹¹ B.H.L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* (Handbuch der Orientalistik), part II, Leiden 1998, 970 ff.

¹² For the list c.f.e.g., Steiner, 1969, 551 ff. For the deities of the underworld see e.g., V. Haas, *Die Unterwelts- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im hethitischen Kleinasien*, *Orientalia* 45/1-2, 1976, 205 ff.; H. Otten, *Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Bogazköy*, *ZA* 20 (54), 1961, 114 ff.

¹³ H. Otten, *Die Gottheit Lelwani der Bogazköi-Texte*, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 4/2, 1950, 119 ff.; J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht* (STBoT 37), 1996, 167 ff.

¹⁴ E. Laroche, *Les dénominations des dieux ‘antiques’ dans les textes hittites*, *Anatolian Studies Presented to H. G. Güterbock*, Istanbul 1974, 184 sq.

the underworld deities. They are linked to the Mesopotamian-Hurrian tradition that had entered Asia Minor from Syria or Northern Mesopotamia.¹⁵ In the Hittite language they are referred to as ‘primeval’ (karuilieš) and ‘lower’ (kattereš) deities.

The group of earth deities may also include: vegetation gods – Telipinu, Ziparwa, Kait/ Halki; Miyatanzipa, Šuwaliyat; War (^DZA.BA₄.BA₄) and Plague deities – Wurunkatte, Hašamili, Iyarri, Zapana, Nergal/ Šulinkatte; Destiny deities – Ištuštaya and Papaya, GUL-šeš (‘Scribes of the Fate’?) and DINGIR.MAH^{MES} (‘Mother Goddesses’), Hannahanna/ ^DNIN.TU / DINGIR.MAH.

The Nesite god of heaven must have been ^DŠiuš, which corresponds to Proto-Indo-European *Dyeu(s). The Hattian couple of supreme deities – the Sun and the Weather deities – replaced it as the ruler of the world and its name acquired the meaning of ‘god’ in the Hittite language. Presumably, the Hittite concept of royal power was based on close relationship of the king with the supreme deities. That is why this concept must have appealed to Indo-European tribal chiefs, aspired to obtain the status of the Great King.¹⁶

The most obvious sign to point to the celestial gods is the epithet ‘celestial/of heaven’. The epithet is normally used to refer to the supreme deities. The epithet ‘the Queen of heaven’ is also used with Hepat mainly in the contexts which accentuate her identity with the Sun-goddess of Arinna.¹⁷ The mentioning of the deity Pihaššašši as the ‘King of heaven’¹⁸ may presumably be attributed to an attempt of identifying him with the supreme deity of Weather.¹⁹ Apart from the supreme deities, the epithet ‘celestial’ goes with Ištar²⁰ and the deity of moon, which at the same time is referred to as the ‘Moon of the earth’: ‘The Moon of heaven and earth’.²¹ The Mesopotamian

¹⁵ O. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, Oxford, 1977, 15 f.; Archi, *The Names of the Primeval Gods*, *Orientalia. Nova Series* 59, 1990, 114 ff.; Haas, 1976, 208.

¹⁶ I. Tatišvili, *Hethitische Religion. Genese, Formierung, Struktur des Pantheons*, Tbilissi, 2004², 122.

¹⁷ See e.g., KUB 6.45 I 41 (= 6.46 II 8): SAL.LUGAL ŠAMĒ.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III 51: nepišaš LUGAL.

¹⁹ For the identification of the Great Storm-god of heaven on Muwatalli’s and Urhi-Teshub’s seals with the Storm-god of Lightning (pihaššaššiš Tarhuntaš) see I. Singer, *From Hattuša to Tarhuntašša: Some Thoughts on Muwatalli’s Reign, Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology* (Çorum 1996), Ankara, 1998, 538.

²⁰ Ishtar – ‘queen of heaven’ (KBo 5.3 + I 55).

²¹ KUB 7.41/ III 54, IV 9,23; cf. ‘the Moon – king of heaven’, ‘Moon of heaven’ (VAT 7497 rev. IV 3’ sqq.); Regarding the connection of the Moon deity with the Underworld, it is noteworthy that the Moon is sometimes mentioned together with the deity of ‘Night’ and ‘sun of the earth’ (See corresponding texts in: D. Yoshida, *Das AN.TAH. ŠUM^{SAR} – Fest im Tempel der Sonnengöttin, Cult and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*, Wiesbaden, 1992, 143 f.).

religion abounds in deities with both celestial and chthonic nature.²² However, the world of Hittite deities is different: it is very difficult to trace the deity of heaven proper, and in my opinion, G. Steiner's negative definition – the Hittite celestial gods are those that do not belong to the category of the 'earth deities'²³ – is truly of little help. Astral deities are closely connected with the underworld. The chthonic nature of the supreme deities is also obvious.²⁴

It is commonly known that in the Hittite texts the Weather deity is graphically represented as ^DU, ^DIM/ ^DIŠKUR. Both ideograms correspond to the Akkadian Adad and consequently, the deity is referred to as the Weather-god or the Storm-god in the Hittitological literature. The Hattian name for the deity is Taru, its Hurrian name is Tešub, while Luwian and Nesite names are derived from Tarhunt- stem.

