



HELLENIC DIMENSION

Materials of the Riga
3rd International Conference
on Hellenic Studies

Latvijas Universitāte
Humanitāro zinātņu fakultāte
Klasiskās filoloģijas katedra
Hellēnistikas centrs

HELLĒNU , DIMENSIJA

Rīgas 3. starptautiskās hellēnistikas konferences
materiāli

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UDK 930(063)

He 396

The book is financially supported by the Hellenic Republic Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the University of Latvia

Grāmata izdota ar Grieķijas Republikas Kultūras un tūrisma ministrijas un Latvijas Universitātes atbalstu

Support for Conference Proceedings by ERAF Project

Support for the international cooperation projects and other international cooperation activities in research and technology at the University of Latvia

No. 2010/0202/2DP/2.1.1.2.0/10/APIA/VIAA/013



**LATVIJAS
UNIVERSITĀTE**
ANNO 1919

IEGULDĪJUMS TAVĀ NĀKOTNĒ

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Cover design: Agris Dzilna

Layout: Andra Liepiņa

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Ilze Rumniece, editors, 2012

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ISBN 978-9984-45-469-6

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INTRODUCTION

Latvia is too small to have many Hellenists; however, it is big enough to appreciate the solid role and value of the Greeks and Greece in the formation, cultivation and development of European cultural environment, in other words, to appreciate the Hellenic dimension.

For this reason once every four years Latvia's oldest and most prestigious university invites specialists of different countries to create a possibility for Latvian humanitarian environment together with foreign experts to get the knowledge of and investigate the amplitude of the Hellenic dimension by considering its various aspects.

This volume upholds the tradition that was started by the Chair of Classical Philology and the Centre for Hellenic Studies of the University of Latvia to organize quadrennial conferences and publish the materials thereof – anthologies of scientific articles. This is a third one, the previous having been published in 2003 and 2008. This is also the richest both in terms of the number of contributors and themes. It is testified by the fact that the content of the first collection of articles of the Riga International Conference on Hellenic Studies formed a single entity; the articles of the second collection fell into two thematic groups according to the stages of the Hellenic heritage (Hellenic heritage: genesis and retention). The present volume embraces three measurable cycles: Ancient Times, Modern Times and Echoes and Reflections.

The thematic spectrum of the research on the Hellenic dimension is quite wide-ranging: issues of history, linguistics (including language learning and translation), literature and theatre science unfold in an interdisciplinary relation to facts and features of fine arts, mythology, economics and social processes. The Hellenic dimension at various times and in different countries – the contribution of a single ethnos has benefited many nations and cultures. For this reason we can never devote too much attention to this dimension.

Even geographically (authors that represent their countries) this collection is far richer than the previous ones: Czech Republic, Great Britain, Greece, Georgia, Italy, Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey and Ukraine. From the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean to the Black Sea – the East European area dominates in this representation, which could be considered a special (thematically / content-wise) feature.

Despite the fact that the working languages at the conference were Greek and English, the editors of the present collection opted for

creating the first collection of articles of the Centre for Hellenic Studies in the English language (the former volumes contained articles in Latvian or English, depending on the submitted text), to make the Riga conference acquisitions accessible to wider readership. The summaries of articles are offered also in Latvian since we cannot lose the Latvian readers' attention and respect to the publication that has been created in our country.

Thus, the national and the global make an attempt to coexist...

Today, more than ever before, it is important to look at and perceive the Hellenic world as both divisible and indivisible, where «the Hellenic world» implies the diachronic environment that affected cultures of other nations, leaving there different traces of the Hellenic dimension brushwork.

At our time when the role of humanitarian sciences tends to be forgotten against the background of the «tangible achievements» of other sciences, or the presence of the humanities seems mundane and, as such, inessential, it is important to remind of the sources, of the roots. It is from them that the arms of the European tree of culture branch out.

We would also like our readers to know that the year of 2013 is intended to be the Year of the Riga 4th Conference on Hellenic Studies.

We wish to express our gratitude to the Academic Press of the University of Latvia.

We are also deeply indebted to the Embassy of Greece to Latvia for the moral support at all the events organized by the Centre for Hellenic Studies of the University of Latvia.

On behalf of the organizing body of the Riga International Conferences on
Hellenic Studies and the editors of the present volume,
Ilze Rūmniece

IEVADS

Latvija ir par mazu, lai šajā valstī būtu daudz hellēnistu, bet gana liela, lai novērtētu grieķu un Grieķijas stabilo lomu un vērtību Eiropas kultūrvides veidošanā, iekopšanā, attīstīšanā – lai novērtētu hellēņu dimensiju.

Tādēļ arī reizi četros gados Latvijas senākā un izcilākā universitāte saaicina kopā dažādu valstu speciālistus, lai dotu iespēju Latvijas humanitārajai videi kopā ar viņiem uzzināt un izzināt hellēņu dimensijas amplitūdu, vienkop ieraugot dažādus tās aspektus.

Šī grāmata turpina Latvijas Universitātes Humanitāro zinātņu fakultātes Klasiskās filoloģijas katedras un Hellēnistikas centra iedibināto tradīciju rīkot hellēnistiskas speciālistu kvadrēnnāles konferences un publicēt to materiālus – zinātnisko rakstu antoloģijas. Iepriekšējās izdotas 2003. un 2008. gadā, šī ir trešā.

Krājuma tematiskais spektrs hellēņu dimensijas izpētē ir izveidojies gana izvērsts: vēstures, valodniecības (arī valodu apguves un tulkošanas), literatūras un teātra zinātnes jautājumi atrod starpnozaru saikni gan ar tēlotājas mākslas, gan mitoloģijas, gan ekonomikas un sabiedrības procesu faktiem un iezīmēm. Hellēņu dimensija dažādos laikos un zemēs – šāds aptvērums liecina par pienesumu Eiropas kultūrvēsturiskajā ainā kopumā. Tādēļ arī šai dimensijai veltītās uzmanības nekad nebūs par daudz.

Šobrīd, iespējams, kā nekad agrāk ir svarīgi skatīt un ieraudzīt hellēņu pasauli dalāmi nedalāmu, ar jēdzienu «hellēņu pasaule» saprotot to diahrono vidi, kas plašākā vai šaurākā ziņā ietiecas arī citu nāciju kultūrās, dažāda biežuma triepieniem tur iezīmējot hellēņu dimensiju.

Laikā, kad humanitāro zinātņu loma uz citu zinību «taustāmo pānākumu» fona sabiedrībā bieži piemirstas jeb to klātbūtne liekas pašsaprotama, līdz ar to it kā mazsvarīga, ir vērts atgādināt par avotiem, par saknēm – no tiem žuburojas Eiropas kopīgā kultūrkoka zari. Tāpēc arī šī krājuma lasītājiem lai top zināms, ka 2013. gads iecerēts kā Rīgas 4. starptautiskās hellēnistikas konferences gads.

Paldies par atbalstu un radošu sadarbību Latvijas Universitāte Akadēmiskajam apgādam. Paldies arī Grieķijas Republikas vēstniecībai Latvijā par morālo atbalstu visos Latvijas Universitātes Hellēnistikas centra pasākumos.

Rīgas Starptautisko hellēnistikas konferenču organizētāju un
krājuma sastādītāju vārdā

Ilze Rūmniece

I

ANCIENT TIMES
SENLAIKI

Vassilis Patronis, University of Patras, Greece

ECONOMIC IDEAS OF ANCIENT GREEK PHILOSOPHERS: ASSESSING THEIR IMPACT ON THE FORMATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC THOUGHT

Brief summary

The present paper focuses on the economic thought in ancient Greece and its contribution to the contemporary understanding of economic theory. The relevant works of Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle are under examination in order to comprehend the formulation of economic concepts.

Key words: Economic theory, history of economic thought, Ancient Greek philosophy, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle

1. Introduction

In Ancient Greece there was no market economy, nor Economic Science. What ancient Greek philosophers believed about economy was part of their philosophical ideas, and that is why we can point out a constant connection between Economy and Ethics as the main source of decision-making (Baloglou 1995, V & Meikle 2000, 20). Even though we can trace grains of economical ideas in Hesiod and Democritus, we are mostly interested in the economical ideas that have seen the light during the Classic Period, as they reflect the overall development of the city-state, even if the very notions of capital accumulation or profit aspiration are not present. Anyway, this research may lead us to admit that crucial issues, such as value, division of labour, fair distribution of wealth, currency and the way it functions, have been analyzed in depth by ancient Greek philosophers.

2. Xenophon: Economical Ideas and Political Measures

Xenophon (430-355 BC) tries to determine the meaning and content of the term «economy», which he considers an autonomous science, the main subject of which is the management of domestic affairs

(*Oeconomicus* I, 1-2). The central factor of this economy is the manager of the «domicile» (*oikos*). In this way, the notion of business management is introduced – since the domicile is perceived as a business – along with a strict distinction between the businessman and the manager (Baloglou 1995, 171 & Lowry 1987, 47).

Xenophon also describes the way how the division of labour takes place, that being «one of the first and more important generalisations made in the history of economical thought» (Yemtos 1991, 386). According to Xenophon, the division of labour has emerged due to the different needs and capabilities of each person and results in the amelioration of the product's quality (*Cyropaedia* VII, 11.5).

Xenophon had also realized that the increase in agricultural production does not depend on the quantity of factors but on their proper organization. He found out that, even if the land rendering depends on the harmonious relation between land and labour, increasing the labour does not lead to an augmentation of the rendering. On the contrary, after reaching a certain point, it starts diminishing. Consequently, Xenophon was the first to discover the law of land's diminishing returns in *Oeconomicus* (XX, 22-4) and in *Poroi* (*Ways and Means*) (IV, 5). According to Xenophon (*Oeconomicus* I, 8), agriculture gives the net product, an opinion to be shared with the French Physiocrats in the 18th century, while during the Middle Ages it was widely accepted that agriculture was the «mother» of all arts.

Contrary to the diminishing output in the agricultural production, Xenophon had realized that fixed or increasing output characterized the mining activities (Gordon 1975, 19). In order to reinforce the financial situation of Athens, he suggested an intensive exploitation of Lavrion silver mines, arguing that the comparative advantage of this activity resides in the fact that the price of silver does not depend on the quantity of the product offered. Moreover, he suggested the establishment of mining companies by the ten Athenian tribes, at the same time considering that the city's incomes could be supported by the attraction of emigrant (*metikoi*) workers, resulting in a commercial boost (*Poroi* [*Ways and Means*] II, 9-14, IV, 17-22, 30-32). Such fiscal propositions demonstrate Xenophon's interest in a more lively participation of the city-state in economic affairs. As for the public finance, Xenophon in *Poroi* stresses the development of commerce during peace – reminding us of the classical liberal thought – and also suggests tax reduction for the upper classes (Andreadis 1938 a, 5-6).

3. Economy in the Thought of Plato

Since Plato (427-347 BC) attempted to create a solid economic basis for the organizational, spiritual, political and ethical development of his Republic (*Politeia*), the economic ideas in his works were not just secondary. On the contrary, he was primarily concerned with emphasising that the ethical, social and economic structures of the Republic are interconnected, since, as he stressed, the ethical function is not possible without the proper economic background. These ideas will appear again during the Modern Greek Enlightenment, when Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) propagated the principles of liberal economic thought, which he considered as necessary for the ethical progress of the Nation (Bregianni 2000, 112). These ideas can also be discerned in the ideology of the new-born Greek state. There are legislative acts from 1822 stating that a rational administration of public finance is the necessary precondition for the development of the nations (Bregianni 2010).

The analysis of labour division and the distinction between arts – which the philosopher considers as matters of justice, necessary for the unobstructed functioning of the society – play an important role in the broad Platonic philosophical framework. The division of labour will bring augmentation and amelioration to the production, and that is why each person «must do in the society the labour that s/he is capable of doing by nature» (*Politeia [Republic]* 433). In this way, the productivity of individuals and, consequently, the wealth of the city, is increased. Anyway, due to the division of labour, the time needed for the performance of labour is reduced, along with costs. It may also contribute to the diversification and enrichment of the city's labour force (Despotopoulos 1957, 27).

The need to divide labour expands, according to Plato, to the functions of currency, commerce and exchanges. The need for commercial transactions in a society of isolated producers also leads to the functional integration of small traders (*kapiloi*) in the population of the city. Since profiteering is inherent to that profession, commerce activities should preferably be practiced by emigrants (*metoikoi*) or freedmen, rather than by the citizens themselves (*Nomoi [Laws]* 846 & 920 A, *Politeia [Republic]* 371 C-D). For the same reasons, Plato is very sceptical towards unlimited foreign trade, since he foresees that importing precious metals and foreign institutions will end up with expanding corruption. In general, Plato condemns the accumulation

of wealth by the upper classes. It would not be an exaggeration if we argued that, for the economically flourishing Renaissance cities, the ideas that Plato supported in his *Republic* about the division of labour, the distinction of arts and the need of commercial transactions were equivalent in the influence his thought exerted on the intellectual universe of the period.

In order to fulfil the transactions that take place inside and outside the boundaries of the city-state, a commonly acceptable «instrument» or «symbol» of transactions must be adopted, and currency is this instrument. Currency is a means of transaction; at the same time, it measures the value of products and, as a consequence, reduces the cost of transactions and the anti-economical division of goods (*Politeia [Republic]* 371 B, *Nomoi [Laws]* 728 A, 742 A-B, 918 B-C). At the same time, Plato deplors the improvident use and the accumulation of currency and precious metals with a view to getting rich, because this leads the citizens into an indolent situation (*asholous*). That is why he proposes the creation of a double numismatic system: the first one would be used for domestic transactions and would be made of a metal of no value, whereas the second currency would be made of a precious metal of value and would be intended for the foreign transactions of the Republic (*Nomoi [Laws]* 742 A-B). Plato's proposal, consistent with his broader belief about the material nature of currency, places him among the «non metallists», since he supported the view that the intrinsic value of currency is independent of its market price (see Schumpeter 1954, 56).

The economic ideas were the basis upon which Plato tried to lay the foundations of «the model of the ideal city». After formulating his two theoretical models – the utopian «greatest» or «ideal» Republic and the most realistic «second best» Republic – he tried to create a political and social structure that would minimize the frictions between the social classes and the citizens, while at the same time pinpointing the economic and social components of a fair Republic (Lowry 1987, 92-95).

4. The economic thought of Aristotle

The evolution of the European economic thought has been influenced by Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), whose ideas had a drastic effect on the medieval epistemological universe, especially on the economical field. According to Aristotle, economy is an autonomous science, having wealth as its object (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1094a, 10-15).

