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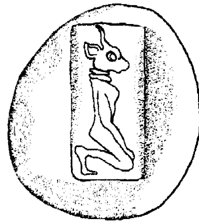

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Phasis 24, 2021

WHERE IS IO RUSHING TO? WHY AND FOR WHAT? ON THE FUNCTION OF οἶστρος IN *PROMETHEUS BOUND**

NINO DIANOSASHVILI

Abstract. The article analyses the semantic field, the etymology and the function of οἶστρος in depth, including the psychic condition it causes, manifested by a sudden mind alteration, the abrupt urge to travel, jerking movements and rushing aimlessly about. Although οἶστρος does not act on its own, but instead as an executor, it nevertheless determines Io's state in her adventure. Its touch is perceived to be a god's punishment, but in fact, οἶστρος appears to be a tool enabling the fulfilment of a god's intent. Through the intervention of οἶστρος Io becomes an unconscious seeker in quest of a place to "meet" Zeus. Being attuned to a god's intent, understanding the impulse behind the action, and constantly moving forward are steps proposed by the tragedian towards restoring balance in one's inner world when a person is permanently anxious, restless, and totally obsessed with seeking something. The psychic condition caused by οἶστρος is compared to the psychic epidemic, dromomania, that occurred in France at the end of the 19th century.

* The article was prepared within the project *The Phenomenon of Madness in Ancient Greek Culture* [YS-18-1951] supported by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia's (SRNSFG) research grant to Young Scientists programme.

The tragedy *Prometheus Bound*, traditionally attributed to Aeschylus, raises a number of questions for researchers: the date of the play,[1] its authorship,[2] the notions of tyranny[3] and of humanism,[4] fate and free will,[5] the theme of progress in the ancient Greek world[6] and the understanding of space in the tragedy,[7] to name but a few. However, my aim is not to review the history of studies devoted to the tragedy or to discuss scholarly opinions regarding any of these questions. Instead, I have examined the phenomenon of "madness" as presented by the author in this work.

I analyze the linguistic expressions of this key phenomenon found in the tragedy, as well as the semantic field, etymology and function of οἶστρος, which is one of the central lexical formatives used in the play to refer to madness.[8] I also study the psychological condition suffered by Io, and the causes and ultimate reasons for this psychological phenomenon. *Prometheus Bound* is the only surviving Greek tragedy of all ancient texts that offers significant possibilities to study the psychic condition caused by οἶστρος, as the tragedy comprehensively reveals its essence and function. In *Prometheus Bound* οἶστρος afflicts Io, daughter of the Argive King Inachus, driving her into madness and compelling her to wander across the Eurasian continent.

The story of Io is narrated in Episode 3 of *Prometheus Bound*. The princess, turned into a heifer, enters the scene and shares her anguish with

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[1] Griffith 1983, 31-35; West 2007, 394-396.

[2] The authorship of *Prometheus Bound* remains widely debated among scholars. His authorship of the tragedy was first questioned by Wilhelm Schmid (1929). Likewise, Mark Griffith (2007, 8-19) and Martin L. West (2007, 392-396; 1990, 51-72) argue against attributing the play to Aeschylus. On the other hand, the hypothesis of Aeschylus' authorship is supported by Hugh Lloyd-Jones (2003). As the question still remains disputable, the generic terms – "the author" and "the tragedian" are, for the most part, used in the paper to refer to the writer of *Prometheus Bound*.

[3] Golden 1962, 20-26; White 2001.

[4] Lloyd-Jones 2003.

[5] Lloyd-Jones [2]1983, 79-103; Rader 2013.

[6] Dodds 2001, 26-45.

[7] Finkelberg 1998; Gottesman 2013, 239-263; Bakola 2019.

[8] οἶστρος – one of the Greek lexical formatives referring to madness.

Prometheus, who is bound to a rock in Scythia. Because of Zeus' love for Io, Hera sent Argus Panoptes to watch the heifer ceaselessly, and then sent a gadfly to torment her with its stings. According to Io, myriad-eyed Argus, who would not allow her to hide, was soon killed; Io was set free from the giant – but not from the gadfly. The gadfly haunted and stung her endlessly, never allowing her to remain in the same place. Driven to madness, Io moved non-stop unless the gadfly gave her a brief rest. Thus tortured and exhausted by the persistent insect, Io roamed many a land. However, Prometheus prophesied that many more days of wandering were still ahead. Io finally settled beside the Nile to give birth to her offspring.

According to the tragedy, Io was afflicted by a sickness, referred to as νόσος ("disease," "sickness," 597, 632, 643).[9] Io called it "a divine disease" (θεόσυτον νόσον, 597), and compared it to "a storm sent by the gods" (θεόσυτον χειμῶνα, 643), while the Chorus merely calls it a "sickness" (νόσον, 632).

What kind of a sickness was it and how was it manifested? Analysis of the text reveals that Inachus' daughter Io suffered from a "roaming" (πλάνη, πλανάω, 565, 572, 575, 622, 784, 788, 820) sickness. Io refers to her own extraordinary adventure as "wandering" (πλάνη, πλανάω, 565, 572, 575, 622), "devious wanderings" (τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι, 577), and as "roaming far" (πολύπλανοι πλάναι, 585). She describes herself as "roaming wildly around" (φοιταλέος, 598) and as a "maiden wandering in misery" (δυσπλάνῳ παρθένῳ, 608). Prometheus also calls her strange adventure "wandering" (πλάνην, 788) and "a journey" (πορείας, 823). He says that Io's "exceedingly long race… wears [her] out, harasses [her]" (ὑπερμήκεις δρόμους... γυμνάζεται, 592). Her movement from one land to another was likewise perceived as "wandering" by the Chorus (πλάνην, 784; πλάνης, 820).

[9] Chiara Thumiger, who studies mental health and mental disorder in antiquity, Greek and Roman physicians' ideas about the relationship between body and soul and the history of ancient medicine, points out that in *Prometheus Bound* Io's suffering is the manifestation of the statement of pathology. See Thumiger 2013, 62; 2017, 18-19.

Io's wandering was triggered by a gadfly, which in the tragedy is referred to with two lexical formatives: μύωψ[10] (675) and οἶστρος (567, 879). Although both formatives (μύωψ, οἶστρος) denote a gadfly, only οἶστρος has the connotation of madness.

In the tragedy, Io says she is "driven/stung by a gadfly" (οἰστρήλατος, 581; οἰστροπλήξ, 681). Prometheus too refers to her as "stung by a gadfly" (οἰστρήσασα, 836) and "driven round and round by a gadfly" (οἰστροδινήτος, 589). Io's altered state of consciousness is directly related to οἶστρος. I believe the use of μύωψ to refer to the gadfly in line 675 led to the meanings of οἶστρος: "gadfly" and "stimulating."

Greek literature makes no mention of a personified Oistros, a god or a daemon of madness. As a young male deity, οἶστρος is only featured in a 4th-century B.C. vase painting. However, there is an inscription ΟΙΣ[Τ]ΡΟΣ made with uppercase letters beneath a young man's figure depicted on a volute crater from South Italy (*Medea's Adventures in Corinth*). Bearing torches in both hands, the young man is driving Helios' chariot and staring at the scene of the filicide.[11] Evidently, οἶστρος was later personified as a young man.

In *Prometheus Bound* οἶστρος is an insect.

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[10] The primary meanings of μύωψ are "gadfly," "spur," "goad," while its secondary meanings are "stimulating" and "incentive." In *Prometheus Bound* (675) and *The Suppliants* (307), μύωψ denotes "a gadfly," "a horse-fly," "Tabanus." The word has the same meaning in Plato's *Apology* (30e) and Aristotle's *History of Animals* (528b31, 552a29, etc.). μύωψ means "a spur" and "a goad" in Xenophon (*Eq.* 8.5), Theophrastus (*Char.* 21.8), Polybius (11.18.4) as well as in Cercidas (fr. 8.2), Callimachus (fr. 46), and Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argon*. 3.277). In its secondary meaning, i.e., in the sense of "stimulant," "incentive," μύωψ is used by Lucian (*Cal.* 14), ps.-Lucian (*Am.* 2), and *Achilles Tatius* (7.4). In ps.-Plutarch (*Fluv.* 22.5) μύωψ refers to "a plan" (growing in the Achelous), while Oppian (*Cyn. Schol.* 3.254) uses μύωψ in the sense of "a little finger."

[11] The red-figured volute crater is to be attributed to the so-called Underworld Painter. The vessel was discovered in Canosa, South Italy and dated to ca. 330-310 B.C. The young man depicted at the lower part of the crater, whose name ΟΙΣ[Τ]ΡΟΣ is inscribed beneath his figure, is a witness to the filicide committed by Medea. See Trendall 1989, 115-118.

The semantic field of οἶστρος is broad, and the word has primary as well as secondary connotations. Its primary literal meanings are "a gadfly," "an insect that infests tunny-fish," "a small insectivorous bird" and also "a throw of dice," while its connotations are "a sting," anything that drives "mad'," "madness, frenzy," "any vehement desire, insane passion," "the smart of pain, the agony" and "zeal."[12] Although these meanings may seem to have nothing in common, a contextual analysis reveals underlying associative bonds between them, as well as their connection with the meanings of the word οἶστρος as used in the tragedy.

In the *Odyssey,* οἶστρος denotes "an insect that infests cattle" (22.300). This insect is likely the Tabanus bovinus. In *Prometheus Bound,* οἶστρος is an insect that bites the heifer Io, so that she is compelled to move from one place to another (673-679, 703-704).

A gadfly is a hematophagous ectoparasite[13] of domestic animals of the order of Diptera, with piercing and sucking mouthparts that allow it to feed on the host's blood, causing acute pain.[14] In Aristotle's *History of Animals,* οἶστρος refers to a small insectivorous bird (Sylvia trochilus) and an aquatic parasite that attacks tuna (probably Brachiella thynni).[15] The insect-eating bird catches and swallows insects suddenly with a swift movement. The bite of the water parasite is so painful that it makes tuna jump out of the water (Arist. *Hist. an.* 557a 27, 592b 22, 602a28.3).[16]

The connotative meanings of οἶστρος can mainly be found in tragedies (Aesch. *Supp.* 541; *PV* 567; Soph. *Trach.* 1254; *Ant.* 1002; Eur. *HF* 862; *IT* 1456; *Hipp.* 1300; *Or.* 791; *IA* 548; *Bacch.* 665), though the term also occurs in Herodotus (2.93.1) and Epicurus (fr. 483) in the sense of a "vehement desire." In a 6th-century A.D. papyrus, οἶστρος means "zeal" (*PMasp.* 3.13). The connotations of οἶστρος – "a sting," "anything that maddens," "any vehement desire, insane passion," "the smart of pain, agony,"

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[12] LSJ 1996.

[13] Ectoparasite – a parasite that lives in the skin of a host, whether a plant or an animal. See Hopla, Durden, and Keirans 1994.

[14] Walker 1994, 78-84.

[15] Tuna – a fish.

[16] Graham and Dickson 2004.

"madness, frenzy" – are related to the function of the gadfly in the story of Io, and are the most widespread uses of the word in the Greek tragedy.

An insect – the gadfly – is the primary meaning of οἶστρος. All insects (the gadfly, Tabanous bovinous, Brachiella thynni) or birds referred to as οἶστρος attack their prey suddenly. An insectivorous bird eats its prey, while an insect causes pain and convulsive movements in animals, which are involuntary spasmodic movements. Therefore, the movements of an individual bitten by οἶστρος are perceived by outsiders as bizarre and inadequate. Evidently, the Greeks saw these movements as madness, and οἶστρος gradually acquired the meaning of madness (Aesch. *Supp.* 541; *PV* 567; Soph. *Trach.* 1254; *Ant.* 1002; Eur. *HF* 862; *IT* 1456; *Hipp.* 1300; *Or.* 791; *IA* 548; *Bacch.* 665; 483 *EGF* Davies).

Later, in the 6th century A.D., the same lexical formative was used in a positive sense, as a strong emotion or a vigorous effort for someone else's benefit, or "zeal" (*PMasp*. 3.13). As for the meaning of "a throw of dice" found in Eubulus (57.5), it associatively describes the sudden and swift movement of tossing dice.

The main axis that unites the different meanings of οἶστρος – from "an insect" to "a throw of dice" – is rooted in the etymology of the word. According to Beekes, οἶστρος could be related to οἶμα, which means "rage of a lion and an eagle, of a snake"; "attack" and "fit of anger." οἶμα *οἶσμα must have been derived from and be related to Avestan aēšma ("anger"), which, evidently, is the source of an Indo-Iranian verb "quick movement, "urge forward." According to Beekes, *οἶσμα is a noun denoting an agent that urges someone else to move forward.[17] The primary meanings of οἶστρος – "gadfly," "sting" – must have derived from this word.[18]

οἶστρος stings (χρίω, 566, 597, 675, 880) Io (κέντρον, 598; ἄρδις, 879) and compels her, driven into madness, to roam pointlessly and ceaselessly far away. She loses control over her actions and is subdued by the effect of οἶστρος's sting. Io does not know when the gadfly will sting her again and is afraid of it (581, 881). The fear of being stung leaves her dis-

[17] Beekes 2010.

[18] Dianosashvili 2020, 51-53.

traught (παρακόπον, 582). The gadfly's touch is sudden (566, 577-580) and agonizing. The sting is sharp, and the bite is painful (ὀξύτομος, 674). Io violently convulses (σφάκελος, 879) with pain and is struck with madness (ἐμμανεῖ, 675; φρενοπληγεῖς μανιαι, 878-879). Her mind is confused (φρένες διάστροφοι ἦσαν, 673). She rolls her eyeballs wildly around and around (τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὄμμαθ' ἑλίγδην, 882); fury (λύσσα, 883) changes her direction with the "blast of madness" (πνεύματι μάργω, 884), and her speech is distorted as she loses control over it (γλώσσης ἀκρατής, 884-885).

Then Io "leaps (599, 675,) and rushes furiously she knows not where" (σκιρτημάτων ... λαβρόσυτος ἦλθον, 599-600), leaving one land after another behind her (561, 565, 572, 599, 681-682). Presumably, this very movement caused by οἶστρος is the reason that the verb γυμνάζω ("exercise," "practise," "train," 586, 592) is repeatedly used in the tragedy to refer to Io's actions. Her movements involve great physical exertion and stress. She is alone in her travels, and only talks to those she comes across on her way, like Prometheus. At the same time, she is famished (573, 599). Whenever the gadfly leaves her alone, she stops, tortured and exhausted. Then, when she recovers from the fit, she is ashamed (αἰσχύνομαι, 642) of her fate.

Researchers offer different explanations for Io's condition. According to Demetrios Kouretas, the transformation of a princess into a heifer and her incessant migration is the manifestation of a boanthropic psychosis.[19] Phylis B. Katz believes that Io is in a hysterical state while wandering. The tragedian's portrayal of her state precisely corresponds to physicians' description of female hysteria.[20]

According to George Devereux, Io's condition is a natural outcome of her dream. The scholar analyses the dream through the lens of psychoanalysis and interprets Io's state as the awakening of a latent Oedipus Complex – her unconscious desire for her father, conscious

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[19] Kouretas 1951, 45. Boanthropic psychosis is a rare psychic disorder, in which a person identifies himself/herself with a bovine. Such self-identification may start as a dream but gradually develops into an obsession and then into a mania. See Stevenson and Brown [6]2007, 195.

[20] Katz 1999.

suppression of the desire, and the conflict between the two. Devereux argues that Io's adventure is the manifestation of her inner conflict.[21]

Ariadne Konstantinou sees Io's adventure – her wandering from Argos to Egypt – as a woman's preparation for marriage.[22] Likewise, Silvia Montiglio associates Io's wandering and her state during the process with a state of a woman anticipating marriage.[23] In her opinion, the tragedian aims to offer a dramatic portrayal of what may happen if a girl refuses to get married and change her status – become a woman and a wife. This may not only cause her to wander but to wander in madness.[24]

According to Montiglio, the image of a wandering girl invites parallels with a wandering womb.[25] A wandering womb suggests anxiety associated with the refusal of a young female to mature, whether biologically or socially.

The scholar believes that Io's condition is a symptom of the wandering womb caused by her refusal to get married, as her time of virginity is up and she is mature enough to become a wife and a mother. It is through wandering that Io is driven to do what she does not wish to.[26] Io's initiation ends with her pregnancy, which cures her.

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[21] Devereux 1976, 25-52.

[22] According to Konstantinou (2018, 91-98), the way from Argos to Egypt Io is compelled to undertake is a figurative representation of virgin approaching marriage. In ancient Greece, a woman was supposed to move to her future husband's household. Her husband would replace her father and she would acquire a new "lord." Naturally, the process would be accompanied by anxiety. According to Vernant (2006, 157-196), marriage, most likely, was the only occasion in a woman's life when she was mobile, as she had to leave her parents' home for her husband's.

[23] Montiglio 2005, 17-23.

[24] Montiglio 2005, 18.

[25] Montiglio 2005, 19. According to Hippocrates, the wandering womb, accompanied by mind-wandering and fever, is associated with a young girl's fear of growing out of childhood into womanhood (Littré 1853, 466-471). Unless she accepts herself as a woman or internalizes her new social role of a wife, her reproductive organ will start "wandering," i.e., will be relocated.

[26] Montiglio compares Io's wandering with the Proetides' rambling in the state of madness and believes that their story too can be explained by the theory of the wandering womb.

Montiglio draws on the Hippocratic theory that pregnancy may cure the wandering womb.[27]

Ruth Padel focuses on the relationship between οἶστρος and Hera in ancient Greek mythology and literature.[28] The scholar mentions the festival of Hera, the Heraea, which consisted of foot-races for maidens to

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According to one of the versions, Hera inflicted madness on Proetus' daughters because they slighted her wooden image. As a result, the girls would ramble all over Argus in the state of madness (ps.-Apollod. 2.26). According to Hesiod (fr. 131 Merkelbach-West) and Servius (*Ecl.* 6.48), the wandering Proetides perceived themselves as cows. This erroneous self-perception (*errorem*) was imposed upon them by Hera (Serv. *Ecl.* 6.48). According to Bacchylides (11.47-52) too, the reason for the Proetides' madness was their disrespect for Hera. They bragged their father was wealthier than the wife of mighty Zeus and thus defied the idea of leaving their father's home and getting married. Driven mad by Hera, the maidens wandered from Tyrins to Lusoi for thirteen months, until Proetus appealed to Artemis to free them from Hera's punishment. See Burkert 1983, 168-169; Dowden 1989, 73-74.

Dowden sees a genetic connection between the myths about the Proetides and Io. According to him, in both cases, transformation into a cow and boanthropy was associated with the Argive Heraion, a prenuptial ritual performed by maidens on their maturity. They were to spend some time in a precinct of Hera in seclusion, away from people, where they were supposed to perceive themselves as a cow, the sacred animal of Hera, and recall Hera's male counterparts, the Bulls of Halai, or the Oxen of Sparta. Presumably, barefooted and with their hair cut short, the maidens would paint themselves white and/or wear white clothing. In this state, their behaviour was unusual, marginal, deviant, and mad. See Dowden 1989, 134. Montiglio (2005, 17) also sees the wandering of Proetus' daughters as part of a coming-of-age ritual for girls.

[27] Littré 1853, 468-470; Montiglio 2005, 20-21. Plato too sees pregnancy as a remedy against the wandering womb. In *Timaeus*, he writes that a womb starts wandering when it remains without fruit for a long time: "... and in women again, owing to the same causes, whenever the matrix or womb, as it is called, which is an indwelling creature desirous of child-bearing, remains without fruit long beyond the due season, it is vexed and takes it ill; and by straying all ways through the body and blocking up the passages of the breath and preventing respiration it casts the body into the uttermost distress, and causes, moreover, all kinds of maladies; until the desire and love of the two sexes unite them..." (Pl. *Ti.* 91c, trans. Lamb 1925).

[28] Padel 1992, 121; 1995, 15.

mark their transition from girlhood into womanhood.[29] According to Padel, οἶστρος is directly related to Hera and her sacred animal, the cow, to sexuality and to the performance of the ritual. Padel sees this relationship in *Prometheus Bound* as well: Io, turned into a cow by Hera, is stung and haunted by οἶστρος, which embodies Zeus' frustrated desire for Io, and Hera's jealousy. In her opinion, οἶστρος is the personification of the distress intrinsic to Io's position in the erotic triangle (Zeus, Hera, and Io).[30] As Padel writes, "Zeus' lust, Hera's hostility, Io's madness, the *oistros*: all cease together when Zeus impregnates Io, 'touching her only', with his hand."[31]

Although differing, the above-cited opinions are by no means mutually exclusive or contradictory. The scholars focus on diverse aspects (Io's metamorphosis into a heifer, the cause of her wandering, a maiden's preparation for marriage, her rejection of marriage, the relationship between οἶστρος and Hera, the love triangle of Zeus, Hera, and Io). They interpret Io's adventure from different angles and at different levels.

If we interpret Io's wandering with regard to marriage, it is important to note that Inachus' daughter does not reject marriage (655-657). She merely does not know what to do when a mysterious voice calls her "to go forth to Lerna's meadow land of pastures deep"[32] to satiate Zeus' passion (647-649). Furthermore, we should bear in mind that Io's adventure

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[29] The Heraea, a festival in honour of Hera, was celebrated four times a year at Olympia. The only competition held during the festival was the footrace of maidens. The length of the racecourse was 5/6 of a stadion or approximately 160m (Paus. 5.16.2-4). See Serwint 1993, 403-422; Dillon 2002, 131. There are different opinions regarding the importance of the competition: Serwint (1993, 418-422) believes the game of the maidens was a pre-nuptial ritual. Contrary to Serwint, Dillon (2000) argues that the event could not be related to marriage as the competitors were divided into three age groups, the third one being the elderly; Dillon argues that the footrace at the Heraea could have been a puberty rite. It should be noted, however, that in Serwint's opinion (1993, 418), the game was associated with mythological weddings.

[30] Padel 1992, 120-122.

[31] Padel 1992, 121.

[32] Trans. Smyth 1926.

is not about marriage preparation as such, but about preparing for the union with Zeus at a predefined site – the bank of the Nile. In fact, what matter is the place of the union and the person one is to unite with.

As regards other viewpoints, the following factors drew my attention: wandering is not a key or typical symptom of mental conditions described by the scholars and nor can long-distance purposeless walking be conclusively associated with the Heraea.[33]

As a result, the following questions crop up: why did the tragedian choose this very action – wandering – to portray Io in an altered state of consciousness after she is stung by a gadfly? Given that boanthropic psychosis, hysteria, the Oedipus Complex, a maiden's preparation for marriage or Hera's role in Io's adventure could have been presented otherwise, how else should we interpret Io's roaming? What else may Io's roaming signify?

Io's incessant wandering from country to country evokes an extraordinary psychic epidemic that broke out in France at the end of the 19th century, which gripped the whole country instantly, and spread to Italy and Germany. Dozens of people left their homes unexpectedly. Like the princess Io, they travelled somewhere far away, even crossing borders, without realizing where they were going, while being in an altered state of consciousness. They not only moved to a different town or country but even to other continents – in the same way that Io found herself in Egypt at the end of her adventure.

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[33] Incessant and spontaneous movement until full exhaustion is not among the symptoms of boanthropic psychosis; neither is it characteristic of the Oedipus Complex or a love triangle. Wandering is not a defining symptom of hysteria. Also, maidens competing at the Heraea were in a conscious state and those were short-distance races. Io's condition was caused by Hera's wrath. The daughter of Inachus is a maiden, and her actions performed in this extraordinary state resemble running. While these circumstances may remind us of the Heraea and the race of maidens, we should bear in mind that as Io moves on, she covers long distances in an altered state of consciousness and her actions are never called "running" in the tragedy. Instead, the princess wanders (πλάνη, πλανάω, 565, 572, 575, 622, 784, 788, 820), leaps and rushes furiously (σκιρτημάτων ... λαβρόσυτος ἦλθον, 599-600).

Psychiatrists called this condition dromomania (δρόμος – "run"; μανία – "mania") and described it as a psychic condition manifested as "an uncontrollable urge to change location, to wander pointlessly."[34] Dromomania involved mood swings – sudden and unmotivated changes in humour, fits of extreme sadness with the compulsion to leave. As if stung by οἶστρος, persons suffering from dromomania left their family, friends, and work without warning anyone, and went without knowing where, to whom and for how long they would go.

The fit could occur unexpectedly, even during a meal. Individuals afflicted with dromomania would stop eating, put on their clothes and leave the place where they were, driven by a strong desire to get away. Like Io, they were hungry as they moved incessantly, but sometimes lost their appetite and were sleepless. Dromomaniacs always walked alone, as Io did, without seeking company or encountering anyone. Each new crisis compelled them to move further. Some would return home, while others would find a new place, like Io.

The urge to stop also came suddenly – as in the case of Io, whom οἶστρος would leave alone from time to time. Having recovered their composure and a normal state of mind, people with dromomania were unable to account for their actions; they felt travel "burnout" and were ashamed of themselves.[35] Io too was ashamed of this extraordinary adventure (642). Finally, individuals afflicted with dromomania would either get arrested or be confined to psychiatric hospitals.

The attacks of οἶστρος were similar to dromomania, causing sudden anxiety, restlessness and an altered state of consciousness or madness. All of a sudden, Io was compelled to run far away, without any reason.[36] The extraordinary epidemic in Europe lasted for 23 years, from

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[34] Tissié 1887; Beaune 1983, 184-185, 195-196, 205-207; Portnoy 1987; ten Have 2000.

[35] ten Have 2000. Describing cases of dromomania, a Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking calls such individuals "mad travellers" and qualifies their condition as a symptom of a temporary mental disorder. See Hacking 1998, 7-80.

[36] "Oh! Oh! Alas! Once again convulsive pain and frenzy, striking my brain, inflame me. I am stung by the gadfly's barb, unforged by fire. My heart knocks at my ribs in terror; my eyeballs roll wildly round and round. I am carried out of my course by a

1886 to 1909, and disappeared as suddenly as it erupted.[37] Today it is qualified as a historical psychiatric diagnosis, while today a similar condition is called ”dissociative fugue.” Dissociative fugue was included in DSM-IV and ICD-10,[38] but not found in DSM-V.[39] Therefore, we refer here to the above-mentioned condition as dromomania.

The first confirmed case qualified by psychiatrists as dromomania was that of Jean-Albert Dadas, who was found in 1881 in a neighbouring city, with no recollection of having travelled. After he left on his trip, he would often wake up on a street bench, in a police department

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fierce blast of madness; I've lost all mastery over my tongue, and a stream of turbid words beats recklessly against the billows of dark destruction" (Aesch. *PV* 877-886, trans. Smyth 1926) – that was how Io describes the onset of the condition.

[37] At a conference held in Nantes in 1909, psychiatrists declared that dromomania could not be qualified as a disease in its own right but as a symptom of psychopathy, epilepsy, and schizophrenia. They stopped recording it as a diagnosis. Furthermore, political confrontations in Europe compelled their leaders to close international borders, thus crossing a border was no longer as easy as in the previous century, when "mad travellers" could freely move from one country to another. See Hacking 1998, 75, 99.

[38] Gelder, Harrison and Cowen 2006, 229. DSM-IV – the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition*; ICD-10 – *International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, Tenth Revision*.