The Anatolian deity, graphically rendered through Mesopotamian ideograms, is the ruler of rain as well as of chthonic waters. Evidently, the function of the deity as the lord of underground waters was more conspicuous in Anatolia. In this connection, the karstic nature of Anatolian waters must have been very important, as postulated by H. Deighton.²⁵ The unexpected outflow of a river or a rivulet from the earth and its likewise unexpected disappearance into the 'underworld' evidently shape the image of the lord of those waters, the weather deity, and had an impact on the specific perception of world. The impression produced by the Weather deity, which could effortlessly 'trespass' the boundaries (could easily move from heaven to the underworld and *vice versa*), must have been applied to other deities as well. All Hittite deities are capable of hiding away in the underworld and come back. However, it is not accidental that the character of the most popular myth about the disappeared deity is the Weather-god and the deities of his group.

As concerns the Sun, referred to as 'the sun of the earth' in the Hittite texts, it is so closely linked to the underworld that 'sun' as its designation seems even curious.²⁶

The Sun deity is mentioned in almost all Hittite texts and is normally rendered through the Sumerogram ^DUTU. According to the most recurrent epithets, the following Sun deities were distinguished: the Sun-goddess of

²² J. van Dijk, Gott. A. Nach sumerischen Texten, RLA 3/7, 1969, 535 ff.

²³ Steiner, 1969, 553.

²⁴ Cf. J. G. Macqueen, Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy, Anatolian Studies 9, London, 1959, 171 ff.

²⁵ H. Deighton, The 'Weather-god' in Hittite Anatolia, BAR International Series 143, 1982, 2 ff.

²⁶ cf. M. Popko, Das hethitische Ritual CTH 447, Warszawa, 2003, 73.

Arinna (^DUTU ^{URU}Arinna), the deity of heaven (nepišaš ^DUTU) and the earth (taknaš ^DUTU). Remarkably, the epithet ‘of heaven’ seems to be mostly associated with a male Sun deity, while ‘of earth’ – with a goddess. At first sight, such relationships provide grounds for the idea popular in the Hittitological literature, which favours the existence of various Sun deities. In my opinion, the two principle designations of the Sun deity – nepišaš ‘of heaven’ and taknaš ‘of the earth’ refers not to two different Sun deities, but to two essential functions of the same deity, the two hypostases of the Sun.

‘The sun of heaven’ and ‘the sun of the earth’ of the Hittite cuneiform texts make up a single image of the cosmic sun, whose domain covers the whole world. It may be the ‘sun of gods’ (DINGIR^{MES}-nan ^DUTU), which embodies the unity of heaven and the underworld, the supreme ruler over all the deities in heaven as well as in the underworld. The prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 376 A. I 40ff.) includes the following passage: ‘Also among the primeval gods you are favoured. You, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, allot the sacrifices to the gods, and the share of the primeval gods you allot as well. They open up the door of heaven for you, and you cross the gate of heaven, O favoured [Sun-goddess of Arinna]. The gods of heaven [and earth bow down to you] ...Whatever you say ... [the gods] fall down before you ...’²⁷

In the Hittite cosmology, the relationship of the Sun deity with the earth is based on the idea that the sun sets on the horizon in the evening in order to pass through the underworld and shine out again in heaven. This idea is not alien to other mythologies as well. However, unlike other peoples, the Hittites believed that the Sun was neither asleep at night, nor had a rest, or was captured or acted as a judge in the netherworld as it is in the Egyptian or the Mesopotamian theological systems, but ruled over the earth, the underworld. The initial earth-goddess, ‘Mother Earth’, could have become associated with the Sun in the process of astralization.²⁸ In this connection, I find noteworthy the following phrase from one text (KBo 3.38 Vo. 2 sqq.) – ^{MUNUS}Daganzipaš DUMU.MUNUS ^DUTU, which sounds as ‘the Earth – the daughter of the Sun’ or ‘the daughter of the Earth – the Sun.’²⁹

‘The sun of heaven’ and ‘the sun of the earth’ represent two earliest aspects of the Hittite Sun deity. Among the Hattian epithets of the Sun deity,

²⁷ I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, Atlanta, Georgia, 2002, 51.

²⁸ See e.g. KUB 43.30 rev. III 5’ff., where the companion of the Weather-god of heaven is ‘Mother Earth’ (annaš taganzipaš), which in the parallel text (Bo 3895 10’) is replaced with ‘the sun of the earth’ (taganzipaš ^DUTU-uš).

²⁹ See J. Klinger, 1996, 146f. In the opinion of the scholar, the Hattian equivalent of this expression can be the epithet of Eštan – Wurun-šemu ‘Mother (/ Daughter?) of the earth.’

there are brightness/light (Hatt. *kašbaruyah*, Hitt. *lalukkima-*) on the one hand and *Wurušemu* ‘Mother of the earth’ on the other. The ‘sun’ is used with the epithets ‘of heaven’ and ‘of earth’ in old Hittite ritual texts. Corresponding archeological material is also noteworthy: E. Masson identifies the anthropomorphic figures with the disc of the sun on their heads, symmetrically arranged on the blades (on both sides) of the spear discovered in the Middle Bronze Age tomb of *Ikiz Tepe* as the earliest images of the Sun deities of ‘heaven’ and ‘earth’ known from the texts.³⁰