He makes a distinction between «natural» economics, which aims at the acquirement of means for living through socially and ethically acceptable activities, and the «monetary» economics, which aims at profit and has as an objective the accumulation of material goods. The second one is deplorable, since it motivates the insatiable need for consuming luxury goods and causes inequalities and conflicts in the city-state (*Politica* 1253b, 1257b, 1258a). As it is well known, this idea formed the main core of the economic activity during the Middle Ages, while the «criminalization» of profit-making was an important issue in the conceptual universe of Thomas Aquinas (Le Goff 1986).

Aristotle's thought has contributed to the evolution of economic ideas by the distinction he introduced between the use value and exchange value of goods, that is, between the utility that the owner benefits from possessing them and the value the owner acquires by exchanging them (*Ethica Eudemia* 1231b, 1232b and *Politica* 1257a).

With respect to the price market and the value of goods, Aristotle assumes that their trading proportion depends on their utility for the ones who exchange them (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1133a). Furthermore, thinking of the utility of goods, we must also take into consideration the quantity and quality of labour spent for the production of each one of the exchanged goods (production cost). This cost also determines their value and price (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1163b, 1164a). Consequently, if utility is the factor that determines the use value of goods, labour spent for their production determines their exchange value. Under this spectrum, Aristotle was a forerunner of both the subjective theory of value (based on utility) and the objective theory of value (based on labour), which will be later supported by the classic economists.

As for the role of currency, Aristotle believes that it constitutes both a measure of exchanging value and a general measure of exchange. That is why, besides its intrinsic value, currency must be broadly accepted by the exchanging parties (*Politica* 1257a). Currencies accumulate all these qualities, having in addition their own intrinsic value (see *Foucault* 1966, 187). Their value is more constant than that of other objects, and they can be sealed by the authorities, in order to safeguard their authenticity (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1133a, 1133b). Besides the fact of being a measure of exchange value and a means of exchange, Aristotle foresees another characteristic feature of currency: it can be treasured up as well as borrowed at interest. While Aristotle accepts the use of currency for transactions, he considers that using it as a means for treasuring and interest bearing is unnatural and profiteering.

So, he suggests the abolition of lending money at interest, since, as he notes, «currency does not bring wealth». As we have mentioned, the medieval ideological connection between interest and sin has its roots in Aristotelian thought, since, according to the philosopher, no free and moral person would ever choose the profession of a money lender (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1121b).

Aristotle clearly advocates private property, because he considers that, through this institution, an increase in the productive labour of citizens is achieved, leading to an increase in the overall production of the city-state as a consequence (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1169b, *Politica* 1261b). Anyway, according to the broader ancient Greek philosophical perception, private property facilitates civil freedom, provided that it does not exceed its natural borders (Despotopoulos 2007, 40-41).

As for the public finance, Aristotle in the second volume of the *Oeconomica* deals with the distinction of its administration according to the regime, which is understandable, since the administration of public finance in aristocratic and democratic regimes was quite different (Andreadis 1938b, 28-29). Besides, Aristotle gives special attention to the tax policy and the public revenues. He believes that, in the framework of the public finance of a city-state, the republic should know the amount of its imports and exports and, on that basis, determine its commercial policy.

5. Final remarks and conclusions

Xenophon's economic ideas, especially the policy measures he introduced, seemed to have influenced his contemporaries in economic policy planning. *Oeconomicus* has also influenced Aristotle, who, in the second book of *Politica*, refers to the division of the domicile (*oikos*), as does Xenophon. We can note his influence on Stoic and Epicurean philosophers and, even more, on Roman authors, such as Virgil and Cicero. The Fathers of the Orthodox Church, especially Ioannis Chrysostomos, also refer to him.

The emphasis given by Xenophon on the advantages of agriculture is reflected in the subsequent economic thought and policy, particularly in the adoption of his positions by the French Physiocrats in the 18th century. The founder of the Physiocrats' School, Fr. Quesneay, has put the whole passage in *Oeconomicus* that refers to agriculture as a title page in *Tableau Economique*. Frederic the Great of Prussia also expressed Xenophon's position about agriculture.

Plato's economic ideas did not seem to have that kind of influence. Most references are made by theorists, who tried to mould a fair and rational society during the late Classic Period or in the Hellenistic and Roman eras. His principles also inspired subsequent utopians, such as Thomas More (1478-1535) and Campanella (1568-1639).

In contrast to that, Aristotle's influence on the evolution of economic thought has been fundamental and decisive (Meikle 2000, 15). His texts were the basis of the commercial policy and economic thought during the Middle Ages. Before that, they had decisively influenced the Roman writers, the Fathers of the Orthodox Church, Latin theologians and even the Islamic philosophical and economic thought. He has been named «the father of the economic science» and «the first analytical economist» (Demopoulos 1988, 8 & Roll 1967, 26). Aristotle's economic ideas are generally considered as the first contribution to economic analysis. The Aristotelian postures about currency were adopted by the English philosopher John Locke in the 17th century, the French Physiocrats in the 18th century and the German economists K. H. Rau and W. Roescher in the 19th century. The Austrian economist C. Menger was also deeply inspired by Aristotle's thought. As for the use of precious metals as means of exchange, A. Smith adopted the thoughts of the Greek philosopher. K. Marx, in turn, accepted the Aristotelian distinction between the «economic» and «monetary» production activities, and he used this distinction in his own analysis of capitalism. Among the theories derived from Aristotle, we should also mention the theory of utility by W. S. Jevons, the mathematical economic theory, the neoclassical economic theory and Marxism (Meikle 2000, 15).

Some theorists, such as M. I. Finley, J. Schumpeter, K. Polanyi, have raised objections as for to what extent the ancient Greek philosophers could be considered the forerunners in the history of economic thought, since the economic activity and structure in the ancient times was completely different and cannot be explained by modern economic terms.

Recent studies point out that this argument reproduces a pseudo dilemma (Thompson 1982, 53-54). On the one hand, it is undeniable that the absence of capital markets, the small-scale productive activities, the treasuring of wealth and, finally, the predominance of the agricultural sector over commerce and manufacture – the factors that describe the economic mechanisms in Antiquity – distinguish Antiquity from the modern economic activity, which is characterised by the prevalence of the market. Under that point of view, describing

Antiquity with modern economic terms would raise epistemological problems. On the other hand, research cannot ignore the fact that these three philosophers have offered us exhaustive analyses of the «economic» phenomena of their times. If the corpus of their thought does not represent «economic analysis» in the modern sense of this term, perhaps the distinction is simply a matter of expression (Meikle 2000, 192). We do not have to choose between the modern world and the antiquity (Foucault 1987, 97). There is an abundance of economic ideas in the ancient Greek philosophers' thought, and not all of these ideas are applicable today; nevertheless, they can help us to construct an individual perspective, which can turn out to be very useful as an instrument for understanding and analysis of our own economy and society (Foucault 1987, 97).

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SENGRIEĶU FILOZOFU IDEJAS PAR EKONOMIKU: IZVĒRTĒJOT IETEKMI UZ PASAULES EKONOMISKĀS DOMAS VEIDOŠANOS

Raksts veltīts ekonomiskajai domai senajā Grieķijā un tās ieguldījumam ekonomikas teorijas mūsdienu izpratnē. Pēdējos gados vērojama ekonomikas vēsturnieku atjaunota interese par sengrieķu filozofu uzskatiem ekonomikas jomā. Tiesa, patstāvīga ekonomikas zinātne senajā Grieķijā netika izstrādāta, tomēr ir labi zināms, ka grieķu filozofi analizēja virkni galveno ekonomikas jēdzienu un problēmu, tādus kā vērtība, darba dalīšana, taisnīga bagātības sadale un naudas loma.

Šī raksta mērķis ir sistematizēt un iepazīstināt ar šo analīzi, īpašu uzmanību veltot Ksenofonta *Ekonomikai*, kur paustas nozīmīgas ekonomikas idejas par ražošanas organizāciju un dažādiem veidiem, kā celt valsts ieņēmumus, Platona filozofijai, kas pēta arī darba dalīšanas un naudas funkciju problēmas, un, visbeidzot, Aristoteļa pārspriedumiem par īpašumu, maiņu, naudas lomu, vērtību un preču cenu. Noslēgumā apspriesta šo ideju ietekme uz dažādām vadošajām ekonomiskās domas skolām no viduslaikiem līdz mūsdienām.

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HISTORIOGRAPHIC SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE AND THE TRADITION OF GEOGRAPHY

Brief summary

The article deals with the aspects of genre-identity of historiography and geography, as they are reflected in the prefaces of historiographic and geographical (Strabo's *Γεωγραφικὰ ὑπομνήματα*) texts. Comparing the historiographic prefaces (in Hecataeus, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Iosephus Flavius *et al.*) with the prefaces in Strabo's *Geography*, an attempt is made to show the impact of the historiographic scientific discourse on the style of narrative geography.

Key words: Greek historiography, preface, scientific discourse, narrative geography, Strabo.

History inherited the historiographic *προοίμιον* from epos (Hornblower 2004, 7 ff.). Heroic epos, regarded as the first literary historical narrative, even at the beginning of the 1st century A.D., was supposed to provide *ἱστορίη* with a model of literary imitation (*cf.* Strab. I. 2, 6¹). The prefaces of the first histories are in the track of epic invocation. However, being akin to epos genetically, historiographic *προοίμια* at the same time demonstrate a difference in an intellectual array. Historians, in general, do not invoke Muses and gods as validating the truth of their stories. As John Marincola puts it, Greek historiography starts with an individual claim (Marincola 2003, 5). Hecataeus (VI–V cent. B.C.), the first historian we actually know, seeks to point up that his work is a result of his personal inquiry and investigation. In the very first words of his *προοίμιον*, the effort to reject the convention of anonymity, characteristic for heroic epos, is evident: «Hecataeus of Miletus speaks thus: I write what follows as it seems to me to be true; for the stories of the Greeks are varied, and, as is manifest to me, ludicrous» (FGrHist A 1a; Marincola's translation, Marincola 2003, 5).

¹ [...] ὁ πεζὸς λόγος, ὃ γε κατασκευασμένος, μίμηνα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἐστι.

The first extant historiographic *προσίμιον* is the first extant historiographic *σφραγίς*, a claim to authority. It may be regarded as akin to the philosophers' claim, and, according to Marincola, it is the model of imitation of the epic invocation in early philosophical texts (Parmenides, Empedocles) that early historians follow (Marincola 2003, 4). The intersection of both imitation of the tradition and departure from it in the very first historiographic preface is evident. The historian, who stood at the beginning of the historiography, recognized the difference of his work from the previous tradition, and this difference, first of all, consists in a peculiar methodology (which could be qualified as the historian's credo) – the critical approach to what is told, in order to discern the truth and the tale. It sets a scientific tone to all the subsequent historiographic tradition. However, although historiography in antiquity has not become a science, its literary form overpassed its scientific goals. Historiography was generally regarded as a branch of rhetoric, subject to the same types of literary analysis as poetry or oratory (Marincola 2003, 13). Nevertheless, its «scientific» or fact-finding nature has never been completely rubbed out of it. It was implicitly admitted by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) in his famous discussion on the distinction of tragedy and history (*Poet.* 1451b, 1459a) and was constantly revived by the historians themselves, mostly in their *προσίμια*. Historiographic prefaces, according to Arnold Toynbee, reflect the history of Greek historical thought (Toynbee, 1964, XXVII–XXVIII).

All extant histories, both Greek and Roman, have prefaces. Xenophon's (ca. 430–354 B.C.) *Hellēnika* is the only known exception; however, the absence of any formal preface in it, especially of any methodological announcement, is, in a way, *argumentum e silentio* – an eloquent tribute to Thucydides (Hornblower 2004, 29–30). In the process of historiographical imitation (or competition), prefaces acquired traditional topics and motives, such as discussion of the methods of research. As a rule, the stress is laid on the historian's faith in eyes and ears, i.e. the main methodological presumptions are *autopsy* and inquiry into oral tradition (*οὔψις καὶ ἀκοή*). In a developed form, it is first found in Herodotus (ca. 484–425 B.C.), II. 99, and later is steadily repeated in the subsequent tradition, usually in the *προσίμια*. Thucydides (ca. 455–396 B.C.) makes it clear that he bases his narrative on his own eyewitness account and reports of the others, who also were eyewitnesses (I. 22. 2). Thucydides was the first to stress the necessity to subject both his own experience and the testimonies of others to a

process of ἀκριβεία (accuracy).² Ephorus (ca. 408–330 B.C.) continued the tradition both of claiming great reliability for *autopsy* (FGrHist 70 F 9) and of critical verification of what is told (FGrHist 2a, F 9(2)). The presence of μῦθοι in the historical narrative was justified by tradition, but the historians differ in their approach to myths. Thucydides explicitly rejects them (I. 22, 2), while Diodorus (1st cent. B.C.), on the contrary, is convinced that myth is a valuable source of historical information (I. 5, 1). Homer is a reliable historical source not only to logographers and Herodotus (Juchnevičienė 2002, 29–31) but also to Thucydides, however critical to the poetic (*alias* – mythical) tradition the latter may be (*Thuc.* I. 3, 3).