[39] Harrison, Cowen, Burns and Fazel 2018, 654. DSM-V – the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition*.

Modern Western psychiatric community is very cautious about giving a medical qualification to a psychic condition, norm, pathology/disorder or drawing lines between similar medical conditions. Psychiatrists take into consideration the experience that has accumulated since the origins of psychiatric practices and observations until present. DSM is a subject to continuous review and update based on statistical evidence and research findings for preventing mistakes made previously. Therefore, the list of mental diseases and their names are periodically reviewed and modified. On controversies over DSM in psychiatry, see Hughes 2013.

Io's condition depicted in *Prometheus Bound* resembles 19th-century descriptions of extraordinary cases which psychiatrists then called dromomania, I too will use the term to refer to a condition when an individual has a strong unconscious impulse to wander far away pointlessly and endlessly.

or on a train bound for a strange city. He would even work at odd jobs to be able to return to France. When Dadas occasionally came to his senses, he could not recall how he had arrived in the new place. In this state of mind, he crossed several international borders to find himself in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Poznan, and Moscow. Finally, he ended up in a psychiatric hospital in Bordeaux, where his bizarre psychiatric condition was described by the neuropsychiatrist Philippe Auguste Tissié, who called it dromomania.[40]

The study of this phenomenon of madness in *Prometheus Bound* led me to the assumption that the story of Io as narrated in the tragedy could be the first surviving text to describe dromomania. I believe the tragedy could provide information to help understand the mechanism and find a treatment for the syndrome (φάρμακον νόσου, 606), which disappeared even before scientists could study it properly.[41]

Julian C. Hughes believes that things repeat themselves in the universe and we face the same intellectual problems today as our ancestors did in antiquity. Ancient authors' awareness of mental disorders is so profound and complete, that if we mean to succeed in psychiatry today, we would better look backwards to antiquity.[42]

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[40] Tissié investigated Dadas' case and defended a dissertation on dromomania in 1887. See Tissié 1887; Hacking 1998, 19-31; Toohey 2007, 151-152.

[41] Scientists suggest various causes of dromomania. According to Tissié, Dadas' case was genetically determined (the patient's father suffered from hypochondria and syphilis) and could also be related to a brain injury received at the age of eight. See Tissié 1887 and Hacking 1998, 21. However, no similar medical history was found among the numerous individuals in Europe who were also afflicted with wanderlust. Therefore, childhood trauma as a possible cause of dromomania cannot be generalized. Hacking argues that the spread of dromomania at the turn of the 20th century is to be explained by a romantic allure, an ecological niche, and the qualification of the condition as a disease, which relieved people of the responsibility for their own deeds and contributed to their aimless and infinite roaming for long distances. See Hacking 1998, 27-31 and Toohey 2007, 151-152. Nevertheless, the question still remains open: what is the cause of dromomania?

[42] Hughes 2013, 41-42, 58. Hughes discusses in depth the concept of creating DSM, dwells on modern psychiatrists' attitude to mental disorders, on the important role played by ethics and values in the conceptualisation of mental sufferings, singles

According to psychiatrists, the diagnosis has fallen into disuse. However, some people still tend to leave their homes whether driven by a conscious or unconscious desire, roam pointlessly, and are possessed by wanderlust, an irresistible impulse to travel. The analysis of the condition as described in *Prometheus Bound* may provide answers to some remaining questions.[43]

Rusudan Tsanava associates the wandering of Io, stung by οἶστρος, with one of the mytho-ritual models of acquiring power, and refers to ecstatic city foundation rituals practiced by shamans of early times.[44] A shaman was to find a power site – an area that was deemed special, not by its location but by the way it appealed to one's "inner senses." It was believed that such sites enabled one to communicate easily with the

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out the Methodist school from the medical schools of antiquity and compares modern and ancient approaches to psychiatric nosology. Hughes argues that while DSM could have hardly appeared innovative to ancient physicians, the latter's findings are of great value for modern psychiatrists. See Hughes 2013, 41-58. Hughes agrees with Ludwig Wittgenstein stating: "it is not absurd ... to believe that the age of science and technology is the beginning of the end for humanity; the idea of great progress is a delusion, along with the idea that the truth will ultimately be known ... mankind, in seeking it [scientific knowledge], is falling into a trap" (Wittgenstein 1980, 56). According to Hughes (2013, 41-42, 57-58), if Ancient Greeks and Romans had DSM, we would have a clear understanding of mental disorders. When discussing this question, Hughes mainly refers to ancient medical texts/treatises. However, Greek tragedies are no less informative as regards mental disorders. See Knox 1957; Collinge 1962; Biggs 1966; Jouanna 1987; Ryzman 1992; Gill 1996; Guardasole 2000; Worman 2000; Craik 2001; Kosak 2004; Jouanna 2012a; 2012b; Dianosashvili 2020. I believe the Io episode in *Prometheus Bound* can be helpful in understanding the phenomenon of dromomania. On the development of psychological thought in antiquity and the role of medical anthropology in the history of medicine in antiquity, see Thumiger 2017, 1-66; on the development of psychiatry as a discipline and the history of physicians'/psychiatrists' attitude to individuals with mental problems or generally to madness, see Foucault 2006.

[43] Drabkin was one of the first to point out the importance of retrospective diagnosis: "[the study of ancient psychopathology] could significantly deepen our understanding not only of ancient civilization but of our own." See Drabkin 1955, 223.

[44] Tsanava 2005, 253, 264-265.

universe, to feel secure and happy. It was possible to accumulate power by merely staying in these places. Therefore, people would set up their dwellings on power sites and later even create city-states. [45]

By performing a ritual, the shaman sought to open the chakra of a seeker, activate the nexus in the human body that is the source of a person's energy. Opening this chakra was believed to help a person find the power site. Shamans associated chakras with animals, birds, or insects, believing that the creatures would protect the person's nexus. Remarkably, the energy of a seeker was sometimes thought to be contained in a chakra protected by the bull.[46]

According to Tsanava, the esoteric vision of shamans is materialized in Greek myths. In the myth of Io, the bull chakra is replaced by a biological cow – βοῦς that heads for sacred places. Evidently, she feels the power sites. Where she lies down, cities are founded (e.g., Aia, Iopolis, later called Antioch).[47]

Is it possible to call Io a seeker in *Prometheus Bound*? What is her motivation to wander in the tragedy? What is it that keeps her moving on?

The tragedy implies conscious as well as subconscious motivations shaping her behaviour. Consciously, Inachus' daughter desperately wishes to be free from her sufferings (561-588) – the shadow of Argus' death (568-569), the gadfly's stings (567, 675, 879-880), her distraught state of mind after the gadfly's bites (581-582), madness (675), and wanderings (585-587). While she needs to know where (ποῖ, 576-577) she is going to rest, she is not acting of her own will. Her wanderings neither start nor proceed or stop through her own free will. She is not the author of her story. Although Io feels an unbearable pain and roams "the world" (the Eurasian continent) on foot, she is nevertheless to be considered as a passive character.

[45] Harner 1990, 95-113; Castaneda 2003, 17-20; Tsanava 2005, 264-265; 2015, 150-151.

[46] Harner 1990, 57-69; Dixon 2000, 82-100; Tsanava 2015, 147-148.

[47] Tsanava 2005, 245-252, 264-265. According to Dowden, in the Argive Heraion, maidens would resemble "mad" Syberian Shamans as they called males during a ritual in honour of Hera, which they would perform to celebrate their transition from childhood to adulthood. See Dowden 1989, 134.

Io's story starts with the revelation of Zeus' desire in her dreams. When sleeping, she always hears a voice asking her why she still keeps her maidenhood, despite the honour of having a glorious wedding, when Zeus himself has a desire for her. Let her appear before him in Lerna's meadow to quench his wild lust (645-654). Exhausted by the nightly visions, the princess tells her father about her dreams.

I believe this is where the tragic conflict starts: her inability to comprehend a god's intent lies at the root of the conflict.[48] Io was chosen by Zeus. However, she does not aspire to join him and is unable to understand her dreams or act on them. Instead, she seeks support from her father.

Not knowing how to seek the god's favour, Inachus immediately sends his messengers to Pytho and Dodona to find out what the oracles say. Finally, one of the oracles utters that he shall oust his daughter from the palace, or Zeus' lightning will destroy his entire race. Inachus follows the oracle's words (658-672).

He banned his daughter from his palace. Ousted from her home by her own father, Io faces the reality to which Zeus or Hera[49] has doomed her. Her sufferings start at this point: she loses her home – the king's palace (670) as well as her physical identity – her form is destroyed (διαφθορὰν μορφῆς, 643-644) and she acquires a different body. Io turns into a cow, her body and mind are distorted (μορφὴ καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι, 673); her integrity is destroyed. Her physical identity and inner self are no longer aligned – transformed into a heifer, she roams from one land to another.[50]

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[48] Scholars unanimously agree that conflict development and resolution in *Prometheus Bound* is identical to that of Aeschylus' other tragedies and that a conflict started upon a god's will ends in divine reconciliation. Concerning the development of the tragic conflict in Aeschylus' works, see Schadewaldt 1991, 170; Lesky 1972, 164; Gordeziani 2019, 153.

[49] According to the tragedy, Io knows that the torturous roaming inflicted upon her is Hera's vengeance (601). However, she blames Zeus for her sufferings (578-588, 759) and does not wish him well (759).

[50] After Io loses home and her human form, her freedom is also restricted. She is haunted by myriad-eyed Argus, who watched her permanently and did not leave her even for a moment (678-679). Argus controlled Io's every action, however she was soon set free from him. The story of Argus is narrated in a few lines (668-669,

Io's trajectory towards a place on earth where she can rest is unconscious. Since her actions are not intentional and purposeful, her state resembles dromomania – an unmotivated, aimless movement over a long distance. To this extent, οἶστρος, compared to "a whip of god" (μάστιγι θείᾳ, 682), plays a key role in Io's adventure, causing her to move long distances continuously. As she roams from one land to another, the gadfly only gives her enough time to rest so that she can catch her breath, evidently, to prevent her from straying off the path and then bites her again, so that she can reach the place where Zeus' will is to be fulfilled. Thus, Io's wandering can only be described as an unconscious quest, an unconscious journey towards the place where she will meet Zeus.

Her preparation for meeting Zeus is likewise unconscious. Never in her roaming does Io appeal to Zeus. She is eager to have her sufferings come to an end, but not to meet Zeus (747-751, 578-588). She is worried about having lost her bodily self (643-644, 673-674) and wants to find a place to rest. "Where is my far-roaming wandering course taking me?" (576-577) – is her only question.

Prometheus provides an answer to her question. Although Io learns about the trajectory of her roaming, which Prometheus describes in detail (700-740, 823-876), as well as about the story of her inevitable meeting with Zeus, and the awareness of her future adds to her pointless wandering and furious rush, Io's constant moving ahead nevertheless continues to be determined by οἶστρος (877-886) and not by her own conscious decision. After she hears the prophecy, she is again bitten by the gadfly, which drives her into an altered state of consciousness, and she is once more compelled to follow a direction leading to Zeus.[51]

677-678), and he is already dead when Io appears in the play (668-669). The tragedian does not even mention Hermes, who kills Argus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5-9; Hyg. *Fab.* 145; Ov. *Met.* 1.583; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 4.345). Instead, Aeschylus tells the spectators/readers the story of the gadfly – *oistros.*

[51] Thumiger identifies key factors that shape human mental life: the human mind, the body and the world around it, self-representation, social expectations, politics, and the irreducible individual experience. According to Thumiger, the human mind has a biological basis and can be healthy or unhealthy. The human mind and mental life are much broader than the brain and its functioning. Mental life is not

According to Prometheus, Io's wanderings come to an end in Egypt, on the banks of the Nile after Zeus touches her with his hand. Io is thus brought to her senses and she conceives.[52] She is freed from the haunting gadfly and not only finds peace but re-acquires her own female form, gives birth to Epaphus, finds a new dwelling and lays the foundation of a new culture. Io's offspring starts a new royal race of Argos (813-815, 848-852).[53]

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merely a consequence of the brain's performance but is formed through the interaction of the human mind with the body and the world around it. The body is not a container necessary for the mind, but the body and the mind co-exist on equal terms and are both involved in determining mental life. The human mind develops and advances through self-representation, amid social expectations and political processes, through an interaction with the world and is shaped by the irreducible individual experience. See Thumiger 2017, 24-29.

What can be said about Io from this perspective, given that her state in the tragedy is qualified as "disease," "sickness" (597, 632, 643)? Io's mind and body are integrated and mutually coordinated. They do not confront each other but cooperate. As regards her relationship with the outer world, the lack of congruence is obvious. Io's mental life is presented as a powerful immanent process within herself. She does not respond to external factors.

Io passes many a land on her way from Argos to the Nile. She comes across a lot of different people. Prometheus gives her advice on how to behave in different places – each country has its own laws and its specific nature (707-735, 790-815, 846-852). However, neither the social environment nor political processes have any impact on her mental state. Io's self-representation before Prometheus (645-682) and awareness of her future likewise are not effective. Though she gains experience through wandering, her mental condition nevertheless remains unchanged until her encounter with Zeus in Egypt. The only external factor to which she responds is the gadfly – *oistros*. The gadfly does not appear on the stage and nor is it described by any character of the play. It is through Io's words (567, 879; also Prometheus calls Io "stung by the gadfly" – οἰστρήσασα, 836) and "frenzied by the gadfly" (οἰστροδινήτος, 589), that the audience/reader learns what happens to her when it stings her.

[52] Davison and Katz interpret a god's touch as a way of impregnation in Greek myths and refer to Io's story from *Prometheus Bound*. See Davison 1991, 54; Katz 1999, 133.

[53] What kind of universe does Aeschylus portray in the tragedy? Is it predetermined or does it allow for freedom of choice? So far, there is no unanimous an-

According to the tragedy, Io's state was brought on by Hera as a punishment – for Io "fires the heart of Zeus with passion" (590-591). Because of her husband's desire for Io, Hera was vengeful (ἐπίκοτος, 601) towards her, even if Io had never yet been with Zeus. It was Hera who sent myriad-eyed Argus and οἶστρος to haunt her. However, Hera's actions only contribute to the eventual meeting of Zeus and Io.

According to Montiglio, Hera and Zeus unintentionally collaborate, which adds a touch of irony to the tragedy. Instead of confronting each other, they both compel her to do what she resists – to marry Zeus.[54] Likewise, Inachus and οἶστρος are inadvertently fulfilling the will of Zeus. Inachus' banning of her daughter from the palace gave Hera a chance to take revenge.[55] Likewise, although the gadfly acts directly upon Hera's

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swer to the questions. Researchers look into the nature of Zeus to find out the answers. "Hugh Lloyd-Jones has suggested that the way *PV* frames this theological crux could justifiably give the impression of a 'monotheistic' perspective" (Rader 2013, 176; see also Lloyd-Jones ^{2}1983, 79-103). Contrary to this opinion, Richard Rader referring to Terry Eagleton argues that the cosmos presented in the tragedy "is open and undetermined... The future is not yet written – not for Zeus, for Prometheus, Oceanus or the chorus... (Eagleton 2003, 109) The gods have choices and thus have a hand in the creation and sustainability of the universe ... Zeus is neither Superego nor pawn but rather more like an artist for whom 'existence is gift, not fate, play rather than necessity' (Eagleton 2008, 19). He is subject to no deterministic force of necessity because the future can change at any moment depending on the relationships he cultivates with others" (Rader 2013, 176-177). I share Rader's opinion. His research clearly shows that Zeus as well as other gods, even Prometheus bound to a rock, can create their own stories and "manage" their destiny. However, the same is not true about Io: she is the only mortal in the play.

[54] Montiglio 2005, 23. According to Provenza, Zeus should only be thankful to Hera, as it is with her support that he impregnates Io on the banks of the Nile. See Provenza 2020, 213.

[55] Devereux's analysis of Io's story was inspired by psychoanalysis. See Devereux 1976, 25-52. Psychoanalysts too would most probably interpret Io's dream as the representation of the Oedipus Complex. However, Devereux's opinion that the character of Zeus as portrayed by Aeschylus implicates Inachus is not attested in any ancient source (Zeus has a desire for Io (Aesch. *Supp.* 295; Nonnus, *Dion.* 20.35; 32. 65; Suda, s. v. "Isis"); Io is in love with Zeus (Prop. 2.33A); Io gives birth to Epa-

instructions, it appears to be one of the key facilitators of Io and Zeus' meeting, a key element leading to this outcome. After Zeus' will is fulfilled, the gadfly disappears from Io's life.

Thus, οἶστρος plays an important role in Io's story. Although it does not act on its own free will, but merely as an executor, a tool of vengeance in the hands of Hera, it nevertheless determines Io's psychic condition in her adventure which is manifested by a sudden alteration of the mind, a sudden urge to travel, jerking movements (convulsions, leaps), and urgency. It has ambivalent features. Its touch is torturous but eventually beneficial. It is perceived to be a god's punishment but in fact, it appears to be a tool enabling the fulfilment of a god's will. It finally drives Io towards Zeus. It is also because of οἶστρος that Inachus' daughter becomes a seeker – although unconsciously.

Being attuned to a god's intent, understanding the motivation of one's actions and constantly moving forward are the steps proposed by Aeschylus in *Prometheus Bound* towards gaining or restoring balance in one's inner world – when a person is permanently anxious, restless, and totally involved in seeking something. When questions crop up in the mind of a perpetual traveler, does it mean their roaming can ever finish? And where does it end? According to the tragedian, a person who embarks on such a path is helped by gods to carry out that intent.

This might have also been an unconscious motivation of the "mad travel" phenomenon emerging at the end of the 19th century – to find a new place determined by god's will where travellers could settle and fulfil themselves.

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phus by Zeus in Egypt (Aesch. *Supp.* 171-172, 312; ps.-Hyg. *Fab.* 155; Nonnus *Dion.* 284). According to Devereux, Io's sufferings start with the breaking of a taboo (Io's passion for her father). See Devereux 1976, 38, 47, 50. Differing from this, I believe Io's adventure was initiated by the fear of breaking a taboo (i.e., Io's possible union with Zeus, a deity) that gripped Inachus after he learned about Io's dream and the oracle's counsel (Aesch. *PV* 655-671). Inachus is afraid that Io's possible meeting with Zeus would cause her daughter to cross the threshold established by the gods concerning the rights of humans and that it would destroy his race.

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DIVIDING AND MULTIPLYING THE SELF IN THE *ODYSSEY*

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Abstract. In *Odyssey* 20.1-53 we encounter two deliberation scenes and two similes, Odysseus' barking heart and Odysseus as a sizzling paunch. This paper has two objectives. First, it offers a new reading of the similes that probes their ramifications for their immediate and broader context: the barking heart in tandem with the first deliberation "divides" Odysseus and foreshadows the killing of the maids, while the sizzling paunch together with the second deliberation and Athena's intervention "multiplies" Odysseus and anticipates the suitors' doom. Second, it explains the ordering of the two deliberations in a continuous narrative by locating in the first deliberation scene the temporal and thematic material of both scenes, as well as the main narrative stages of *Odyssey* 13-22.

INTRODUCTION

Scenes of deliberation occur frequently in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and foreground the notion of the self in the poems. The presence in Homer of a self as an integrated whole capable of personal decisions has been the subject of a long-standing debate. Famously, Bruno Snell views the Homeric individual as a collection of more or less independent psychic forces, such as κϱαδίη or θυμός, rather than as an "I" conscious of making

decisions.[1] He claims that Homeric choices are made *for* the agent rather than *by* him: sometimes the gods propel one to action, at other times internal forces make one act, but at no time does the agent choose a course of action in clear awareness of what he is doing. Somewhat similarly, Arthur Adkins thinks that in Homer decisions result from the weighing of considerations with no sense of the person as a unitary "I" and a locus of will.[2] On the other hand, Hermann Fränkel argues that the Homeric man is not complex but simple and that his actions are those of the whole man even if the dividing line between self and external world is less clear than it is for us.[3] Richard Gaskin, drawing on cognitivism and contemporary theories of action, associates personal agency not with self-awareness, but with the provision of reasons for action.[4] Most recently, Christopher Gill has argued for a "functionalist" understanding of the Homeric self by reference to the person's beliefs and desires with no requirement that he be conscious of them.[5] Selfhood is thus divorced from the Cartesian belief in consciousness and will.

The preoccupation with the Homeric self has sometimes informed the study of deliberation scenes, where the agent reflects on the mode(s) of action available to him.[6] In his classic *Überlegung und Entscheidung*, Christian Voigt examines the type-scene of pondering and decision and identifies two patterns of inquiry.[7] One of them is the soliloquy, usually introduced by the stock line, ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν, in which the hero addresses his θυμός, considers two alternatives, and usually chooses the second by uttering the stock line, ἀλλὰ τί ἤ

[1] Snell 1928; 1930; 1953. Cf. Dodds 1951.
[2] Adkins 1970, 47, 90, 126, 196-197, 271.
[3] Fränkel 1975, 79. For the views of Snell, Adkins, and Fränkel and their relation to philosophical notions of the self (Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics), see Sharples 1983.
[4] Gaskin 1990. See also Williams 1993, 35-42.
[5] Gill 1996, 41-93.
[6] In the *Odyssey*, fourteen instances of μερμηρίζειν apply to Odysseus and four to Penelope.
[7] Voigt 1972. See also Arend 1933.

μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός.[8] The other pattern features the verb μερμηρίζειν ("to deliberate") and is followed either by the disjunctive ἤ … ἤ ("either … or"), when the agent considers two alternative courses of action, or by the relative adverb ὅπως ("how to"), when he ponders how to achieve a chosen goal. In many instances of the μερμηρίζειν ἤ … ἤ sub-pattern, Odysseus must choose between unchecked emotional expression and restraint or self-concealment (e.g., in Book 10, after his men have opened the bag of winds, he decides to endure rather than fall overboard). An interesting feature of the μερμηρίζειν pattern is that its most common Iliadic configurations do not occur wholesale in the *Odyssey*.[9] For example, in the *Iliad* gods interfere in a hero's dilemma (μερμηρίζειν ἤ … ἤ) but not in deliberations of the μερμηρίζειν ὅπως sub-pattern, whereas in the *Odyssey*, gods never intervene in decisions of the μερμηρίζειν pattern (with one putative exception, to be discussed in this paper). Here we find seven instances of deliberation of the μερμηρίζειν pattern — moments of introspection and debate, hesitation and doubt — which are concluded autonomously, free of divine intervention.[10] When Odysseus meets Nausicaa and debates whether he should fling his arms around her knees or stand back and talk to her (6.141-147) or when he faces Irus and ponders whether to kill him or beat him up (18.90-94), *he* chooses what seems advantageous to himself.

This paper aims to offer a new reading of Odysseus' two deliberation scenes and use of similes in *Odyssey* 20.1-53. This is the lengthiest and most complex deliberation scene or rather cluster of scenes in Homer in which both μερμηρίζειν sub-patterns occur in rapid succession: Odysseus' evil thoughts about the suitors (5-6) are momentarily interrupted by his debate whether to kill the maids (6-24) at whose conclusion they fuel the deliberation about how to kill the suitors (25-53). The two de-

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[8] Instances of the soliloquy in the *Odyssey* include 5.354, 5.406, 5.464, and 6.118. For some of the differences in the formal appearance of the soliloquy between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, see Russo 1968, 295 n. 10.

[9] See Russo 1968, 289-290.

[10] See 6.141, 10.50, 10.151, 17.235, 18.90, 22.333, and 24.235. For a discussion of more deviations of the *Odyssey* from the *Iliad*'s use of the μερμηρίζειν pattern, see Russo 1968, 290-291.

liberations revolve around the hero's mental preparation for the climactic event of his *nostos*, the punishment of the maids and the suitors on the following day. A restless night awaits Odysseus and Penelope after their meeting in Book 19. For Odysseus, this is a time of intense reflection and planning, careful weighing of possibilities and the summoning of courage.[11] In sections two and three below, I offer a symbolic reading of the similes.[12] I am interested in their "rhetorical-thematic"[13] resonances, the ways in which they relate to their immediate and broader context. Two interpretative issues inform my approach. First, Odysseus' address to his "barking heart" in the first deliberation involves more "personalizing" of the part addressed than we find elsewhere in Homer.[14] The heart is presented as amenable to "rebuke" (ἠνίπαπε, 17) and as an entity that "was thrust down" (καθαπτόμενος, 22), "obeyed" (ἐν πείσῃ, 23), and "remained, enduring stubbornly" (μένε τετληυῖα νωλεμέως, 23-24).[15] In addition, although Homeric monologues are typically seen as dialogues between the speaker and his heart or spirit, the dialogic nature of Odysseus' address to his heart is foregrounded by his use of second-person verbal forms. How can we explain this robust hypostasizing of the heart and what is its contextual and broader significance? The second interpretative issue is the putative exception I mentioned above, that Odysseus' second deliberation over how to kill the

[11] The quick succession of the two similes has been seen as an example of the frequent "clustering" of similes at crucial moments. See Rutherford 1992, 204.

[12] Scholars have offered symbolic readings of the *apologoi* according to which Odysseus' adventures are seen as rites of initiation and passage until he is spiritually ready to come home, or as enactments of death and rebirth, or as demonstrations of poetry in terms of memory, order, and enchantment. See, e.g., Segal 1962; 1967; 1983; and Austin 1975, 131-153. For the allegorical interpretations of Homer in antiquity, see Buffière 1956, 33-78.

[13] The characterization comes from Buxton 2004, 141. For this kind of approach to similes, see Coffey 1957; Porter 1972; Moulton 1977; and Friedrich 1981.

[14] Gill 1996, 184.

[15] The phrase "he reproved" (ἠνίπαπε) is only here used of a psychological part instead of a person in Homer, which *prima facie* supports the association of the heart with the maids.

suitors ends "abnormally," i.e., not by his own decision, but through Athena's intervention. My concern here is not with the impact of a god's involvement in a debate on the individual's autonomy or responsibility for the action.[16] Rather, I wish to explore whether the goddess' appearance can be read in a way that renders Odysseus' decision "normal," and if so, what the advantages of this reading might be for a proper understanding of this deliberation scene and the killing of the suitors. Having studied the two scenes and their similes I turn, in section four, to issues of narrative structure and argue that the content of Odysseus' first deliberation explains the ordering of the two deliberation scenes and illuminates the broad narrative structure of Books 13-22.

THE BARKING HEART

In the first deliberation scene (6-24), Odysseus lies awake as beggar in the portal of his own μέγαρον planning the suitors' death when he hears some of the maids laugh on their way to join their lovers.[17] In Book 19, Odysseus set out to "provoke" Penelope and the maids (ἐρεθίζω, 45) by way of establishing their loyalty, and addressed Penelope as "noble wife of Laertes' son, Odysseus" (165) only after she had expressed her abiding loyalty to her husband and divulged her three-year scheme with the suitors. In a somewhat similar vein, Book 20 opens with the need to test the serving women by probing their willingness to sleep with their master's enemies. Odysseus' θυμός is inflamed by their traitorousness, and he debates whether to kill them outright or grant them a last rendezvous. At this point, a new character — an organ — intervenes vocally: "his heart was growling within him" (κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει, 13).[18] This inward barking is compared to that of a female dog standing protectively over her pups and barking at a stranger, eager to fight (13-16). Odysseus addresses his κραδίη, urges

[16] See, e.g., Dodds 1951; Lesky 1961; and Wüst 1958.