So, the integrity of the Hittite Sun deity does not seem to be the result of theological speculation. Traces of theology can be detected in the opposition of ‘the sun of heaven’ and ‘the sun of the earth.’³¹ This opposition reflects the increasing independence of those hypostases from the original essence most likely to be explained by the Mesopotamian, Hurrian impact or the remote repercussion of the Indo-European *Siu-*. However, the double image of the Sun – ‘the sun of heaven’ and ‘the sun of the earth’ – represents an opposition only at the terminological level and is limited to the sphere of theology. It is not likely that an average Hittite perceived the double nature of the Sun as two different Sun deities.³²

In the Hittite cosmology, unlike many other mythologies, each zone of cosmos does not appear to be the domain and image of a particular deity or a group of deities. The Hittite texts do not suggest anything that would point to the distribution of the world among the divine rulers in the way as it is in the Mesopotamian or Greek cosmogony. Undoubtedly, the moving of a deity from one sphere into another is a threat to the cosmic order.³³ The Hattian gods’ hiding away in the underworld may be motivated by their rage and may even lead to a disastrous outcome. It is necessary to smooth and to mollify the deities so as to restore the cosmic order; but this can be achieved merely by a spell and a ritual. Remarkably, the descent of the deities into the underworld does not result in their destruction or alteration of their inherent nature.³⁴ The distinction of the domain of *Ereškigal*, the queen of the underworld, is not only attributed to a different spatial dimension; it is different from the domains of *Anu*, *Enlil* and *Ea* in quality as well. Neither the deities of heaven can freely descend to her place, nor can she herself go up the ladder leading to

³⁰ cf. E. Masson, *Le double soleil dans les hiéroglyphes anatoliens*, Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum, 1996), Ankara, 1998, 401 sqq.

³¹ Cf. E. Laroche, 1974, 185.

³² See corresponding material in: I. Tatišvili, 2004, 123ff.

³³ CTH 323-36; cf.: CTH 671, 727.

³⁴ E. Cassin, *Souveraineté divine et division des pouvoirs*, *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, Paris, 1981, 464.

the celestial deities. If a celestial deity trespassed the boundaries of her realm and ate the food of the underworld deities, it would lose its celestial nature. Let us recall the myth about Ishtar descending into the underworld or the story about Nergal and Ereškigal, relating how Nergal, once a celestial deity, became the lord of the underworld. In the Mesopotamian myths, the deities do their best to avoid the underworld, while the Hittite deities of the Hattian origin freely descend into the netherworld and feel themselves almost at home there, when enraged or frightened they find a shelter in the underworld. The way in and out of the netherworld is always open to them. This may account for the fact that in the myths of the Hattian origin corresponding to other peoples' myths about the death and resurrection of a deity, the latter does not die, but hides away, and any other deity may appear as the central character of the myth about the vanished deity.³⁵

So, according to the Hittite religious beliefs, deities can move around in the single world, various sections of which does not seem strictly delimited from one another. In my opinion, this is one of the peculiarities of the Hattian-Hittite cosmology.

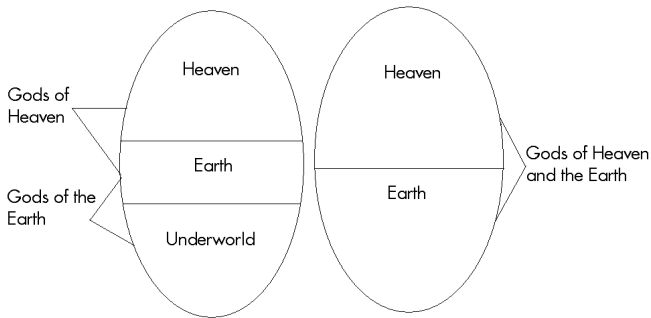
The Hittite texts have the following groupings of deities: 'the sun of heaven, celestial deities' and the 'sun of the earth, earth deities.'³⁶ I believe that such groupings imply the same degree of opposition as 'the sun of heaven' and 'the sun of the earth.' We should regard the designations 'celestial deities' and 'earth deities' as temporal functional manifestations of deities and not as their intrinsic nature, as in the case of the hypostases of the Sun. It should also be mentioned that the expression 'the deities of heaven (and) the deities of the earth' belongs to a later period, and may be related to the imperial attempts of bringing the pantheon in order, and at the same time may reflect the impact of Mesopotamian-Hurrian cosmology or theology. Anyway, bearing in mind the above-mentioned peculiarities of the Hattian-Hittite cosmology, the group should be interpreted not as the unity of the deities of heaven and the deities of the earth, but as the unity of the deities each being the deity of heaven as well of the earth.

I believe that the above-considered properties of the Hittite cosmology are closely linked to the two-fold division of the world. According to Levan Gordeziani, bipartition and tripartition of the world belong to two

³⁵ The Sun (CTH 323), Telipinu (CTH 324), Storm-god (CTH 325-32, 671), Hannahanna (CTH 334), Fate-goddesses and Mother-goddesses (CTH 335), Inara (CTH 336), Moon-god (CTH 727).