Polybius (ca. 201–120 B.C.), in his theoretical excursus, elaborated this idea further: he introduced the term ἀντοπάθεια, stressing the importance of the experience of the inquirer himself in giving shape and direction to the reports of eyewitnesses (XII. 28a. 8–10). This experience was of great value in geographical and ethnographical excursuses, which were inseparable part of the first written histories. Diodorus seeks to ensure his reader that he has traveled around a greater part of the οἰκουμένη in order to get acquainted with the countries he intended to describe (I. 4, 1). He also stresses the importance of the written sources, however distant they may be, although acknowledging that they have to be subjected to scrutiny – ἀκριβεία (*Diod.* I. 4, 4). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st cent. B.C.) finds it necessary to give an account of his written sources of information, which he regards as reliable (*Antiquitates Romanae* I. 1). Iosephus Flavius (37–ca. 100 A.D.) also sticks to τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἱστορίας (*Bellum Iudaicum* I. 1, 2), which in his own work is guaranteed by his own participation in the described events: he «saw service against the Romans in the initial phase of the war, and was a compulsory spectator of its later stages» (transl. by Toynbee 1964, 60). In the beginning of his *Contra Apionem*, Iosephus Flavius acclaims that his record of the war as a whole and of incidental details is correct, since he was a firsthand witness of all events (I. 47). Herodian the Syrian (1st half of the 3rd cent. A. D.) affirms his readers to «have collected the materials [...] with scrupulous exactitude (*History of the Roman Empire after the Death of Marcus Aurelius*, I. 1; transl. by Toynbee 1964, 77). Procopius of Caesarea (ca. 500–565) feels especially qualified to write this work, as, being a confidential adviser of General Belisarius, he was privileged

² V. 26, 5, the second preface, which here means «in conformance with external reality» (Marincola, 2003, 68).

to participate personally in almost all events in question (*History of the Wars of Justinianus*, I. 1). The discussion on the methods of research leads to the main goal of the historical accounts – which is, according to Thucydides (I. 20, 3), ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας. Historical truth, as the main principle of historiography, was already stressed by Hecataeus and kept on by later writers, let alone Thucydides, although even he found this task extremely difficult (I. 22, 3) due to his requirement of impartiality and objectivity (I. 22, 2). Ἀλήθεια, according to Polybius, is τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἱστορίας (I. 4, 11). According to Diodorus, history is προφήτις τῆς ἀληθείας (I. 2, 2). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae*, I. 1) condemns the historians who have sacrificed the truth in order to gratify uncivilized monarchs and claims the rediscovery of truth in his research. Josephus Flavius rejects misrepresentation of the facts (*B. J. I.* 1). Arrianus (ca. 90–170) regards Ptolemy and Aristobulus as the trustworthy authorities, because their primary intention was to tell the truth (*An. Al.* I, 2–3). Agathias of Myrina (536–ca. 582) says that history is not at liberty to strain or embroider the facts (*Hist. I, προοίμιον*). From Polybius onwards (*Polyb.* I. 1, 2, *Diod.* I. 1, 4 *etc.*), not only the requirement of factographic trustworthiness but also the need to reveal the ethical truth take their steady place in the prefaces. History starts to be regarded upon as an inexhaustible well of moral paradigms – the view that Plutarch puts much value upon.

Every historian claims to have presented the true version of the events described. This leads to the polemic with the works of contemporaries and predecessors, while seeking to win a place in the tradition. Polemic is evident already in the preface to the work of Hecataeus. It concerns not only the methods of research but also the methods of presenting one's research: the dichotomy between the scientific nature of historical inquiry and its literary form is widely discussed. The first attempt to discern scientific and artistic levels in historiography was made in Thucydides's preface (*Thuc.* I. 22, 4). He claims that the information (*what* is told) is to prevail over the form (*how* it is told) and regards the scientific and literary approach incompatible. This subject for discussion was resumed by Polybius, who is counted among the continuators of Thucydides; nevertheless, he indirectly controverts Thucydides's thoughts by claiming that profit and pleasure in historiography should be inseparable (*Polyb.* I. 4, 11), *i.e.* the ἀπόδειξις has to meet the highest requirements, both intellectual and aesthetic. He regards history to be a synthesis of both science and art (Pédech 1989, XXI). Dionysius of Halicarnassus professes to have combined

three branches of literature – scientific (based on facts), controversial and entertaining (based on myth) (*Antiquitates Romanae* I. 8).

Historians took care to demonstrate that they had the proper experience to perform their task: some of them stress their efforts, some give more details of themselves (*Thuc.* V. 25–26, *Diod.* I. 4, 1; 4, 4, *Dion. Hal.* I. 7 *etc.*). Thus, historiographers are inclined to avoid anonymity. In their prefaces, the historians envision their audience (*Thuc.* I. 22, 4, *Polyb.* I. 1, 2, *Dion. Hal.* I. 8, *Diod.* I. 5, 2 *etc.*). In Thucydides, the primary focus seems to be the individual in the context of his political relationships, within the structures of a polis as a whole. Polybius suggests that his work will be useful, above all, to those who love to learn, and his primary audience is political men. The element of political utility is absent from Diodorus, who imagines his readers generally as «lovers of reading» (I. 1. 5). Dionysius addresses his *Roman Antiquities* to three classes of readers: πολιτικοί, φιλόσοφοι, and any, who will enjoy the pleasurable aspect (*Antiquitates Romanae* I. 8. 3).

Most of the ancient historians give indication of why they undertook writing history and have chosen the particular subject. They usually refer to the greatness of the subject matter itself. Herodotus speaks of ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά (Hdt. I, *proem.*). Thucydides's motivation is that the Peloponnesian war exceeded all previous wars (I. 1, 2). Theopompus decided to write about Philip because of his unique greatness (*FGrHist* 115F27). Arrian in his *Anabasis* states that no one achieved so great and many deeds as Alexander did (I. 12. 4). Polybius describes the extraordinary success of Roman expansion (I. 2). Josephus Flavius speaks of the Jewish War as the greatest of all known wars (I. 1). In the works of writers of non-contemporary history, the stress shifts from the praise of the events described to the praise of history in general, especially of universal history. This motif was a τόπος κοινός in the time of Polybius, who notices that historians are inclined to eulogize the lessons of history as the truest education and training for political life (I. 1). Diodorus praises both the genre of universal history and the historians themselves. In his opinion, the authors of universal history deserve the gratitude and recognition of their fellows because their labor serves for the benefit of the human race; they are named the servants of Providence (I. 1). Theophylaktus Simokatta the Egyptian (ca. 560–630), who is supposed to be the last representative of the ancient historiographic tradition, in his *Universal History*, names history to be the beloved daughter of philosophy, the soul of universal Reason, the teacher of humankind (the second *proim.* 13–14).

The role of geography in historical research and the importance of geographical studies were first conceptualized by historians, such as Ephoros, Polybios, and Diodoros (Romm 1992, 3). The two mentioned prose genres have a common origin. Historiographers were at the same time dealing with geography. Earlier geographical tradition, as well as history, relied on narratives as a source of information, and such geographers as Hecataeus, Herodotus and Strabo went about their tasks mainly by means of narration (Romm 1992, 5; van Paassen 1957, I–XII). In spite of the very fact of existence of the mathematical geography, which was aimed at highly specialized audience and was represented by such authors as Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 275–194 B.C.), Hipparchos from Nikaia (ca. 190–126 B.C.), Poseidonius (~135–50 B.C.), Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D.), geography was regarded rather as a literary genre than a branch of science (Romm 1992, 3).

Strabo was not only the author of *Geography* but also of *History*. In fact, *History* was Strabo's first work, and it was planned as the continuation of the *History* by Polybios. Admittedly, this work was not popular in antiquity. According to Katherina Clarke, there are only three well-known ancient readers of Strabo's *History* – Josephus, Plutarch and Tertullian (Clarke 1997, 93). In spite of the fact that Strabo himself makes much of his *History* (it is evident in I. 1, 23), he regards himself mainly as a philosopher and geographer (Honigmann, 1931, col. 85). The first two books of *History* differ from his *Geography* both in subject and in extent. Judging by Strabo's words, they form a *prooimion* to his work (II. 5, 1). Composition of the aforementioned books is rather unsophisticated and consists of several thematic blocks: the subject of the first book is the praise of geography, the relation of geography to philosophy (I. 1, 1 – I. 1, 23), polemic with the earlier geographical tradition and the so-called «Homeric question» (I. 2 – II. 4). The second book contains the description of aims and methods of geographical research (II. 5, 1–17), the description of *οἰκουμένην* (II. 5, 18–33) and the theory of climates by Hipparchus (II. 5, 34–43).

Strabo's *Geography* begins with the statement that geography is a part of philosophy. Geography is praised as an elite scientific branch. Thus, Strabo sticks to the methods of amplification used by historians. He stresses both *το τὸ χρησιμὸν τῆς γεωγραφίας* and its educational role, using words similar to those of Diodorus. Homer and Hecataeus are named to be the first geographers. Thus, according to Strabo, both epic and mythical traditions are regarded as a valuable source of information. Strabo points to the *autopsy* as the main methodic attitude

towards his research and stresses his efforts of travelling around the *οἰκουμένη* (II. 5, 11). He relies on both oral (epic, mythical) and written traditions, at the same time stressing that they should be subjected to critical analysis. Casual or isolated pieces of information, as well as unreliable authors, such as, for example, Herodotus, should not be trusted (I. 3, 1). His work is aimed at the audience, which is very similar to that envisioned by the historians – to politicians, philosophers, scientists in general (I. 1, 1, 6–19 ff.).

The so-called two prefaces of Strabo's *Geography* (books I-II) demonstrably attest that geography, as a literary (narrative rather than descriptive) genre, has experienced a formative impact of the historiographic tradition. Geography took over from history the main elements of the narrative as well as the idea of the *προοίμιον* as a methodical programme of research. Strabo takes over the traditional topic of historiographic *προοίμιον* as the main means of the «scientific» self-identification of genre (methods and aim of the research, evaluation of the earlier tradition, the supposed audience of the work, motivation of the chosen research subject and the particular genre, general or more detailed information about the author, etc.). Strabo's *Geography* nevertheless differs from the common historiographic context in his striving to anonymity and in an attempt to present a comprehensive and methodical description of the history of geography. This attitude has no analogue in the historiographic tradition, and, without any doubt, it originates in the striving of *History* to discuss its «scientific» nature in the *προοίμια*.

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ZINĀTNISKI HISTORIOGRĀFISKAIS DISKURSS UN ĢEOGRĀFIJAS TRADĪCIJA

Tā dēvētie divi Strabona *Ģeogrāfijas* (I–III grāmata) ievadi pārliecinoši parāda, ka ģeogrāfija kā literārs žanrs (vairāk vēstījums nekā apraksts) veidojusies historiogrāfiskās tradīcijas ietekmē. Būtībā diviem augstāk minētajiem prozas žanriem ir kopēja izcelsme. Senākās zināmās *vēstures* (histories) bija arī senākās zināmās ģeogrāfijas: Hekateja un Herodota darbi neapšaubāmi tika uzskatīti par vēsturi, taču tajā pašā laikā tie bija arī senākie saglabājušies *oikoumenē* apraksti. Ģeogrāfijas lomu vēstures pētniecībā un ģeogrāfijas izziņāšanas nozīmīgumu pirmie definēja vēsturnieki, tādi kā Efors, Polībiji un Diodors. No vēstures ģeogrāfija pārņēma *prooimion* ideju kā metodisku pētniecības programmu. Strabons izmantoja tradicionālo historiogrāfiskā *prooimion* tēmu kā galveno līdzekli žanra «zinātniskajā» pašdefinīcijā (pētījuma metodes un mērķis, līdzšīņējās tradīcijas izvērtējums, domājamā auditorija, izvēlētās tēmas pamatojums, vispārēja vai detalizētāka informācija par autoru utml.). Tomēr Strabona *Ģeogrāfija* izceļas vispārējā historiogrāfiskā kontekstā, cenšoties saglabāt anonimitāti un pateicoties autora centieniem sniegt visaptverošu un metodisku ģeogrāfijas vēstures aprakstu. Historiogrāfiskajā tradīcijā šādai pieejai nav analoģu, taču tā neapšaubāmi sakņojas *vēstures* centienos atspoguļot tās «zinātnisko» raksturu *prooimia* kontekstā.

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HERODOTUS'S *HISTORIES* AND ATHENIAN ARISTOCRATIC FAMILIES

Brief summary:

Herodotus's Athenian connections are beyond any doubt. The historian is often thought to have been a member of the famous «Pericles's circle of intellectuals». From his mother's side Pericles came of the noble Alcmeonid family, and many researchers consider Herodotus a «pro-Alcmeonid» author. However, in fact, what we don't find in the *Histories* is sympathy for Pericles and the Alcmeonids. Much more vivid and expressive are Herodotus's passages on another Athenian aristocratic family, the Philaids. The Philaid family tradition meant more for Herodotus and influenced him in a greater degree.

Key words: Athens, Herodotus, historiography, aristocracy, intellectuals

Athenian connections of Herodotus (*ca.* 484–425 BC) are beyond any doubt.¹ In many (although surely not all) aspects, his *Histories* were written from the Athenian point of view. It was the Athenian assembly that gave «The Father of History» a large sum of money as an award for his work (or rather as a grant for further research).² They were Athenians who founded the city of Thurii in Southern Italy, the new homeland of Herodotus.

The historian is usually considered to have been a member of the famous «Pericles's circle of intellectuals», but this thesis is nowadays under sharp criticism (Stadter 1991, 111–124; Will 2003, 315ff.). From

¹ On the much discussed topic «Herodotus and Athens» see Strasburger 1955, 1–25; Harvey 1966, pp. 254–255; Schwartz 1969, 367–370; Jordan 1970, 153–175; Ostwald 1991, 111–124; Forsdyke 2001, 329–358; Moles 2002, 33–52; Fowler 2003, 303–318.

² Plut. *Mor.* 862b, with reference to the evidence by some historian Diyllus and, what may be more important, to a decree proposed by Anytus. I wonder if this Anytus was the same man who later accused Socrates (469–399 BC). The sum awarded or granted to the historian was indeed extraordinarily huge: ten silver talents. Cf. Momigliano 1987, 63.

his mother's side, Pericles (494–429 BC) came of the noble Alcmeonid family. So, it is quite natural that relations of Herodotus and the Alcmeonids have been often analyzed by historians.³ As to the nature of the relations mentioned, opinions are very various. I believe the problem cannot be solved satisfactorily unless we stop examining it separately, out of touch with questions relating to Herodotus's sympathies/antipathies towards other Athenian aristocratic families. Answering such questions can give us useful data regarding the «Herodotus – the Alcmeonids» theme, and, in addition, they can be interesting based on their own value.

As I know no profound treatments of, say, «Herodotus – the Philaids» theme, this paper may well be the first (or one of the first) such treatment. The Philaid family (*genos*)⁴ was no less prominent and influential in Athens than the Alcmeonids. Among its members, there were such great politicians and generals as Miltiades (*ca.* 550–489 BC), the winner at Marathon, and his son Cimon (*ca.* 510–450 BC).⁵ It was the family that claimed descent from the legendary Philaeus (son of Ajax), and it was among the leading families in Athens already in the Archaic period.

By the time of Herodotus, the Philaids had their own genealogical and historical tradition, and a very much developed one. Their lineage stemma can be found in a fragment by Pherecydes,⁶ an older contemporary of Herodotus who devoted himself to the study of mythology and genealogies. This Pherecydes, who evidently had some special ties with the Philaids (Frost 1996, 87), was an influential author of fairly good reputation. Jacoby (1956, 116ff.) called him «the first Athenian prose writer», and Ruschenbusch (2002, 335–343) even thinks

³ The following list of works is by no means exhaustive: Krawczuk 1968, 406–415; Fornara 1968, 381–383; Strogetsky 1977, 145–155; Prontera 1981, 253–258; Hart 1982, 1ff.; Develin 1985, 125–139; Lavelle 1988, 211–215; Lavelle 1993, almost throughout. All the works cited in Note 1 above could also be included in the list.