[17] This is the most elaborate instance of the "sleeplessness" motif in the *Odyssey*. See de Jong 2001, 484. For other instances of it, see 1.443-444, 15.4-8, 19.515-534. For the "lonely vigil" motif, see Leeman 1985, 213-230.

[18] Unless otherwise noted, all translations of the Greek come from Lattimore 1965 and Fagles 1996.

it to endure, and reminds it of the indignities it suffered in the Cyclops' cave, which were worse than the present trials, until μῆτις got it out of the cave. The heart — ἦτορ is now used synonymously with κραδίη — obeys the speaker and is calmed.

Odysseus' psychic division has been interpreted in various ways. Gilbert Rose connects the simile with other dog-references in the *Odyssey* and takes the angry bitch to be "an image for Odysseus in his capacity as avenger."[19] He contrasts the hero's attitude as a helpless observer of the Cyclops' shamelessness with the aggression of a female dog eager to defend her pups, a symbol of Odysseus' dissipated property.[20] This interpretation faces two challenges. First, Odysseus is the agent of revenge in his entirety, not just with respect to his heart, as shown by the fact that he continues to plot the suitors' doom after he has subdued his heart. Yet the heart is cast as the hero's temporary enemy: the simile and the first deliberation stage a duel between the heart, which advocates immediate mayhem, and Odysseus who prefers postponing the revenge. The assimilation of Odysseus-the-avenger with the avenging heart ignores their conflicting motivations and disregards the fact that Odysseus' decision is "a spiritual process … Odysseus is not the 'patient' man but the one who can wait."[21] Take away the rivalry between the angry heart and the prudent Odysseus, and the latter's ability to endure, evident in the repetition of the root τλα- (τέτλαθι, ἔτλης, ἐτόλμας, τετληυῖα), is reduced to patience. Second, the heart is cast as a female dog (κύων … βεβῶσα, 14-15) about to attack an unknown man (ἄνδρ' ἀγνοιήσασ', 15). The opponents are representatives of different

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[19] Rose 1979, 227.

[20] Rose 1979, 227-228. The bitch's brood is characterized as "weak" (ἀμαλῇσι, 14), a rare word that occurs elsewhere in Homer only at *Iliad* 22.310 (of a lamb) and conveys the puppies' helplessness. de Jong (1994, 34) claims that the reason for Odysseus' aggression is that "he feels he must protect his house against the threat posed by the suitors and the disloyal maids." Elsewhere, she sees the "strange man" of the simile as a representation only of the suitors (de Jong 2001, 486). Argos in *Odyssey* 17 is another reference to a dog that keeps the dog imagery prominent as a theme between books.

[21] Arend 1933, 113.

species and different genders. These differences complement a third one, the gender difference between Odysseus and the maids who are referred to as "women" (γυναῖκες, 6) rather than "housemaids" (δμωαί). These asymmetries between the heart and its owner must play a role in the interpretation of the simile and the first deliberation scene.[22]

Stephen Halliwell explores the psychological implications of the simile. He sees the κραδίη as "the drive of a strong (here) animal character" and notes its cognitive aspect as expressed in the belief formed in the Cyclops' cave "that you would die" (21).[23] Odysseus' self-address thus manifests "the way in which the mental experience of the character *embraces* and holds together a complexity of drives and motivations";[24] memory unifies a self that is torn between emotion and rationality. Finally, Christopher Gill draws on Daniel Dennett's functionalist definition of self-reflexiveness as "acting upon oneself just as one would act upon another person"[25] and suggests that Odysseus "schools" himself in ways reminiscent of Homeric interpersonal discourse by suppressing indignation in order to achieve a desirable longer-term goal. He argues that the hero's address to his heart exhibits a combination of self-distancing and self-identification: that Odysseus addresses the heart at all

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[22] Rose (1979, 228) sidesteps this difficulty by claiming that his interpretation of the simile establishes "correspondences, but not overly literal ones, for all its details": e.g., the bitch fails to recognize the unknown man, whereas Odysseus recognizes the maids as the threat that they are. Rutherford (1992, 205) associates Odysseus with the "loyal and protective" bitch but describes the current application of the simile as "unusual: Odysseus is not wanting to protect the maids, but feels angry and possessive towards them: they correspond more to the unknown man at whom the bitch snarls." If possible, we should avoid reversing the antagonists' gender.

[23] Halliwell 1990, 40. Snell (1964, 53) sees the barking heart as the representation of "the irrational, the dangerous, the uncanny elements of the human action." Claus (1981, 42) describes the κραδίη as "the anatomical heart" and notes that "almost all instances of [it] can be categorized as either 'courage' or 'courage' ambiguous with 'wrath'."

[24] Halliwell 1990, 41.

[25] Dennett 1976, 193.

demarcates it as something that is in some sense "other," and this "otherness" informs the presentation of the heart in animalistic terms as a dog "barking" to protect her litter.[26] At the same time, the heart is spoken to in a style appropriate to a person and treated as a partial substitute for Odysseus that embodies the capacity for being "much-enduring" and sharing his life history.[27]

In the following pages, I offer a symbolic reading of the simile that draws inspiration mainly from Gill in treating the heart like a person with whom Odysseus is identified and from whom he is also distanced.[28] The simile presents a self that is divided between an active/male/assertive part (Odysseus) and a passive/female/subordinate part (κραδίη) that is eventually unified (αὐτός, 24) through physical and psychological force: the angry heart growls, Odysseus strikes his chest, admonishes his heart, and subjects it to his will. This confrontation, as well as its victorious outcome, enacts, in the privacy of Odysseus' mind, the maids' imminent execution by their master, although in its display of both force and guile it also foreshadows the killing of the suitors, which involves guile — at the conclusion of the bow contest, Odysseus says that he intends to "hit another target that no one has hit before" (22.5-7) — and open force (he fights a battle).[29] The barking heart represents the treacherous maidservants who both belong to Odysseus' estate and thus constitute part of him-qua-master-of-

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[26] In *Phaedo* (94d5-6) Plato registers the heart's "difference" from Odysseus: in describing the relationship between an inharmonious soul and its parts, Socrates describes the soul as "conversing with desires and passions and fears as if it were one thing talking to a different one." See also *Rep.* 3.390d1-5. Cf. Montiglio 2000, 287: "For the kind of endurance that results in the silencing of passions implies the recognition of a *separate matter* over which the mind must prevail" (emphasis added).

[27] Gill 1996. Gill's notions of self-identification and self-distancing capture the fundamental duality created by the simile: although the part (heart) is part of a whole (Odysseus), it acts antagonistically to the whole. For a detailed analysis of terms of self as applied to Zeus in Homer and the Homeric Hymns, see Sullivan 1994.

[28] To the extent that Odysseus' psychic integrity informs my reading, I have also drawn upon Halliwell's (1990) interpretation.

[29] Athena offers the same two alternatives to Telemachus at 1.295-296. Cf. 11.120.

the-*oikos* (self-identification) and are individuals other than Odysseus who must be subordinated by him (self-distancing). This reading externalizes and projects onto the outer world (maids) a rift occurring in Odysseus' psyche between unchecked emotion and self-control. Odysseus addresses his heart — otherwise the reference to its past behavior would make little sense and its ability to endure like *polutlas* Odysseus even less — but he treats it as a stand-in for the maids, the impudent foe whose laughter and treacherousness he has just witnessed. This movement toward and away from the self is especially apt at this point in the narrative, the night before the slaughter of the suitors and the maids: the master finally occupies his house and should be carefree, as Athena light-heartedly tells him (34-35), but he is alien to it populated as it is by intruders (suitors) and disloyal servants (maids). His persistence in the role of stranger, as conveyed by his sleeping "at the periphery of the house,"[30] in the vestibule (1), and in the role of beggar, as suggested by his making his own bed (2), shows his liminal position in his own house. The maids' laughter and dalliances with the suitors challenge Odysseus' authority, and he responds to them by imaginatively making the bitchy heart/maids surrender to his will.[31]

The symbolic identification of the barking heart with the maids can be established on at least two grounds. First, Odysseus' self-address is a case of what Hayden Pelliccia calls "a mute-addressee speech": although the division between Odysseus and his heart raises the possibility of dialogue between two agents of psychological action, the heart never engages in a discussion with the hero but makes inarticulate sounds — we have here the only instance in Homer of either ὑλακτέω or ὑλάω ("to bark") used metaphorically.[32] In addition, Odysseus decided to ignore the heart's urgings before speaking to it: he "struck himself on the chest and spoke to his heart and scolded it" (στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ, 17)

[30] Murnaghan 1987, 115. Telemachus also sleeps in the *prodomos* of Menelaus' house (15.5).

[31] By contrast, in 14.29-34, Odysseus, his μῆτις notwithstanding, fails to placate the enraged dogs.

[32] Pelliccia 1995, 221.

prior to addressing it, and the heart stood "in obedience" (ἐν πείσῃ, 23) and "stayed and endured without complaint" (μένε τετληυῖα νωλεμέως, 23-24). His soliloquy is "uniquely neither deliberative nor reflective, but exhortative:"[33] it is the means by which the heart is urged to exhibit a predetermined stance, obedience. Odysseus' univocal address to his heart can be explained in a number of ways. For one, it reverses the suitors' and Melanthius' unilateral offenses against Odysseus: the beggar's earlier silent endurance (e.g., his decision to endure silently the goatherd's abuse at 17.238) is now replaced by the unyielding vocal admonition to his heart to endure silently; the oppressed becomes the oppressor. Also, the heart's superfluous role in his deliberation reflects the unimportance of the maids' voice and their largely inessential role in the household; these women are slaves and easily replaceable. Odysseus' self-address thus serves more as an opportunity for the display of rational reflection and restraint than as a genuine assessment of equipollent alternatives.[34] His admonition silences the heart's barking, which is to say that the voice of male reason eclipses the laughter (γέλω, 8) of the female slaves.[35] The reference to the role of μῆτις in the Cyclops' cave (20) is illuminating here: in Book 9 the poet puns on the resemblance between the pseudonym *Outis* ("Nobody," "No-man") and μῆτις ("plan," "clever counsel"). This pun finds an application in the symmetry between μῆτις, which rescues the heart from the Cyclops' feast, and *Outis*/the-beggar-of-Ithaca who saves his household from the disloyal serving women by silencing the bitchy heart/maids. From this point of view, the "unknown man" faced by the bitch/maids is Odysseus in his disguise as the nonentity-beggar.[36] Finally, the association of the maids with the bitch shows how their shameless and shaming laughter is reduced to an innocuous barking

[33] de Jong 2001, 484.

[34] Cf. de Jong 1994, 34: "Barking inwardly is almost a paradox, since barking normally involves quite a bit of noise. The verb symbolizes Odysseus' aggression, his eagerness to act."

[35] For the contrast between the "emotional" and the "intellectual" parts in Homeric psychology, see Claus 1981, 15-47, esp. 45-47.

[36] de Jong (2001, 486) identifies the "unknown man" with the suitors, and the barking dog with Odysseus. But in what sense are the suitors "unknown" to Odysseus?

that ends in silence and passivity; the barking dog is prevented from biting.

Second, "dog" (κύων) is a common term of invective and is used of the maids four times in the *Odyssey*, all of which occur within a Book and a half prior to the canine simile.[37] Melantho mocks her master after his fight with Irus whereupon Odysseus calls her a "bitch" (κύον, 18.338) and threatens to report her behavior to Telemachus; Penelope admonishes Melantho for poking fun at Odysseus and calls her "brazen bitch" (κύον ἀδεές, 19.91); twice more she refers to the maids collectively as "she-dogs," the first time when she informs the stranger of their betraying the loom trick to the suitors (κύνας, 19.154),[38] and then again when she bemoans their taunting the stranger (κύνες, 19.372). In these cases, Penelope attempts to regain power by belittling the maids who act as the enemies of the household. The difference in species reflects the difference in social status between master and slave. In the *Odyssey*, the near-synonym κυνῶπις ("dogface") is not used specifically of the maids but is attributed to three instances of the unfaithful wife: Helen (4.145), Clytemnestra (11.424), and Aphrodite in Demodocus' song (8.319). By consorting with the suitors, the maids betray their master and aspire to a higher station in life by sleeping with Penelope's suitors; in effect, they create an illicit *oikos* within Odysseus' *oikos* of which they must be almost as protective as the she-dog is of her brood.[39] The maids would not welcome their master's return, as it would certainly entail their punishment and the restoration of the true *oikos*. Odysseus' strong feelings about their infidelity come to the fore when he upbraids the suitors by mentioning first their dalliances with the maids and then their pursuit of Penelope (22.37-38). The seriousness of the maids' offence makes Telemachus mete out to them the disgraceful punishment of hanging

[37] Cf. Rose 1979, 228-229.

[38] It is generally agreed by Homeric commentators that Melantho is the most likely candidate for the maid who tells the suitors the stratagem of the shroud. See von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, 50; Winkler 1990, 149; Vlahos 2011, 38.

[39] Graver (1995, 48) comments on Odysseus' outrage at the maids' transfer of their loyalty to the suitors which, as Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck point out (1992), "amounts to a form of theft from the master of the house."

(22.461-473), instead of death by the sword as prescribed by Odysseus. Telemachus hangs the women "so that they might die most pitiably" (ὅπως οἴκτιστα θάνοιεν, 22.472) and characterizes hanging as "unclean" (μὴ … καθαρῷ θανάτῳ, 22.462). Their unclean death is thus fitting punishment for their unclean life.[40] If we view the bitch as a stand-in for the maids, we can see that the simile and the first deliberation scene prefigure the maids' doom: Odysseus silences the barking she-dog/maids before Telemachus cuts the serving women's vocal chords.

THE SIZZLING PAUNCH

In the second deliberation scene (24-53), Odysseus begins rolling in bed from side to side (ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ἑλίσσετο ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, 24), a movement that the poet conveys with a simile: just as a man cooking a paunch on a big fire rolls it from side to side, eager to get it done quickly, so Odysseus rolls from side to side, anxiously pondering how he might kill the suitors, given that he is one against many (25-30).[41] Suddenly, Athena intervenes in the guise of a woman and asks what could possibly be bothering him, now that he is in his own house with a faithful wife and an excellent son (30-35). Odysseus tells her his worries, and Athena promises to help him through "cunning counsels" (μήδεα, 24). She reminds him of her past support (45-48), predicts the end of his tribulations (48-51), sheds sleep onto him, and departs for Olympus (52-55).[42]

As we saw earlier, this instance of the μερμηρίζειν-ὅπως sub-pattern has been considered abnormal in that Odysseus' deliberation concludes not autonomously, but through Athena's interference. Joseph Russo, echoing Voigt, has attributed the scene's deviation from the norm to Homer's wish to convey through it that "Odysseus' famous self-mastery is at last wearing thin. This scene of dilemma and decision … must rise above the 'general' or 'typical' to serve Homer's special artistic needs" by creating

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[40] Loraux (1987, 14) calls death by the sword "pure," as opposed to death by hanging.

[41] For a hero's tossing and turning, cf. Achilles in *Il.* 24.5-11. For the view that Odysseus' insomnia reflects impatience and not a loss of confidence, see Focke 1943, 339; for a response, see Besslich 1966, 17 and Belzner 1912, 181-182.

[42] Morris (1983) reads Athena's intervention as a "dream scene," even though Odysseus is awake.

the impression that the hero's "private mental activity has risen to an unprecedented intensity."[43] Although Odysseus' anxiety over the impending crisis with the suitors has escalated, we should prefer an interpretation of the scene that makes it conform to the norm without mitigating the hero's psychic intensity.

Let us first look at the simile in whose context the deliberation occurs. Just as a man tosses back and forth his sizzling paunch (γαστήρ), filled with blood and fat, and the paunch (or the man) is eager for it to be grilled quickly, so Odysseus twists and turns back and forth as he ponders what to do (25-28). On the most straightforward reading, suggested by the appearance of the "man" in the nominative (ἀνήρ), the cook represents Odysseus, and the paunch his restless body, a division that recalls the earlier split between the hero and his bitchy heart.[44] In both similes, a human (Odysseus, a man) works on an animalistic entity (bitchy heart) and an animal product (paunch) and attempts to prevail over it either by restraining it (heart) or by cooking and, one assumes, eating its inside (paunch).[45] Yet there are two major differences between them: first, the canine simile is static and noisy, while the paunch simile involves physical and mental agitation apparently conducted in silence; second, whereas in the canine simile Odysseus and his heart emerge as autonomous agents with conflicting desires, the paunch simile stresses Odysseus' unity: the hero is no longer "in bits" but is a whole person (αὐτός), and his physical restlessness is conveyed by the middle verb ἑλίσσετο, which makes Odysseus the subject and the object of the activity of "twisting and turning" and is mentioned at the beginning and at the end of the simile (24, 28). Although Odysseus refers to his θυμός as the organ that ponders how to kill the suitors (θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει, 38), three lines later he is the one pondering (ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζω, 41; cf.

[43] Russo 1968, 293-294.

[44] As the simile progresses, Odysseus is also compared to the paunch, "eager to be grilled quickly" (27). Rutherford (1992, 206-207) shrewdly notes that the ambiguity "matches the uncertain position of Odysseus in the narrative at this point: is he agent or victim, avenger or helpless onlooker?"

[45] Fränkel (1921, 58) thinks that the tossing of Odysseus suggests his longing for his plans to "be cooked very quickly."

μερμηρίζων, 28).[46] His psychic unity is also intimated by his anxiety, repeated twice, over the way in which he, being alone (μοῦνος, 30, 40), will fight the many suitors. Likewise, the cook is a unified agent, the subject of a verb of action (αἰόλλῃ, 27) and of desire (λιλαίεται, 27).[47]

The canine simile allows Odysseus to use the recollection of a past event as a vehicle for the communication of a current experience. By describing his suffering at the Cyclops' cave as more "doglike" than overhearing the maids' laughter, he suggests that the two episodes differ only in the degree of their shamelessness: since the present incident is less shameless than the past one, Odysseus should find it easier to endure it, and so he does.[48] The paunch simile, however, unfolds entirely in the present and foregrounds Odysseus' mobility by comparing his restless body (and the spirit animating it) to a slowly grilled haggis (and the fat and blood within). This time, however, the narrator suspends the end-result of the compared activities: we never learn whether the cook grills the paunch to his satisfaction or whether Odysseus can allay his anxieties by himself. The canine simile thus enacts Odysseus' *successful* struggle with his heart, whereas the paunch simile enacts his *inconclusive* struggle with himself.

This rarely observed feature of the paunch simile is an important aspect of the hero's second deliberation because it mitigates his seemingly limitless power and necessitates the intervention of a higher being. The first deliberation is, quite appropriately, a self-address because it celebrates

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[46] Pelliccia (1995, 207) calls Odysseus' θυμός here his "second (and misbehaving) self" because it disagrees with Athena's injunction to shed all worries, whereas Odysseus agrees with what the goddess says (37). Yet *both* Odysseus *and* his θυμός have the same worry, which is expressed verbatim twice, the first time as issuing from Odysseus (29-30), and the second time as issuing from his θυμός (39-40). This repetition suggests that Odysseus is to be identified with his θυμός, the result of his psychological unity.

[47] The subject of λιλαίεται can also be the paunch, another unified (and personified) agent: Odysseus is like a paunch filled with delectable "food," the μήδεα about the suitors' death.

[48] That the maids/bitches make Odysseus suffer a less "doglike" or offensive experience than the Cyclops further diminishes their power.

Odysseus, his power to speak and thereby silence his opponent. By contrast, the second deliberation takes the form of a dialogic exchange between an anxious Odysseus and a solicitous Athena. A dialogue requires the presence of another and limits one's self-sufficiency and independence. Since, however, this "other" is Odysseus' immortal double, the hero's conversation serves more like a dialogue with an extension of himself — a discussion conducted out loud where speaker and addressee are ontologically distinct but mentally akin to one another — than an interpersonal exchange between two completely different beings.[49] As in other "move-into-contact" scenes (e.g., Athena's appearance to Achilles in *Iliad* 1 and to Diomedes in *Iliad* 10), the divine epiphany does not have "the effect of breaking the character's isolation … it simply continues the inner deliberation in a different mode."[50] In *Odyssey* 20.30-53, this "mode" is a dialogue between a person and a perfect version of himself, an exchange between Odysseus and his divine alter ego. From this point of view, the second deliberation observes the μερμηρίζειν-ὅπως sub-pattern because it is not Athena in her divine otherness that tells how Odysseus will prevail over the suitors, but Odysseus' divine double. This "doubling" occurs, naturally, after the hero has assembled his psychic "parts" (θυμός, κραδίη, ἦτορ) into a whole (αὐτός); with his heart overpowered by prudence, Odysseus is all of a piece and can talk to Athena.[51]

Odysseus' identification with Athena receives support from the text. When the goddess visits him, she teases him about not being like others, quick to trust a weaker mortal "who is far less cunning than her" (οὐ τόσα μήδεα οἶδεν, 46). The reference to her many μήδεα picks up on Odysseus' standard epithet πολύμητις, used ten lines earlier

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[49] Dimock (1989, 265) makes a similar point: "Athena speaks the words which reason might speak in a case of this kind, convincing words, and we can believe that they would produce the same result without Athena's presence … Athena serves to express a natural power and Odysseus's ability to command it, rather than to suggest divine interference with the natural order of events."

[50] Both the label of the scene and the quote come from Pelliccia 1995, 221.

[51] Cf. Segal 1994, 39: "[Athena] serves as an objective correlative of [Odysseus'] inner wholeness, his ability to act with rational comprehension of and full orientation in the human world."

(πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, 36), and signals the mental affinity between the hero and his patron goddess.[52] Odysseus' and Athena's cunning also explains their role in the scene: Odysseus cannot sleep because of his "many counsels," and Athena asks to be trusted because she knows more "counsels" than a mere mortal. Her appearance as a mortal woman does more than enable her to banter with Odysseus;[53] it makes her seem his equal from an ontological standpoint, which stresses their affinity. Her divine status, however, which Odysseus registers right away (37), puts things into perspective and establishes a hierarchy of wits according to which Athena is superior to Odysseus in cunning, just as Odysseus is superior to his heart in prudence; the weaker party submits to the stronger one.

The kinship between Odysseus and Athena is evident in other ways. Just as Odysseus reminded his κραδίη of its feat in the Cyclops' cave, so Athena reminds Odysseus of her unfailing support of him: "But I am a goddess, look, the very one who guards you in all your trials to the last" (47-48). In both cases, the stronger party uses recollection of a past success to elicit faith from the weaker party in the present endeavour. It might be objected that the analogy between Athena and Odysseus downplays the goddess' blameless cognition: can the hero foretell the future like his divine protector? Odysseus certainly lacks divine omniscience but it is noteworthy that in reproaching his heart he registers *its* false belief that it would die (σε ... ὀϊόμενον θανέεσθαι, 20-21). Although this remark need not mean that at the time he had the foresight that his heart lacked, his correction of the heart's erroneous belief implies his own cognitive superiority to it, probably indicative of self-assurance, borne of his past feats, that could be relied upon to save him again. Second, as observed earlier, Odysseus subdues his rebellious

[52] The use of the dual νῶϊ (50) also suggests the strong bond between goddess and mortal protégé. Cf. Besslich 1966, 15-18.

[53] At other times, Athena takes the appearance of a specific human (e.g., 2.268, 6.22-23) or that of an anonymous young man (13.222). Later in Book 13, she takes the form of a beautiful woman (288-289) and reveals herself to him as his helping goddess (299-302). On divine disguises, see Clay 1974.

heart, and Athena soothes Odysseus. In both cases, the speaker's words overcome the addressee's resistance, and a faintly militaristic language conveys the opponent's surrender: the heart yields to Odysseus' "assailing" (καθαπτόμενος, 22) and "obeys" him (ἐν πείσῃ, 22), while Athena urges Odysseus to let sleep "seize" him (ἀλλ' ἑλέτω σε καὶ ὕπνος, 52).[54] Both the heart and Odysseus appear in the accusative (φίλον ἦτορ, σε) because they are the patients of others' actions.[55]

Together the two similes yield the contours of Odysseus' course throughout the epic: the canine simile has an analeptic function because it represents the hero as divided into two parts, a bifurcation that evokes his loss of power — in men and material possessions, as well as the diminution of his estate in Ithaca — up to this point in the *Odyssey*. The paunch-simile, by contrast, is followed by Athena's intervention, which augments the hero's power by "multiplying" him. This augmentation has a proleptic function as it prefigures the recovery of his *oikos* with the goddess' help in the remaining Books of the poem.[56]

ORDERING THE DELIBERATION SCENES

Having examined the two deliberation scenes and their similes we are in a position to think about their organization in a continuous narrative. Why does Homer place Odysseus' debate about the killing of the maids (and the canine simile) before his deliberation about how to kill the suitors (and the paunch-simile)? The question is less capricious than it might appear once we realize that Odysseus' sole concern at the beginning of Book 20 is the death of the suitors (5-6), while the punishment of the maids is an incidental worry. The maids irrupt into the scene, within earshot of Odysseus and in his mind, unexpectedly and as an afterthought, yet they are given first place in his deliberations. The hero's debate about whether to kill the maids comes first because it furnishes the temporal and conceptual material for the staging of *both* scenes.

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[54] On the peremptory use, by a god addressing a mortal, of third-person imperatives, see Pelliccia 1993, 84-105.

[55] The heart appears in the nominative only after its desire has conformed to Odysseus' (ἐν πείσῃ, μένε, 23).

[56] For the terms "analeptic" and "proleptic," see Genette 1972; 1980.

Even though the maids are dispatched after the suitors, their shenanigans arouse Odysseus' anger and enhance his motivation to kill the suitors. In order to show the importance of Odysseus' first deliberation for the ordering of both scenes, I must quote it in full (18-21):

> τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,
> ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε μοι μένος ἄσχετος ἤσθιε Κύκλωψ
> ἰφθίμους ἑτάρους· σὺ δ' ἐτόλμας, ὄφρα σε μῆτις
> ἐξάγαγ' ἐξ ἄντροιο ὀϊόμενον θανέεσθαι.
>
> Bear up, my heart. You have had worse to endure before this,
> On that day when the irresistible Cyclops ate up
> My strong companions, but you endured it until intelligence
> Got you out of the cave, though you expected to perish.

In this *consolatio* to his heart, Odysseus appeals to an *exemplum*, a previous instance of worse suffering whose positive outcome is meant to instruct the heart on what to do in the present.[57] The narrative involves four entities and one set of characters — the Cyclops, Odysseus, the heart, cunning, and the companions — in a three-stage narrative of crime and punishment. In the first stage (S1), the Cyclops eats the companions as Odysseus looks on (18-20); in the second stage (S2), the heart endures the painful sight (20); in the third stage (S3), cunning rescues a heart bereft of hope (20-21). The narrative progresses linearly: the Cyclops' crime makes it necessary for the heart to endure, which means that (S1) slightly precedes (S2), although the two stages unfold for the most part simultaneously. (S3) is occasioned by (S2): endurance ensures self-preservation but prolongs entrapment in the cave and must yield to action. The narrative foregrounds Odysseus' division from a whole person in (S1) into two organs in (S2) and (S3), which behave differently: κραδίη is an autonomous agent that holds fast (ἔτλης, ἐτόλμας), whereas μῆτις leads κραδίη out of the cave (ἐξάγαγ'). The heart's "posture of endurance"[58] is informed by a false belief in defeat, whereas cunning shows that the heart's fears are empty by guiding it to safety. (S3) is thus an inverted image of (S1): just as the Cyclops "acts" on the

[57] The incident comes from *Odyssey* 9.299-306 and 316-318.
[58] I borrow the phrase from Pucci 1987, 75.

crew by eating them, so Odysseus' μῆτις acts on the enduring heart by saving it from mortal danger and in so doing it punishes the Cyclops for his insolence and shows its superiority to the hapless crew.