³⁶ ^DUTU AN^E DINGIR^{MEŠ} A[N^E (KBo 15.12 10'); taknaš ^DUTU-uš taknašša DINGIR^{MEŠ} (KUB 17.18 II 26', 28'). See also H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (StBoT 3), 1967, 82.

fundamentally different cosmological concepts. The unity or opposition of heaven and earth in the two-zone world did not imply the correspondance of a particular zone, a particular world, to either a good or an evil power and the hierarchy between them. The three-zone world, on the contrary, has a delimited domains of good and evil and even gods find difficult to cross the boundaries between them. Consequently, although the Hittite texts offer two- as well as three-fold division of the world and an attempt to unite these concepts, the principle difference between them is obvious. One of them can be defined as local, Anatolian, Hattian-Hittite, while the other may be regarded as Mesopotamian.



In this respect, Georgian ethnographical material seems far more problematic as it includes earliest Caucasian or Kartvelian elements, Greek and Mesopotamian influences adopted either directly or through the Bible, also the paganized versions of Christian, Islamic or even communist rituals. These elements are sometimes very difficult to distinguish from one another and likewise difficult to assign to a definite cultural or chronological layer.

Nevertheless, I believe it is possible to reconstruct the earliest Georgian cosmological system through a complex study of the entire material. In this regard, I find relevant and helpful to reconsider the Georgian material in the light of the above-discussed issues. The vertical division of the world, the migration of deities and heroes, or the distribution of good and evil powers among these zones may appear essential to the reconstruction of the system as well as to the detection of cultural parallels and differences between Anatolian and Caucasian worlds.

At first sight, these worlds seem to have much in common. Of course, I can not be certain about the actual amount of parallel elements, but, admittedly, deities can move around freely according the Georgian material

as well,³⁷ there are perhaps signs of two-fold division of the world.³⁸ Most of the parallel elements are found with the Sun deities of Anatolian and Kartvelian worlds, which in fact became the motivation for my presentation at this conference.

³⁷ I. Surguladze, 1993, 206.

³⁸ Cf. Z. Aleksidze, Skneli, myth or reality? (in Georgian), *Linguistic Issues*, Tbilisi, 2002/1, 64 ff.; I. Surguladze, The term 'skneli' (in Georgian), *Analebi*, The Issue of I. Javakishvili Institute of History and Ethnology, Tbilisi, 2004/1, 74ff.; See also N. Abakelia, 1991, 114 ff.; G. Charachidzé, *Géorgie. La religion et les mythes des géorgiens de la montagne*. *Dictionnaire des mythologies* (sous la direction de Yves Bonnefoy) 1, Paris, 1999, 865 sqq.; M. Khidasheli, *The World Image in Archaic Georgia*, Tbilisi, 2001, 87 ff.

Nana Tonia (Tbilisi)

THE ENIGMATIC LOGIC OF THE ARGONAUT MYTH

- *Why does a stone, thrown up, fall down?*
'In compliance with the force of gravitation',
says Newton.
'Because the stone wants so', says Schopenhauer.
- *But what about the stone hanging over the head of*
Tantalus, which ever threatens to come down, why
does it not fall down?
'Zeus wishes so', mythos answers.

Mythos hides hosts of secrets. Some can be disclosed, while others remain unrevealed even at present. This creative power, imagination exists, although in a hidden way, in the consciousness of poets and philosophers. Consequently, it is possible to have new myths created, which is attested by our contemporary verbal art. This dynamic character of the poetic form of mythos has its structure, the structure of metamorphosis of the poetic images of mythos, which on its part follows a definite logic. This logic is sometimes rational, but more often it is irrational, as a lot remains mysterious for human consciousness endowed with the gift for poetic imaginations. Ancient Greek epos, lyric and tragedy tenderly attended to the mystery of these images and beliefs till the end of ancient times as its own treasure and splendid possession.

Historical-cultural rendering of mythic images, poetic imaginations requires great caution and is often marked with infantilism. The goal of my paper is to consider the world of poetic imaginations of the Argonaut myth and have a look at the logic, which underlies and keeps alive the poetic images of the myth and the wonderful events or the enigmas depicted therein.

First of all, I believe that it would be appropriate to specify what exactly I mean by ‘enigmas’, or more precisely, ‘the enigmatic logic’: the extraordinary world of the Hellenic mythos is material and sensible i.e. perceptible at the same time. All what is spiritual, ideal and mental in it is at the same time material and vice versa: all what is material can appear ideal, imaginary, not following the logic of common sense and transferable into the imaginary world, which also has its own logic. In this case, I share the opinion of Jacob Golosovker that if we try to decipher the imaginary world, if we go deeper into the gnoseology of imagination, we will come to the conclusion that it has its own logic, and this will be the ‘enigmatic logic’.

The Argonaut mythos, which retains hosts of dilemmas for the reader, is imaginative rather than real. Although Tim Severin’s expedition, archeological excavations in Troy, Lemnos, as well as other materials have attested to the possibility of an actual Argonautic expedition, this is only one aspect of mythological studies. I am interested in the axis that supports the imaginative world of the Argonaut myth, and I believe it should be looked for exactly within enigmatic logic. More specifically, it is the voyage in time and space, both being imaginative in their essence. Allow me to remind you that the correspondence between Aea of the earliest legends and the countries located on the East Black Sea coast has not yet been unquestionably attested; legendary Aea is considered to be located in either Greece itself¹, or the west Mediterranean², or Mesopotamia³, or Ethiopia⁴; there is an assumption regarding the Anatolian version of the Golden Fleece as well⁵. The complete route and exact duration of the Argonaut expedition has not been detected, etc.