⁴ On the Athenian *gene* as referring to noble families rather than «clans», see, e.g., Bourriot 1976; Roussel 1976; Dickie 1979, 193–209.

⁵ On the family in general see Schachermeyr 1938, 2113–2121; Davies 1971, 293–312.

⁶ *FGrHist.* 3 F 2, quoted by Marcellinus, a fourth-century AD biographer of Thucydides the historian. Surely, the stemma in its earlier part is manifestly legendary and in its later part – manifestly corrupt. Here we are not interested in emending it and establishing exact relations among different members of the Philaid family.

that Herodotus took from Pherecydes all his information on events before 500 B.C.

In such a general and categorical form this latter statement may be an exaggeration. Still yet, there is no doubt that Herodotus, when writing the «Athenian» parts of his work, intensely used the Philaid tradition, no matter through Pherecydes or otherwise. Traditions of several noble Attic families were reflected in his *Histories* (Barth 1969, 313–316; Murray 1993, 26), and the Philaid one was not of a minor or secondary importance among them.

By the way, that circumstance poses a question as to when Herodotus first came to Athens. The common opinion is that it happened at the time of Pericles's dominance, in the 440s BC, when the *Histories* had already been partly written (e.g., Lendle 1992, 39). But how can we then explain such a good representation of the Philaid tradition in the work? Family history of the Philaids was relevant in Athens under Cimon, a member of this family, while during the «Pericles's age» its popularity could only decrease. Pericles, not an ally of the Philaids, but the leader of the rivaling political faction, was by no means interested in spreading information glorifying Cimon's ancestors.

Herodotus must have obtained his Philaid stories before he came into the circle Pericles (if he ever did). Judging from some passages in the *Histories*, we have a reason to suppose that his early visit or visits to Athens could have taken place as early as 460s BC, that is, in the period of Cimon's *prostasia*. To be true, sources tell us nothing about such a visit, and, in this particular case, an argument *ex silentio* can have no force at all. Herodotus's biographical tradition is more than scanty. In fact, we know only a few separate events of his life, and even they are reported in a distorted and contradictory form. It is virtually impossible to line up these events in a strict chronological sequence.

The hypothesis of Herodotus's early visits to Athens also cannot be refuted by arguments from a general historical and political context. The exact time of the entry of Halicarnassus, Herodotus's home town, into the Delian League is under question. It appears in the Tribute Lists since 454/453 BC, that is, from the very moment of introducing these lists. So, the date cited is only a *terminus ante quem*. The most reasonable time for the entry seems to be about 468 BC (so Mansel 1964, 922–924), immediately after Cimon's victory over Persians at Eurymedon. In any case, it is well known that Herodotus in his youth, after taking part in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Halicarnassian

tyrant Lygdamis, had to go to exile and move to Samos, and the latter was one of the oldest and strongest members of the Delian League. It traditionally maintained intense relations with the League's factual capital city, Athens. From Samos there was a straight road to Athens, and it is hard to imagine that a young, energetic, gifted, and very inquisitive Hellene like Herodotus did not use an opportunity to visit «the city of Pallas» as early as possible. In the period of Pentecontaetia, Athens attracted best intellectual forces from the whole Greek world like a magnet.

If Herodotus indeed first came to Athens already in the 460s, during the «Cimon's age»,⁷ it is no surprise that the Philaid historical tradition was the first he got to know there. Other Attic aristocratic traditions, which he learned later (including the Alcmeonid one), were reflected in his work in the light of the Philaid one. Surely, for the present it is only our working hypothesis, and the analysis of Herodotus's passages devoted to the Philaids that we are now going to undertake is intended to verify or falsify this hypothesis.

The oldest representative of the main Philaid line who appears in the *Histories* (6. 34–38) is Miltiades, son of Cypselus, the founder of the Athenian colony at the Thracian Chersonese⁸ and the first tyrant of the peninsula. This Miltiades (the Elder) is for Herodotus (i.e. his informants) an ideal hero of a kind. The person as described by the historian is a very attractive one. A noble aristocrat, great, generous and hospitable, an enemy of the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus (ca. 602–527 BC) and a friend of a mighty Barbarian king... The image of Miltiades the Elder in the *Histories* is surely taken from a tradition very favorable to this man. Whose else this tradition could be if not the Philaids'?

Miltiades the Elder's half-brother Cimon, son of Stesagoras⁹ (Cimon the Elder), is the next prominent Philaid mentioned by the «Father of History». Judging from his nickname *Koalemos*, «the Simpleton», he did not excel with outstanding intellectual abilities. In any case, he never was a politician; nevertheless, he was a dangerous rival for Pisistratus and his sons. Cimon was a great chariot racer and the most famous Athenian Olympic victor of the 6th century B.C. He won thrice, and, if Herodotus is believable, with one and the same team of horses. Moretti

⁷ On this period of Athens' cultural history, see Delvoye 1978, 801–807; Shapiro 1992, 29–49.

⁸ On this colony, see Isaac 1986, 159ff.; Heskell 1997, 16.

⁹ They had a common mother, and some kind of kinship between their fathers is also highly probable.

(1957, 72–74) dates Cimon's victories as of 536, 532, and 528 BC, although another chronology is also possible – 532, 528, and 524 BC.¹⁰

Herodotus's story of Cimon (6. 103) is one of the most intriguing and at the same time one of the most illuminating ones in the history of Archaic Athens. After Pisistratus seized power in the city (undoubtedly it was his third tyranny in *ca.* 546 B.C.), Cimon went to exile – to all appearances voluntarily (like his half-brother earlier), not being exiled forcibly by the tyrant. During his exile, he won two Olympiads, conceding his second victory to Pisistratus, who was formally proclaimed the winner. After that, the tyrant allowed Cimon to return to Athens. At the next games, the Philaid again won the chariot race. When Pisistratus died, his son and successor Hippias assassinated Cimon.

In Herodotus's representation, Cimon the Elder is no less attractive a person than his half-brother. Again, greatness and generosity, amounting to self-denial; again, enmity to tyrants: indeed, he was even a tyrant's victim! Although, to say strictly, we cannot be absolutely sure that Hippias is to blame for the murder of Cimon.

Miltiades the Younger, Cimon's son, is one of the main heroes in the *Histories*. Herodotus's information concerning him is most important for reconstructing the biography of this outstanding military and political leader. Almost all later narrative tradition of Miltiades goes back to Herodotus,¹¹ and this tradition in the long run made the Marathonian winner not only an Athenian or Greek hero but also a prominent hero of the whole world history. There seems to have been something in the Herodotean Miltiades that made many people to see in him «the first benefactor of the whole Hellas» (Paus. 8. 52. 1) – although the Philaid himself hardly ever thought something like that. So, it is all the more important to trace the family roots of the tradition in question.

Before doing so, it should be noted that there is no united and integral story of Miltiades in Herodotus's work, only a set of separate excurses. The most part of them are found in the sixth book of the *Histories*, the culmination of which is the battle at Marathon. A scholar has to bring all these data to a mutual correlation and to a correct chronological sequence.

¹⁰ On Cimon's victories, see Surikov 2004, 195ff.

¹¹ On the evolution of Miltiades's image in the early tradition, see Vanotti 1991, 15–31.

The first appearance of Miltiades in Herodotus is in 4. 137–138. Here he is simply «the Athenian who held the post of a general and tyrant of the Chersonesians in the Hellespont», without any further personal qualifications. However, his deed speaks for itself. The situation is in the context of Darius's Scythian expedition (ca. 513 B.C.). The Persian king with his army has just crossed the Danube over a bridge specially built for that purpose and gone deep into the Northern Black Sea steppes. The vassal Greek tyrants, who have followed him, are ordered to guard the crossing. The Greeks are gathering for a council, and Miltiades is suggesting to his «colleagues» that they should destroy the bridge, so as to leave Darius to be defeated in Scythia. His suggestion is not accepted, for other tyrants, inspired by Histiaeus the Milesian, Miltiades' principal opponent, consider that it would be harmful for them to lose the king whose favor is the main backing of their power in their cities.

Is this entire story authentic? There are serious doubts about it. It looks too much like an element of an apologetic tradition of Miltiades that had arisen already by Herodotus's time. For Miltiades's supporters, the very fact that their leader had served in Darius's army, was by no means comfortable. They needed an extenuating circumstance. The alleged suggestion to destroy Darius's bridge could well be such a circumstance. It is also possible that Miltiades himself was the author of the story: in this case he could tell it to his Athenian judges when on trial charged of tyranny after his return to his native city in 493 B.C. The «Bridge story» was manifestly a good evidence for his latent opposition to the Persians – if it was true! In any case, it looked quite trustworthy, and of course there was no possibility at that moment to verify the information on the events that had taken place twenty years ago.

Against the historicity of the «Bridge story» is also the fact that the Chersonesian tyrant was subject to absolutely no punishment by Darius when the latter came back from Scythia. No doubt, there would have been people to inform the king on disloyalty of one of his vassals if there had really been such an incident.

The second Miltiades excursus in the *Histories* (6. 34–41) is of a quite complicated, even contradictory character. In this account, Miltiades is not as good as his uncle or as himself in the bridge story. He deceives cruelly the Chersonesian nobility; he flees two times out of fear; he leaves his son in the hands of enemies (and Herodotus is at pains to emphasize that the son suffered nothing bad)... All this conduct is not

very proper for an aristocrat. At first sight, it might even seem that here Herodotus reflects some other tradition, which is not the Philaid one and is rather hostile to the most famous representative of this family. However, this is only impression at first sight!

A little more attention is needed – and then we can see that all conduct of Miltiades as described in the excursus is inspired with cunning intelligence (*metis*). This ability was very popular and was considered very praiseworthy in Greece. «Odysseus-like» heroes were no less respectable than «Achilles-like» ones. Miltiades's stratagems, actions in advance and the like are typical manifestations of *metis*. The ability to foreknow events he demonstrates here was *a fortiori* valued very much in a statesman.¹²

It is interesting that, as Herodotus mentions in the passage cited, Miltiades's eldest son was named Metiochus, «he who has *metis*». This name for a son was no doubt chosen by Miltiades consciously, as it is not typical for the Philaid onomasticon.¹³ In any case, it is evident that the Marathon winner appreciated *metis* highly.

Although there are other Philaid passages in Herodotus's *Histories*, the limited volume of this paper compels us to go to conclusions. In general, these Philaid passages are much more vivid and expressive than the Alcmeonid ones. Members of the Philaid *genos* are pictured in more detail, livelier and with more sympathy.¹⁴ In other words, the Philaid family tradition meant more for Herodotus and influenced him to a greater degree. If we try to answer the question whether he was an «Alcmeonid» or a «Philaid» historian (surely if this choice is correct at all), the right answer will be the latter. No surprise if we take into account, for instance, Herodotus's friendship with Sophocles (Egermann 1962, 249–255), who was not among the supporters of Pericles¹⁵ (rather among those of Cimon),¹⁶ or the fact that the «Father

¹² See, e.g. in Thucydides's images of his favorite heroes Themistocles and Pericles (1. 138 and 2. 65).

¹³ There was another Metiochus in the fifth-century Athens, a person connected with Pericles and not with the Philaids. This Metiochus gave his name to one of the Athenian court buildings. On this, see Boegehold 1995, 5–6, 12, 94, 177–178.

¹⁴ On this account, I cannot understand why Bengtson (1939, 51 f.) thinks of Herodotus as being hostile to the Philaids.

¹⁵ In 411 B.C. Sophocles took part in the «Four Hundred» oligarchic coup. See Jameson 1971, 541–568. A «Periclean» cannot be imagined in such a role.

¹⁶ It is known that Cimon favored Sophocles in the early years of the playwright's career. The problem of Sophocles and Pericles is certainly too large and complicated to be treated here. See Macurdy 1942, 307–310; Ehrenberg 1954;

of History» took a leading part in founding Thurii in South Italy. This latter project, although usually associated with Pericles, in fact initially belonged to Thucydides, son of Melesias, the leader of the Philaid faction after Cimon and the main rival of Pericles in those years; as to Pericles himself, he only intercepted Thucydides's initiative and made it his own.¹⁷

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¹⁷ See Wade-Gery's brilliant article «Thucydides the Son of Melesias» in Wade-Gery 1958, 239–270.

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HĒRODOTA VĒSTURE UN ATĒNU ARISTOKRĀTIJA

Hērodota saistība ar Atēnām ir neapstrīdama. Bieži uzskata, ka šis vēsturnieks ir bijis slavenās «Perikla intelektuāļu grupas» loceklis. No mātes puses Perikls cēlies no augstdzimušās Alkmeonīdu ģimenes, un daudzi pētnieki vērtē Hērodotu kā Alkmeonīdiem simpatizējošu autoru. Taču patiesībā *Vēsturē* nav atrodams nekas, ko varētu uzskatīt kā simpātijas Periklam un Alkmeonīdiem. Daudz spilgtākas un izteiksmīgākas ir rindas, ko Hērodots veltījis citai Atēnu aristokrātijas ģimenei – Filaidiem. Šīs ģimenes tradīcijas Hērodotam bija nozīmīgākas un atstāja uz viņu lielāku ietekmi. Nav brīnums, ja ņem vērā, piemēram, Hērodota draudzību ar Sofoklu, kurš nebija Perikla atbalstītāju pulkā (drīzāk atbalstīja Kimonu), vai to apstākli, ka «Vēstures tēvam» bija vadošā loma Tūrijas dibināšanā Dienvidītalijā. Lai gan šī projekta iniciatīvu parasti saista ar Periklu, faktiski tā piedereja Tukidīda dēlam Melesijam, Filaidu frakcijas vadītājam pēc Kimona.

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ORIGINS OF THE LANGUAGE OF HUMANITIES IN ANCIENT GREEK PHILOLOGICAL TEXTS

Brief summary

The research of this paper is based on the study of three original Ancient Greek texts on philological issues: Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, Dionysius Halicarnassus's *On the Arrangement of Words* and Hermogenes's *On Types of Style*. Although it is relatively difficult to identify several features of the language of these texts with the features of modern language of humanities, the research results show that the language of the analysed Ancient Greek philological texts is not only the earliest textually available basis of the language of science applied in the humanities but also of the scientific language style present in the discourse of humanities today.