Odysseus' *consolatio* serves as a *mise-en-abîme* version of the entire passage (1-53), a narrative within another narrative that structurally resembles or reflects the outer narrative.[59] This interpretation enriches the connections that critics have established between the *Cyclopeia* and Odysseus' revenge on the suitors, and adds the punishment of the maids to the mix.[60] (S1) corresponds to (S1΄), the maids' dalliances with the suitors (5-8), which Odysseus overhears as he plots evils for his rivals. This is the offence for which the maids, as well as their lovers, will soon pay. By sleeping with the suitors, the maids offer themselves to their master's enemies without his permission. The suitors thus appropriate what belongs to Odysseus, further misusing another's property and thereby imitating the Cyclops' feasting on the crew. (S2) both belongs to the *consolatio* and corresponds to (S2΄), the effect of the *consolatio* on Odysseus' heart: the κραδίη "endured and stood it without complaint" (μένε τετληυῖα νωλεμέως, 23-24), echoing its stance of endurance in the Cyclops' cave. The temporal arrangement of (S1΄) and (S2΄) mirrors that of (S1) and (S2): the maids' escapades in (S1΄) slightly precede and provoke the rebellion of Odysseus' heart in (S2΄), yet they continue to unfold as the heart endures. Finally, (S3) corresponds to (S3΄), Athena's calming Odysseus by promising him victory over the suitors (48-51). The goddess leads her protégé out of idle restlessness and into sleep. Thus in (S3΄) Athena — and, through her, sleep — mimics the action of μῆτις in the cave: both agents (μῆτις, Athena) act on another entity (κραδίη, Odysseus) and rescue it/him from danger or distress: μῆτις frees κραδίη from the clutches of ἄσχετος Κύκλωψ (19) and spares it the fate of ἰφθίμους ἑτάρους (20), and Athena frees Odysseus from his physical and mental restlessness by promising him that they

[59] For the concept of *mise en abyme*, see Dällenbach 1989 and White 2001. For a study of Achilles' shield as a case of *mise en abyme*, see de Jong 2011.

[60] See Schröter 1950, 121-136; Müller 1966, 136-144; Cook 1999, 165; Hopman 2012, 24; and Bakker 2013, 53-57.

will drive back the suitors.[61] Temporally, just as (S3) succeeds (S2) so (S3′) succeeds (S2′) since Athena's intervention is necessitated by Odysseus' failure to sleep after he has subdued his heart.

The *consolatio* plays a central role in the ordering of the deliberation scenes because its theme, the evocation of the Cyclops, is relevant to both scenes. In the first scene, Odysseus reminds his heart that in Polyphemus' cave it endured something "more shameless" or, literally, "more doglike" (κύντερον, 18) than its current predicament. The adjective κύντερον has in its root the word κύων, which connects the canine simile with Odysseus' reaction to Polyphemus' cannibalism. This connection receives support from the fact that the Cyclops smashed the men to the ground "like puppies" (ὥς τε σκύλακας, 9.289) before he devoured them. The metaphor conveys the victims' helplessness by contrasting their relatively small physical size with the Cyclops' huge frame. It also suggests that they are thought to belong to a different species from him: the crew members are perceived as puppies dying a doglike death, whereas Polyphemus is the giant who inflicts this ignominious death upon them.[62] By casting this past event as a more "doglike" experience than his present one, Odysseus imaginatively puts himself in the place of his companions and feels the shame of having had to watch their death while himself is exempt from it; he is a would-be puppy who remained a human, more cunning than his thoughtless crew and more empathetic than the brutish Cyclops. The reference to the Cyclops may also serve as an indication of a lesson learned after Odysseus' adventure with Polyphemus. Once out of the cave, the hero bursts into insults, boasts, and impious claims, which endanger his own life and

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[61] Odysseus' cunning spared him the gruesome death of his crew and will enable him to inflict death on the suitors. This connection reinforces the parallelism between the devoured crew and the soon-to-die suitors, for which see Nagler 1990 and Hopman 2012, 24.

[62] Minchin (2001, 36) thinks that the Cyclops' killing of the men "resembles the unthinking killing, in the rural world, of unwanted new-born pups. We feel a moment of shock because the two acts do not to us seem compatible. We may not be used to dealing with dogs in this way, but we understand the rationale for what is being described. When Homer makes us realize that the Kyklops treats humans as casually we might treat pups, we recoil."

that of his companions (9.475-479, 502-505, 523-525). His behaviour in Ithaca, however, is cautious and involves restraint.[63] By silencing his bitchy heart in Ithaca, Odysseus teaches it a prudent course of action that he himself failed to follow at a crucial moment in the past, as crucial *mutatis mutandis* as the present time in his house.

In the second deliberation scene, Athena's diction alludes twice to the Cyclops. First, she calls Odysseus "stubborn" (σχέτλιε, 45), an adjective whose root meaning (< σχεθεῖν) is "capable of holding (back)." This expression contrasts with Odysseus' reference to the Cyclops in the first deliberation scene as "irresistible" (ἄσχετος, 19), a word whose root meaning (< ἀ+σχεῖν) is "not to be checked." As the man who can hold back or endure, Odysseus punishes the "ungovernable" Cyclops and will soon prevail over the unchecked suitors. Second, the goddess says that with her help Odysseus could drive away "the herds and sleek flocks" (βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα, 51) of fifty bands of mortal fighters. The enemy is envisioned as the cattle of a great number of mortals, which recalls the Cyclops (the size of the men evokes his huge size) and his sheep and goats. By driving away, instead of tending, this cattle Odysseus will be acting as an anti-Cyclops.[64] The scene also contains a verbal allusion to the Cyclops: in order to exit Polyphemus' cave, Odysseus clutched the Cyclops' best ram by his back and "tucked up under his shaggy belly, there [he] hung, face upward" (τοῦ κατὰ νῶτα λαβών, λασίην ὑπὸ γαστέρ' ἐλυσθεὶς κείμην, 9.433-434); once out of the cave, he "first loosed [himself] from the ram" before loosening his men (πρῶτος ὑπ' ἀρνειοῦ λυόμην, ὑπέλυσα δ' ἑταίρους, 9.463). His safety thus involves hiding in and coming up from the underside of the ram, which illustrates his ascent from captivity to freedom. Now, in plotting revenge against the suitors, Odysseus is concerned not only with how to kill them, but also with "how to get out from under" (πῇ κεν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι, 20.43) their

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[63] For Odysseus as more prone to life-preserving silence after the *Cyclopeia* than before it, see Montiglio 2000, 258-259. At 13.309, Athena stresses that Odysseus must suffer "the cruel abuse of men" "in silence" (σιωπῇ).

[64] Rutherford (1992, 208) thinks that the reference to "cattle and herds" is designed to appeal to Odysseus' "acquisitive nature."

avengers. As if echoing this phrase, Athena tells Odysseus that he "will soon come up from [his] troubles" (κακῶν δ' <u>ὑπο</u>δύσεαι ἤδη, 20.53).[65] In both cases, the preposition ὑπό expresses the hero's emergence from under the weight of his evils in Ithaca and recalls the manner of his escape from the Cyclops' cave.[66]

The three thematic components of the *consolatio* — crime, endurance, and punishment through force and cunning — make it also a *mise-en-abîme* version of Books 13-22. In Book 13, Athena reveals to Odysseus the suitors' crime, i.e., their having courted Penelope for three years, and invites him to think about how he might lay hands on them (375-378). She also urges him to be silent: "Endure, even if you have to compel yourself, and do not reveal to anyone, man or woman, that you have come back after your wanderings, but suffer in silence many griefs, submitting to the violence of men" (307-310). Books 14-21 show Odysseus enduring "many griefs" as he puts up with the suitors' brazenness (there are three attacks by them), is mistreated by Melanthius (the goatherd abuses the disguised Odysseus at 17.212, wishes Telemachus dead at 17.251-253, calls Odysseus to the suitors' attention at 17.370, and runs to fetch weapons for the suitors at 22.160-162), is insulted by Melantho, and witnesses the maids' betrayal. Finally, Book 22 registers the punishment of the guilty parties. Although it is true that "the Cyclops episode, which occupies the greater part of Book 9, is in many ways, both structural and thematic, the centerpiece of the *Odyssey*,"[67] its evocation at the beginning of Book 20, on the eve of the *mnêstêrophonia*, plays a comparable role for the first fifty-three lines of the Book and serves as the structural and thematic crux of the second half of the *Odyssey*.

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[65] Dimock (1989, 266) sees in the use of the verb ὑποδύσεαι an allusion to Odysseus' name (ὑπ-οδύσεαι), which means that he will "come through." If this is true, the hero's second deliberation scene ends with Athena celebrating the essence of Odysseus' self as expressed in his name.

[66] The phrase ὕπερθεν κώεα πόλλ' ὀΐων (2-3) also recalls Odysseus' clinging for life under the fleece of the ram that carried him out of the cave. Cf. Bakker 2013, 54.

[67] Bakker 2013, 53.

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MEDEA THE FEMINIST AND MEDEA THE OTHER IN MODERN GEORGIAN RECEPTIONS

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Abstract. The receptions of Medea depicting her as the Other and as a feminist appear to be the main trends of her interpretation since the start of the 20th century. The article studies the Georgian receptions of Medea the Other and Medea the feminist in the context of these interpretative trends developed in her Western reworkings; namely, it focuses on three artistic productions: *Medea: A World Apart*, produced in 1997 by Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre and based on Olga Taxidou's two plays; Nino Kharatishvili's 2007 play *Mine and Your Heart (Medeia)*; and Madi Beriashvili's 2013 play *Medea as Medea*. The conclusions suggest useful insights concerning the similarities existing between Medea's Western and Georgian interpretations as well as the novelties her Georgian receptions present.

The versatile image of Euripides' *Medea* has given birth to the numerous productions, adaptations, and receptions of this play on a global scale. Different epochs and various authors have interpreted this multifaceted figure in their own way — Medea the witch, Medea the infanticide, Medea the abandoned wife, Medea the proto-feminist, and Medea the outsider — with each one appearing to be the main interpretive trend of Medea, "arguably the most theatrical of all Greek tragic characters."[1]

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[1] Macintosh 2000, 1.

Feminist receptions of Medea have been spearheading the reworkings of this complex image from the 1960s onwards. Together with this trend, the interpretations of Medea as ethnically Other can be considered as the mainstream direction as well. At the same time, from the second part of the 20th century, mixing of various interpretative directions of Medea in a single artistic piece starts to enjoy popularity. Medea the feminist and Medea the Other became the dominant trends in the modern amalgam of Medea's reworking. The reason for their dominance lies in the topicality of the issues they reflect. Responding as always to the concerns of the day, these modern mainstream trends — Medea the feminist and Medea the outsider — are being refashioned nowadays in accordance with a contemporary problematic of otherness and of women's wrongs.

The modern Georgian reworkings of Medea are of significant interest when studying the abovementioned interpretative directions of the Colchian woman. Though to fully understand the contribution of Medea's Georgian receptions to her mainstream interpretative trends, a certain introduction of the main characteristics of these discourses seems to be appropriate. It will facilitate our better understanding of the themes that turned out to be the most topical for the Georgian interpretations as well as of the novelties Medea's Georgian reworkings have offered. From Medea's numerous Western receptions interpreting Medea the feminist and Medea the Other, only the most important ones will be discussed.[2]

MEDEA THE FEMINIST IN THE WESTERN INTERPRETATIONS

The feminist reworkings of the Medea myth, and the most recent ones in particular, share one characteristic feature — they try to rehabilitate Medea, some of them striving not only to exonerate her morally but also to free her altogether from the crimes she had never performed even though they were ascribed to her. In this discourse, Jackie Cross-

[2] For a generalized picture of Medea's interpretative directions, see especially Macintosh 2000 and Lauriola 2015. For Medea's feminist rereadings, see Van Zyl Smit 2002. For Black Medeas – Medea the Other, see Van Zyl Smit 2014. Other important studies in this respect will be considered below.

land's play *Collateral Damage: The Tragedy of Medea* (1991) and Christa Wolf's novel *Medea. Voices* (1996) are the most distinguished ones.

The Canadian playwright Jackie Crossland, by presenting Medea's whole story, was able to show how abused her life already was from her maidenhood in Colchis. Isolated from people since her mother's death, this Medea, being maltreated by her father and the brother, does not show any attempt of a protest, and runs away only after Jason had requested her to.[3] When leaving Colchis, Jason kills her brother. It is this very moment the rumor net accusing her of the crimes she had never done starts to be woven. The father seems to be first casting the stone at the daughter, blaming her for the murder of his son and accusing her of bewitching Jason. Amid personal revenge over the daughter, the ruler's reaction is caused by his belief that Medea's, a woman's independent action – namely, her secret escape with Jason is a transgression threatening the patriarchal hegemony.[4]

Perceiving Jason as an excellent warrior, therefore as a helper in militaristic affairs, Crayon (Creon) decides to marry his daughter off to him, thus continuing Medea's injuries and exiling her. But the princess (without name here) appears to be a self-willed personality who considers the marriage as a means to consolidate Crayon's position. Despite her protest, the king forces her to marry. Jason rapes her in the name of marriage. But this independent-spirited woman finds force in herself to contradict the established behaviour norms and sets fire to the marriage bed before running off to the women's tower. This is the kind of a shelter where outraged women find an escape, serving as a manifestation of women's solidarity.[5] But the male-dominated world perceives the tower as a potential threat and is quick to burn it. At the end we see Medea as a lonely woman mourning her children believing them to be dead (though the children

[3] "As the Maid tells, 'Medea was a woman more or less like any other who depend[ed] on a man and got no thanks for it.'" (Crossland 1992, 74, quoted in Choi 2013, 47-48).

[4] Choi 2013, 48.

[5] E.g., women from the tower gave a rest to pregnant Medea when she first arrived at Corinth and was wandering in the streets not speaking their language.

managed to escape together with the Maid). The net of the rumor continues to weave around her, claiming this time that Medea is guilty in the murder of the princess and her own children.

Thus, the woman playwright presents a totally innocent Medea here, still blamed, but her crimes are non-existent since the princess and the children are alive. Crossland's Medea is an ordinary woman lacking the strength of a character and will for action. Contrary to her prototype, she appears to be a weak, unsophisticated person reluctantly accepting injuries. She even justifies Jason, her betrayer, on the basis that the latter was only following Crayon's demands. Nonetheless, what seems most striking in Crossland's personage is that this Medea accepting the conditions the patriarchal order offers considers them to be normal.[6]

Furthermore, Crossland throws in surprises when she makes the princess, Medea's rival, the only woman capable of independent action, free will, and to top it all, of fighting back at males, as demonstrated by the burning of the marriage bed.

Crossland's message seems to be that "Medea's story could be any woman's story"[7] in the sense that every woman is a victim of the male-dominated world. Given that the term "collateral damage" was used to denote the thousands of deaths civilian victims faced from wars around them, it can also be used to equally denote the victimization of women's and children's lives as they were also "buffeted by the circumstances over which they have no control," believes the writer herself.[8]

Medea again is totally guiltless in the novel of the well-known writer from East Germany, Christa Wolf. The 1996 novel *Medea. Voices* appears to be the narrations of six voices — six personages (including Medea) speaking about Medea. The novel presents Medea's story both in Colchis and Corinth. These countries, corrupt and totalitarian, are predominantly displayed as patriarchal hegemonies striving to keep the established norms. The main threat for them appears to be a potential matriarchy —

[6] The fact that Jason doesn't pay much attention to the conversations with her seems quite natural for Medea as she believes that women can't expect much.

[7] Van Zyl Smit 2002, 113.

[8] Crossland 1992, 9.

the rule of women that seems to be more compassionate in the novel.[9] And to prolong this patriarchal order, Creon's rule, his successor Iphinoe was sacrificed at Corinth. Colchis was ruled by men and women alternately through seven-year cycles, according to its constitution. But when the time comes for Aeetes to be replaced by a woman, Medea's sister, the king manages to discredit the confronting party of women by a chain of intrigues. Leaving Colchis to escape from her father's brutal and corrupt power (she was involved in an attempt to end Aeetes' rule), the Colchian woman arrives at Corinth to find out that the Greek country, renowned for its prosperity, is as corrupt and rotten as the regime she had run away from. Here the tragedy of Medea begins when she accidentally discovers the secret of the court — Creon's daughter Iphinoe, the successor of Creon, had been sacrificed intentionally to preserve the existing patriarchal hegemony.[10] Though Medea shows no sign that she will speak about the news she discovered, the stranger "who knows" becomes unendurable for the royal family. The first step against her appears to be discrediting her reputation — the whole propaganda machine is set into motion trumping up various charges against her. The stranger is blamed for the murder of both her brother in Colchis and of Glauce in Corinth.[11] Afterwards Medea is judged and sentenced to exile, forbidden to take her children with her. Leaving the city, Medea entrusts them to the priestess in Hera's sanctuary hoping they will be protected there. But the dark PR against her hasn't ceased. This time the witchcraft that was ascribed to her in the past is cited as the cause of every misfortune — earthquake, solar eclipse, etc. The indignation towards her children is so all-embracing that the mob takes the boys from the sanctuary and stones them to death.[12] This is followed by the fabrication of the next lie — the rumor that it was the mother herself who killed the children.

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[9] See Lü 2004.

[10] The elimination is kept as a secret while the royal family spreads the "official" false story that Iphinoe eloped to marry abroad.

[11] Medea is innocent in both charges. She has no motive for Glauce's killing. She doesn't love Jason. Furthermore, she is in love with another man, the sculptor Oistros. Glauce drowns herself in a well.

[12] See Danelia 2003.

Despite the fact that Medea, in both versions, is a totally innocent victim of the male-dominated world order based on misogynist ideology, her persona appears to be quite different in the two women's writings. Medea of the German writer is an intelligent woman gifted with a healer's knowledge who helps everyone around her. Additionally, she is also a distinguished woman among the Corinthian womenfolk. Fortitude, pride, and disobedience are the most prominent features of her personality. Compliance of the Corinthian wives is utterly unacceptable for this Colchian woman who urges them to express their feelings, wishes, and intentions.[13]

Alongside interpreting the feminist Medea, the author reworks the trend of Medea the Other, though to a lesser degree. Accused of witchcraft, Medea is a "scapegoat" for every misfortune at Corinth as it happens usually to strangers throughout history. The Colchians who willingly came to Corinth in a search of a better country are treated as low-class strangers in Greece claiming its own superiority. "Corinth is obsessed with the desire for gold […] And what shocked us [Colchians] most: the worth of a citizen in Corinth is measured by the amount of gold he possesses […]"[14]

Wolf's Medea is then another guiltless Medea, a fearless woman who does not reconcile herself to the consideration that the female sex must be subordinate to the male. But unlike her prototype, her disapproval of the existed ethical norms does not turn into an active struggle against these very norms. What makes this personage a Medea-like figure is that those surrounding her are unable to force her to do the things they wish.

Tony Harrison's work *Medea: A Sex-War Opera* (1985) seems to be an interesting feminist interpretation of Medea's story with the main message claiming the existence of a century-old and total war between man and woman. Medea here is again innocent in killing her offspring. It is the archetypal misogynist Hercules who murders Medea's children.[15] Despite

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[13] Metreveli 2007, 219.

[14] Wolf [2]1999, 35, quoted in Lü 2004, 12. The researcher emphasizes the contrasts and the similarities between Corinth and Colchis discourse in relation to that of East and West Germany's integration process.

[15] "[Hercules] was a man who slew monsters, thus contributing to civilization, but, as Harrison claims, these monsters were all forms of a woman, maiden, crone, and goddess, and in slaying them he resembled the final monster: "All the monsters that

the fact that Medea has not committed the murder, she is still executed in the electric chair. She and the whole of womanhood are victims of extreme male misogyny.[16] "Medea, as trope or representation as guaranteed through her fictionality, is eternal," colorfully remarks Marianne McDonald, "now a warning, now a reassuring song … and now, also, again, on the stage is an indictment of the world off stage."[17]

The second direction of Medea's feminist interpretations presenting her as a murderous mother still tends to rehabilitate her morally. The adaptation by the Irish writer Brendan Kennelly *Euripides' Medea: A New Version* (1991) appears to be a significant example of this discourse. Together with the feminist reworking of Medea's myth, the adaptation puts forward the political issues of the day, thus responding to the contemporary tendency of Medea's revision — uniting different interpretative trends in one piece. Jason and Medea's opposition is seen as England versus Ireland, where Jason is seen as Cromwell and Medea as Ireland, the colonized victim fighting back.[18] The author's main motive was to write the story of Medea as a reflection of the opposite sex's attitude towards women and the resulting animosity of women reacting to this perspective. Medea's famous "Women of Corinth" speech acquires here the significance of women's manifesto. Abundant with obscenities, it appears as a weapon in Medea's hands.[19] The writer changes the focus of the women's famous choral song of Euripides' tragedy (*Med.* 410-430). While ancient women sang about an absence of women's voices in literature, the ode is dedicated to female abuse by their male counterparts in the modern writer's voice. Able to alter her position and change

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I ever slew / were only the great EARTH MOTHER, you!" (Harrison 1985, 434, quoted in McDonald 1992, 119-120).

[16] "In every quiet suburban wife / dissatisfied with married life / is MEDEA, raging!" are the words of the chorus of women. See Harrison 1985, 371.

[17] McDonald 1992, 124-125.

[18] McDonald 2003, 190.

[19] "Men, the horny despots of our bodies, / sucking, fucking, licking, chewing, farting into our skin, / sitting on our faces, fingering our arses, / exploring our cunts, widening our thighs, / drawing the milk that gave the bastards life." (Kennelly 1991, 89, quoted in McDonald 1997, 307).

her plight, Kennelly's Medea "transcends being a scorned woman to reach wondrous glory."[20] The adaptation ends with a noteworthy question: "And yet I wonder, and will always wonder - / Is Medea's crime Medea's glory?"[21] Concern with political issues makes the Irish Medea angrier in a political way, notes M. McDonald. Using her familiar metaphoric language, McDonald sums up her discussion of the Irishman's adaptation with the following words, "Medea now is a lightning rod for political questions, and a suitable heiress to the dragon chariot."[22]

Certain feminist interpretations of Medea depict her as a heroine who has again obtained the whole range of passions characteristic of her prototype. Revenge is her motive for the terrible action.

The Scottish dramaturge Liz Lochhead's *Medea* (2000) is considered an example of such comprehension. According to Fiona Macintosh, the play presents "Medea the *femme fatale* who returned to the stage with gusto and immediacy."[23] The play is close to the original story despite some changes. The main novelty appears to be the presentation of the women's chorus as encompassing women "of all times, all ages, classes and professions."[24] Medea's motive for the murder of her children is to save her sons from becoming "cruel men like their father" and her daughter from experiencing the reality of "womanhood / and this world's mercy."[25] The playwright's aim was not Medea's exoneration but to present the gender relationship as Medea envisioned it. Being as it is, the male-female interaction appears to her as a dead-end she does not want to accept. Van Zyl Smit is right when arguing that though Medea takes responsibility for the

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[20] O'Brien 2012, 164.

[21] Kennelly 1991, 75.

[22] McDonald 1997, 312.

[23] Macintosh 2000, 29.

[24] Lochhead 2000, 7. The chorus, being representative of womanhood, comprehends her grief. They hate men like Creon and Jason and urge Medea to act against them: "We know men, we know who's in the right. / Punish him for us Medea" (Lochhead, 2000, 10). But their support, as in the original plot, falters after hearing Medea's decision of killing her children and they start attacking her for being an unnatural mother. For the chorus' presentation by Lochhead, see Craig 2015.

[25] Lochhead 2000, 28; Craig 2015, 47.

deeds performed, she isn't perceived as a monster by the chorus. What has happened to her may happen to any woman.[26]

MEDEA AS THE OTHER OF THE WESTERN RECEPTIONS

As stated, Medea's reception as the Other appears to be another mainstream trend in the contemporary reworking of her image. Critics agree that the tradition of presenting Medea as an ethnic Other starts with Franz Grillparzer's tragedy *The Golden Fleece* (1820). In the trilogy, the Austrian dramatist proposes the otherness theme resonating with contemporary Jewish oppression, Jew being "the essential Other for German speaking lands."[27]

While depicting Medea, Grillparzer strove to present her as a victim of Otherness and being a woman. The dramatist displayed the whole panorama of her story from the beginning, aiming to show the important role outside actors have played in her destiny. The Colchian maiden is exonerated here from some crimes prescribed to her (e.g., she does not kill her brother; confronts Jason as much as she can not to steal the Golden Fleece). Grillparzer's heroine appears to be a sincere, straightforward personality who never acts in secret.[28] The ability of manipulation is developed much less in his Medea. She is presented with more human characteristics. Jason's wife tries her best to assimilate herself into the Greek culture.[29] Displaying Medea's difficulties of accustoming to the new socio-cultural milieu, the author works the theme of the West-East opposition and of Medea as the Other in this context. Grillparzer pays special attention to how the arrogant Greek mentality receives the Other. The acceptance of a foreigner (Medea) in Greece is exemplified by Jason looking haughtily at the Other and emphasizing on every occasion Greece's superiority over Colchis, a savage and a dark land. The main culprit for

[26] Van Zyl Smit 2002, 119.

[27] Corti 1998, 128.

[28] Unlike her prototype, she does not run from her country superstitiously, on the contrary, after informing the father about her feelings, she demonstratively makes her way towards Jason.

[29] To take leave from her past, the Colchian woman buries her clothes and witch's outfit in the ground before entering Corinth.

Medea's failed "Hellenization" appears to be this very arrogant approach towards an alien, such a characteristic feature for the representatives of Greece.

The betrayed and exiled woman asks for one last favor to take the children into exile but receives the bitterest shock of her otherness — the boys refuse to follow the mother, having already been alienated from her.[30] This moment seems to be the acme of Medea's total isolation. The infanticide follows; however, the Colchian woman sees this act as the only way to avoid a terrible future for the children, as she tells the nurse. Medea's words make Macintosh suppose that the murder is not presented here as an act of a furious revenge but rather as a mother's desire to prevent her children from a worse fate in the future.[31]

To sum up, Grillparzer's novel approaches, taken together, have promoted to create a perception of Medea that presents her as an extremely victimized woman, thereby, making her terrible revenge look more understandable.