Besides, I should also mention that it was the voyage with obstacles, as the central element of the narration was always a wondrous person, event or thing. In my opinion, the whole myth is based exactly on the axis of wonders. Such axis is the Golden Fleece hanging in a gorgeous grove of Aea the wonderland, and protected by the sleepless dragon. Around this axis lie magicians, magic tools and magic events. In support of this statement, I will cite a fragment from A. Losev’s and A. Takho-Godi’s paper: ‘If even

¹ Я. Э. Голосовкер, *Логика мифа*, Москва, 1987, 19.

² W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexika der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884-1937. See also Pauly’s *Realenzyklopedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893-1972.

³ M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden, 1967⁸.

⁴ Der Kleine Pauly, *Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly’s RE*, hg. K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer, 5 Bde., 1964-75.

⁵ Cf. G. Giorgadze, ‘The Fleece’ in the Hittite Sources and It’s Ancient Parallels, *TSU papers*, 227, 1982, 287ff.

wonders live in actual terms, they live only on the soil of the most exotic land of Colchis, where they fill the palace of Aietes, where wonder and monstrosity is almost indistinguishable, neighboring with each other, and where the heroic human character is fully capable of confronting a monster and working a wonder.⁶ Not only the Colchian part, but the whole myth of the Argonauts' voyage abounds of wondrous plots, which, as I have already mentioned above, make up a certain system. Now I will only focus on three determining aspects of this system, which I find especially relevant. They are a) The possibility of scholarly treatment and explanation of enigmas; b) Functional implication of enigmas; c) The aesthetic aspect of enigmas.

a) The mystery of enigmas

Scholars have always attempted to explain an event presented in the myth and adjust it to a historical context. Sometimes this is justified, but sometimes such reasoning is tinted with infantilism. In my opinion, scholarly approach to such plots as 'Jason's adventure in Colchis' contains discrepancies. It includes the unity of two sub-plots: a) Accomplishment of Aietes' tasks; b) Taking away the Fleece. The episode is rich in enigmas. One of the scenes belonging to it is the fight against the dragon, which has several versions. The comparison of these versions reveals some discrepancies. Two dragons appear in the myth: one, whose teeth Jason is to sow, and the other, who guards the Fleece. Realizing that two dragons could not be related to the same plot, ancient authors offered their own versions: either Jason killed the dragon on the king's order, or the teeth belonged to the dragon killed by Cadmus.⁷ Some authors even neglected the episode with dragon's teeth. Even such an early source as the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar, which thoroughly enough presents Aietes' task, is reticent about the dragon's teeth.⁸ There are several hypothesis connected with the retrieval of the Fleece or the origin of the Argonaut myth. The majority of scholars support the so-called Greek-Caucasian hypothesis, according to which the archeological material from western Georgia attests to the high level of metalwork, high production rate

⁶ A. A. Тахо-Годи, А. Ф. Лосев, *Греческая культура в мифах, символах и терминах*, Санкт-Петербург, 1999, 605.

⁷ According to the tradition, after killing the Dragon, Cadmus retained part of its teeth, and Pnixus (or some other deity) took the rest of the teeth to Aietes. This version was especially favoured by ancient authors. It was also used by Apollonius Rhodius (III, 869; IV, 214). For a detailed account of the episode, see *The Argonauts. The World of Greek Myths*, related and commented on by R. Gordeziani, Tbilisi, 1999, 104 ff. (in Georgian).

⁸ According to Pindar, '...Aietes positioned in their midst the plow made of adamant and the oxen that were breathing the flame of blazing fire from their tawny jaws and pawing the ground in turn with brazen hoofs, he led them and brought them to the joke-strap single-handedly. He stretched straight furrows as he drove them and split open the stretch of clodded earth a fathom deep' (223-230).

of agricultural tools, and consequently, the episode of yoking fire-breathing bulls and of ploughing the field is subjected to an ontological and not enigmatic logic. In my opinion, such an approach, to put it softly, is disputable. Finding links between the fire-breathing and brazen-footed bulls and the production of agricultural tools bears the signs of infantilism in the same way as the detection of parallels between the mythos of the armed men, the Spartans, sprang from the ground after dragon's teeth were sown, and agriculture, as well as between their fight and the act of scything. The grounds for such parallels are very simple: an attempt to connect the unusual to the ordinary, belonging to the sphere of daily life, or to a historical fact.

In the same way, no matter what the Golden Fleece may embody⁹, whatever symbols it may be supposed to convey, it primarily was the symbol of power (or welfare) of a country in mythological world, which after being moved away from Colchis, lost its function and was rendered uninteresting to mythos.

b) The absoluteness of the functions of enigmas

The wonderful world of mythos has its own symbols, directly based on the absoluteness and perfect nature of the functions of creatures and things found therein, whether deities, monsters or magic items.

The function of a magic creature or thing is infinite; as the energy it issues is absolute and is put into use or stopped at the will of its owner (it suffices to mention Apollo's unfailing arrows and Heracles' club). If the absoluteness of the function of the items or beings is lost, the latter are annulled – they are rendered invalid to accomplish their function, lose their essence and perish away from the mythical scene.