Key words: philological texts, rhetoric, language of science, language of humanities

Introduction

The first theoretical texts on philological issues in the European cultural context were composed in Ancient Greece during the 4th century BC – it was the time when discussions about the origins and nature of language were replaced by comparisons and evaluations of literary texts (in the beginning, mainly orator speeches), pointing out their good and bad qualities. An Ancient Greek philological text often combined research of various language-related issues, which are nowadays studied by separate branches of linguistics, such as orthography, phonology, morphology, lexicology, syntax, and stylistics. The language of these texts differs from that of the fictional and non-theoretical texts of the period. Since the ancient philological texts represent the origins of the European philological thought, their language allows us to evaluate the earliest textually available stage of the language used in the field of humanities today. Such an analysis has not so far been adequately performed in a complex way.

The goal of this article is to discover the key features of the language of Ancient Greek philological texts, which form the basis

of the typical features of the language used in the field of humanities today. The material used for the study of the language of ancient Greek philological texts consists of the following original texts on philological (language studies-related) issues – *Ῥητορικὴ (On Rhetoric)* by Aristotle, *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων (On the Arrangement of Words)* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου (On Types of Style)* by Hermogenes.

The Ancient Greek scientific language, existent though undefined, was influenced by the development of classical arts (τέχναι) – philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy etc., later also rhetoric – and the necessity to record the theoretical findings in these branches of study. Thus, the written form of the Ancient Greek scientific language had a significant multivalent impact on the emergence of the main feature of the type of scientific language used today – terminology. The close link between the contemporary scientific language and Ancient Greek can be proved not only by the fact that most of today's scientific terms have Greek origins but also by the gradually developing tendency observed in Ancient Greek texts to consistently use one designation (in modern sense – term) for one concept.

However, returning to the language of humanities and its formation, the emergence of terminology in all its aspects is only one of the features, which characterize the link between the contemporary language of humanities and the language of Ancient Greek philological texts. The author of this paper presumes that the other most typical features of the language of humanities (the objectivity trend, the use of emotionally neutral means of expression and the scientific references) also have their origins in the language of Ancient Greek philological texts.

1. Philological concepts and terminology

The philological concepts found in all of the analysed texts can be regarded as the concepts of stylistics, syntax, lexicology, morphology and phonetics. General philological concepts (which cannot be attributed to specific level of linguistic research) also play an important role in all three treatises. It is important that a relatively high proportion of philological concepts (in the text *On Rhetoric* – 18,3%, *On the Arrangement of Words* – 19,4%, *On Types of Style* – 12% of all designations of philological concepts found in the work) with identical conceptual content and designation are present not just in

one but also in the other two analysed texts, thus being indicative not only of similarity of the analysed content but also of the stability of the conceptual content and designations of a relatively large number of philological concepts in the course of six centuries of antiquity.

The most significant features of use of philological concepts relate to exactness of their meaning and consistency in denomination. In the analysed texts of Aristotle and Hermogenes, one can find a high percentage of philological concepts which have both of the above-mentioned qualities: in the text *On Rhetoric* – 92.5%, *On Types of Style* – 88%, *On the Arrangement of Words* – 59.3% of all designations of philological concepts found in the work are characterized by the exactness of their meaning and consistency in denomination. In assessing the data obtained, we should take into account that Aristotle is one of the first authors, who assigns designations to philological concepts, while Hermogenes writes about language issues at a time when most designations of philological concepts used in the Ancient Greek cultural context are comparatively stable. The language of Dionysius's text marks a stage of searching for designations of philological concepts: it is characteristic of the author to name concepts cautiously, using descriptive lexemes, such as «λεγόμεν(-ος/-η/-ον)» and «καλούμεν(-ος/-η/-ον)» (*the so-called*), or to designate one and the same concept, including the substantive philological concepts of the treatise «σύνθεσις» (the process / result of arranging [the parts of an utterance]), with synonymous words or a combination of words.

The most significant philological concepts of Aristotle («λέξις» – *mode of expression*), Dionysius («σύνθεσις» – *the process/result of arranging of [the parts of utterance]*) and Hermogenes («λόγος» – *expression, model/type of expression*) obtain and strengthen their conceptual content within the framework of the treatises, where they are most often used. In other treatises the designations of these concepts express different conceptual content, e.g., Aristotle's concept of the mode of expression «λέξις» in the treatises of Dionysius and Hermogenes expresses the concept of text, verbal expression (instead of the mode of expression).

The main contribution of the authors of Ancient Greek philological texts to the development of the most important characteristic of the language used in the field of humanities today – terminology – is associated with the first recorded textual attempts to assign designations to philological concepts. The language of the texts of Aristotle and Hermogenes not only reveals the fact that designations of philological concepts are used but is also indicative of explicit accuracy

of conceptual meanings, which are significant in the respective treatise, as well as of consistency in using particular designations.

2. Author's opinion in the text and the objectivity trend

In the analysed texts, the presence of the author's opinion can mainly be inferred from the means of expression, which in a modern sense are attributable to the category of modality – use of the first-person singular and plural verb forms, as well as forms of the personal pronoun «ἐγώ» (*I*) (ХИМИК, Волкова 2003, 41).

The first-person verb forms were least used by Aristotle (in the text *On Rhetoric* – 26.3%, *On Arrangement of Words* – 69.5%, *On Types of Style* – 67.3% of all cases where the author's opinion is present in the text). Perhaps such a result is related to the *technical* character of this treatise (Kennedy 2007, 3), which in this sense is closer to contemporary scientific language than the texts of Dionysius and Hermogenes.

In all three analysed treatises, the presence of the author's opinion can also be observed in the utterances where the first-person verb forms are not used, and which outline the individual structure of the treatise's discussion, e.g., introduce or conclude discussions on language issues, provide supplementary explanations, and the like. Every supplementary explanation provided by the authors, regardless of whether the first-person verb forms are or are not used, should be considered as a peculiar chain link of the discussion's structure. Such chain links are characteristic of the structure of discussion in all kinds of contemporary scientific texts (СОЛГАНИК 1997, 77).

In the analysed texts of Aristotle and Dionysius, the words that in a modern sense can be regarded as interpositions, which demonstrate the consecutiveness of the issues discussed in the treatise and are individually determined by the author, e.g., «πρῶτον» (*first*), «δεύτερον» (*second*), «τρίτον» (*third*), also point to the presence of the author's opinion. Like in contemporary texts, the above-mentioned words are indicative of the consecutiveness of issues discussed from the author's point of view. Consecutive structuring of the expressible content by using the words which denote the sequence in which the discussed phenomena succeed each other according to their importance or any other criterion is a typical feature of contemporary scientific language. In Hermogenes's text, the consecutiveness of the layout of the language issues discussed cannot be observed. However, from all of the analysed texts, Hermogenes's treatise is the only one where the

structure (like in contemporary scientific texts) has been developed by arranging the parts – chapters established by the author.

Furthermore, in all three analysed treatises, the presence of the author's opinion in the text can be traced from the context of the discussions on language issues, also from rhetorical questions and the author's answers to these questions. Rhetorical questions can likewise be found in contemporary scientific texts. Just like their ancient colleagues, contemporary authors use these questions to attract and focus the reader's attention.

In addition to the above-mentioned, in all three analysed texts, the authors' direct addresses to their students, the expressions of recommendation, reminders and critical opinions also indicate the presence of the author's opinion. The expression of a critical opinion is the most frequently observed characteristic of all the above-mentioned in contemporary scientific texts (in critical reviews, opposing arguments in scientific articles etc.).

3. Figurativeness and the use of emotionally neutral means of expression

When dealing with figurativeness, researchers of contemporary scientific language mainly focus their attention on metaphor and its functions in scientific speech (incl. in the text). The role of metaphor is particularly emphasized in the context of explaining science, facilitation of understanding, acquiring new knowledge, including naming and remembering of concepts (Reeves 2005, 21–36, Halliday 2006, 7–134, MacCormac, 1976).

Figurativeness of the language of scientific texts written in antiquity (incl. philological) has so far been studied from a comparatively narrow perspective – mainly concentrating on terminology, including metaphorical terminology in the Ancient Greek rhetorical texts and in literary criticism (Hook 1905). However, the results of the research performed show that figurativeness of the language of the analysed Ancient Greek philological texts is created not only by means of metaphorically developed designations of philological concepts but also by comparisons included in the context of discussions on language issues, different metaphors and even hyperboles.

Most of the metaphorically developed designations of philological concepts which are present in the analysed text of Aristotle are also

observed in the treatises of Dionysius and Hermogenes. However, in these later treatises, there is a decrease in figurativeness of the metaphorically developed concepts – which was still perceivable to the reader or listener of Aristotle’s philological text – and these concepts acquire those qualities which are characteristic of the contemporary metaphor-based terms.

Most other types of metaphor, including personification of abstract concepts, can be observed in the treatise of Dionysius, thus indicating the author’s intention to facilitate the process of obtaining information by the help of images.

Besides metaphors, comparisons also play an important role in achieving the figurativeness of the analysed texts. Aristotle used comparisons most extensively, while Hermogenes – least extensively (in the text of *On Rhetoric* comparisons make 13.7%, *On Arrangement of Words* – only 7.3%, *On Types of Style* – 8% of all figurative means of expression present in the work). In the treatise of Hermogenes, there are considerably fewer comparisons, because the role assigned to comparisons in the treatises of Aristotle and Dionysius, in Hermogenes’s text is mainly fulfilled by quotations or examples from works of other authors. In this sense, the language in the treatise of Hermogenes can be considered to be more similar to contemporary language of humanities, where figurative comparisons in the context of discussing a certain issue are a relatively rare phenomenon.

The main function of all the above-mentioned means of figurative expression was to aid in acquiring knowledge, making the abstract thought concrete, thus facilitating the understanding of theoretical concepts by means of images created in the reader’s perception. However, functionally the most important were metaphorically developed designations of philological concepts, in modern sense – terms. The authors of the Ancient Greek philological texts, giving names to abstract, linguistic research-related terms, first, initiated the principle of term-formation that is effective also today (transference of the meaning of words) and, second, assigned designations to many today’s internationally well-known and still used philological terms, including linguistic ones.

4. Sources and scientific references

Even though the ancient texts do not have scientific references that are characteristic to contemporary scientific texts, still, in these

texts, both references to other sources – the author's contemporaries or predecessors – as well as quotations from different texts are present. In the treatise of Aristotle, like in contemporary scientific texts, referring to one's own works can be observed.

All of the three analysed texts contain references to other authors' conceptions or accomplishments related to language issues, which are at the centre of attention of the authors of the treatises in question. This is also a typical feature of contemporary scientific texts. However, in contemporary scientific language, it would be unacceptable not to indicate the authors referred to, which, in turn, is characteristic to the authors of all three analysed texts. It seems that, at that time, the content of the expressed ideas was more important than the names of their authors.

All three texts are characterized by frequent use of quotations. Aristotle and Hermogenes have mainly used short quotations, while long quotations are characteristic to the text of Dionysius. This difference seems to be related to the treatises' content – the treatises of Aristotle and Hermogenes research the aspects of the modes of expression, while Dionysius's treatise deals with the process or result of arranging words/parts of utterance, which can be assessed only within the framework of long text fragments. In terms of numbers (in proportion to the length of the analysed text), Hermogenes has used the largest number of quotations, Aristotle – slightly less, and Dionysius – the least number. The quotations in the works of Aristotle, as well as of Dionysius, represent a wide range of genres, thus providing the reader with a more comprehensive insight into the discussed language issues than in cases when the authors would have used only quotations from oratory speeches. In the treatise of Hermogenes, in turn, quotations from oratory speeches prevail, thus narrowing the context of the discussed issues; however, taking into account that the target audience of the writing is the students of rhetoric, the choice of such quotations is appropriate.

Providing references to the authors of quotations, Dionysius has been the most scrupulous (82.8% of the authors of quotations are mentioned), while Hermogenes – the least scrupulous (only 27.7% of the authors of quotations are mentioned). In the analysed text of Hermogenes, references are missing mainly for quotations of the works of two authors who were well-known to the students of rhetoric – Demosthenes and Homer. It is also characteristic to the author of *On Rhetoric* to omit references when quoting lines from famous authors

(the authors are not mentioned in 32% of the quotations). The frequent use of quotations in the analysed treatises is natural – the theory of ancient rhetoric was mainly taught by analysing and discussing the works of famous poets and writers.

In the analysed treatises, the role of quotations as examples is not so important in defining, formulating or naming certain theories of rhetoric, and thus also categories of language phenomena, than in discussing and analysing each of the theories. Similar features can also be observed in contemporary scientific language: bibliographical references to the sources of theoretical conceptions are more characteristic to theoretical parts of the works, while examples and quotations relating to the discussed issues – to practical parts.

Conclusions

The most characteristic features of the language of Ancient Greek philological texts are the use of designations of philological concepts which belong to different levels of linguistic research, the presence of the author's opinion in the text, the use of means of figurative expression, as well as referring and quoting. Comparison of the above-mentioned characteristics with the most typical characteristics of the language used in the field of humanities today – the use of terms, tendency towards objectivity, the use of emotionally neutral means of expression and scientific references – reveals both similarities and differences.

The key features of the language of Ancient Greek philological texts, which form the basis of the typical features of the language used in the field of humanities today, are as follows:

- 1) Designations of philological concepts which are present in all three analysed texts written in different time periods;
- 2) Supplementary explanations provided by the authors of the analysed texts;
- 3) Figurative means that help understanding the discussed content as well as many metaphorically developed designations of philological concepts;
- 4) References to theoretical base of the discussed issues and quotations.

The formation of language used in the field of humanities today was promoted and its typical features are based on all the identified

features of the language of Ancient Greek philological texts, including those (presence of the author's opinion in the text, use of the means of figurative expression), whose connection with the most typical features of the language used in the field of humanities today (tendency towards objectivity, use of emotionally neutral means of expression) is not identifiable or is difficult to identify.

The differences not only prove that the language of the Ancient Greek philological texts is the earliest textually available stage of the language used in the field of humanities today, and of the scientific language style that can be observed in it, but also indicates the development that has affected it in the antiquity and during later centuries.

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HUMANITĀRO ZINĀTŅU VIDĒ FUNKCIONĒJOŠĀS VALODAS PIRMSĀKUMI SENGRIEĶU FILOLOĢISKAJOS TEKSTOS

Sengrieķu filoloģiskajos tekstos vienuviet padziļināti pētīti dažādi ar valodas izpēti saistīti jautājumi – mūsdienās ar līdzīgu jautājumu izpēti nodarbojas atsevišķas valodniecības nozares: ortogrāfija, fonoloģija, morfoloģija, leksikoloģija, sintakse un stilistika. Šo tekstu valoda atšķiras no tā laika literārajiem (neteorētiskajiem) darbiem raksturīgās: tā kā te vērojami Eiropas filoloģiskās domas – valodas un literatūras – teoriju veidošanās pirmsākumi, to valoda ļauj novērtēt mūsdienu humanitāro zinātņu vidē funkcionējošās valodas agrināko tekstuāli pieejamo posmu, kas līdz šim nav pētīts.