Though Grillparzer's work was a significant reception of this famous heroine, the interpretative trend of Medea's otherness initiated by him did not gain popularity up until the 20th century, when "Medea's ethnicity became a dominant concern in dramatic treatment of the myth."[32] The 20th century Medea's interpretations in this discourse tend to explore global concerns of the time — be it an interracial strife, anxieties between colonies and metropolises, or complex relations of "civilized" states and the so-called Third World. From the early 20th century reworkings of Medea the Other, Hans Henny Jahnn's *Medea* (1926), *Asie* (1931) by Henri Lenormand, and *The Wingless Victory* (1936) by Maxwell Anderson are considered as some of the most influential. Though Jahnn's play (premiered in Berlin in 1926) had shocked his contemporaries and had not enjoyed the success at the time of its first performance, it was revived sever-

[30] The children's refusal to follow their mother is Grillparzer's innovative contribution to Medea's story. Creusa, Creon's daughter and Jason's bride, plays a big role in the boys' adaption into Greek society.

[31] Macintosh 2000, 14.

[32] Macintosh 2000, 21.

al times. Subsequent popularity seems to be caused by exploring the theme of otherness — interracial anxieties this time around.[33] For the first time in the history of her presentations, Medea presented as a black woman was played by the black actress Agnes Straub.[34] Medea and her "half-negro" children are abused and isolated because of their race. Her elder son (the children are grown-up youths here) longs to marry Creon's daughter, but Creon — being the embodiment of racial prejudices who considers dark-skinned people lower than animals — rejects the possibility of their marriage, while welcoming Jason, the personification of a real Greek male and a hero to him. Medea and her sons are ordered to leave the city or to be killed. Medea's desire to save her sons from racial injustice is seen as her motive for the filicide.[35]

The French writer Henri Lenormand explored Medea's "multidimensional otherness"[36] in the play *Asie* (Paris, 1931) through an experience of an exploitation of the colonized through Indo-Chinese princess Katha, the Medea figure of the play. Jason is represented here by a French colonial de Mazzena.[37] As in other interpretations of Medea the outsid-

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[33] Jahnn's play was revived in 1964; 1978; 1981. Alongside the main theme, the interest towards the play was due to other topical contemporary issues as well such as sadism, pedophilia, and homoeroticism. See Macintosh 2005, 65.

[34] For the analysis of the play, see Corti 1998, 180-186.

[35] Lauriola 2015, 394. Medea's image appears to be a complex one in this play full of symbolic contexts as well. Medea, a black and an aged woman, is presented in the play as an embodiment of a sensual-daemonic primaeval female force/formation. Through killing the sons, Medea transforms their corpses into eternal images. For other motives of the filicide, see Frenzel 1970, 231.

[36] Foley 2012, 193.

[37] Translated into a different place, time, and circumstances, the play follows the Medea story: the princess betrays her father — the ruler of Sibang in Indo-China — saves Jason from death and is found guilty of her brother's murder. A significant deviation should be noted here — Katha's betrayal of her nation is far more serious as she helps her husband to subjugate her people and to rule over them. Their marriage bond starts to break as soon as the Jason figure returns to France where the princess is comprehended as an alien. The following corresponds to the Medea story as well: Jason marries the daughter of the prefect of Marseille and Katha is ordered to return to Sibang. The husband here offers help for safe return

er, alienation between the spouses is also due to their belonging to various cultures, though these cultures being not only different, but also being valued asymmetrically. One considers itself "civilized," thus being superior, and perceives the other as "barbarian," "savage," thus — inferior. Such a comprehension gives the superior one the right to exploit the other. The exploitation of the colonized is presented as far more sophisticated in the French dramaturge's version of Medea. As Macintosh notes, the author depicts three stages of this exploitation by Western ways: seduction, schooling, and finally betrayal.[38] Ultimately this serves to deprive the colonized people of their identity under the cover-up of helping them to achieve progress as well as liberation. And indeed, the princess fears the technological world so greatly that she believes it will facilitate the ending of the free life of her nation.[39] Another weapon of the "civilized world" to take away the identity of "the inferior" is conversion of the colonized to their religion — baptizing of the boys being the way to "Europeanize" them in the play. Seeing how far her children have adapted to the father's world, the princess resolves to preserve them from the enemy world of "civilization." Katha's motive for the children's murder appears to be her conception that by killing them she will grant them peace and liberation.[40] However, Medea's revenge does not appear here as merely a personal and a family matter, it should be considered as revenge for her abused people. And

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as well, though de Mazzena wants another favor for himself striving to reforge a pact with her to exploit Sibang even more, economically speaking this time. But the princess refuses. After acknowledging the importance of sons to a father, infanticide appears as the best form of revenge here as well. Poisoned with mango jelly, the boys die in their sleep. The difference here lies in the final accord. Unlike her triumphant predecessor, this Medea figure ends her life by jumping from the window to death.

[38] For the excellent and detailed investigation of this play in its historical context, see Macintosh 2005.

[39] That is the reason she constantly contradicts her husband in his striving to accustom the boys to the western world of technology seeing in this the way of alienation of the children from her — the mother's world.

[40] See Lauriola 2015, 394.

then, she destroys "the European" side of herself at an enormous personal cost, the murder of her children.[41] Depicted far more sympathetically, Katha-Medea represents Asia, and her abuse is consequently considered as injustice of the civilized world towards the people of this land. Thus, this very civilized world order is accountable for the injustice this Medea suffers.[42]

The racial anxiety appears again to be the main theme of Anderson's 1936 play, this time the Medea-Jason's story being developed in Salem, a town in New England at the beginning of the 19th century. The American writer mostly confines a racial prejudice to the cultural-religious movement of Puritanism. The intolerance of Salem's puritan community towards Oparre, a Medea figure in the form of a Malay princess, hinders her path of becoming a member of the community as a wife of one of their compatriots, Nathaniel in every way possible. She is an alien to them as she is pagan.

Though at their arrival in Salem, the spouses are presented as a loving couple, under permanent pressure and blackmail by his compatriots, Nathaniel agrees finally to repatriate his wife. The plot of the play, unlike the original one, does not contain the story of Nathaniel's new marriage. Thereby, the husband starts to feel guilty about failing to confront the community around responsible for Oparre's injury. This Medea also poisons her children (the children are daughters in this adaptation) to death and commits suicide, though Nathaniel has repented in the last instance. In Anderson's play, similarly to Katha in *Asie*, Oparre's motive for the infanticide is her remorse at having deserted the ways of her people, thus becoming a traitor. The penalty for deserting, according to her gods, is death, so she sacrifices herself and the children to fulfil the prescription of her gods.[43]

Therefore, Anderson's Oparre lacking the will and the strength of the original, in addition to the wrath for vengeance appears to be an exceptional heroine in a discourse of Medea the Other. Betine Van Zyl Smit, thus, is right arguing that Oparre-Medea incarnates the ideals of un-

[41] Macintosh 2005, 73-74. For the study of the play, see Belli 1967.

[42] Van Zyl Smit 2014, 160.

[43] Belli 1967, 239.

conditional love and unselfishness confessing that she still loves Nathaniel and wants to set him free before her death.[44]

Among Medea's late 20th century receptions, Heiner Müllller's play *Medeamaterial* (1982) deserves attention as an example of a modern amalgam presenting the above mainstream trends of her interpretation.[45] Consisting of dialogues between Medea and the nurse, Medea and Jason, and the monologue by Medea, the play centers on a betrayed and outraged Colchian woman being in a condition "beyond crying or laughter," as characterized by her nurse. Unable to recognize herself in a mirror, her remark "that is not Medea" says a lot about her tragedy — losing of identity. Acknowledging that she has lost her identity for the love of Jason, turned now into a betrayer, the children become reminders of this humiliating relationship for her. An abused victim demands recompense, and this can only be the death of the children. Now Medea asks the children for her blood back, she will kill and drain the blood.[46] In Macintosh's opinion, Müller aligns Medea to the Earth that exacts its terrifying revenge after years of abuse.[47]

The survey, though a limited one, seems to provide the possibility of examining the main characteristic features in addition to the tendencies of these reception trends of Medea.

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[44] Van Zyl Smit 2014, 162.

[45] *Medeamaterial* is the second part of the trilogy with the first part being *Despoiled Shore* and the last *Landscape with Argonauts*. As a postmodern theatre play, these three are a mixture of the fragmented narratives set in modern times and contain allusions to the Argonauts' myth. For example, Medea appears only at the end of the first play and is presented as a murderer of her brother and a betrayer of her country. Additionally, Jason's head is crushed by a piece of wood from the ship *Argo* in the third play, concluding the Argonauts' story. *Medeamaterial* was staged at Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre by the renowned Greek director Michael Marmarinos in 2001, but only a few performances were held as it was soon taken out of the repertoire. For the discussion of the production, see Darchia 2018.

[46] McDonald 1992, 154.

[47] Macintosh 2000, 26.

The attempt to rehabilitate Medea's image as the main aspect of the feminist reworking, as discussed earlier, consists of her total exculpation for some authors (Crossland, Wolf, Harrison), while others strive to rehabilitate her but only morally. Nevertheless, in the feminist discourse, one can still find the adaptations and translations of Medea's story that do not focus on her exoneration. By presenting her true to the prototype, they succeed in canonizing this figure as an icon of women's victimization (Lochhead).

Universalizing of Medea's fate becomes the hallmark of her feminist receptions. No matter whether Medea is a murderer or not, her story has one, clear message — the female gender is the victim of a patriarchal order that, along with the misogynist ideology, is an excellent apparatus for this male-dominated world (this very ideology is to be blamed for the eternal "war" between male and female, Harrison believes) to keep the status quo. And indeed, Medea's feminist revisions are at their best when emphasizing the schemes used by this ideology to discredit women. Wolf's case comes off as the most sophisticated in presenting how a dark PR operates. On a similar note, in the feminist discourse Crossland accentuates the role of rumors in discrediting women. It is much easier to get even with a discredited woman, make her an outcast or even put her to death as exemplified by the electrocution of Medea in Harrison's play. Thus, no matter the depiction of Medea, the message of her feminist reworkings all seem to be nearly identical — Medea's story can belong to any woman (as told by Crossland), or what happened to Medea could happen to any woman (Lochhead). Among the considered plays, Medea achieves the highest profile of generalization when aligned with the earth, as in Müller's play.

It is surely the different portrayals of Medea's personality that first and foremost contribute to the creation of her various feminist receptions. These differing portrayals entail numerous personalities both emotionally and intellectually — an active agent willing to contradict an oppressor or a passive one lacking the will and the force to avenge. However, Medea's "reconstruction" is achieved through her act of revenge above all — it is this terrible act that makes Medea a specific figure. Taking this statement into account, Crossland's Medea appears to be somewhat of an anti-

Medea with her passive, tolerant, and subordinated personality who shares only one thing in common with her prototype — the unacted deeds. Then there is Wolf's version, another guiltless Medea who fails to strike as the real one given that she does not defend herself or show any signs of will to counterattack whatsoever despite being an intelligent, proud woman fighting against resignation from womenfolk. Yet, the wide-ranged gallery of Medeas presented by the feminist interpreters chiefly consists of strong-willed, angry women who, albeit being victims, will inevitably get back at their oppressors.

Contrary to the feminist discourse, the interpretations of Medea the outsider do not attempt to exonerate her from the infanticide, even in Grillparzer's case where she is exculpated only from the murder of her brother. In spite of that, we can still speak about the clear-cut tendency of Medea being presented in a sympathetic light appealing for certain empathy.

Medea's alterity appears to be multidimensional. Her "otherness" encompasses a wide spectrum of identities — a barbarian, of a black race, a colonized body, a dark-skinned pagan — and is a quintessence of the exploited. Additionally, the symbolization of Medea as an Asian continent reiterates the abovementioned tendency of her universalization. Betrayal by the husband (rejection and exiling by the community in Anderson's piece) becomes a kind of a trigger for her acknowledging a loss of self. After this bitter admission, Medea begins struggle to recover her lost identity brought to light through the infanticide and, in some cases (Lenormand, Anderson), followed by suicide. The wide spectra of Medeas can be found in this discourse in addition to the exceptional Medea figure of Anderson's Oparre, distinguished by her unconditional love and unselfishness.

Another characteristic feature of receptions showcasing Medea the outsider is the strengthening of Medea's total isolation by the children's alienation from her (Grillparzer, Lenormand, Müller). As declared by Medea, the motive for their murder is her desire to protect them from the enemy society threatening them with further harm of all kinds, loss of their identities being among them.

As mentioned, Medea's receptions from the second half of the 20th century often present a fusion of these mainstream interpretative trends with Medeas of Wolf, Kennelly, and Müller being such examples. Medea is a double victim in these works, an abused female and an oppressed outsider at the same time. Here, Medea's struggle is presented as her protest to achieve higher goals, be it a revelation of her inadmissibility of the existing gender politics (Lochhead) or her concern for political ends (Kennelly). Kennelly's adaptation ends with a noteworthy question, "And yet I wonder, and will always wonder / Is Medea's crime Medea's glory?" which invites Medea's future interpreters for further speculation of this multifaceted heroine's deed.

MEDEA THE FEMINIST AND MEDEA THE OTHER IN MODERN GEORGIAN RECEPTIONS

These mainstream interpretative trends of Medea, as mentioned above, have found an inspiring response in the modern Georgian receptions of the Colchian woman. From the numerous pieces on this subject, we will focus on three artistic productions: *Medea: A World Apart* (1997), produced by Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre and based on the plays by Olga Taxidou; Nino Kharatishvili's play *Mine and Your Heart (Medeia)* (2007) and Madi Beriashvili's *Medea as Medea* (2013).[48]

The 1997 performance *Medea: A World Apart* by Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre, a significant theatrical play elaborating the issues of wrongs of abused women and oppressed strangers appears to be a successful collaborative product of two nations — Greeks and Georgians. The performance was based on the plays of the renowned Greek writer Olga Taxidou[49] and was acted in Tbilisi, Georgia by the

[48] While choosing the plays we considered significant: a) for the feminist rereading of Medea's story to study the women authors' viewpoint on the subject (the plays discussed below are all by the women); b) for the reworking of Medea's otherness to investigate the approach of the emigrant writer to the problem of alterity (Kharatishvili). Moreover, an artistic collaboration of Greeks and Georgians presented by the Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre looks like a stimulating experiment for conceiving the theme of Medea's otherness from both perspectives.

[49] Olga Taxidou is a professor of drama and performance studies at Edinburgh University, whose one of the main fields of interests is the relation between clas-

Georgian actors' troupe.[50] The director, Nana Kvaschadze, has fused Taxidou's plays in such a way that the Trojan women — Hecuba, Helen, Cassandra, and Andromache — are all presented here as the chorus of Medea.[51] The chorus of women on stage watches Medea on a distant television screen while mourning their fate.[52] Medea remains the central figure of Taxidou's adaptation as the title of the spectacle suggests. Her monologue is encased with the Trojan women's narratives. While each one has her own story, they sing the same tale as a collective identity — either of their previous happy life in Troy or that of their miserable present reality of unemployment and the despair of refugee life.[53] The male personages of the story are absent altogether in the performance.

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sical Greek and modernist theatre. Her famous monograph *Tragedy, Modernity and Mourning* (2004) is dedicated to this topic. She is the author of several adaptations of the ancient Greek tragedies, some of which have been staged both in Edinburgh and internationally. Her *Medea,* directed by the famous Lee Breuer at Mabou Mines theatre in New York City is particularly remarkable.

[50] The performance appeared to be a mixture of two plays by Olga Taxidou: the adaptation of Euripides' *Medea,* and *A World Apart,* the contemporary sequel to Euripides' *The Trojan Women.* These plays were part of the trilogy — *Medea. A World Apart. All about Phaedra* (Taxidou 2000, 221). The first two plays were later published as a literary play titled *Medea: A World Apart*. See Taxidou 2005.

[51] These personages appear to be a mix of mythical heroines and modern women, in tune with the postmodern techniques of the play (discussed below). Unlike Euripides' *Medea*, where the chorus consists of women of Corinth, the chorus of the performance is a group of alien and refugee women who happen to share a lot with Medea and are thus comprehended as a whole.

[52] Rapti 2005, 85.

[53] For instance, Helen sings about the technologies of reproduction, thus hinting at her birth from an egg (Taxidou 2000, 224). She, unlike others, has optimistic delusions. Helen is proud of Medea, who is lucky, from her perspective, to become a TV star. Andromache's narration-lamentation is concentrated almost totally on the terrible circumstances in which her son was killed. There are sequences with Cassandra suffering from False Memory Syndrome (Taxidou 2000, 224). Hecuba as an elder one consoles everyone around – Cassandra, Andromache, and Helen. She is a realist. At the end of the play, Hecuba informs other

Given that Taxidou's plays appear to be postmodern experimental theatrical productions, in order to understand fully the writer's novel approach towards reworking of Medea's (and here also the Trojan women's) theme in the above interpretive trends, a very brief characterization of the formal aspects of the production is needed.[54] Taxidou's plays reproduce the plots of Euripides' tragedies through narration, not through action, narrations have postmodern style characteristics of non-linear time sequences; non-climatic plot development; and no language coherence. It appears to be a kind of a pastiche consisting of episodes and having a fragmented form. The timeframe seems to be eclectic as well as the author tends to historicize Euripides' plays by transposing Medea's myth and the Trojan War (considered by Taxidou as the first imperial war) to modern-day Greece. Thus, Medea appears to be the mythic heroine and a modern woman — being a sacred lady, a priestess, a witch, and a queen in Colchis — who becomes a formal queen in modern-day Greece, but at the same time an ordinary housewife.

Another formal element and a modern device, the series of "sequences"[55] have an ideological dimension in the discourse of Medea the feminist. In the situation when male figures are totally absent, thus, the male voice being silenced, they serve to inform the audience about Medea's encounters with the male characters, namely Creon, Aegeus, and Jason.[56]

The modern political tone of the performance, as noted by Olga Kekis, is assumed not in the least part through its gestural actions.[57] The performance opens with the appearance of four women being saved from a sea storm. They stand on the basements of the broken caryatid columns, the upper part of the columns, heads of caryatids, being stuck to the ceiling.

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characters about their future misfortune of not being able to stay in the shelter anymore and having to go on the move again (Kekis 2013, 90-91).

[54] For a detailed analysis of the production's theatrical techniques, see Rapti 2005.

[55] Sequences are signposts depicted as upper-case-letter captions which guide the audience during Medea's fragmented monologue. See Rapti 2005, 85.

[56] Kekis 2013, 82. The encounter with Aegeus takes place at the opening of a new refugee center. Taxidou 2000, 224. Thus, it is another example of intertwining the mythological and the present situation.

[57] Kekis 2013, 95.

The women standing on the column pieces reach up trying to connect the top of the columns to the bottom. This gesture appears to be a visual illustration of the performance's main theme. Here, the women, in their attempt to make the broken columns whole, are symbolically expressing the purpose of their lives, namely, "to put back together the shattered pieces of their existence and reassemble their fragmented identity."[58] Yes, the identities of these women are as fragmented as everything around them — the world they live in is also fragmented, and apart, as the title of the performance suggests.

There is one more gestural action in the production that seems to be the most important one, due to its resounding with Georgia's political reality of the 1990s and presenting the main message of the production as well. This is the waving of the white scarves performed periodically throughout the spectacle by the women characters. The women personages through this action embodied a white scarf movement, an age-old Georgian tradition.[59] At the same time, they reminded the audience of the 1992-1993 war in Abkhazia,[60] when a group of women headed by Keti Dolidze,[61] went straight to the front line.[62] By conducting the above tradition, trying to stop the war "between the brothers" these desperate Georgian women expressed their utmost striving to end "the madness this war has created."[63]

Overall, such a formal experiment resulted in a creation of a totally different type of performer, called by David Barnett a "postdramatic text bear-

[58] Kekis 2013, 93.

[59] According to this tradition, women laid white scarves in between the fighting parties to stop a war.

[60] The war fought between the Georgian government forces and the Abkhaz separatists together with the support of Russian military forces in 1992-1993.

[61] A well-known Georgian director who also played Medea in the performance.

[62] The women's "Peace Train" went from Tbilisi to Abkhazia in the summer of 1993. It was organized by the women's antiwar movement "White Scarf."

[63] Taxidou 2000, 230.

er."[64] The whole experiment in the end induces a different reaction from the audience. The spectators are invited not to respond emotionally to the narrative, but to reflect intellectually on the story of Medea and other women and through their tragedy comprehend the real life of the modern-day refugee women that, according to the author, is the most vulnerable part of clashes between an empire and the so-called Third World.

The women's issues are articulated most sharply through Medea's imaginary appeals and her song. For example, when appealing to Jason, Medea warns him to remember that she is not just a field to sow and plough and then abandon.[65]

Medea's appeal to women evokes the pathos of Euripides' Medea's well-known "Women of Corinth" speech. Of all the creatures on the earth, women are the most unfortunate, uttered Medea in the 5th century B.C. and when, after twenty-five centuries, Taxidou's Medea repeats them, they seem to bear the same meaning. One can say that by estimating women's wretched lives, this Medea appears to be more radical and harsher. Especially horrifying is her depiction of childbirth which she considers to be the deadliest for women. In Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre's performance, Medea bawls that the real battlefield lies in women's bodies that get torn into two every time women give birth.[66]

Taxidou's interpretation of Euripides' another famous ode sung by the women chorus (*Med.* 410-430) displays the modern approach towards the eternal issue — a voice of a female author presented in literature. According to Euripides, it is "Phoebus, lord of melody, who did not grant women the power to sing. Be it otherwise, women could also chant hymns for women's praise and tell of men's destiny as well."[67]

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[64] "By standing out as a performer and blurring her roles and her identity she becomes more of a postdramatic 'text bearer' than a dramatic 'character." (Barnett 2008, 18, quoted in Kekis 2013, 82).

[65] Soil and plough are well-known dichotomies, woman/soil – man/plough is famous opposition in the patriarchal mentality.

[66] Compare with Euripides' Medea, who bitterly remarks: "I would rather stand three times with a shield in a battle than give birth once" (*Med.* 250-251).

[67] Knox considers this choral song as the great ode celebrating the new day for the female sex. In this extraordinary passage, all songs are dismissed as they were

Taxidou's Medea singing this ode announces that the time has come for a female voice to be heard and for male voices to be silenced. The first woman poet, as Medea tells, will sing about her and her bitter love.

Another song of Medea dedicated to love comprehends the subject as an omnipotent terrible force bringing disaster for women.[68] Taken together with the previous bitter remark on love, the context makes it apparent that Medea hates not the individual man but blames the entire male gender responsible for their subjection.

Medea's attitude towards her children should be considered in the context of the feminist issues as well. Jason's wife is alienated even from her boys as she conceives them to be Jason's sons: "They are not my children... They belong to the city that bred them."[69] Consequently, they are soldiers of the empire and the product of its culture. According to Kekis, by killing them Medea returns the children to the society which created them and disassociates herself from their killing.[70] The child murder is centralized neither in the play nor in the spectacle, the children are killed but their deaths are presented on a television. The Colchian woman's story is continued further in Athens with Medea being in a women's talk show host role, considering the plights of oppressed and unhappy women like her.

A tragedy of alterity is supposed to be the main theme of the Georgian performance. The juxtaposition of the Empire and the so-called

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written by men... "Legends now shall change direction; woman's life have glory," sings the chorus. As Knox comments, the future tense is unnecessary here, as Euripides' play itself marks this change of direction. See Knox 1977, 223-224.

[68] It is a force that splits woman into two — chops, breaks, spits out, it digs trenches for bodies. This deep, never-ending, all-forgiving, always-wanting love is like mourning. It should be noted that alongside generalizing love as a disaster for womanhood, Medea sings here about the shameful deeds she has done for its sake. In Euripides' tragedy, the love ode is sung by the women's chorus. Bitterness of this force is emphasized here as well, the ideal being a moderate love. The chorus blames both — an excessive passion (personified by Medea) as well as an adulterous love (incarnated by Jason). See Conacher 1967, 191. Thereby, according to Euripides, love can bring disaster for both — males and females.

[69] Taxidou 2005, 140.

[70] Kekis 2013, 98.

Third World is performed here from the viewpoint of the "other side" and through the eyes of the third-world representatives, remarks the playwright herself. Being Greek, the play was fueled by her interest in the plights of the Greeks from the Black Sea area who by the time of the war in Abkhazia in the early 1990s, had already been returned to Greece, though they became refugees in their homeland afterwards.[71] This was the fate of those Greeks, being generalized by the writer, just like the plight of others — the refugees and war victims.

Medea tells in detail how the civilized society (here Greece) usually accepts foreigners. The modern attitude towards the Other has two main characteristics as presented by Taxidou, a seeming liberalism and arrogance. The egalitarian attitude of the Empire towards service staff, as perceived by Medea, is entirely false as well as their apparent generosity towards the so-called Third World with their development programs and charity missions. False is a desire of the Empire representatives to study the languages or life modes of these peoples. Their arrogance towards the Other is revealed in almost every action, be it commenting with an ironical smile how difficult it is for the Other to adjust to the Empire's cultural norms or their reproaching with their developed world operated by remote control systems and full of supermarkets, credit cards and Walkmans. Medea considers her husband as a quintessence of arrogance as he reproaches her, his savior, with bringing her to the free and developed country. The Colchian woman believes that murder of her children is the only possible way of turning this world upside down. Hence the all-encompassing desire to change the established world order appears to be the main inspiration of her deed.

In conclusion, we can say that the interpretation of Medea as the feminist is closely intertwined with her reception as the Other in this play. Medea-woman appears to be Subaltern Other,[72] who pays her oppressor back. One of the main characteristic features of this complex image seems to be a search for the lost identity (together with other Trojan

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[71] Taxidou 2000, 219.

[72] "Subaltern other" is a term of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, quoted in Kekis 2013, 82.

refugees in the performance). Through the use of the feminist and the political discourse, she transfers the search for identity into the quest for a political voice and invites the audience to reflect on the plight of women refugees.[73]

The play *Medea as Medea* (2013) by the Georgian playwright Madi Beriashvili is constructed in a postmodern feminist configuration.[74] We see here a deconstruction of the original story resulting in a narrative with non-linear plot development and missing cause-and-effect relations. Another characteristic element of this postmodern discourse seems to be a mundane and a private atmosphere of the play. All mythic elements of this well-known story are absent except one, the virtual Golden Fleece, the reason for everything happening there which serves as a metaphoric meaning for the play. The work is distinguished by its shocking strong language depicting brutality and abundant abject acts. But the most important for Beriashvili's aesthetic vision, her stylistic mode, are the strong, violent images of the dramatic characters. It can be said that the whole theater of *Medea as Medea* is created by Medea's image alone, the figure notorious for her powerful and multifaceted personality from antiquity onwards. In this sense, the appraisal of a

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[73] Kekis 2013, 99. The final accord of Taxidou's *Medea* seems ambiguous to me. The fact that an audience does not see Medea's agony on the stage after her deed seems to be caused by the formal side of the play inviting the public to reflect intellectually on the main theme. Medea's words after the murder, "I am no longer my own," define her present condition as a "non-entity, a transparent and an empty one" (Taxidou 2005, 154). These words, in my opinion, indicate not only her total alienation from the Empire but also the loss of her identity or entity, thus echoing her prototype, Euripides' Medea.

[74] Madi Beriashvili, a female Georgian playwright born in 1988, has presented the solo performance *Kevin* based on her play at the theatrical festival ARDIfest — 2010. In 2011, she participated in *Women's Voice*, a Swedish-Georgian playwriting project (a collaboration between Dramalabbet (Stockholm) and Royal District Theatre (Tbilisi) as a Georgian woman dramatist. In 2012, Beriashvili put on *Idiliaphobia* according to her play of the same name in the Ilia State University Theater (Tbilisi). In 2013, her plays, including the discussed *Medea as Medea*, were published in Georgian: see Beriashvili 2013.

theater by Sara Kane, saying "for me the language of a theater is image"[75] seems to be true to Beriashvili's theatrical world as well. And indeed, these are the violent emotions of the writer's female characters, the emotions having such disposition and intensity that they make Beriashvili' drama monologues to resemble Kane's plays.