This exactly happened to the Golden Fleece, which was carried away by the expedition of the renowned heroes from whole Greece. Symplegades, the Clashing Rocks, which were not supposed to be passed through by any ship, also disappeared from the mythic scene. After the Argonauts managed to overcome this wonder, the rocks lost their function¹⁰, while the mythic world lost interest in them.

c) Enigma as an aesthetic game without moral

Logical understanding or interpretation of a wondrous event was not at all important to ancient world. The Hellenes perceived this wonderful event without any questions. They accepted the body made invisible by an invisible hat as just invisible; while the representative of modern European civilization, H. G. Wells, was to comment which chemical solution was responsible for

⁹ The Argonauts. The World of Greek Myths, related and commented on by R. Gordeziani, Tbilisi, 1999, 107 ff. (in Georgian).

¹⁰ This episode is replicated in the Homeric *Odyssey*.

making a body invisible so that it remained palpable otherwise. However, it should also be mentioned here that neither a modern reader takes much interest in the techniques of man's transformation into a spider.

The Hellenes perceived a wonderful event as an aesthetic reality, which did not rule out an appropriate logical ground. The logic of an enigmatic event is easily understandable, for example, in such a classical plot as the birth of Athena (wisdom) from the head of Zeus. This fact is based on a logical ground, which is sufficient for mental reality (i.e. a logical element) to become ontological. Here we enter the world of enigmatic reality, where everything is possible and no one is surprised at this. All depends of one's will or artistic effort, which also has its own logic – nothing is impossible for it.¹¹ No one but Peleas' daughters were surprised at Medea's hacking an old ram into pieces, putting them into a boiling water, and then taking out a lamb from the water – because Hellenic world did not take interest in 'why?', it found relevant the fact itself, the power of sorcery as an aesthetic reality (according to certain sources of the Argonaut myth, when Jason arrived, his father Aeson was still alive. Medea rejuvenated him¹², and did the same with his husband).¹³ This axiom of a wonderful event also has its logic: the important thing here is not whether the fact is convincing or not, but the essence of it as an aesthetic game, which does not have moral. This is the basis for any wonder, magic events or magic things. Just one wish is enough to have the unimaginable accomplished, although nothing is unimaginable for Greek mythos.

As the process of myth-creation is unlimited in ancient Greek world, which the dynamic character of the poetic form of mythos fits so well, no one was surprised at adding new traits to the interpretation of Medea's image. I mean the intensified tragism of this ever tragic image. If child-slaughter, committed by Medea, was not in the initial version of the mythos and is believed to be included later, the creative genius of the author placed it anyway in the sphere of enigmatic logic, in the string of indescrepant discrepancies – the dismembering of Apsyrtus, the boiling of Peleas, and turning Creon and Creuse into ashes. A modern reader may have a lot of questions: why is not Medea punished? Or if she revived a hacked and boiled ram as a lamb, why did not she wish to bring her children back to life? And so

¹¹ Although ethic are very important in Greek mythos, in this case, first the desire is fulfilled (no matter how blasphemous it may be), and then punishment follows (Tantalus, Sisyphus, Ixion, etc.).

¹² The Returns, fr. VI; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 159 ff.

¹³ Pherecydes, fr. 74; Simonides, fr. 204 and others.

on. But this infantilism vanishes at once when we recall that an event is more important to a creative genius than its interpretation.

Accomplishment of unimaginable feats and labors is a fabulous motif. It has moral as well as aesthetic implication. However, here we once again encounter certain logic; it also has its own logic. In particular, a wondrous being makes wonder with the help of or through another wonder: yoking brazen-footed and fire-breathing bulls, beating the armed men that sprung from the ground after the dragon's teeth were sown, putting to sleep the horrifying guard of the Golden Fleece, acquiring the symbol of power of the Colchian king, and so on is impossible for an average mortal to accomplish without a magic force. What happens in mythos is pre-determined. The secret of the future is obvious, but the ways of accomplishing it are not revealed. This aesthetic game is also intrinsic for enigmatic logic.

So, the goal of the present paper was to show with respect to the Argonaut mythos that the enigmas existing in the mythic world have their own logic. To be concise, this is the logic of unimaginable imaginations, which, although presented in time and space, exists without time and space; is placed in the chain of discrepancies, but works without any discrepancy. This is the free logic, which is equivalent to a creative effort. The world of imaginations, mythos implicitly offers the reason and cause of an event. They are linked to each other with an absolute freedom – the creative will, which may even be unconsciously guided by ontological logic.

Martin L. West (Oxford)

THE ARGONAUT LEGEND IN EARLY GREEK POETRY

The story of the Argonauts' expedition to a distant land to acquire the Golden Fleece is one of the most famous of Greek myths. The oldest surviving connected narrative account of it appears in Pindar's Fourth Pythian Ode, composed in 462 BCE. But there are many allusions to it in earlier poets – the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Hesiod and the pseudo-Hesiodica, Mimnermus, Simonides – which confirm the currency of the myth by 700 BCE at the latest. I shall argue that it was much older.