Pētījumam izmantots oriģināltekstu materiāls par filoloģiskiem (ar valodas izpēti saistītiem) jautājumiem, kas atlasīts no trīs sengrieķu retorikas teorētiķu traktātiem – Aristoteļa darba *Retorika*, Dionīsija Halikarnāsieša traktāta *Par vārdu savienošanu* un Hermogena traktāta *Par izteiksmes veida paveidiem*.

Lai arī vairākas sengrieķu filoloģisko tekstu valodu raksturojošās īpatnības (autora viedokļa klātbūtne tekstā, tēlainās izteiksmes līdzekļu lietojums) ir salīdzinoši grūti identificēt ar mūsdienu zinātnes valodas tipiskākajām iezīmēm (tendenci uz objektivitāti, emocionāli neitrālu izteiksmes līdzekļu lietojums), pētījums pierāda, ka analizēto sengrieķu filoloģisko tekstu valoda ir mūsdienu humanitāro zinātņu vidē funkcionējošās zinātnes valodas un tajā vērojamā zinātniskās valodas stila agrinākais tekstuāli pieejamais pamats.

PERICLES FOREVER (short version)

Brief summary

The aim of the paper is to review the phenomenon of Pericles's longevity in historiography. In fact, Pericles is the most fortunate personage in the antique historiography. Starting from the famous Ancient Greek History written by George Grote, liberal-democratic literature produced a classical panegyric image of Pericles, which has been deemed as relevant until today. At the same time Pericles was highly estimated by the fascist German historiography, where he was called «the Great Leader of the Nation», and his maritime expansion programme was compared with the Third Reich's fleet programme. The Soviet Union's school books praised Pericles as an outstanding politician and the leader of democracy. So, Pericles was praised by three diametrically opposed political regimes. This phenomenon can be explained in two ways: with Pericles's controversial politics and with his personal qualities. In terms of Pericles's political stance, obviously, the fact that Pericles was the leader of a democratic state, at the same time holding the reins of power in his hands, has played a decisive role for understanding Pericles as both an «excellent democrat» and «the Father of a Nation». In terms of Pericles's character, all the available sources describe him as an extraordinary personality, who has been graced by many qualities necessary for a politician, even of modern times.

Key words: Pericles, democracy, tyranny, power, rationalism, populism, politics, manipulations.

Today, almost any person who has studied at school, knows the name of Pericles (*circa* 495-429BC). Since ancient times, his personality has attracted particular attention. In fact, not many personages in historiography have as good reputation as him. It comes as a surprise that the three major antipodal political systems of the XX century – democracy, fascism, and communism – perceived Pericles as theirs. Starting with the famous work of George Grote (1846-1856) on the ancient Greek history, Pericles has been depicted as a great democratic leader, outstanding politician and wonderful personality (e.g., Hammond 1986, 299; Kagan 1991; Fornara 1991 etc.). Paradoxically,

also in the fascist Germany, he was eulogised as an outstanding leader of the nation and was likened to the Führer himself (see more details in Will 1995, 8f). In the Soviet Union, Pericles was praised as a distinguished politician, whose activities conformed to the demands of «the wide masses of people» (e.g., Древняя Греция 1956, 217). Thus, it turns out that Pericles was an excellent democrat and an authoritarian ruler in one person. It is obvious that every power wants to see in Pericles what corresponds to its own ideology – either a brilliant leader of democracy, or «the Leader of the Nation». In order to understand the phenomenon of the unusual popularity of this man more profoundly, I shall provide an insight into his politics.

First, we have to take into account that, at the time when Pericles started his career, the politics «was made» by aristocrats and the course of social life was determined by the clashes of highborn leaders. However, since the reforms of Cleisthenes (the end of VI BC), the aristocratic leaders had only one possible way to prestige, glory and power – through populism and offices of the State. At that time, any activity in politics was possible only with popular support which *ipso facto* created the rivalry among the highborn for the popularity among the masses. As a result, the Athenian people became the main arbiter in the mutual competition of aristocrats in the field of politics (Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, 192, Ehrenberg 1996, 86). In this process, the power gradually transformed from a divine gift into technology, and the people – into «electorate». Consequently, in order to achieve something, you had to be able to get the support of this «electorate» for yourself. In Athens at that time, it was possible to do this in two ways: in the old way, as it had always been done by the traditional aristocracy, i.e. on the basis of the authority and honour code, or in the new way – by taking account of the considerations of profitability instead of those of honour. Therefore, it is so natural that from Cleisthenes up to Pericles there were two parallel types of politics in the Athenian history, which were usually embodied by two rival and mutually confronting leaders. They differed only by the methods of politics, which were based on their own moral stance and system of values. Some understood politics as a field of aristocratic principles and ideals, while others chose pragmatism instead of ideals. Some perceived power as a divine gift and implemented it as patronage over their fellow citizens, while others understood it as a technology and the means of achieving their own goals with the help of the people. As a result, two ways of political activity marked out clearly: one – according to the aristocratic rules of

the game, and the other – according to the way of populism. Both ways had already been established, and Pericles, when entering politics, only had to choose his preferred way.

Pericles's choice was determined by two factors: the family tradition and the situation in the State at the time when he started his political activity. Pericles was born in the family, which pursued the democratic politics of the new type that not only was based on the republican principles and populism but also fought against the old aristocratic tradition. At the time when Pericles started his career, Athens were led by Cimon – an excellent military leader, a rich man, a supporter of the aristocratic policy, a man with such power and popularity that it was impossible to defeat him in the political field. In this situation, there was only one option for Pericles – to become a representative of the people; and he used it (Plut. Per., VII). In addition, he belonged to the new generation of politicians, who were born after the Persian Wars, enjoyed prosperity and at that time desired something different, new and radical (Schahermeyr 1969, 25-33). Pericles naturally became the leader of this new tendency. Also, according to his formation, education and attitude towards religion, he was an expressly «modern» man, and it is not a coincidence that the ancient tradition names such rationalistic thinkers as Anaxagoras, Zeno and the sophist Damon to be his teachers (Plut. Per., IV). Thanks to that, his public activity does not indicate any religious or moral motivation, instead being based on entirely rational, pragmatic calculations.

In order to come to power, he first had to defeat Cimon, who has won the support and sympathy of the people with his great charity. In this field, Pericles could not compete with him. Then, the sophist Damon helped him with an advice to do the same thing as Cimon, only using the State funds (Arist. Ath. Pol., 27, 3-4; Plut. Per., IX). It was a smart solution indeed – to bribe the people not with his own money but with the money of the people themselves. Pericles followed this advice and implemented the system of remunerations and social benefits (for more details, see: Schahermeyr 1969, 48f). This policy enabled Pericles to entice the people to take his side and to overthrow Cimon. It was a new, pragmatic and effective solution, although contrary to the morality of that time.

Still, the position of Pericles was not sufficiently secure as long as the aristocracy retained its position in the State. Therefore, the next step was the reform of the Areopagus, which he accomplished with the hands of Ephialtes and which deprived the aristocracy of the political

power in the State. Because of that, Ephialtes was killed, while Pericles enjoyed the fruits of the reform (Arist. Ath. Pol., 27, 1; Plut. Per., VII). In this way Pericles slowly but surely attained his aim and became the first man in the State. From that time on, all the most important affairs of the State were concentrated in his hands (Plut. Per., XV). In fact, he became the real ruler of Athens and was elected to the most important State office of the archistrategus for fifteen years in a row (Plut. Per., XVI). In fact, his power was unlimited. In this way, the phenomenon of Pericles's rule can be seen as being in fact autocracy under the pretence of democracy. The contemporaries of Pericles were well aware of the true situation in the State and sometimes used to call things by their proper names. For example, Thucydides (460-396 BC) described Pericles's rule with the following words: «[A]lthough nominally it was people's power, in fact it was the first man's power» (Thuk. II, 65, 9). Furthermore, the authors of comedies in their turn used to call Pericles and his supporters as «the new Peisistratides», thus indicating the enormous scope of their power, which resembled tyranny (Plut. Per., VII, XVI). In general, analysis of sources shows that critical attitude towards Pericles prevailed and his image was predominantly negative in the literature of that time. In fact, Pericles became idealised and he was made a hero of democracy only in modern times (Vickers 1997, 9). It seems that many of his contemporaries may have been shocked by the pragmatic innovativeness of his politics which from time to time came into conflict with the traditional morals.

By all means, Pericles had to manage not only to gain the power but also to retain it, which was a much more difficult task. Usually it is alleged that he ruled thanks to his great authority and eminent qualities, which enabled him to control the Athenian people, who gladly and willingly obeyed him (Hammond 1986, 331f; Лурье 1993, 363; Суриков 2008, 317). It seems that these are just empty and meaningless phrases that conceal a romantically idealising exaggeration. Of course, the authority of a person has a huge role in politics; yet, it is insufficient for remaining in power for so long, successfully fighting the opposition. How can such authority be generally understood as a political force? In what ways could it be converted into real power? Any authority, as we know, peters out quickly, especially in the case when its bearer comes to power. In a word, authority alone was not enough here, and Pericles had to use both official and unofficial methods for achieving his goals. The former were implemented through the offices he held, the latter – through a system of informal activities, i.e. manipulations. We know at least four methods from the arsenal of Pericles's political

means: they are his outstanding rhetorical skills, which helped him to win the audience over on his side; the «support group», without which he would not have remained in power; the ability to get rid of competitors; and creation of his own «image». Pericles's rhetorical skills were well known in the ancient world and were played upon in various funny stories (Plut. Per., VIII). Similarly, in the sources, there are references to his «support team» that helped him implement his policies (Plut. Per., VII, XXXVI). Also, there is no doubt about Pericles's ability to fight opponents – as evident from Pericles's victories in many battles with the opposition, among them, discrediting Cimon's sons (Plut. Per., XXIX).

Furthermore, special attention should be paid to Pericles's political image – a factor which so far has not been sufficiently analyzed. It is important to understand that Pericles had a purposeful image-building policy. In one moment, he radically changed his lifestyle, that is, he gave up all amusements and pleasures, and Athenians saw him just walking along one way: to the Council and the assembly place (Plut. Per., VII). He rejected all friendly invitations to dinner, as well as all close, friendly relations and common gatherings in general (ibid.). In this way, Pericles not only alienated himself from his family (Суриков, 2000, 197-200) but also rejected the aristocratic way of life as such, thereby building his new image. He behaved in a noble and serious way, he always maintained a serious facial expression, he did not laugh, he talked very confidently and evenly, he dressed himself modestly, his pace was calm etc. (Plut. Per., V). So he purposefully worked on developing the necessary qualities, even by breaking himself (Plut. Per., V).

Under this new image, Pericles managed his business in an unusual way for that time. All expenses and income of his household were calculated, balanced and registered, whereas spending was reduced to the bare minimum. As a result, he was considered as being frugal, even parsimonious, and his sons and, especially, his daughters-in-law disliked this very much. For them, he «was not a generous giver» (Plut. Per., XVI). This parsimony led to a serious conflict with his son (Plut. Per., XXXVI). In addition, Pericles devised a new economic management: in order not to burden himself with agriculture, he sold the whole crop after harvesting, and then bought all that was necessary in the market (ibid.). It was a new type of «modern» managing, fitting to the rhythm of the city life. So, Pericles not only externally but also through his life style came maximally close to his city «electorate», the majority of whom obtained the necessary provisions in the market,

not in country estates. In fact, he became a kind of «our fellow» for those many thousands of townspeople who voted for him. Pericles was certainly the first person who discovered the principle of making this image and implemented it successfully.

Also in the military field, Pericles was completely opposite to the old ideals of heroes and proved himself to be an innovator. In fulfilling the obligations of a military commander, he avoided the risk and did not engage in battles if he was not sure of his victory (Plut. Per., XVIII). He also did not have respect for the commanders, who by risking won brilliant victories and the admiration of the people (ibid.). Pericles brightly demonstrated his own strategic principles in the siege of Samos Island, 430-429. Instead of fighting in front of the walls, as it was conventional until then, he besieged the city, organized the blockade, and thus forced the opponents to surrender (Thuc., I, 116-117, Plut. Per., XXVI). Moreover, in this war, he was the first in the Greek world who began to use specialized siege machines, which caused surprise because of the novelty (Plut. Per., XXVII). This innovation fits well with the personality of Pericles, who avoided risk and was materialistically («technically») educated, pragmatically thinking, and relied on technology rather than on military honour. This advance facilitated a revolution – not only in the Greek art of war but also in the way of thinking. The development of technology for the needs of war is indicative of giving up the old concept of war, which was based on the category of aristocratic honour, under which war was perceived as competition in terms of courage and strength. With Pericles, this concept was brought to an end – heroism was replaced by technology, and honour – by pragmatism. In the new conditions, war was perceived as a purely practical way to achieve certain objectives. And it is significant that it was Pericles who implemented this mental revolution. Likewise, the military strategy, which he developed on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, reveals the innovative and anti-traditional character of his thought. He planned the war not as a commonplace fair fight on battlefields, as it had been before, but as a great naval strategy, the aim of which was to maximally weaken the enemy with minimal own losses. According to this plan, all the people of Attica had to hide behind the Athenian Long Walls. At the same time, it was intended to keep the war on the sea and to supply food for the city over the sea (Thuc., I, 140-144). This plan was markedly non-aristocratic and gave the enemy for destroying the fields of Attica, which were the basis of power for the aristocracy and the source of livelihood for peasants. Although both peasants and aristocrats were

in opposition to Pericles's expansionist policy, their interests were not taken into account. In this way, Pericles killed two birds with one stone – he carried out his military strategy and destroyed the opposition forces.

All these examples show a rather monolithic image of Pericles, and both his personality and his own will had a role in its building. Most important of all, the image itself and the virtues it had to symbolize – rational pragmatism, even utilitarianism, pedantic organization of life and work, modesty and temperance, frugality and parsimony, regularity and prudence, self-control, self-discipline and increased concern for external politeness – were markedly anti-aristocratic. This set of characteristics highly resembles the Protestant ethical canons, as perfectly described by Max Weber (Weber 2004, 20-180). Moreover, very significantly, in this case we are dealing with an artificially created image, with an intentional political PR, the aim of which was to maximally approach and please the electorate. In the context of such a PR, by taking a non-aristocratic, «bourgeois» ethical position, Pericles betrayed his own social class. A scion of a famous family turned against his own class and took a «bourgeois» stance, image and policy. He rejected not only the aristocratic policy but also the aristocratic culture as such. Thus, by changing the society's social ideals, Pericles strengthened the change of cultural paradigm in the society. Previously, aristocracy was the exemplary class; after that, thanks to Pericles, «bourgeoisie», ordinary city dwellers, with all their values, occupied this position. We can say that, at this point in Athens, really «new times» began, with Pericles as the first person of the «new times» in the centre. With his death in 429 BC, an entire era in the ancient Greek culture came to an end. He put an end to the aristocratic tradition of Athenian politics and opened a way to politics for all social classes. In this way, Pericles had brought a major revolution not only in the politics but also in the culture of Ancient Greece.