The Georgian playwright's deconstructed version *Medea as Medea* appears to be Medea's soliloquy retelling the famous myth through the heroine's lens, with different perspectives being absent altogether. Without naming the geographical location of the story, the narration starts from the events in Medea's natal family, from her very childhood. The starting point appears to be a perversive lust of the father-ruler towards his daughter, Medea. So that nobody would wed her, he states to her knight bridegrooms that the only way they could marry her is to obtain the Golden Fleece. But this Fleece does not exist in reality; it is invented by the ruler. All his power relies on this very lie as he succeeds to make everyone believe in the existence of the Golden Fleece. Thus, knights from all over the world strive to obtain the Golden Fleece, being ready to perish for its sake.[76]

Though the father never manages to sleep with her, this perversive lust causes a serious disorder in Medea's sexual behavior. Having sex with anyone just to repay the father-ruler for his grievances gradually ceases to satisfy Medea. So, when Jason shows up, willing to punish the father and pitying the knight at once, Medea decides to run away with him. She promises Jason that only in this case will she lead him to the place the Golden Fleece is kept as Jason does not admit categorically the non-existence of the fleece. Escaping with Jason from the country, Medea saves him at the same time, since his striving for the Golden Fleece would have resulted in the same outcome as his predecessors' attempts.

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[75] Saunders 2002, 50, quoted in Obis 2008.

[76] The Golden Fleece has been a widespread metaphor as a sign of power and wealth in the receptions of this myth. In Grillparzer's trilogy *The Golden Fleece*, the fleece is a symbol of vanity of earthly glory. The writer believes that the earthly fame Jason strives to obtain is nothing else than a dream. In this sense, Beriashvili's comprehension of the fleece somewhat responds to Grillparzer's metaphor. See Nadareishvili 2013.

After years and years of wandering on the sea in search of the Golden Fleece, the two finally settle somewhere where Medea gives birth to the boys whom Jason brings up only for one desire, the fleece. The realization that the males around her are only interested in obtaining the fleece step by step accumulates a rage in Medea. Medea acknowledges that "For Jason [she] was not a woman, but a personified dream of the Golden Fleece."[77] Her traumatized sexuality comes again to the fore. In Jason's absence, she brings just anybody home to have sexual intercourse with them. This damaged sexuality causes her abnormal behavior in the family life. As Medea tells, she called her sons to rape animals and watch her lechery with the strangers brought by her at home. The play's climax seems to be the same as in the original story, Jason's betrayal and Medea's revenge.[78] True to her prototype, the Georgian dramatist's Medea also cannot bear that Jason betrayed her, his savior — he had no moral right to do so, believes the heroine.[79] What differentiates Beriashvili's heroine from other Medeas is the astonishing brutality of her vengeance. Here we do not have anything like the inner struggle in Medea's soul — Medea-mother versus Medea the avenging wife, an important aspect of Euripides' heroine. The terrible act of the child murder is no more the central part of her revenge as well.[80] The most

[77] Beriashvili 2013, 83.

[78] In the mundane environment of Beriashvili's play Medea's rival appears to be not a princess, but the very sexual young prostitute. Jason is not planning to leave Medea to marry the young girl, however, he ceases to sleep with Medea altogether after dates with the bawd.

[79] "I saved him from the death, from the death for the non-existent Golden Fleece" (Beriashvili 2013, 87). (All translations of Beriashvili's texts in this paper belong to its author). Beriashvili's Medea is aware that the men comprehend her as a means to an end, however, she being Medea, does not bear to be betrayed by these men.

[80] The heroine coolly and in detail informs the audience how she has murdered her children: "That morning I took Jason's breed to seek the promised Golden Fleece. On the way I kept telling them the stories…" (Beriashvili 2013, 87). Suddenly a description of the subsequent events breaks off and the story she has recorded to her boys follows (the story she tells is a fairy tale having a deep significance for the play's message and will be discussed below). Not finishing

shocking thing in the whole episode is her punishment of Jason. After killing the sons, the woman calmly removes the skin of their corpses, makes wine and the meals from the dead bodies, and invites Jason for a supper ending in a passionate sex. Wrapped in the boys' skins being previously rinsed in gold and poison, Medea's body is sparkling gold. The very moment Jason thinks that at last he has obtained the much-desired fleece and is going to inform the children, Medea tells him that he had had the blood and flesh of his sons for the supper. The agonized death of Jason follows. Medea then cuts off his genitals rinsed in gold and poison as well and sends them as a present to her rival found dead the next morning. The play ends with Medea looking at her dead husband. In her narrative, she tells how she cried both out of happiness and of misfortune. In her own words, she is happy (her prototype is both satisfied and triumphant) as she had avenged the betrayer, but also sad because she could not hinder Jason from eating his offspring.[81] Her final statement is especially noteworthy, "I've made the dreams of the father and the children come true — I gave them the real Golden Fleece."[82]

One might ask what the message of this deconstructed version of the myth is supposed to be with its shocking and unforgettable horror. "A constant search for what the limits of our humanity are," the characterization given to Sarah Kane's early plays by Éléonore Obis comes first to mind.[83] Although Beriashvili's play challenges the boundaries of our morality, it also invites us to examine how far can we go in denuding our psyche to see what might surface from the subliminal abyss.

The aforementioned take can be considered as a general message of the writer, though for this message to be fully articulated, she needed an immensely vivid and violent artistic image of a woman agent. And indeed, the woman playwright turned to Medea — the archetype of a

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storytelling, Medea notifies how she has cut off the children's heads with Jason's knife with the same calm tone (Beriashvili 2013, 88).

[81] One begs to wonder about acknowledging parental emotions to the offspring from Medea's perspective.

[82] Beriashvili 2013, 91.

[83] Obis 2008.

dominant and violent woman. It naturally aroused my interest as to why Beriashvili chose Medea's mythic figure and what had inspired her to write the play on heroine given that there are not any other mythic or historical persons in her mono-plays whatsoever. This question I have put directly to her. According to the author, it was Medea's character, the questions being arisen around her image, and her mysterious nature that stipulated her to write Medea's story. For her, Medea has been a personage destroying frontiers and norms of every kind, both by physical action and from an ethical standpoint. She was able to perform extreme acts for the sake of love as well as vengeance and despite everything, she managed to remain Medea.[84]

Turning to Beriashvili's interpretation of Medea's character, we can see that we are dealing with another postmodern "text bearer," who, like Taxidou's heroine, not only narrates but also evaluates and comments on the events, the personages around her, and her own self alike.[85] This very introspective character is also extremely ruthless when appraising her own motives for the actions she has performed and towards herself generally. It is very noteworthy that the agent performing terrible deeds, Medea is also the victim of all males around from the very childhood. One can object to the claim that mythic Medea has also been a victim. And indeed she has, though not from the very beginning, if we consider this point in the context of her whole mythic biography originating from the Colchian episode of her maidenhood. In Beriashvili's play, Medea begins her existence as a victim, and what is most shocking, a victim of not just someone, but of her father's perversive lust.[86]

The self-reflective Medea admits her abnormal sexual behavior and conceives it as a result of her victimization. "I am licentious," confesses Medea later on in the play, adding, "It is my father's merit."[87] The fact

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[84] Madi Beriashvili, email message to author, December 8, 2021.

[85] For the interpretation of Medea's image in Beriashvili's play, see also Bobokhidze 2018.

[86] In Medea's own words, her childhood was totally sacrificed to her father's egoism and his invented fleece. He wished that Medea should never like any man whatsoever, being just an odious and pitiful creature for her.

[87] Beriashvili, 2013, 83.

that Medea's mentality is damaged forever is made evident from her married life in a country far away from her motherland and the father despot. It is interesting that Jason, as Medea herself admits, is not some "other" male for her, but an embodied father in his youth. Of course, we can go speculating further and look for the famous Electra Complex. Though Medea is negatively disposed to whatever this feeling can be called. "My hate towards the father was so strong that it did not give me a release years and years after," says Medea.[88] This perversive lust, though never actually realized as stated above, completely destroyed any normal projection of the masculine self in Medea's consciousness and lead to her abnormal behaviour in family life.

However, it is not as if Jason is innocent in her tragedy — he really does his part to further Medea's disrupted feminine self. Being also obsessed with a passion, though towards the Golden Fleece in his case, he is indifferent towards Medea's femininity. The Golden Fleece is a means for him to gain money and power, his only interests.

As a mother, Beriashvili's Medea seems to be zero. The children are only Jason's offspring to her, and such a perception of her motherhood is not novel for Medea's feminist interpretations. Though here Medea reaches the highest point as an anti-mother. "They have never been my offspring; they were the dirty future of the Golden Fleece… They were donkeys bottled from Jason's fluid," informs Medea.[89] These "slaves of gold and silver"[90] kept asking her to tell them the story of the Golden Fleece every night before going to bed, thus infuriating Medea to such an extent that she was ready to kill them. The mother envisions that the boys will follow suit in the future and become just like all other males in her family, creatures longing for gold and power alone.

However, there is the passage that seems the most important one for the understanding of the play's main message. It is reproduced in a form of the fairy tale the mother tells her sons just before murdering them. One should note that during her soliloquy, Medea never men-

[88] Beriashvili, 2013, 83.

[89] Beriashvili, 2013, 85.

[90] Beriashvili, 2013, 85.

tions her feelings toward Jason, and this seems to be in tune with the play's atmosphere. Still, one wonders — is Beriashvili's heroine absolutely deprived of this feeling? Presumably, the answer can be found in the fairy tale. And indeed, the tale recorded by Medea seems to be much like her own story. Here too is a princess (a very beautiful one without a name), here too figures a king (a wise and handsome one) who fell in love with his daughter and invented the Golden Fleece as a condition of her marriage. And here again, are the wonderful knights willing the princess and the Golden Fleece as well. The difference between the play's plot and the fairy tale lies in one word — *love*. The princess falls in love with one distinguished young knight, saves him, and asks for love and loyalty in return. The given promise is broken as the knight falls in love with the daughter of another king. Here the fairy tale breaks off and only dots follow. The dots themselves give way to various interpretations, though it seems that the writer thought of the same continuation of the princess' story that Medea's myth has. Still, a single word *love* changes the whole atmosphere of the fairy tale. Yes, the mythic heroine's story ends in a terrible tragedy, but even there, the starting point for Medea's and Jason's relationship was her great love towards him, which, unfortunately, due to Jason's betrayal, turned into hate. Madi Beriashvili then, by presenting this parallel story of the princess in love, tries to carry the following message – yes, her heroine could have been like this princess if the world around her, more concretely the males of her life, had left the slightest possibility for love or sentiments of any kind. But they did just the opposite. All this resulted in the creation of the different heroine — Beriashvili deprived her Medea of this very important trait, the ability to love deeply, one of the most crucial aspects of this mythic figure.

Who or what she believed was responsible for turning Medea into the person we see at the end was another question put to Madi Beriashvili. "As I see it, the surroundings and outside events, as well as her disposition towards both the outer world and her own have played a big role in Medea's coming-to-be. The outside events embittered and moved

forward her rough "ego," which happened to be stronger than her nature as a woman and a mother," she answered.[91]

But this cruel world, a world without love, ruins also those who have created it. In the last, nearly psychedelic scene with a deep symbolic meaning, the author presents how the materialized Golden Fleece brought death to Jason with poignant sarcasm. It was the skin of the dead children Medea was wrapped in that he kissed and lacked during the sex with her, poisoning him to death. At the same time, the Golden Fleece in a form of the skin removed from his dead offspring appears to be the physical manifestation of ending Jason's hereditary line. One only wonders if Jason, the representative of these very masculine values, has understood this bitter truth — the vanity of the values he was so obsessively longing — in the last instance just before his agonized death while vomiting the pieces of the eaten children. In order to turn this cruel world upside down, these established passions, false ambitions and avarice for money, one needs the oppressed to fight back at the oppressor.

Unlike the abovementioned works, Nino Kharatishvili's play, *Mine and Your Heart (Medeia),*[92] which premiered in 2007 in Kampnagel Theatre, Hamburg, is written according to the established drama principles. Thus, the plot of the play is acted on the stage and not reproduced by narration. Along with the main theme of Medea's myth — the heroine's vengeance, as in the majority of Medea's productions of the modern era, we also have the sub-plot presenting the complicated relations between various pairs — that of Jason and Creon; Creon and Glauce; Medea and Glauce; Medea and Nia.[93] The play consists of many episodes and the plot is quite full of action.

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[91] Madi Beriashvili, email message to author, December 8, 2021.

[92] Nino Kharatishvili is a well-known German-based Georgian novelist, playwright, and theatre director. The author of several bestsellers, she has been honored with prestigious literary prizes, among them Anna Seghers Prize, Adelbert von Chamisso Prize, and the Givi Margvelashvili Award. The above play, put on at the Kampnagel Theater, was directed by the author herself and was later staged in the Theater Regensburg (director Oliver Haffner). *Mein und dein Herz* (*Medeia*) originally written in German, was recently published in Georgian (Kharatishvili 2020).

[93] The mentioned pairs meet more than once, so the plot presents a development of relations between these pairs. Nia, a new personage for Medea's story, is men-

The play's novelty lies in substituting the main theme of Medea's myth — the vengeance of the abandoned wife through killing her children. The central theme in Kharatishvili's interpretation becomes how the seemingly indivisible world of Medea and Jason, their great love, is being crushed. The world for Medea, as she tells it, consists only of herself, Jason, and the children. Being deprived of her children and then of Jason, the heroine is left totally alone, having nothing to live for. Therefore, the infanticide is perceived by the writer as the accompanying result of crushing Medea's and Jason's indissoluble world, as a physical manifestation of their world's obsolescence accomplished by the suicides, both of Medea and Jason.

The architect of the destruction of their union appears to be the king, Creon, who decides to demolish Jason's family in order to marry the famous hero, the obtainer of the Golden Fleece, to his only daughter, Glauce. Neither Glauce nor Jason desires this marriage, still Glauce yields to her father's will and afterwards Jason seems also ready to receive the king's offer. All of this paves the way for Medea's revenge, the main object naturally being Creon. Medea warns the king that bereaving Jason from her will cost him too much and fulfils her promise. To achieve an end, the Colchian woman manipulates Creon's daughter who asks her to teach a love secret (she wants to become a desired woman for Jason). Medea induces Glauce to burn Creon's much-desired Golden Fleece right in front of her father, causing the death of the old and ill king. As for Glauce, a nonentity for Medea, the Colchian woman leaves her alive, though by her manipulation achieves her goals of Creon's death and her rape by Jason.

The play opens by presenting Medea and Jason sailing on a ship just arriving at Corinth. This pre-Corinthian episode of the couple's life aims to display a great affection Medea and Jason have towards each other before coming to Corinth.[94] The love story starts by depicting these tender feelings between the spouses calling each other "my ant" and declaring

tioned as Medea's maid in the play's list of the characters, though there is a complex relationship between this pair.

[94] This pre-Corinth scene is novel for the Corinthian narrative of the Medea myth.

the love proposed to be eternal.[95] Despite the full harmony among the couple, Medea is still anxious, fearing for their united world not to be crushed in the alien land. And indeed, soon after we see that her foreboding proves to be correct. Though questions naturally arise: why is it possible? What is the reason? Did it happen because the ruler of the country, Creon, wanted it so? As the development of the action makes clear, things are not as simple as that.

The author profoundly develops two dichotomies — the first one being the opposition of two worldviews on life; the second, the century-old confrontation between the Greek and the barbarian that existed in this myth from Euripides onwards. This confrontation implies the problem of comprehending the Other — of comprehending Medea in Greece as well as an adjustment of Medea as the Other to the alien cultural space.

As stated, Medea's world is a closed world consisting of only her, Jason, and their children, with the latter not allowing anyone to enter this space. "Everything begins with us and ends with us" is Medea's motto.[96] This world starts to crush immediately as soon as one of its members leaves it. "If you leave me, the world won't exist anymore for us," Medea warns her husband.[97] This self-sufficing world is based on ideals and does not admit compromises. She repeats to Jason, "I have only asked you not to bow the head to anybody," and then, "what can be obtained without a struggle?"[98] Naturally, such a self-sufficient person does not need to worship foreign gods or take into consideration the foreign habits and norms, but when the context is changed and one has to live in the Other's country, the problem of self-sufficiency arises.

Jason's approach towards life is different. Now back in Corinth, he seems to be tired of too many wars and blood. Yes, there was a time

[95] "Ant" appears to be a signifier of some creature being very close (to somebody) or being inside (someone). Medea tells Jason that "she is in his blood and crawls on his skin like an ant" (Kharatishvili 2020, 12).

[96] Kharatishvili 2020, 12. "The only world that exists for us is the world that we, ourselves, create" (Kharatishvili 2020, 37) are again Medea's words. (All translations of Kharatishvili's texts in this paper belong to its author).

[97] Kharatishvili 2020, 36.

[98] Kharatishvili 2020, 36.

when he had dreams of his own. “I dreamed together with you every day, in every country,” he tells his wife.[99] However, he adds that he also aspires to be at home sometime in the future. “Heim” is a crucial concept for Jason. Greece, the Other for Medea, is “Heim” – home for him. Now it is time to wake up, the Greek hero believes, time to learn how to live from the start.[100] The children have to learn how to live and not how to dream, Jason reminds his wife over and over again.[101] He asks Medea to adjust to the Greek lifestyle — in the changed world, Medea also has to change her mores.

These different approaches of the couple towards life were put in the matrix of Medea’s myth from the very beginning. Various authors developed this theme, some with more and others with less emphasis. It seems that Jason’s and Medea’s different attitudes towards life were elaborated most profoundly by Jean Anouilh in his play *Medea*. Anouilh’s Jason, like Jason of Kharatishvili, strives to obtain quietness and calm. If Kharatishvili’s Jason admits that he is tired of dreaming, the French dramatist’s character is much more explicit. Medea’s worldview is totally intolerable to him. Furthermore, he believes that Medea is incompatible with the concept of happiness. On the other hand, Anouilh’s Medea also has her different world perception of not submitting to any compromises whatsoever. Life means only one thing to her, struggle. In Medea’s case, there are more similarities with Kharatishvili’s heroine, as the latter too considers a struggle as an absolute necessity. The French Medea also perceives Jason and Medea being one whole, one identity and believes that there is no way for anyone to divide this whole. Despite this apparent similarity between Anouilh’s and Kharatishvili’s characters, the crucial difference between the plays lies in the fact that the personages of the French drama speak retrospectively about their feelings that once existed in the past. It is Medea’s striving to recover her lost identity and not their

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[99] Kharatishvili 2020, 64.

[100] Kharatishvili 2020, 37.

[101] During their last dialogue, when Jason speaks about the children’s future, he declares his love for Medea once again and promises that one day he will return for her — the day by which the boys will have already grown up.

love, that is the central issue in the French play, while the destruction of their united world and the tragedy it caused seems to be the keystone in Kharatishvili's drama.

The dissolving of Jason-Medea's harmonious family life is due to the tragedy of alterity as well. The interpretation of Medea as the Other by Nino Kharatishvili is complex as it is closely twisted with the discourse of presenting the different worldviews of the couple. The difference between the Greek world and "their" world starts with an apprehension of the different colors these two worlds have — a pomegranate is red but of another shade in Greece; Colchian land is black, dark, while Greece is the golden land.[102] Then we come to remarks on the difference between the Greek and "their" habits; the difference between time measuring methods of these worlds; and the demonstrations of open intolerance towards the Other, who is distinct from the usual, considered as normal, right. Creon urges Jason, his compatriot, to leave Medea not because he wishes so, but primarily because Medea is not an appropriate wife for him given that she is not obedient and contradicts Jason, something that is far from a normal wifely conduct. "Women of her country are not like ours," he tells Jason, "they are undisciplined and uncontrollable."[103] Medea, on the other hand, does not obey the rules of the country she lives in, does not go to their shrines or worship their gods, and does not even concede the slightest bit to her husband. "I cannot change myself," she declares.[104]

According to the author, the crushing of their world and consequently their love is largely caused by the tragedy of alterity. The beginning of the last scene points to this with the phrase "open wounds" being linked with the word "Other": "Open wounds … Other's life. Other's land. Other's song. Other's words. Other's desires."[105] Convincing repetition of the word "Other" sends us back to the problem of alterity. Further concretizing is not peculiar for Nino Kharatishvili.

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[102] Kharatishvili 2020, 16.
[103] Kharatishvili 2020, 36.
[104] Kharatishvili 2020, 38.
[105] Kharatishvili 2020, 79.

CONCLUSIONS

Though this analysis pertains only to certain artistic pieces, those discussed still give an impression of how the interpretative trends of Medea the feminist and Medea the Other have been reflected by the Georgian cultural milieu. Summarizing the study, it can be concluded that these receptions — similar to her receptions worldwide — presented Medea not as an individual woman being wronged, but as an embodiment of the harmed womanhood and the oppressed Other. Similarities between Georgian and Western discourses can be expanded in this respect. For example, one can speculate on the nearly identical considerations of the modern Western ways of exploiting the Other (as displayed in *Medea: A World Apart* and *Asie*) and the Georgian performance's recall of Medea's (and other Trojan women's) struggle for recovering her (their) lost identity(ies). Nonetheless, a specific resemblance needs to be noted that the Georgian productions' favour of the alienation theme, the one between a mother and children, is akin to Medea's Western reworking.

The main novelty of the Georgian receptions appears to be the accentuation of the love discourse. Beriashvili strives to display the impossibility of this very sentiment in a world with completely different values. Kharatishvili highlights the tests that love has to persevere through in an alien world. According to Taxidou, love is an omnipotent force and women are its victims.

Although the different messages of the Georgian interpreters contribute to Medea's various portrayals, one constant mark remains — Medea being a strong, radical, rush, and independent-acting woman in every play. Inviting us to intellectually reflect on the plights of the oppressed female refugees in a world torn apart, Taxidou's Medea is somewhat of a detached personage and is contrary to Beriashvili's heroine who constantly shocks the audience by displaying the dangers of male abuse on a woman's mentality. As for Kharatishvili, she explores the discourse of a world lacking tolerance, therefore being mighty to ruin even the great love by presenting the tragic love story of Medea and Jason.

Medea "reconstructed" in the Georgian milieu, true to her prototype, has the strength to fight her oppressor back and despite her terrible deed, she is not the only one to be blamed. The male-dominant world,

along with the ethos of xenophobia for the Other, have to answer for the wronging of the Medeas and must share responsibility as it is this type of society that makes Medeas who they are.

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PYRRHUS' MIRACULOUS TOE*

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Abstract. Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, was an extremely charismatic figure who was always striving to match the prestige of Achilles and of Alexander the Great. He thus established a cult of himself, and was also reputed to exercise thaumaturgical powers. In particular, there was a belief that Pyrrhus' right big toe could cure diseases of the spleen. According to Plutarch, Pyrrhus exercised this power during his lifetime, and the big toe was preserved even after his death because of the miraculous powers attributed to it. The cult of Pyrrhus' big toe was linked to the world of myth, in which healing heroes, such as Pyrrhus' presumed ancestor Achilles, also appear. Although this striking aspect of the cult of Pyrrhus is perhaps the only case of a thaumaturgic kingship in Antiquity, it never led to a systematic royal ideology centred on the figure of Pyrrhus. This failure to develop Pyrrhus' kingship into a programmatic "Hellenistic" kingship is, of course, due to the failure of Pyrrhus' military plans in the Balkans, and to his abrupt death. Moreover, Pyrrhus never exploited Alexander's legacy to legitimize his own existence as a charismatic king and as a living institution. Instead he focused on the legacy of the warring Alexander, since he wanted to appear unstoppable in his conquests, as Alexander had been.

* This article has greatly benefited from suggestions from its anonymous reviewers. All translations from Greek and Latin sources are mine.

A ROYAL RELIC

Pyrrhus' *post mortem* reception is almost as adventurous as his life. It is well known that he died in 272 B.C., during a violent battle in the streets of Argos between his army and that of Antigonus Gonatas. Pyrrhus' inglorious end is not presented uniformly in ancient sources. He was hit in the head either by a woman who threw a tile from a roof or by someone who threw a stone from the walls of the city. He either died instantly or was finished off and beheaded by one of Antigonus' soldiers.[1] It was an *ignobilis atque inhonesta mors*, according to Livy (29.18).

Sources also diverge from each other with regard to the fate of his body. According to Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 34.9), his head and the rest of his body were brought to Antigonus, who had them cremated. According to Pompeius Trogus/Justin (*Epit.* 25.5.2), Pyrrhus' remains were transferred to his kingdom, Epirus. Valerius Maximus (5.1 *ext.* 4) argues that Pyrrhus' bones were closed in a golden urn and were conveyed by Pyrrhus' son Helenus to the kingdom of Epirus. According to Ovid (*Ib.* 303-304), Pyrrhus' remains were placed in Ambracia (the capital of the kingdom of Epirus), but his tomb was later defiled and his bones were scattered in the streets. According to Pausanias (1.13.8), the remains of Pyrrhus were kept in the sanctuary of Demeter in Argos, which was built on the spot where Pyrrhus died.[2]

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[1] For the different versions of the death of Pyrrhus, see Zodda 1997, 101, 105; Edwards 2011, 113-128; Scuderi 2017, 350-351 n. 350 (listing all the ancient literary testimonies of this episode); and Gorrini and Zizza 2018, 218-219 and 218 n. 108. The main versions are the following: Pompeius Trogus/Justin (*Epit.* 25.5.1): Pyrrhus was hit by a stone that was thrown from the walls of Argos while he was trying to seize that city, where Antigonus was barricaded. Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 34.1-6): Pyrrhus was hit in the head by a tile that was thrown by a woman while he was fighting in the city and he was beheaded by a soldier of Antigonus. Pausanias (1.13.8): Pyrrhus was hit by a tile while fighting in Argos; this tile was thrown by a mortal woman, but the Argives say that it was thrown by Demeter.

[2] See Zodda 1997, 68; Edwards 2011, 124-127; and Gorrini and Zizza 2018, 218-219 for the fate of Pyrrhus' mortal remains. See also Lévêque 1957, 67-72 for Pausanias' passage on Pyrrhus' tomb. For the role of Ambracia as the political

Interestingly, Pyrrhus' "forerunner" in Italy, Alexander the Molossian, who also led a failed expedition to southern Italy, also had a tragic death (331/330 B.C.) and a cruel *post mortem* destiny.[3] In fact, Livy (8.24) claims that after Alexander was betrayed and killed by some Lucanian exiles, a *foeda laceratio* was made of his body. Alexander was cut in half: one half was sent to Consentia (the capital of the Bruttii), the other one was defiled. Then his remains were reunited and sent to Metapontum, and finally to Epirus.[4] Considering the similarity of this case to Pyrrhus' *ignobilis atque inhonesta mors*, there appears to be a recurrent narrative pattern about the kings of Epirus and their violent demises. Thus, behind both these narratives there may originally have been oral or written sources from Epirus recounting the lives and the tragic deaths of the two Epirote kings. In any case, there may have been biographies about them, which were perhaps written at the court of these rulers.