Let us begin with the Homeric references. In three places in the *Iliad* (7. 467-9, 21. 40 f., 23. 746 f.) we hear of Jason's son Euneos, born to Hypsipyle on Lemnos: this union of Jason and Hypsipyle was always treated as an episode of the Argonautic expedition. The poet of the *Odyssey* (12. 69-72) mentions the Argo itself and how it succeeded, with Hera's help, in getting past the Clashing Rocks on its way home from Aietes. The reference to Hera's assistance implies a narrative with divine machinery, which points to an epic treatment. This old epic Argonautica was evidently the source from which the *Odyssey* poet knew of the Clashing Rocks. In fact, as many scholars since Kirchhoff have argued, he appears to have borrowed several adventures and motifs from the same source and transferred them to Odysseus.¹ They include the Sirens, of whom I shall say more later, and Circe the sister of Aietes.

Hesiod in his catalogue of the world's major rivers (*Th.* 338-45) includes the Phasis; this was a mythical stream known only in connection with the Argo story. There are more explicit references to the myth towards the end of the *Theogony* (956-62, 992-1002), and many allusions to the subject matter in

¹ See M. L. West, *Odyssey and Argonautica*, *Classical Quarterly* 55, 2005, 39-64.

fragments from other Hesiodic poems.² The seventh-century elegist Mimnermus devoted several lines to Jason's recovery of the Fleece from the ends of the earth (frs. 11–11a W.). Clearly the story was widely known by this time. We can assume that epic was the primary genre in which it was current.

We know of several epic poems of archaic or classical date in which the myth was treated. But none of these can have been early enough to be the source for the Homeric poets. The story was at least touched on (and developed) in the *Korinthiaka* attributed to Eumelos (frs. 17, 20–3 W.); this poem, however, cannot be dated earlier than the mid sixth century.³ There was an ample account of the Argonauts' voyage in the *Naupaktika* attributed to Carcinus (*Carmen Naupactium* frs. 3–9 W.), but this too reflected a Corinthian or Corinthian-colonial elaboration of the legend, in which Jason moved to Corcyra after the death of Pelias. Then there is record of a poem in 6, 500 lines on 'the building of the Argo and Jason's voyage to Colchis' ascribed to Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 1. 111 = DK 3 A 1). In this poem, as in pseudo-Eumelos, Helios' son Aietes was a native of Corinth. So here again we are looking at a secondary version, not an original source; in general the ascription of poetry to the semi-legendary seer Epimenides seems to have begun in the fifth century.⁴ So none of these attested poems represented the archetypal account of the legend. Hesiod and the poets of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must have known an older Argonautic epic or epics that existed only in oral form, or, if they were ever fixed in writing, they disappeared before the Hellenistic age.

I have recently analysed the relationship between the *Odyssey* and its Argonautic source, and tried to show that the topography of the Argonautic poem related to a northerly sector of the Black Sea from the Crimea to the Straits of Kerch and the Sea of Azov.⁵ If my argument is accepted, the poem must have been composed at a time when that sector was the frontier zone of Greek exploration, tentatively prospected but not yet colonized. We should probably think of the mid part of the seventh century as the time when this area was being sporadically traversed, and when rumours of what it contained were coming back to Greece. That should be the date of the Argonautic poem. The mythical Aia was not yet located at Colchis; it will have lain at the eastern extremity of that northern zone, the Phasis being perhaps identified

² *Catalogue of Women*, frs. 38, 40, 63, 241 M.-W.; *Megalai Ehoiai*, frs. 253-5; *Keykos gamos*, fr. 263; *Aigimios*, fr. 299.

³ See M. L. West, "Eumelos": *A Corinthian Epic Cycle?*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 122, 2002, 109-33, at 130 f.

⁴ M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford 1983, 45–53.

⁵ See n. 1.

with the Tanais.⁶ The Colchian localization is first attested in the sixth-century pseudo-Eumelos (fr. 17. 8 W.), after the date of the Greek settlement in Colchis.

The seventh-century Argonautica will not have been the first epic on the subject. The legend may go back much further. How much further? Can we identify a particular historical period favourable to the development of such a story? If we reduce it to its basic scheme, a quest by a band of companions for a treasure located in a distant land and guarded by a sleepless dragon – a quest that succeeds thanks to the help of the local king's daughter, who falls in love with the leading hero – then it appears as a timeless *Märchen* complex that could have originated at any period. But if we take into consideration the circumstantial details that characterize the Greek myth, the question is not quite so open. The heroes set forth from the northern city of Iolkos. Their leader, Jason, is a claimant to the throne, which has been occupied by Pelias, the brother of Neleus and uncle of Nestor. So the story is anchored in a wider mythological framework. It is part of what we may call the Thessalian epic cycle of saga poetry centred on the Mycenaean capital of Iolkos and featuring heroes such as Pelias, Peleus, and Achilles. This poetry looked back to the late Mycenaean age, the period before the sack of Iolkos, which archaeologists date to sometime in the twelfth century. In the century or so following that event the poetic traditions relating to that region will have taken shape among the Aeolian Greeks of Thessaly.