To sum up the above-mentioned, let me try to explain the image of Pericles himself and the phenomenon of his particular historiographical success from several aspects. Firstly, I must conclude that Pericles's personality and power was not so likable for his contemporaries as it may appear to us. Apparently, for Pericles's contemporaries, his policy was too pragmatic and innovative.

Secondly, the aim of his political activities was similar to that of most other politicians before and after him, that is, power, honour and glory. The phenomenon of Pericles is that he was really the first one in

Greece, who began to «make» politics in a truly professional manner, surpassing all the others who had been before him (for Pericles as the first professional politician see: Строецкий 2008, 81). In cynicism Pericles surpassed all of his predecessors, although his successors surpassed even him, and, as a result, in the long run, all politics in general became increasingly absorbed with the spirit of cynicism, deceit and immorality. The constant complaints of Greeks about shameless demagogues became the same rule of life at that time as the invectives poured on politicians today.

Thirdly, now we can single out the main reasons that made the image of Pericles so likable for the political regimes of modern times, and which still maintain the veil of glorification around him. In the first place, it is Pericles's astounding ability to carry out autocracy under the pretence of democracy, by meeting formally all the constitutional requirements. This made him a democrat and a dictator in one person and also the one whom the democrats, the fascists and the communists alike could recognize as «theirs». In the second place, all the aforementioned three regimes of modern times were greatly impressed by the anti-aristocratic trend of Pericles's politics, as all of them also positioned themselves as «popular» and «progressive», fighting against the obsolete systems of old times for the sake of a bright future. This gave an opportunity for all the adherents of Pericles, regardless of their own political camp, to consider him a bringer of progress and a fighter against the «dark past» and its remnants, which hinder the victorious pace of progress. The third associated reason for sympathy is Pericles's pragmatic, truly «modern» way of thinking and his «bourgeois» public image. All these factors together made Pericles close and understandable for the people of the XIX-XXI centuries. Thanks to that, the three major modern ideologies have found it possible to integrate Pericles in their own systems and recognize him as «theirs». One could say that he has really been the first man of the new type in history, the first European of modern times. As a result, he has become «forever alive» in our minds, and nothing endangers this status for him. Indeed, Pericles – forever...

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PERIKLS FOREVER (īsa versija)

Šajā rakstā mēģināts apjēgt Perikla fenomenu, balstoties uz viņa neparasto popularitāti jaunajos un jaunākajos laikos. Kā zināms, viņu labi ieredzēja visi lielās XX gs. ideoloģijas pārstāvošie vēsturnieki. Šādas popularitātes pamati tiek meklēti Perikla personības un viņa piekoptās politikas īpatnībās. Rakstā tiek izteikta doma, ka pēc sava domāšanas un rīcības veida viņš bija vistuvākais mūsdienām no visiem seno laiku politiķiem. Viņš ne tikai pirmo reizi vēsturē ir realizējis jauna tipa politiku, kas ir ļoti saskanīga ar jauno un jaunāko laiku politisko praksi, bet arī stingras pašdisciplīnas ceļā ir radījis jaunu politiķa imidžu, no aristokrāta pārtopot par īstu «vidusmēra pilsoni», kas bija kļuvis par atdarināšanas paraugu. Jauns ideāls, ko Perikls bija pasniedzis pasaulei, izrādījās maksimāli tuvs tam cilvēka ideālam, kas nostiprinājās jaunajos laikos un arī kļuva par paša Perikla popularitātes pamatu.

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HELLENES IN THE EYES OF CICERO

Brief summary

The principle of *odi et amo* is clearly visible in Cicero's attitude to the Greeks, both his contemporaries and the ancients, and their art and literature. The main national features ascribed to the Greeks in Cicero's speeches and letters are their unreliability (*levitas*), vanity (*vanitas*) and lack of trustworthiness (*fides*), as opposed to Roman dignity (*dignitas*) and gravity (*gravitas*). Cicero's speeches as well as treatises are addressed to the public, and the author tries to portray himself according to public expectations, while his private correspondence, especially the letters to Atticus, reveals his personal views, not constrained by public opinion.

Key words: Cicero, Greeks, Greek art.

Cicero's detractors called him, according to Plutarch, *Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικός* (Plut. *Cic.* 5), and Cicero himself in his letter to Atticus claims to be Rome's leading *φιλέλληνας* (Cic. *Att.* I. 15.1). On the other hand, several times in his works we come upon the contemptuous word *Graeculus*.¹ So who is the great Roman orator: an admirer or a detractor of the Greeks? In this paper some aspects of the problem will be touched on: the traits of Greek national character as portrayed in Cicero's speeches, and Cicero's ambivalent attitude to Greek art and literature.

There is no doubt that Cicero was one of the most educated people of his time, and his knowledge of Hellenic culture was as comprehensive as it could be for a Roman of his status. More than once, in various works written at different periods of his life, he emphasized his Greek education and its influence in forming him as an orator.² In the well known passage of the speech *Pro Archia poeta* (*Arch.* 12-30), which is indeed *laudatio poetae et litterarum*, Cicero stresses the importance of Greek literature in the Roman world:

¹ *Ver.* II. 2.72; II. 4.127; *Flac.* 23; *Red. sen.* 14; *Sest.* 110; 126; *Pis.* 70; *Scaur.* 4; *Mil.* 55; *Phil.* V. 14; *Phil.* XIII. 33; *De or.* I. 47; I. 102; I. 221; *Tusc.* I 86; *Fam.* VII. 18.1.

² *Cic. Att.* I. 15.1; *De or.* III. 94; *Brut.* 310; *Orat.* 12.

Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus exiguis sane continentur (Arch. 23).

Cicero's knowledge of literature, both Greek and Latin, shows in many citations and allusions found in his speeches, treatises, and letters. On the other hand, in his speeches the orator very often tries not to appear an expert in literature, as this would not fit his Roman dignity. He gives the impression of keeping his distance, and dissociates himself from the examples he cites by using such words as «I think» or «it seems» (*opinor*).³

It is very important to emphasize that the text of the speeches, especially the judicial ones, should be treated most cautiously, as here a great deal depends on the situation of the particular oration. Cicero himself forewarns us against it in his speech *Pro Cluentio*:

Sed errat vehementer, si quis in orationibus nostris quas in iudiciis habuimus auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitratur. Omnes enim illae causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum aut patronorum (Cic. *Clu.* 139).

This is especially true in the case of Cicero's attitude toward the Greeks and his characterization of them. It depends absolutely on the situation in court.

In 59 BC Cicero defended L. Valerius Flaccus in the case of the recovery of extorted money in the province of Asia (*de pecuniis repetundis*). The orator discredits the Greek witnesses who are on the opposite side in this case. The strategy of his defence is based on demolition of trust in the Greek witnesses for the opposition on the basis of their national features: the Greeks do not possess two closely related traits necessary for the trustworthy witness, *fides* and *religio*. Religion (*religio*) prevents persons from making a false oath and from giving deceitful evidence in the court, and so it is the basis for their trustworthiness (*fides*). The Greeks, according to Cicero, never cared about religion and *fides*, and that is why they cannot be treated as reliable witnesses:

At quos testis? Primum dicam, id quod est commune, Graecos; non quo nationi huic ego unus maxime fidem derogem. [...] Verum tamen hoc dico de toto genere Graecorum: [...] testimoniorum religionem et fidem numquam

³ E.g. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 46; *Sest.* 48.

ista natio coluit, totiusque huiusce rei quae sit vis, quae auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant (Cic. Flac. 9).

Other typical national features ascribed to the Greeks in Cicero's speeches are unreliability (*levitas*) and vanity (*vanitas*), as opposed to Roman dignity (*dignitas*) and gravity (*gravitas*). *Levitas* arises from their inclination for speaking and disputing. Rather than honesty and gravity, talkativeness and ability to win in a dispute are the criteria for which they are delegated to the court. The more loquacious a Greek is, the more appropriate a witness such a Greek is supposed to be:

Graecus testis cum ea voluntate processit ut laedat, non iuris iurandi, sed laedendi verba meditatur; vinci, refelli, coargui putat esse turpissimum; ad id se parat, nihil curat aliud. Itaque non optimus quisque nec gravissimus, sed impudentissimus loquacissimusque deligitur. [...] Sed non dilatabo orationem meam; etenim potest esse infinita, si mihi libeat totius gentis in testimoniis dicendis explicare levitatem (Cic. Flac. 11-12).

Analogous tactics of demolishing the reliability of witnesses on the grounds of their national features are used by Cicero in his other speeches. In 69 BC, defending Marcus Fonteius, the former propraetor in Gaul, in the case *de repetundis*, the orator describes the Gallic witnesses as lacking *fides* and *religio*, though now he motivates it differently: as the result of the natural cruelty of the Gauls and their long hostility towards the Romans. Is it indeed possible to trust people who attacked the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi (more than 300 years ago!) and besieged the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus himself, whose name had always been a guarantee of *testimoniorum fides* (*Font. 30*)? The audience in the court had to be convinced that the people who had invaded the most holy sanctuaries, who had worshiped their own cruel gods with barbaric rituals and human sacrifices (*Font. 31*), were savages without any sense of religion and were not to be trusted in testimony.

Furthermore, in the *Pro Flacco*, Cicero reprehends the Greeks for, one could say, «too much civilization». They are portrayed as a nation of actors without stable principles (*gravitas*). Even those characteristics that should be regarded as virtues – education (*multarum artium disciplina*), eloquence and wit (*dicendi copia, sermonis lepor*), cleverness (*ingeniorum acumen*) – rebound on themselves, as in Cicero's portrayal they are indicators of levity, which is typically Greek. And what is more, by criticizing Greek civilization and predilection for talking, Cicero assaults even the institutions of Athens, the principles of democracy

itself (Cic. *Flac.* 15-18). Here he criticizes not only contemporary Greeks but also the ancient ones. This is one of the cases when Cicero compares the Greeks of classical Athens with his Roman ancestors (*maiores nostri*) and shows the superiority of the latter (cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 69-70).

In 70 BC came the famous case against Verres, with a different situation, and here Cicero's characterization of the Greeks is different. He prosecutes Verres on behalf of the Sicilians in accordance with the same law as in the cases of *Pro Flacco* and *Pro Fonteio*. However, this time he depicts the Sicilian Greeks as most virtuous people. According to Cicero, they are not typical Greeks, but serious ploughmen (*aratores*).

Iam vero hominum ipsorum, iudices, ea patientia virtus frugalitasque est ut proxime ad nostram disciplinam illam veterem, non ad hanc quae nunc increbruit videantur accedere: nihil ceterorum simile Graecorum, nulla desidia, nulla luxuries, contra summus labor in publicis privatisque rebus, summa parsimonia, summa diligentia (Cic. *Verr.* II. 2.7).

By attributing to them the stereotypical virtues of rural people, the orator makes them almost equal to the Romans of old (*maiores nostri*). It should be noted that in the previously mentioned *Pro Flacco*, the same features were attributed to the citizens of Apollonia (*Apollonidenses*), who were the witnesses of Cicero's client in the case:

Homines sunt tota ex Asia frugalissimi, sanctissimi, a Graecorum luxuria et levitate remotissimi, patres familias suo contenti, aratores, rusticani [...] (*Flac.* 71).

So we can observe the two main oppositions: *gravitas* against *levitas* and *rusticitas* against *urbanitas* (or *luxuria*). Having established such characteristics for his Sicilian clients in the case against Verres, Cicero confronted another problem in the fourth book of *De signis*, the subject of which is the manner in which Verres had plundered not only private individuals, but even some temples, with valuable statues and other works of art. The problem is how to combine the modest lifestyle of virtuous country people with the abundance of works of art in their houses, which seemed valuable even to such a sophisticated lover of art as Verres. How can one explain the praiseworthy Sicilian rusticity (*rusticitas*) and not highlight their predilection for luxury, which is a characteristic of all Greeks and which is, in the eyes of the Romans, vain admiration of art (*vanitas*)? Cicero's strategy in this case is to

attribute to private and public works of art some aspect of holiness, and so to heighten the religiosity of the Sicilians.

Despite the opposite situation in the speeches discussed, the rhetorical tactics remain the same, based on affirmation or disaffirmation of the two basic values, *fides* and *religio*. As in *Pro Flacco*, *Pro Fonteio*, and *Pro Scauro*, Cicero tries to prove the lack of fidelity and religion of the opposition's witnesses, so in *Verrines* he emphasizes the gravity, virtue and religion of his Sicilian witnesses, and thus invokes belief in their case.

Another aspect of our problem, illustrating Cicero's contradictory approach to Greek culture, is his inconsistent appreciation of Greek art. The material for the subject can be found in various works of Cicero, while here I am restricting myself to only two texts, the fourth book of *Verrines* (*De signis*) and Cicero's letters to Atticus in which he asks his friend to find, buy, and send him works of sculpture from Greece to ornament his villas. I argue that, in evaluating Cicero's attitude to the Greeks, it is especially important to take into account the genre of those of Cicero's works from which we derive our knowledge of his views. The speeches and treatises are addressed to the public, and here the author tries to portray himself according to public expectations, while his private correspondence, especially the letters to Atticus, reveals his personal views, not constrained by public opinion. From this point of view, let us note that these are speeches in which Cicero tries to conceal his expertise in Greek literature, as mentioned above, because that would not fit his Roman dignity. The same is true in the case of art. Several times in the fourth book of *Verrines* Cicero claims his ignorance: he claims to be «not very much of a judge of those matters, though have seen plenty of specimens»⁴ («tametsi **non tam multum** in istis rebus **intellego quam multa vidi**» — *Verr.* II. 4.94), and calls himself as well as his listeners rude and illiterate (*rudes, idiotas*).⁵ Speaking about the statues stolen by Verres and appreciating their quality, he suddenly breaks off his narration and puts a speculative question to himself: «What! Do you value those things at a very high price?» («Quid? tu ista permagno aestimas?») and hastens to assure the judges that he himself values works of art not according to his own estimation, but according

⁴ I quote the translation by C. D. Yonge.