However, it is debated as to what sources the later, extant accounts on Pyrrhus' death and funeral directly hark back. There was probably an influence of Hieronymus of Cardia on Plutarch and Pompeius Trogus/Justin as far as the mention of Antigonus Gonatas' mild attitude and piety towards the mortal remains of Pyrrhus is concerned.[5] Essentially, Hieronymus did not have a favourable attitude towards Pyrrhus, and instead had a far more positive attitude towards the Antigonids such as Antigonus Gonatas, whose collaborator he was.[6] On the other hand, it is

centre of Epirus, see Di Leo 2003, 231: Pyrrhus obtained Ambracia from the Macedonians in 295 B.C. and turned it into the capital of his kingdom.

[3] As recalled by Gagé (1954, 141), Alexander the Molossian suffered "une mort perfide et horrible."

[4] Pompeius Trogus/Justin (*Epit.* 12.2.15) recalls that the body of Alexander the Molossian was finally redeemed and buried. See Urso 1998, 39 and Gagé 1954, 141.

[5] Cf. Zodda 1997, 100. For the extent to which Plutarch used Hieronymus as a source in the *Life of Pyrrhus* and in other Lives, see Lévêque 1957, 64-65 and 64 n. 1; Hornblower 1981, 67-68, 70-71. For the use of Hieronymus as a source by Pompeius Trogus/Justin, see Lévêque 1957, 58-59.

[6] It is a common idea that Hieronymus was hostile to Pyrrhus: see Lévêque 1957, 22-26; however, Vattuone (1982, 248) plays down this idea. For Hieronymus in

probably to Proxenus, Pyrrhus' court biographer, that Plutarch owes the notion that Pyrrhus' corpse cannot have been burnt completely, as his right big toe, which had magic powers, survived the fire. It is likely that Proxenus stressed his royal biographee's miraculous aspects.[7]

Pyrrhus' miraculous toe merits our attention. The thaumaturgic quality attributed to his right big toe is probably the most interesting and complex aspect regarding the reception of Pyrrhus among his subjects after his death. However, the notion that Pyrrhus could heal diseases through his toe was not new, as Pyrrhus had been a healer during his lifetime as well, as recorded by Plutarch. There is one passage from Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* that offers a remarkable testimony of Pyrrhus' charismatic kingship (3.6-9):

> Ἦν δ' ὁ Πύρρος τῇ μὲν ἰδέᾳ τοῦ προσώπου φοβερώτερον ἔχων ἢ σεμνότερον τὸ βασιλικόν, πολλοὺς δ' ὀδόντας οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἓν ὀστέον συνεχὲς ἦν ἄνωθεν, οἷον λεπταῖς ἀμυχαῖς τὰς διαφυὰς ὑπογεγραμμένον τῶν ὀδόντων. τοῖς δὲ σπληνιῶσιν ἐδόκει βοηθεῖν ἀλεκτρυόνα θύων λευκόν, ὑπτίων τε κατακειμένων τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ πιέζων ἀτρέμα τὸ σπλάγχνον. οὐδεὶς δ' ἦν πένης οὐδ' ἄδοξος οὕτως, ὥστε μὴ τυχεῖν τῆς ἰατρείας δεηθείς. ἐλάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα θύσας, καὶ τὸ γέρας τοῦθ' ἥδιστον ἦν αὐτῷ. λέγεται δὲ τοῦ ποδὸς ἐκείνου τὸν μείζονα δάκτυλον ἔχειν δύναμιν θείαν, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κατακαέντος ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς εὑρεθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.
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> In his countenance, Pyrrhus had a royal character that was more unsettling than solemn. He had not many teeth, but instead he had a single continuous bone on his upper jaw. This bone appeared as if it was slightly marked by narrow incisions on the spots where teeth are [normally] separated. Apparently, he healed people who suffered from diseases of the spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and while they lay supine, by pressing lightly their belly with his right foot. Nobody was so poor or so obscure as not to receive this cure, after asking for it. He also took the cock after sacrificing it, and enjoyed this gift very much. The

general, see Hornblower 1981. For his relations to Antigonus Gonatas, see Hornblower 1981, 14-15 and Zodda 1997, 81.

[7] See *infra* for further observations on Proxenus.

big toe of that foot allegedly had a divine power; thus, after his death, after the rest of his body had been cremated, the toe was found untouched and unaltered by the fire. However, this happened later.

Thus, Pyrrhus had three key marks of kingship: 1. One continuous tooth instead of a series of teeth on his upper jaw. 2. The ability to heal people from diseases of the spleen. Sick individuals had a white rooster sacrificed for him, and he would heal them by touching their belly with his right foot. 3. After Pyrrhus died, his toe was not affected by the fire used to cremate his body, as it had exceptional powers.

There are other testimonies of the healing powers of Pyrrhus’ toe, of the cult of this toe, and of the fire not affecting it during Pyrrhus’ funeral pyre.[8] Pliny the Elder lists a series of *mirabilia*, including some notions regarding Pyrrhus’ toe (*HN* 7.20):

> quorundam corpori partes nascuntur ad aliqua mirabiles, sicut Pyrrho regi pollex in dextro pede, cuius tactu lienosis medebatur. hunc cremari cum reliquo corpore non potuisse tradunt conditumque loculo in templo.
>
> The parts of the body of some individuals are by their own nature miraculous for some effects they can provoke, like the big toe of the right foot of King Pyrrhus, by whose touch he healed people with diseases of the spleen. This toe allegedly could not be burnt with the rest of Pyrrhus’ body and was placed in a chest in a temple.

Thus, Pyrrhus’ big toe reportedly could heal people with diseases of the spleen (here called *lienosi*) and could not be burnt when Pyrrhus’ body was cremated. However, Pliny’s text also reports the notion that Pyrrhus’ toe was kept in a casket located in a temple.[9]

Ianuarius Nepotianus (1.8 *ext.* 12-*nov.* 2), the epitomist of Valerius Maximus, provides us with additional information regarding the sanctuary this relic was kept in, in addition to recalling the notion of Pyrrhus’ single continuous tooth that we found in Plutarch and ascribing this characteristic to another king besides Pyrrhus. The relic was placed

[8] A list of these testimonies is provided by Scuderi 2017, 231 nn. 27-28.

[9] Pliny (*HN* 28.34) also mentions that some parts of the body of some individuals were said to have healing virtues, and briefly recalls his own passage on Pyrrhus’ toe: *sicuti diximus de Pyrrhi regis police,* “as we said about Pyrrhus’ big toe.”

in the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona, which was the main one in the kingdom of Epirus:

> Pyrrhi regis Epirotarum pollex e dextro pede remedio erat, si cuius renes tumentes eo tetigisset. idem Pyrrhus, cum ab Antigono victore iussus esset exuri, sic arsit ut pollex igni inveniretur intactus. qui digitus aureo loculo inclusus est et in antiquissimo templo Dodonaei Iovis conditus. praedictus Pyrrhus et Pausanias unum os pro dentibus habuerunt, sed districtum at dentium similitudinem.
>
> The right big toe of Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, could heal kidneys affected by tumours if Pyrrhus touched them with it. Pyrrhus' body, when Antigonus, who vanquished him, ordered it to be cremated, burnt in such a way that the same big toe was found untouched by the fire. This toe was placed in a golden casket and was kept in the very ancient temple of Jupiter in Dodona. The same Pyrrhus and Pausanias had a single bone instead of the teeth, but it was divided like a series of teeth.

Ianuarius Nepotianus is mistaken in referring to "kidneys" instead of spleens, and in mentioning a certain Pausanias instead of Prusias II, the King of Bithynia, whose teeth apparently also had the peculiar conformation of Pyrrhus' teeth; the latter mistake, however, may be due to an error in the manuscripts.[10] It has been correctly observed that the passage from Pliny that we have quoted (*HN* 7.20) presents an abridged version of the same account as that reported by Nepotianus, with greater precision only in relation to the definition of the individuals cured by the miraculous toe, who are described as *lienosi*. It therefore seems unlikely that Nepotianus depends on Pliny's less detailed text, and we should instead suppose the existence of a common source that has not been preserved. Considering that Valerius Maximus is mentioned among Pliny's sources for the seventh and thirty-third books of the *Naturalis historia* (1) and Pyrrhus' miraculous toe is mentioned in book seven, both Pliny and Nepotianus are likely to be drawing on a lost pas-

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[10] See Raschieri 2020, 163 n. 46. See also *infra* for Prusias II's remarkable teeth in Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*.

sage from the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, originally narrated after Val. Max. 1.8 *ext*. 12.[11]

Plutarch may have also used this written account by Valerius Maximus; however, it is equally possible that Plutarch used oral sources or other lost written sources in relation to this piece of information.[12]

The presence of Pyrrhus' big toe in the temple of Zeus at Dodona might allude to an anatomical votive that might have been kept there. Body part votives are more or less naturalistic representations of limbs, genitalia, and viscera, and were found in sacral contexts.[13] Votives representing feet are particularly interesting for our case. This kind of votive can be explained through a long tradition according to which feet or footprints were a distinctive sign of an individual, a tradition that is widely attested in Greek literary sources, and in the archaeological record from all periods beginning in Pharaonic Egypt until Late Antiquity.[14] We cannot rule out that Pyrrhus dedicated to the temple of Dodona

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[11] Raschieri 2020, 163. See Raschieri 2020, 163 n. 49 for the possibility that different editions of Valerius Maximus existed and for the existence of *lacunae* in the preserved text of Valerius Maximus.

[12] For Plutarch's use of Valerius Maximus as a source in the *Quaestiones Romanae*, see Van der Stockt 1987, 283, 285-287.

[13] Schörner 2015, 397-400, with information on anatomical votives, which were widespread in the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial Era. For body part votives and their function, see Hughes 2017; Graham and Draycott 2017.

[14] See Chiarini 2017, 147-155: in the ancient world, an individual's feet were one of her/his most important marks of recognition and symbolic representation. Large amounts of votive feet were found in sanctuaries as votive dedications made after the healing of mobility impairment or other types of sicknesses. As a marker (γνώρισμα) of their presence, Greeks and Romans frequently left sculpted feet and, more frequently, footprints. Footprints or feet might be used as a sign of a god's presence, whether in a temple or as a personal amulet. Thus, feet were the anatomical element chosen to represent identity as well as to ensure the god's presence and protection. See also Hughes 2017, 26, 33, 37-39, 67, 71, 73-74, 79-81, 109-110, 118, 120-123, 125, 141, 145, 158, 164-167, 169-170 for anatomical votives representing legs and feet, and 190-191 for a modern example of relics of feet: in the sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco at Sant'Anastasia near Naples, there is an iron cage containing the remains of the feet of a local woman of the 16th century.

a votive representing his big toe, or that there was a votive representing a big toe in Dodona, which was *a posteriori* interpreted as Pyrrhus' toe. Afterwards, the notion of Pyrrhus' big toe being kept in Dodona may have ended up in literary sources.

With regard to the fact that Pyrrhus' big toe could not be cremated, there are interesting parallels in Latin literature. The impossibility to cremate it recalls Pliny's description of the remains of Germanicus after his cremation (*HN* 11.187):

> negatur cremari posse in iis qui cardiaco morbo obierint, negatur et veneno interemptis. certe exstat oratio Vitelli, qua Gnaeum Pisonem eius sceleris coarguit, hoc usus argumento palamque testatus non potuisse ob venenum cor Germanici Caesaris cremari. contra genere morbi defensus est Piso.
>
> Apparently, [the heart of] those who die of cardialgia cannot be cremated, as well as [the heart of] those who die of poisoning. Of course, there is an oration by Vitellius, in which he accuses Gnaeus Piso of that crime, by using this argument and openly demonstrating that the Caesar Germanicus' heart could not be cremated because of the poisoning. On the other hand, Piso was defended by attributing this fact to a particular kind of disease.

Suetonius also recalls this episode (*Calig*. 1.2):

> Consul deinde iterum creatus ac prius quam honorem iniret ad componendum Orientis statum expulsus, cum Armeniae regem devicisset, Cappadociam in provinciae formam redegisset, annum agens aetatis quartum et tricensimum diuturno morbo Antiochiae obiit, non sine veneni suspicione. nam praeter livores, qui toto corpore erant, et spumas, quae per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est, cuius ea natura existimatur, ut tinctum veneno igne confici nequeat.
>
> After [Germanicus] was made consul for the second time and before he took office, he was sent to restore order in the East. After he defeated the king of Armenia and turned Cappadocia into a province, at the age of thirty-four he died of a long sickness in Antioch, not without suspicion of poisoning. Indeed, apart from the bruises that Germanicus had over all his body, and apart from the foam that he expelled from his

mouth, his heart, after he was cremated, was also found unaltered [by the fire] among his bones. In fact, opinion has it that by its own nature, a heart that is soaked in poison cannot be destroyed by fire.

Thus, according to Pliny and Suetonius, one testimony to the poisoning of Germanicus by Piso was that Germanicus' heart could not be burnt, as it was made incombustible by poison.[15] The belief that the body of someone who had been poisoned was impossible to cremate completely is also mentioned by Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch.* 13.4-5), who narrates that when a friend of Tiberius Gracchus was apparently poisoned, cremating his body proved to be a difficult task. In other cases, the impossibility of burning a particular part of a body under normal circumstances was considered to be something miraculous. Pyrrhus' big toe falls into this category.[16]

It has been claimed that Pyrrhus was the first thaumaturge king in Greek history,[17] and according to Pierre Lévêque, who refers to Marc Bloch's seminal monograph on the "Royal Touch," this was the only case of a thaumaturge king in classical antiquity.[18] The evidence regarding Pyrrhus' healing powers is, indeed, exceptional. We can only find parallels for individual aspects of the narrative regarding his charismatic kingship, but there is no other case of Hellenistic kingship presenting all these aspects together.

Valerius Maximus (1.8 *ext*. 12), as well as Ianuarius Nepotianus (1.8 *ext*. 12-*nov.* 2), also attribute the characteristic of the single continuous tooth to King Prusias II of Bithynia.[19] As T. C. Allbutt recalls, according to Pliny (*HN* 28.43), attacks of epilepsy could be stopped if the big toes of the sick individuals were stung and drops of blood deriving from that sting were sprinkled on their faces, or if a virgin girl touched them with her right thumb – or big toe (*si pollices pedum pungantur eaeque gut-*

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[15] Noy 2000, 188.

[16] All these cases of failed cremations are collected by Noy 2000, 188.

[17] Nenci 1963, 9; Virgilio [2]2003, 130.

[18] Lévêque 1957, 217-218. Cf. Bloch 1924, 59 n. 2: as far as we know, no other king of Epirus had that supernatural gift.

[19] As seen *supra*, Prusias II is mistakenly called Pausanias in Nepotianus' text.

tae referantur in faciem, aut si virgo dextro pollice attingat). In addition, Alexander of Tralles (6th century A.D.) mentioned some fingers that had healing virtues (ἰατρικοὶ δάκτυλοι). Allbutt explains these passages by stating that big toes and thumbs could refer to a phallic sphere and hence to the powers allegedly connected to it. There were also cases of healings obtained by kissing feet, especially in the Middle Ages.[20]

The Emperor Vespasian was reputed to have healed diseases through his saliva, and by pressing his foot on the sick part of the bodies of some individuals in A.D. 69/70 at the Serapeum of Alexandria:

> Tac. *Hist.* 4.81: precabaturque principem ut genas et oculorum orbis dignaretur respergere oris excremento. alius manum aeger eodem deo auctore ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur orabat.
>
> He begged the ruler [sc. Vespasian] to be so generous as to cover his [sc. the patient's] cheeks and eyes with his own saliva. Another one, who had a sick hand, at the suggestion of the same god [sc. Serapis] begged the Caesar that he would tread on his hand with his foot.
>
> Suet. *Vesp.* 7.2: restituturum oculos, si inspuisset; confirmaturum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere.
>
> [Vespasian] would heal his eyes by spitting on them; he would strengthen his leg by deigning to touch it with his heel.

While Suetonius (*Vesp*. 7) seems to accept that this event was true, Tacitus (*Hist*. 4.81) takes a sceptical stance with regard to Vespasian's healing powers. The second procedure mentioned by both authors (healing with the foot) is the same as the one that Pyrrhus followed with regard to the individuals affected by diseases of the spleen. On the other hand, the differences between the two cases have been stressed by scholars: Pyrrhus' healings share the use of the foot with those made by Vespasian, but they lack the individualised treatment provided by Vespasian (an individual's sickness is healed by the emperor's saliva, while another individual's sickness is healed by the emperor's foot). The best parallels for Vespasian's healings are not found in the case of Pyrrhus

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[20] Allbutt 1909, 1601. For the reference to Alexander of Tralles, see Alex. Trall. *Therap.* (ed. Puschmann 1879, vol. II: 475, 585).

but in the corpus of inscriptions concerning healings by Asclepius.[21] The notion that Pyrrhus' toe could heal diseases of the spleen reflects the original belief that a person's strengths were concentrated especially in the extremities of the body: in the head, the hands, the feet (as in the case of Vespasian), the ears, and the toes.[22]

To what political ends did the cult of Pyrrhus' toe aim? Pyrrhus' royal ideology has been defined as "eastern and absolute"; he dreamed of establishing a great empire like Alexander the Great had, but in the West instead of the East.[23] According to Giuseppe Nenci, in order to place himself above ethnic and nationalistic disputes, Pyrrhus appealed to his thaumaturgical virtues as well as to the divine character of his persona, a prerequisite for the creation of a supranational personal monarchy.[24] According to P. Lévêque, he appealed to his exceptional strength, and the passages on Pyrrhus' physical virtues in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* seem to hark back to Proxenus.[25] However, according to Lévêque, Pyrrhus' kingship had a national character, as suggested by the belief that he could heal diseases with the big toe of his right foot, a belief that had an "ethnic" flavour. Pyrrhus had, in fact, a close connection with the temple of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus, and his miraculous toe was kept in a casket in that temple after his death. Furthermore, Lévêque assumes archaic magical origins of the national kingship in Epirus.[26]

As shown by G. Nenci and B. Virgilio, there were distinctive dynastic symbols in the Hellenistic world. The anchor was the emblem of the Seleucid kings, traced back to the birthmark on the body of Seleucus I,

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[21] Luke 2010, 92.

[22] Pfister 1928, 187. The similarity of the case of Pyrrhus to the case of Vespasian is also stressed by Gagé 1954, 146 and Henrichs 1968, 68-69. Finally, see Cracco Ruggini 1979, 587-589 for Pyrrhus' and Vespasian's healing powers.

[23] Santagati Ruggeri 1997, 72, 85-86.

[24] Nenci 1953, 73.

[25] Lévêque 1957, 29.

[26] Lévêque 1957, 217-218, 270-271. According to Gagé (1954, 144-150), who researched the deep religious connections of the cult of Pyrrhus' big toe with cults of the Earth, Pyrrhus' healings are also reminiscent of the healings at Epidaurus. Gorrini and Zizza (2018, 218 n. 106) assume that Pyrrhus used Asclepius as a model.

which had the shape of an anchor. Pyrrhus, on the other hand, was characterized by the particular conformation of his teeth. Pyrrhus' *signum regalitatis* (his teeth), mentioned by Plutarch and Ianuarius Nepotianus, also inspired Prusias II of Bithynia.[27]

What is the source of the information on Pyrrhus' royal touch and the destiny of his toe? Proxenus, who was the interpreter of Pyrrhus' ideology, and according to some scholars also composed Pyrrhus' Memoirs, conferred an epic atmosphere to Pyrrhus' heroic deeds, and underscored his connections to his ancestor Achilles.[28] He also highlighted the "miracles," dreams, and premonitory signs sent to Pyrrhus by the gods, as well as the solemn consecrations celebrating his victories over the Galatians and Macedonians. Proxenus also helped create the aura of a thaumaturgic king around Pyrrhus.[29] G. Nenci also felt that the information about Pyrrhus' toe came from Proxenus and that these pieces of information were linked to each other by royal propaganda.[30] Proxenus, as a member of Pyrrhus' court, must have had easy access to his memoirs, and Hieronymus, it has been suggested, consulted them with Antigonus Gonatas when, after Pyrrhus' death, Pyrrhus' baggage train fell into the hands of Antigonus.[31]

The idea of Pyrrhus as a thaumaturgic king was consistent with the view of a ruler as a "philanthropist" which was typical of the Hellenistic age. Thus, Pyrrhus was a representation of Asclepius, the god of

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[27] Nenci 1963, 7-8; Virgilio ([2]2003, 130), also focuses on Pyrrhus' ability to heal people affected by spleen diseases. According to Virgilio, Pyrrhus thus falls into the category of the "wizard kings." However, as shown by Muccioli (2018, 132), when the cult of kings is mentioned in ancient literature, it is generally criticised or ridiculed. For the anchor as the symbol of the Seleucids, see also Just. *Epit*. 15.4.4-5, 9; App. *Syr*. 287 (ed. Gabba, Roos, and Viereck 1962).

[28] Zodda 1997, 76, 81-83; cf. Timpe 2017, 177. Primo (2011) argues instead that there was no connection between the extant fragments of Pyrrhus' *Hypomnemata* (Memoirs) and the fragments of Proxenus. Proxenus, according to him, was above all an erudite and antiquarian author.

[29] Zodda 1997, 82.

[30] Nenci 1963, 5, 7.

[31] Lévêque 1957, 20-22.

medicine and healing – which is also consistent with the fact that healing diseases with the right part of the healer's body was typical of ancient healings.[32] Lucian of Samosata (*Pro laps.* 11) also presents a pious Pyrrhus, who makes sacrifices to the gods, consecrates gifts to temples, and asks nothing of the gods except for his own physical health.[33]

PYRRHUS IN THE WORLD OF MYTH

It was not easy to be the cousin of Alexander the Great. Throughout his life, Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, tried to match the glory of his celebrated relative, as well as trying to match the fame of Achilles, Pyrrhus' mythical ancestor.[34] There was a strong mythological and genealogical interest around Pyrrhus, as he was said to be connected to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and to Lanassa, the granddaughter of Heracles.[35] Pyrrhus' connections to Alexander were essentially not much different from his relations to Achilles and Heracles, as the Greeks did not separate history from what we perceive as myth.[36] Through these connections, through his exceptional strength and military abilities, and

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[32] Nenci 1963, 10-12.

[33] Nenci 1953, 48.

[34] For the ideological use of the mythical figure of Achilles by Pyrrhus, see Schettino 2009, 173, 178 n. 23, and *infra* in my text. For Pyrrhus' *imitatio Alexandri*, see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.2; 11.4-5; Just. *Epit*. 18.1.2; Mossman 1992; Edwards 2011, 119; Romero-González 2019, 160-161, and *infra* in my text. For Pyrrhus and Alexander's family relations, see Buszard 2008, 199 and Schettino 2015, 95. For Pyrrhus' connection to his two main models, Alexander and Achilles, see Lévêque 1957, 31-32, 88.

[35] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 1.1-2; 7.7; Just. *Epit*. 17.3.3-4; Zodda 1997, 82. Pyrrhus also established *ludi* in honour of Heracles in Sicily: see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 22.8-12; Santagati Ruggeri 1997, 55-56. When Pyrrhus was a child, his life was saved by a man named Achilles: see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.8. Alexander the Great had also had a connection and a devotion to Heracles and Achilles: see Plut. *Alex.* 2.1, 5.8, 15.7-9, 24.5, 75.5; Just. *Epit*. 11.4.5, 12.7.13; Boardman 2004, 74-75.

[36] Higbie 2003, 207; Boardman 2004, xiii; Ampolo 2014, 297-298 n. 7. Plutarch (*Thes*. 1.5) highlights that there are differences between myth and history, but ultimately shows that there can be continuity between them, as early history can be reconstructed through myth, although with several difficulties. For this passage, see Tatum 1996, 143.

through his alleged thaumaturgical powers, Pyrrhus built a myth around himself and a cult of his own charismatic persona.[37]

Pyrrhus' function as a healer seems to be especially connected to the myth of Pyrrhus as a persona, which was built both by himself and by the individuals who surrounded him. As Pyrrhus had Achilles as a model for his own life, it seems probable that the thaumaturgic virtues of Pyrrhus were also connected to Achilles. In fact, Achilles too was a healer. With his spear, Achilles healed Telephus from a wound, a wound that Achilles himself had provoked with the same spear. Achilles' spear had the double quality of hurting and healing the same wounds it had caused, through a mechanism that can be explained by the magical notion of *similia similibus* – the very cause of a disease can become the means of healing.[38] It is possible that, as a kind of sympathetic magic, therapeutic virtues were extended to other military "relics," as some weapons apparently could both hurt and heal.[39]

The genealogy of Pyrrhus and the idea that he descended from Achilles were his own work allied with court historiography.[40] P. Lévêque claims that the comparison between Achilles and Pyrrhus derived from Proxenus.[41] However, it is probable that Pyrrhus, as portrayed by Plutarch, was not born as the legitimate heir of Achilles. Rather, he attempted to follow his model by force and by subverting previously existing genealogies.[42]

Pyrrhus' connection with the Aeacidae and especially with Achilles as the hero *par excellence* of Phthiotis, in the southern part of Thessaly,

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[37] For Pyrrhus' extraordinary strength and military virtues, see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 15.7-8; 16.11; 24.5-6; 26.1; 30.8-10; Just. *Epit*. 25.5.3-6.

[38] Allbutt 1909, 1604; Boardman 2004, 75-76. There was also at least one "relic" from Greek temples representing Achilles' spear: see Boardman 2004, 75-76.

[39] Boardman 2004, 75-76.

[40] According to Nenci (1953, 49, 65), these themes are also attested by coin types. For the coins, see also Gorrini and Zizza 2018, 216.

[41] Lévêque 1957, 31-32.

[42] Edwards 2011, 118-119. In addition, according to Edwards (2011, 123), the idea that Pyrrhus' big toe survived cremation was a grotesque parody of the story of Achilles' heel.

was confirmed by Pyrrhus' donation of shields taken from conquered Galatians in the Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[43]

Pyrrhus thus had a strong connection to some temples. In the Lindian Chronicle (99 B.C.) there is a mention of a donation of weapons to the sanctuary of Athena in Lindos made by Pyrrhus at the suggestion of the oracle of Dodona.[44] Pyrrhus donated to the temple of Athena in Lindos, among other weapons, the same kind of military gear (caltrops) that Alexander the Great had donated to the same temple, which is an example of *imitatio Alexandri* by Pyrrhus.[45] According to J. Gagé, Pyrrhus was a sort of "sacred king" in Dodona; the vocation of Pyrrhus as the new Achilles, too, was suggested to him by the oracle of Dodona.[46] It should be stressed that Dodona was an extremely important religious centre during Pyrrhus' rule over Epirus.[47]

Plutarch's focus on Pyrrhus' toe seems to derive from Plutarch's interest in ancient, hallowed objects, i.e., "relics." Such relics, which were often connected to sanctuaries, appear here and there in Plutarch's works.[48] Plutarch's interest in these objects reflects his wider interest in *mirabilia*, which also includes objects and places recalling the death of famous individuals (especially their tombs), and objects that had belonged to these individuals. In addition, the funerals of the biographees

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[43] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 26.9-10; Paus. 1.13.2-3; Gorrini and Zizza 2018, 202-206. In addition, Pyrrhus' mother, Phthia, was the daughter of a Thessalian leader (named Menon): Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1.6-7. Thessaly was associated with the Kingdom of Macedon at the time of Pyrrhus; thus, rulers of Macedon were also rulers of Thessaly: see Plut. *Demetr*. 39.1.