The Argonauts' voyage is also anchored, at least in part, on the geography of the real world. From Iolkos they sail across the north Aegean by way of Lemnos, up through the Bosphoros, and out into the greater sea beyond. At the same time as their saga poetry was taking shape, the Aeolian Greeks of Thessaly were raiding and settling the coastal regions of north-west Anatolia. Then, if not before, they must have become familiar with the Hellespont; they must have sailed up the Bosphoros and found that it gave access to a vast open sea stretching away to the north and east, to unknown regions. For mariners of the north Aegean this was the natural direction in which to situate the fabulous land of the Golden Fleece and the voyage that took the Argonauts to many strange places and adventures. To this period, then, say between 1150 and 1000, we may plausibly date, not the origin of the *Märchen* complex itself, but the framing of that particular form of the legend in which the adventurers were led by Jason at the behest of Pelias and in which their goal lay somewhere out in the east, beyond the Bosphoros.

⁶ As it still was in the fifth century by the author of the *Prometheus* trilogy. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aischylos. Interpretationen*, Berlin 1916, 152 f.; J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford 1962, 56-8.

There is another argument for the antiquity of the myth. The name of the Phasis, the river of that land of the sunrise where the sun's rays are stored in a golden chamber by Oceanus' rim (Mimnermus fr. 11a) and where Helios' children Aietes and Circe live, has a clear and simple Greek etymology: it means 'shiner', from the old root verb *bhā-* 'shine', which was used especially in connection with the dawn.⁷ Φάσις corresponds exactly in form to the Sanskrit noun *bhātis* 'shining, lustre', except that it is masculine, with the *-tis* suffix making a *nomen agentis*.⁸ This is evidently an archaic formation that must have been created several centuries before Homer. It may be conjectured that in the original myth Phasis took the place of Oceanus itself as the river from which the sun rose.

One of the dangers that the Argonauts had to overcome was the seductive singing of the Sirens. The Sirens of course also appear in the *Odyssey*, as a threat to Odysseus and his men. It is very probable that this is one of the motifs that the poet of the *Odyssey* borrowed from the Argonaut story. The Argonauts countered the danger by a means not available to Odysseus. They had on board a marvellous singer of their own, and when they came within earshot of the Sirens he took up his lyre and sang better than they did, so that the Argonauts were not tempted to land on the Sirens' shore. The episode is related by Apollonius Rhodius (4. 891–919), but it certainly goes back to much earlier versions of the myth.

The Argonauts' singer is usually identified as Orpheus. The evidence that he was one of the Argonauts goes back to at least the middle of the sixth century. According to the mythographer Herodorus of Heraclea, who wrote around 400 BCE (*FGrHist* 31 F 43 = fr. 43 Fowler), it was in order to counter the Sirens that Orpheus was included in the company: the wise Centaur Chiron told Jason to take Orpheus with him for that precise contingency. As Meuli saw, the Argo legend had the pattern of what he calls the *Helfermärchen*, the type of story in which a band of people embark on a dangerous journey or quest, having among them certain individuals with exceptional abilities, and each of these individuals enables the company to overcome a particular danger.⁹ Orpheus' inclusion among the Argonauts fits this pattern.

⁷ *Od.* 14. 502 φάε δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥως, and in Indo-Iranian; see M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007, 219.

⁸ As in μάντις. See C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, Chicago 1949, 574.

⁹ K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika*, Berlin 1921, 1–24 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, Basel 1975, ii, 593–610.

How old is the episode of Orpheus and the Sirens? The direct evidence, as I say, begins in the sixth century. But if the poet of the *Odyssey* borrowed the Sirens from the older Argonautica that he knew, that takes them back at least a century earlier. It may seem bold to suggest that Orpheus appeared in a pre-Homeric Argonautica, because we have no evidence for his existence in any connection before the sixth century. When he does appear, however, he appears first in the role of Argonaut. He is shown, labelled with his name, on a sculptured metope from the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi, dating from around 570 BCE, standing in a ship which is generally recognized to be the Argo.¹⁰ He appeared with the Argonauts also in pseudo-Eumelos (fr. 22* West). The earlier allusions to the Argo legend in Hesiod, Mimnermus, and the *Odyssey*, are so brief that we could not expect Orpheus to be mentioned in them. When Circe warns Odysseus about the Sirens, she does not even mention the Argo, as she does in the case of the Clashing Rocks. She could not conveniently have done so, for if she had told him that the Argonauts got past the Sirens safely, she would have had to explain too that they had achieved this because they had an expert singer with them, and that information would have been of no use to Odysseus. So I think it is perfectly possible, even likely, that Orpheus was already present in the pre-Homeric version of the Argonaut legend.

Indeed I see no reason why he should not have played his part in the story from the beginning. The Thracian music-maker, the grandson of Pieros, should have been at home originally, like the Pierian or Olympian Muses themselves, in that north Greek poetic tradition, to be carried from there across the sea to Lesbos, where Orpheus' severed but prophetic head was later said to be located. And there is another thing that points to his antiquity. I have already referred to the archaic formation of the name Phasis as evidence of the early origins of the Argo legend. Orpheus' name too is of an archaic sort. Names in -εῦς, genitive -ῆος, are an old type, found in the Linear B tablets, common with Homeric heroes (Achilleus, Odysseus, Peleus, Neleus, Tydeus, Atreus, and others), but no longer productive in the historical period. Names of this form were not still being created in the seventh or sixth century. Orpheus must have been celebrated much earlier – and probably as an Argonaut.

¹⁰ *Fouilles de Delphes* 4, pl. 4; *LIMC* Argonautai no. 2 = Orpheus no. 6; cf. West (as n. 1), 46.