[44] *Lind. Temp. Chron.* XL (ed. Blinkenberg 1941). See Gagé 1954, 145; Lévêque 1957, 16, 400; Higbie 2003, 3, 138-139; Boardman 2004, 15, 115-117; Ampolo 2014, 310; Gorrini and Zizza 2018, 214.

[45] *Lind. Temp. Chron.* XXXVIII.

[46] Gagé 1954, 145, 149-150. Pyrrhus also dedicated shields taken from Antigonus Gonatas' troops to the temple of Zeus at Dodona: see Paus. 1.13.3.

[47] Di Leo 2003, 228.

[48] A list of "Plutarchan relics," as well as similar objects mentioned in other Greek texts, has been collected by Boardman 2004, 239-275.

are always narrated in Plutarch's *Lives*, and the honours to their memory are also mentioned.[49]

Plutarch may thus have focused on Pyrrhus' toe because of his wider interest in *mirabilia* and relics. There are several examples of Plutarch's interest in objects left by famous individuals or connected to them. Some of them are objects that had belonged to ancient heroes, such as Paris' lyre (*Alex.* 15.9), or Odysseus' spear and helmet (*Marc*. 20.3).[50] Some examples are from recent history, like a dagger that had been taken in battle from Caesar and that was kept in a temple in Gaul (*Caes.* 26.8). Plutarch also mentions dedications to temples, such as Marcellus' donations to sanctuaries in Rome, in Sicily and in the Greek world (*Marc.* 30.4-5); Pyrrhus' donation of shields to Athena Itonia, which is also reported by Plutarch, has already been mentioned.

Besides Plutarch, the general Greek interest in relics, including parts of the bodies of heroes is well known.[51] The Greeks of the Hellenistic and Imperial age were especially interested in the relics of heroes, but the existence of objects left by historical figures is also recorded. As for historical characters, the most important source is probably the Lindian Chronicle, listing not only objects reportedly dedicated to Athena Lindia during the mythical era, but also in more recent times, up to the donations, mostly represented by weapons, made by Alexander the Great

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[49] See Muccioli 2018, 137. For Plutarch's interest in the funerals and burials of the biographees, see also La Penna 1987, 278-279. Some examples follow. Plut. *Alex*. 15.8: Alexander's visit to the grave of Achilles in Ilion; *Alex*. 69.3-4: Cyrus' grave; *Alex* 72.4-7: Hephaestion's funeral and the plans for his funerary monument; *Ant*. 84.3-85.1: Antony's grave; *Ant*. 86.7: Cleopatra's burial; *Arist*. 27.1: Aristides' grave; *Cim*. 4.2: Thucydides' grave; *Cim*. 8.5-6: transfer of the remains of Theseus from Skyros to Athens by Cimon; *Cim*. 19.4: Cimon's grave; *Lys*. 30.4-5: Lysander's burial. See also *infra* for the episode involving the remains of Theseus. I am grateful to Dr Eva Falaschi for providing me with this list.

[50] See Boardman 2004, 268-269.

[51] This kind of interest has been systematically studied by Pfister (1909-1912) and Boardman (2004).

and some Hellenistic kings such as one of the Ptolemies, Pyrrhus, and Philip V.[52]

Interestingly, with regard to heroes, there were also fingers that had belonged to heroes and that were kept as relics. One was mentioned by Ptolomaeus Chennus and had belonged to Heracles. The other one was mentioned by Pausanias and had belonged to Orestes. Ptolomaeus Chennus (in Phot. *Bibl.* 147a-b) tells that the Nemean lion had torn off a finger of Heracles, who, according to legend, buried his finger in Sparta in a tomb marked by the statue of a lion. Pausanias (8.34.2-3), on the other hand, recounts that Orestes, in a fit of madness, bit off one of his own fingers; this finger was then commemorated by a monument.[53] Orestes' bones, which were apparently found in Tegea, are mentioned by Herodotus in a famous passage (1.67-68).[54]

Given that the Greeks did not make a clear separation between history and myth,[55] relics from the heroic age were considered as real and concrete testimonies of the Greek past, and often had a strong political value. Plutarch reports a story that recalls the tale of Orestes' bones, which had been told by Herodotus. According to Plutarch's biographies of Cimon and of Theseus, Cimon carried out an oracular instruction to collect Theseus' bones from the pirate-infested Skyros (*Cim*. 8.5). An omen on the island revealed the site of Theseus' tomb (*Thes*. 36.1-2), and Cimon discovered a skeleton of amazing size within it. He then transported the skeleton to Athens, where he built a temple to Theseus.[56] Similar incidents can be found in Plutarch as well as in other sources. According to Plutarch, King Agesilaus moved Alcmene's bones from Haliartus in Boeotia to Sparta in *ca.* 382 B.C., despite the Haliartans' complaints (*De gen.* 577e).

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[52] *Lind. Temp. Chron.* XXXVIII-XLII. For bibliography on the Lindian Chronicle, see *supra*, n. 44.

[53] Boardman 2004, 22.

[54] Giroux 2020, 542: Hdt. 1.67-68 and Paus. 3.3.6-7 narrate that the Spartans were advised by an oracle to bring the bones of Orestes to Sparta. After the bones were transferred from Tegea to Sparta, the Spartans managed to defeat the Tegeans.

[55] See *supra*.

[56] Giroux 2020, 539. See also Zaccarini 2015.

According to Polyaenus, Rhesus' bones were transferred from Troy to Amphipolis (*Strat.* 6.53).[57]

As mentioned above, many of these relics were preserved in sanctuaries. In fact, temples and the memories conserved by them play a key role in the story of Pyrrhus' toe, which was apparently kept as a relic in the temple of Zeus in Dodona. As mentioned, Pyrrhus had a connection to the temple of Dodona, to that of Athena Itonia, and to that of Athena Lindia.

All this seems to highlight the "mythical" quality of Pyrrhus' toe. Pyrrhus' toe was preserved by the following generations, in the same way as the fingers of heroes of the mythical age, Heracles and Orestes, were allegedly preserved. The existence of Pyrrhus' miraculous toe thus served to build a mythical discourse on the King of Epirus. He either built this myth himself, or men of his court (including Proxenus) built it, or both – he may have started this discourse, and men at court and other inhabitants of Epirus perhaps continued it. It was a strongly mythical discourse as it particularly recalled Pyrrhus' own use of the model provided by Achilles, who was his presumed ancestor, and was also a healing hero, through his magical spear.

However, Pyrrhus was ultimately more concerned about his own military campaigns than about establishing rituals in honour of himself. Plutarch wrote that Pyrrhus did not imitate Alexander the Great by rituals and by his own appearance, but by his very military activity (*Pyrrh.* 8.2).[58]

> καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ᾤοντο καὶ τάχος ἐοικέναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνου καὶ βίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τούτῳ σκιάς τινας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μεῖζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνου δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.
>
> For they found his appearance and rapidity and movements to be similar to those of Alexander, and that in him shadows and imitations could be seen of Alexander's impulse and strength in battle. While other kings

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[57] Giroux 2020, 541. Plutarch thought that bone transfer could be a useful strategy, especially in political negotiations, see Giroux 2020, 545.

[58] For this passage, see Durán Mañas 2005, 50; Gorrini and Zizza 2018, 216.

showed signs of [being the heirs of] Alexander by means of cloths of purple, spear-bearers, the inclination of their necks, and in speaking with grandeur, only Pyrrhus did that by means of weapons and warfare.

Plutarch also says (*Pyrrh.* 3.6) that "in his countenance, Pyrrhus had a royal character that was more unsettling than solemn" (Ἦν δ' ὁ Πύρρος τῇ μὲν ἰδέᾳ τοῦ προσώπου φοβερώτερον ἔχων ἢ σεμνότερον τὸ βασιλικόν). Pyrrhus thus inspired no veneration for the very fact that he was a king, but through his own actions, especially his military operations. Very similar considerations are made on Pyrrhus by Plutarch in the *Life of Demetrius*.[59] Thus, for Plutarch, Pyrrhus was indeed the strongest military leader among the Diadochi, and the only one who could be compared to Alexander the Great from a military point of view.[60]

According to P. Lévêque, there is no literary or epigraphic testimony of a dynastic cult in Epirus.[61] We should consider that Pyrrhus represented himself mainly as a warrior king, while other Hellenistic kings such as the Ptolemies, starting from Ptolemy I, used the cult of Alexander in order to create a cult of their own dynasty.[62] In the Hellenistic world, there were cults established spontaneously by individual city communities, as well as dynastic cults promoted and controlled directly by the rulers. In Egypt, the Ptolemies inaugurated the cult of deceased rulers, and later promoted the cult of living rulers.[63]

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[59] Plut. *Demetr.* 41.5: καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπῄει λέγειν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ τῶν βασιλέων εἴδωλον ἐνορῷτο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τόλμης, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλιστα Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ βάρος ὑποκρίνοιντο καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός ("Many of the Macedonians, indeed, happened to say that of all the kings only in him [sc. Pyrrhus] an image could be seen of Alexander's bravery, while the others, and Demetrius in particular, portrayed Alexander's majesty and pomp as if they were on a stage"). For this passage of the *Life of Demetrius*, see Tatum 1996, 143. For the importance of the appearance and bearing of a Hellenistic king according to Plutarch, see Tatum 1996, 140-141.

[60] See Martínez Lacy 1995, 224.

[61] Lévêque 1957, 217.

[62] Virgilio ^{2}2003, 52, 110.

[63] Letta 2020, 6.

In my opinion, Pyrrhus did not use the model of Alexander systematically in order to build a royal cult of himself or of his dynasty, unlike what other Hellenistic kings did. The story of his miraculous toe is thus not the sign of a systematic cult in Epirus. Aspects of the cult of Pyrrhus rather appear to be random and do not seem to have been channelled into a fixed ritual. There was no clear plan to create a royal ideology around Pyrrhus. Even if Pyrrhus himself made some sporadic attempts, they did not lead to the successful establishment of a dynasty of kings in Epirus. In addition, the kingdom of Epirus became very weak after Pyrrhus' death,[64] so there was no further occasion for building a dynastic cult in that kingdom.

Pyrrhus' healings through his toe highlight Pyrrhus' connection to the world of mythical ancestors and heroes. The sudden death of Pyrrhus during his campaign against Antigonus Gonatas, and the interruption of the expansion of Epirus it provoked, means that we cannot know whether he had intended to establish a "Hellenistic" dynastic cult after his potential victory.

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[64] Gagé 1954, 137. Timpe (2017, 168) argues that Pyrrhus' royal power, which depended completely on Pyrrhus himself, ended with him; however, the Molossian royal dynasty, of which he had been part, did not cease to exist, and the stability of the kingdom of his son, Alexander II, is remarkable.

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Phasis 24, 2021

IN MEMORIAM

JÜRGEN WERNER (1931-2021)

Editorial Board Member of *Phasis* (1999-2021)

Jürgen Werner, an eminent German scholar and public figure, Professor Emeritus, a full member of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, and Editorial Board Member of *Phasis*, passed away on July 11, 2021. Professor Werner's main research and teaching interests included ancient Greek literature and its reception, the history of translation, knowledge of foreign languages in antiquity, the history of classical philology, lexicography, and modern Greek studies. He published around 150 articles in different scholarly journals worldwide, including in Georgia. Professor Werner was associated with the University of Leipzig, first as a student and later as a Professor of classical and modern Greek philology. Since the 1950s, he built strong relationships with his colleagues in Georgia. Professor Werner was actively involved in creating the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and made an immense contribution to equipping the Institute with relevant scholarly literature. He systematically participated in scientific fora organized by the Institute, gave lectures and public talks at the Tbilisi State University. Professor Werner played an important role in establishing the journal *Phasis*, and became the journal's Editorial Board Member since its foundation in 1999. Professor Werner will always remain in the hearts and minds of his friends and colleagues and be remembered with highest respect and appreciation.

Professor Jürgen Werner speaks at a conference dedicated to Academician Simon Kaukhchishvili (Tbilisi, 1995).

CONFERENCE REPORT

ONLINE PATRISTIC CONFERENCE *TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF PATRISTIC STUDIES IN THE GEORGIAN SECTION OF THE ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE D'ÉTUDES PATRISTIQUES/INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PATRISTIC STUDIES* (A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S.)

The conference of the Georgian section of A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S. took place on 28 December 2020 at the initiative of the Department of Byzantine Studies of the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU) in Tbilisi, Georgia. The conference was dedicated to Prof. Guram Tevzadze (1932-2018), an eminent Georgian historian of philosophy and a member of the I.A.P.S./A.I.E.P. Georgian section. The Georgian members of the I.A.P.S./A.I.E.P. were invited to report on their scientific work, including individual and group projects related to Patristic Studies and Medieval Christianity. The aim of the conference was to share the knowledge and experience pertaining to the relevant area of study in Georgia. The conference, chaired by I.A.P.S./A.I.E.P. National Correspondent, Prof. Tina Dolidze, brought together scholars focusing on a wide variety of research topics.

In her opening speech, Tina Dolidze talked about the merits of Prof. Guram Tevzadze as a historian of European philosophy from Antiquity to Modern times. Over many decades, Prof. Tevzadze was a prolific mentor of many generations of philosophers, theologians, Kartvelologists, classical philologists, and medievalists, who later fostered the development of respective fields of disciplines in Georgia. In this regard, she mentioned that the Department of Byzantine Studies at TSU is partly conducted by Prof. Tevzadze's former students. Currently, the Department staff deals with issues of Patristic and Medieval Christian theology and philosophy, and this general research trend is also reflected in the curriculum of the BA and MA programs of the Department.

A target research group – T. Dolidze, T. Aptsiauri, and G. Koplatadze – deals specifically with the Patristic authors with an emphasis on Cappadocian thinkers.

Tina Dolidze's main research interests are Biblical hermeneutics, epistemology and language theory of Origen and Cappadocian fathers. In parallel with this, her current project focuses on the question of how the theoretical insights into the nature of language in the writings of the Church Fathers are practiced in their theological articulation. One part of Dolidze's publications

deals with a systematic overview and popularization of Old Georgian Christian Literature and Modern Georgian research in Patristic Studies and Medieval Christianity.

Asst. Prof. Tamar Aptsiauri's most recent study, *The Life of Moses by St Gregory of Nyssa and Its Old Georgian Translation* (2021), focuses on the systematic investigation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De vita Moysis* and its Old Georgian (11th-century) translation.

Assoc. Prof. Gvantsa Koplatadze has worked prolifically on Georgian translations of Patristic authors (especially, three Great Cappadocians, Ps.-Dionysius, John of Damascus, and Theophylact of Bulgaria). Her most recent publication is *Byzantine Theological Writings* (2021).

Research interests of Assoc. Prof. Magda Mchedlidze and Prof. Levan Gigineishvili are directed toward the philosophy and theology of the High Middle Ages in Byzantium and Georgia. They investigate the impact of Neoplatonism on the theologians and philosophers of the 11th-13th centuries in Byzantium (Michael Psellos, John of Italus, Nicholas of Methone), and Georgia (Ioanne Petritsi; 13th-century Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli, specifically in Gigineishvili's research). Levan Gigineishvili has recently translated and prepared for publication Ioane Petritsi's commented translation of Proclus' *Elements of Theology* from Old Georgian into English. Magda Mchedlidze's research interests include the education system in Byzantium and Medieval Georgia, technics of translation from Greek to Old Georgian of Biblical books and theological literature as well as the origin of the Georgian version of Moschos' *Pratum Spirituale*, and translation of Platonic texts (Pl. *Grg*.; Plotinus, *Enn*. III.7, and some treatises by Michael Psellos and John Italus).

Dr. Victoria Jugeli, a Lecturer in Classical Languages and Byzantine Studies, has published on the Old Georgian translations of Theodoret of Cyrus' works. She is the author of *The Life of Symeon Stylite the Elder*, Aphrahat's *Homilies*, and *Old Georgian-Greek Documented Dictionary of Philosophical-Theological Terminology*. Among other works, she has translated the Apostolic Fathers, Jacob of Serugh's *Memra on Symeon the Stylite*, Ephrem the Syrian's *Carmina Nisibena, Madrashe on Juliana-Saba*, Basil's *Letters* into Georgian. She currently works on the Georgian translations of homilies by Sophronius of Jerusalem.

A wide range of research relevant to Christian literature and Art is provided by the A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S. members at the Department of Old Georgian Language and Textual Studies of the Institute of the Georgian Language and the Institute of Art History and Theory at TSU.

Darejan Tvaltvadze is Professor and Head of the Department of Old Georgian Language and Textual Studies at TSU. Her research interests include Old Georgian translations of the Gospels, Old Georgian translations of medieval Christian writings, colophons of Old Georgian manuscripts and commentaries of the Georgian translators of the Middle Ages. Her work also focuses on the cultural environment of the monastic centers of Antioch (Black Mountain) in the 11th-12th centuries, translations done by Ephrem Mtsire (11th century), History of Old Georgian translations, and Georgian written sources on Cyril of Alexandria's Exegetical Catenae.

Anna Kharanauli is Associate Professor of the Old Georgian Language and Textual Criticism at the Institute of the Georgian Language and Director of the Centre of the Eastern Christian Studies at TSU. Her main research focus is the textual criticism of the Greek and Georgian Bible, translation techniques in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and Biblical and theological lexicography. She studies the origin of various books of the Georgian Bible and the methodological problems concerning the determination of the *Vorlage*, translation technique of the Georgian Bible and its language peculiarities. Prof. Kharanauli is associated with a cardinal change of the idea dominated in Western scientific circles that the Georgian Bible should have been translated from Armenian. Kharanauli deals with the issues related to the Georgian translations of the Old Testament in the context of Septuagint text history from two angles: on the one hand, she tries to establish the relation of the Georgian translations and their recensions with Septuagint textual types and, on the other hand, to identify the role of these translations in studying various problematic issues of the Septuagint text history.

Prof. Zaza Skhirtladze, Head of the Institute of Art History and Theory at TSU, and Dr. Mariam Didebulidze, Senior researcher at the Giorgi Chubinashvili National Research Centre for Georgian Art History and Heritage, communicated about issues of Medieval Christian Art in Georgia. Zaza Skhirtladze's research interests include different aspects of desert monasticism and monastic foundations in Georgia as well as the cultural relationships in the Caucasus during the Middle Ages. Mariam Didebulidze's research focus is Medieval Christian art in Georgia. She is currently part of two projects funded by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia: *Perception and Representation of Architecture in Medieval Georgia* and *Painters in Medieval Georgia.* The first project studies the interpretation of images in medieval Georgian painting from an artistic and theological point of view; the study is partly based on the relevant patristic texts proper to revealing the symbolic and semantic sense of particular

images. The second project aims at collecting, revealing, and assessing the inscriptions made by the mural painters, indicating their names. Taking into account these data, the project aims to examine the social status of painters in the Middle Ages in Georgia, their relationship with the commissioners and patrons of the paintings, etc.

After TSU staff, the floor was given to A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S. members of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (NCM). Publication of Old Georgian translations made from Greek Medieval Christian writings has a very long tradition in Georgia. NCM in this regard is the key institution. The A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S. members of the Centre Dr. Thamar Otkhmezuri and Dr. Nino Melikishvili introduced the audience to the recent stage of the major international project which was set up at the end of the 1980s by NCM and the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve with the aim of publishing the Georgian version of Gregory of Nazianzus' works in the series *Corpus Christianorum. S. Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Iberica* (Turnhout/Leuven). Eight volumes of that great academic acquisition have already been published by the NCM team (edited by late E. Metreveli, late Ts. Kourtsikidze, and A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S. members: M. Raphava, N. Melikishvili, Th. Otkhmezuri, K. Bezarashvili, M. Matchavariani, and others), the ninth and tenth volumes are in preparation.

Dr. Thamar Otkhmezuri is Head of the Department of Textology and Codicology at NCM. Her main research interest is the Georgian translations of the commentaries on Gregory Nazianzen's writings. She has published on the problems of Byzantine-Old Georgian literary relations, translation methods and artistic peculiarities of the Old Georgian translations, theoretical thinking of Georgian scholars of the 11th-12th centuries, and the literary activities of medieval monastic centers. She also studies old Greek manuscripts and inscriptions kept in Georgia. Being the author of *Georgian Manuscripts Copied Abroad in Libraries and Museums of Georgia* (2018), she is also a co-editor of the series *Corpus Christianorum. S. Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Iberica* (Turnhout/Leuven). Her current project is *Georgian Literary Culture and Book Production in Christian East and Byzantium*.

Dr. Nino Melikishvili is Senior Researcher at NCM. She is the editor of *Georgian Homiletic Monuments* – book series on the Old Georgian Christian texts, the three published volumes being: *Church Fathers' Teachings Concerning the Incarnation of God*; *St. John Chrysostom's Homiletic Collection 'The Pearl'*; *Old Georgian Translations of Saint John of Damascus' Homilies Dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary*. She is also a co-editor of the series *Corpus Christianorum. S. Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Iberica*

(Turnhout/Leuven). The volumes include Old Georgian translations of the patristic texts partly rendered by anonymous translators in the first period of the Old Georgian literature (7th-10th centuries), partly done by the prominent representatives of the Athonite school Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites (11th century), as well as by Ephrem Mtsire (11th century) of the Black Mountain and Theophilos the Hieromonk (12th century).

Dr. Maia Matchavariani is Senior Researcher at NCM. Her research interests include the Georgian translations of hagiographical literature and Georgian calendars of the saints' feasts. She also focuses on the Georgian translations of the works related to St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki, the Greek originals of which are lost today, these texts thus being partially preserved only in the Georgian sources.

Dr. Lela Khoperia is a Program Coordinator at the Centre for Exploration of Georgian Antiquities (CEGA) founded in 1997 by a late member of I.A.P.S. Georgian section Dr. Tamila Mgaloblishvili as an interdisciplinary group of scholars (in 2000, the CEGA achieved the status of an independent organization). The main activities of the Centre are the preparation of the monograph on Georgian cultural heritage in the Holy Land encompassing information about Georgian monuments of architecture, epigraphical inscriptions, manuscripts, wall painting, artefacts, and the history of the Georgian monastic colony in the Holy Land; study and publication of the seven recently revealed Georgian texts preserved in the Georgian manuscript collection from St. Petersburg's Institute of Oriental Manuscripts; study of the Georgian versions of biographical documents on Maximus the Confessor; preparation for publication of the Georgian manuscript collection from the 12th century (Gel. 14) containing translations of Maximus the Confessor's polemical and dogmatical writings; preparation of the fourth volume of the series *Iberica-Caucasica* (being published in the UK) – the upcoming volume will contain an English translation of the eminent Georgian scholar Grigol Peradze's diary of a journey through the Holy Land and Syria *Roses of Jericho*.

Thereafter the floor was given to IAPS members of the Ilia State University (ISU).

Ekvtime Kochlamazashvili is Professor Emeritus at ISU and Head of the Department of Scientific Bibliography, Terminology and Encyclopedic Literature at NCM. Being an editor of a number of Old Georgian renditions of Greek Patristic Literature, he focused on his recent project pertaining to Old Georgian versions of works by Evagrius Ponticus. Prof. Kochlamazashvili has recently

published (Tbilisi, 2019) Old Georgian translations (10th-11th centuries) of *Antirrhetikos*, which in the Georgian manuscript tradition is ascribed to Maximus the Confessor. He is currently preparing *De oratione* by ps.-Basil of Caesarea for publication, the most part of which, as he argues, belongs to Evagrius.

Irma Karaulashvili is Associate Professor at ISU. Her research interests include Late Antique and Medieval narrative sources, historiography, hagiography, history of literature, apocrypha, predominantly in Old Georgian and Armenian literature. She has worked on her international projects at different institutions (the School of Hellenic Studies, Princeton University; the Foundation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris; Oxford University; Université Paul Valery-Montpellier III).

Dr. Tamar Meskhi is Researcher at the Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies at ISU. Her main interests are Greek-Georgian relations with the main emphasis on Byzantine and post-Byzantine historical sources; medieval Georgian monasteries of Sinai, Jerusalem, and Bachkovo; Byzantine iconography; Byzantine and Modern Greek literature; linguistic etymologies and current ecclesiastical affairs. Currently, Dr. Meskhi is conducting research on *Jerusalem and Georgia: New Pages of the Centuries-Old History*.

Tengiz Iremadze is Professor of Christian philosophy at the New Georgian University and Grigol Robakidze University. His research focus is a reconstruction of the patristic model of early Christian philosophy according to the concepts of the Greek (the Cappadocian Fathers) and Latin authors (St. Augustine), and the models of late antique and medieval Christian philosophy treated in Georgian thought (Peter the Iberian, Ephrem Mtsire, Arsen of Ikalto, and Ioane Petritsi). Prof. Iremadze studies God's personality, human cognitive skills, and free will in Patristic and Medieval Christian philosophy. In Augustinian studies, his research implies the interrelationships between cognition (*intelligentia*), mind (*mens*), and will (*voluntas*), and the history of reception and transformation of these conceptions in Medieval philosophy (Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Dietrich of Freiberg, Berthold of Moosburg). He also studies the interpretations of the works of St. Augustine in Georgian and European philosophical historiography.

Dr. Nino Sakvarelidze is Lecturer at the University of Munich. In her research work, she is interested in patristic thought (Meletius of Antioch, John Chrysostom, Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus the Confessor, patristic commentaries on the *Lord's Prayer*); history of Byzantine liturgical commentaries; history of Georgian liturgy; the phenomenon of Byzantinization; the intersection of litur-

gics and patristics; philological and theological investigation and edition of Old Georgian translations of the works by Church Fathers; Old Georgian reception of the Greek Patristic theology and philosophy; and Old Georgian theological and philosophical terminology.

Dr. Tamara Pataridze is Scientific Collaborator at the Catholic University Louvain-la-Neuve. Her work focuses on explaining the mechanisms by which four linguistic communities (Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian) collaborated in Melkite monastic centers (Mar Saba, St. Catherine on Sinai) in the Holy Land in the 8th-10th centuries to create the corpus of Christian Arabic literature, receptions of which in Old Georgian literature is her special research interest. In this connection, Dr. Pataridze is currently conducting research on the manuscripts of the Wardrop Collection of Bodleian Libraries at the University of Oxford.

Marina Giorgadze is Professor of Classical and Byzantine Studies at the Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University. Her work has focused on Old Georgian translations of apologetic works (Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Melito of Sardes, anonymous author of *Ad Diognetum*, Hermias, etc.) and the reception of apologetic themes sand motives in old Georgian literature. Currently, she is preparing the old Georgian translation of *Itinerarium Egeriae* for publication.

The A.I.E.P./I.A.P.S. local Patristic Conference was a positive experience in bringing together Georgian scholars engaged in Patristic Studies. According to references, it fostered invigorate communications and the exchange of theoretical insights and methodological approaches covering the same subject area from a variety of angles. The presentations about individual/group research interests and current projects, in particular, contributed to the identification of the main research orientations and topic areas of the I.A.P.S./A.I.E.P. Georgian section.

Tina Dolidze

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