⁵ *Verr.* II. 2.87: *etiam nos qui rudes harum rerum sumus*; *Verr.* II. 4.4: *Erat apud Heium [...] signa pulcherrima quattuor summo artificio, summa nobilitate, quae non modo istum hominem ingeniosum et intelligentem, verum etiam quemvis nostrum, quos iste idiotas appellat, delectare possent [...].*

to the opinion of experts, to their prices in the market, and lastly to the price at which Verres himself values them (*Verr.* II. 4.13-14).

In the book *De signis* Cicero more than once pretends not to know the names of Greek artists, though many of the great Greek sculptors are mentioned in his treatises,⁶ which proves him not an inexpert in this field. In *Verr.* II. 4 Cicero mentions Praxiteles and at once makes an excuse that he learnt the names of the artists in the course of his enquiries into Verres's conduct, so to say only *ad rem*.⁷ Attributing a statue of Hercules to Myron, the orator takes care to add safely *ut opinor*.⁸ And when speaking about the *Canephorae* sculptures, he avoids mentioning the name of the artist directly and affects to make Verres himself state it:

Erant aenea duo praeterea signa [...]; Canephoroe ipsae vocabantur; sed earum artificem – quem? quemnam? recte admones – Polyclitum esse dicebant (*Verr.* II. 4.5).

Bearing in mind the fact that the second prosecution of Verres never took place in a real court and the speech was never delivered, but only published in written form, this imaginary dialogue with his opponent is a brilliant rhetorical trick, which helps to create the illusion of a genuine situation in court as well as to avoid reproach for too full a knowledge of Greek sculpture.

Cicero keeps on pointing out that the Greeks are inclined to excessive admiration for statues, paintings, and other works of art, which perhaps may seem trifling and contemptible to the orator himself and his listeners (*Verr.* II. 4.124; 132). This admiration of art is bound up with one of their national features: *levitas* or *vanitas*. The great Roman generals of the past, or *maiores nostri*, used wisely to leave these revered works of art to the Greeks as a compensation for their loss of freedom, or even to return the ones plundered by the Carthaginians to their rightful places (*Verr.* II. 4.124; 134). Therefore, Cicero points out, by stealing these statues Verres has not only insulted the religious sensibilities of the Sicilian people but has also neglected the memory of the great Roman generals.

⁶ E.g. Cic. *Div.* II.48; *Inv.* II.1-2; *De or.* II.70; III.26; *Brut.* 70; 75; 296; *Fin.* II.115; *Tusc.* I.4 etc.

⁷ [...] *Praxiteli; nimirum didici etiam, dum in istum inquiri, artificum nomina* (*Verr.* II. 4.4).

⁸ *Is dicebatur esse Myronis, ut opinor, et certe* (*Verr.* II. 4.5).

We can see that in this speech Cicero tries to show this stereotypical Greek characteristic as the manifestation not of *levitas* but of *religio*; while, on the other hand, he tries to dissociate himself from admiration of or interest in art, which is typical of his clients, and to stress his own Roman dignity, in accordance with public expectations.

Yet, Cicero reveals himself to be quite a different person in his private life, as is clear from his letters to Atticus, where he is not restricted by public opinion but speaks openly to his friend about his daily concerns. Here the reader can expect to catch a sight not of an official Roman magistrate but of a more true to life man, a friend, a husband, a father. We have eight letters to Atticus providing some material for our subject.⁹ All of them plainly show that Cicero eagerly seeks pieces of Greek art to decorate his villas, first of all the one at Tusculum. Although the remarks on the question are not very long and quite repetitive both in vocabulary and in content, one can distinguish three main ideas.

1. He asks his friend to look for as many statues as he can find in Greece, and to send them to Italy as soon as possible:

Att. I. 4.3: qua re velim, ut scribis, ceteris quoque rebus quam plurimis eum locum ornes. quae mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi; in Formiano sunt, quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam. illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo.

Att. I. 8.2: qua re velim et eos et signa et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegantiae esse videbuntur quam plurima quam primumque mittas, et maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique videbuntur esse.

Att. I. 11.3: Tu vellim quae nostrae Academiae parasti quam primum mittas.

2. He shows delight and enthusiasm in such things:

Att. I. 1.5: Hermathena tua valde me delectat[...].

Att. I. 8.2: Hermae tui Pentelici cum capitibus aëneis, de quibus ad me scripsisti, iam nunc me admodum delectant. [...] nam in eo genere sic studio efferimur, ut abs te adiuvandi, ab aliis prope reprehendendi simus.

Att. I. 9.2: genus hoc est voluptatis meae.

Att. I. 6.2: nos Tusculano ita delectamur ut nobismet ipsi tum denique cum illo venimus placeamus.

⁹ *Att. I. 1.5; I. 3.2; I. 4.3; I. 6.2; I. 8.2; I. 9.2; I. 10.3; I. 11.3; Fam. VII. 23.2.*

3. He is concerned with finding suitable sculptures which fit their settings:

Att. I. 9.2: quicquid eiusdem generis habebis dignum Academia tibi quod videbitur, ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. genus hoc est voluptatis meae. quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt, ea quaero.

Att. I. 6.2: tu velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιώδη reperire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas.

Att. I. 8.2: qua re velim et eos et signa et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegantiae esse videbuntur quam plurima quam primumque mittas, et maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique videbuntur esse.

Att. I. 10.3: Signa nostra et Hermeraclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, velim imponas, et si quid aliud οἰκεῖον eius loci quem non ignoras reperies, et maxime quae tibi palaestrae gymnasi que videbuntur esse. etenim ibi sedens haec ad te scribebam, ut me locus ipse admoneret.

Att. I. 4.3: Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis per mihi gratum est. est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune est omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi.

Att. I. 1.5: [...] et posita (Hermathena) ita belle est ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα esse videatur.

At first sight all this seems to be contradictory to Cicero's disdainful attitude to art, as demonstrated in his orations. The seeming inconsistency of Cicero's views can, however, be partly explained as follows. In my opinion, it is very important to notice that the main criterion for selecting the ornaments is not their high artistic value or which famous master has created them, as was the case with Verres, but their suitability for the location. Cicero is eager to decorate his villa in Tusculum, which is called Academia, to emphasize the intellectual purpose of the place. First of all he seeks decorations for some rooms designed for literary studies. Although he uses Greek terms *palaestra*, *gymnasium*, *xystus*, *ornamenta γυμνασιώδη*, it is absolutely clear that these rooms are not intended for gymnastics but would be used as a lecture hall. That is why Cicero is so much delighted with Hermathena (a herm with Athena's head), remarking: «It's an appropriate ornament for my Academy, since Hermes is the common emblem of all such places and Minerva is special to that one,»¹⁰ (*Att. I. 4.3*) and «The whole hall is like an offering (ἀνάθημα) at its feet» (*Att. I. 1.5*).

¹⁰ I quote the translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.

The purpose of decorating his villas is not mere vanity or excessive delight in statues but their fitness for the function of the villas, which are intended to be the scene of their owner's scholarly and literary activities. That is why Cicero urges Atticus to send him such works of art as would symbolize and harmonize with the taste and noble leisure of a Roman of his rank. Moreover, appropriateness or aptness (*decorum, aptum, πρέπον*) is claimed by Cicero to be one of the main principles of rhetoric as well as an important rule of life (Cic. *Orat.* 70; *De or.* III. 210). As a good orator must match every single word, argument, or rhetorical figure to the whole style and strategy of any oration, so the statues in Cicero's villas should fit their settings and accord with the taste and rank of the Roman magistrate *cum dignitate*. In other words, the selection and disposition of the Greek works of art in his villas have the purpose of revealing the same Roman dignity that Cicero declares in his speeches. He uses Greek architectural forms and sculptures to create a setting that is meant to carry a new Roman significance.

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HELLĒNI CICERONA SKATĪJUMĀ

Rakstā apskatītas tādas problēmas kā Cicerona neviennozīmīgā attieksme pret grieķiem, viņu nacionālo īpašību atspoguļojums Cicerona darbos un viņa pretrunīgais grieķu mākslas un literatūras vērtējums.

Principis *odi et amo* skaidri parādās Cicerona attieksmē pret grieķiem, gan viņa laikabiedriem, gan senāku laiku grieķiem, pret viņu mākslu un

literatūru. Cicerons, būdams grieķu kultūras mantinieks, apzinājās, ka viņam dziļi jāpateicas savai grieķiskajai izglītībai, tomēr katrā izdevīgā gadījumā viņš to nopēla un centās izcelt savu romiešu senču pārākumu pār grieķiem. Cicerona runās grieķi raksturoti kā neuzticami (kam trūkst *fides*), tādi, uz kuriem nevar paļauties (tiem piemīt *levitas*), un iedomīgi (piemīt *vanitas*), kurpretī romieši bija cildeni (ar *dignitas*) un nopietni (ar *gravitas*).

Vērtējot Cicerona attieksmi pret grieķiem, īpaši svarīgi pievērst uzmanību to darbu žanram, no kuriem iegūstam zināšanas par viņa uzskatiem. Viņa runas un traktāti uzrunā sabiedrību, tādēļ autors cenšas pozicionēt sevi atbilstoši auditorijas gaidītajam, turpretī savā privātajā sarakstē, īpaši vēstulēs Atikam, viņš atklāj savus personīgos uzskatus, kas ir brīvi no sabiedriskās domas.

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HYBRIS IN SOPHOCLES'S TRAGEDY PHILOCTETES¹

Brief summary:

Hybris is surely one of the phenomena that played an important role in the morality of the Greeks. Moreover, problems connected with *hybris* still exist in the present society. The paper provides an analysis of the above-mentioned phenomenon in Sophocles's tragedy *Philoctetes*, staged for the first time in 409 BC. As will be shown, *hybris* is an essential feature not only of the Atræids and Odysseus but to some extent of Neoptolemus as well, especially once ambition ruins his good morals, and even, which may seem surprising, of the suffering Philoctetes.

Key words: ancient drama, ancient Greek tragedy, Sophocles, Philoctetes, *hybris*

Hybris is surely one of the phenomena that played an important role in the morality of the Greek people. Let us specify what *hybris* actually means. According to the *Greek-English Lexicon* of Liddell-Scott, *hybris* is «wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion and connected with insolence or licentiousness», i.e. arrogance going beyond the limits of common human behaviour – limits that are based on both divine authority and human moral traditions – and liable to punishment of gods.

Hybris is the transgression of certain limits, which are determined by human possibilities. *Hybris* is the breaking of rules governing power relations, in the form of either crossing boundaries defined by social conditions, or wantonness or arrogance directed towards equals. We can say that the Greek culture in its entirety is pervaded by reflections on where the limits actually are, and ancient authors very frequently claim or imply that violation of these limits is illegal.

¹ This paper was written under the auspices of the *Centre for Interdisciplinary Research into Ancient Languages and Early Stages of Modern Languages* (research program MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic.

I have been dealing with the discussed phenomenon ever since I began to lecture on ancient Greek literature. At the time of the totalitarian regime in my country, I found a lot of encouragement in seeing how my students could apply messages included in passages, for example, from Hesiod (around 700 BC), Solon (7th/6th century BC), Aeschylus's (525/524–456/455 BC) *Prometheus*, Sophocles's (497–406 BC) *Antigone* or *Oedipus* to contemporary political situation even though we could naturally talk about this only with caution. During my lectures on the arrogance of power, students very readily debated the world of ancient heroes familiar to them from their favourite readings as well as events that they were experiencing at that time.

Problems connected with *hybris* still exist in the present society, and this is why, unfortunately, I always have to point out to my students how we are unable to handle problems already confronted by ancient people and how, in this respect, we are beyond remedy even today when we are living in a democratic system.

With respect to my enduring interests, as mentioned above, I was very pleased to receive an invitation to take part in the *Sixth International Symposium on Ancient Greek Drama*, held in September 2000 in Cyprus, at Drusha near Paphos, and thematically focused on *hybris* and blindness in ancient Greek drama. On this occasion, distinguished scholars delivered papers on *hybris* in Aeschylus,² Sophocles,³ and Euripides (480–407/6 BC) as well as general talks on the topic in question.⁴ My paper presented at the symposium discussed the role of *hybris* in Euripides's play *Alcestis*.⁵

Lennart Kollberg from Sweden strongly emphasized that *hybris* is a current problem not only in the Czech Republic but also in the contemporary world as a whole. In his presentation, he said that «Aristophanes and Euripides, however, were able to criticize *hybris-reactions* of the Athenian government during the war – and «their» civilization is still alive! – We, in our times, have to learn from the

² Papanicolaou 2002, 194–213.

³ Hadjistephanou 2002, 181–186; Decreus 2002, 214–222; Handriotis 2002, 236–246; Greco 2002, 247–250.

⁴ Walton 2002, 230–235; Mikellis 2002, 315–320.

⁵ Bartoňková 2002, 299–303.

ancient Greeks how to handle the *hybris-phenomenon* – otherwise «our» civilization will soon be lost!»⁶

In my present paper, I would like to analyze the above-mentioned phenomenon in Sophocles's tragedy *Philoctetes*, staged for the first time in 409 BC. *Philoctetes* is a tragedy in which the ageing poet particularly wanted to portray the sharp contrast between the cunning Odysseus and the young, inexperienced, but straightforward Neoptolemus. Furthermore, we will see that *hybris* is an essential feature not only of the power-hungry Atreids and the crafty Odysseus, as we well know from Homer, but to some extent of Neoptolemus as well, especially once ambition ruins his good morals, and even, which may seem surprising, of the suffering Philoctetes.

Let me remind you of the plot of the discussed tragedy. When the Greeks are on their way to Troy, Philoctetes, who has inherited the bow and arrows of Heracles, is bitten by a snake. Since the wounded hero is a nuisance to the Greeks, they abandon him, on Odysseus's advice, on the desert island of Lemnos. Meanwhile, a prophecy reveals to the Greeks that without Heracles's weapon Troy cannot be conquered. Odysseus with Neoptolemus, Achilles's son, therefore, return back to Lemnos and contrive how the young Neoptolemus, whom the angry Philoctetes does not know, could win his trust by means of a trick – that is to say, by promising Philoctetes to take him home. After some hesitation, the young man undertakes this sinister role. However, seeing the miserable Philoctetes experiencing another spasm of pain, Neoptolemus tells him the whole truth after a while. The disappointed Philoctetes cannot be moved to set out on a journey, whether by fair means or foul. At this particular moment, Heracles himself appears as *deus ex machina*, orders Philoctetes to set sail to Troy and promises him that he will make a recovery there. Our hero then executes Heracles's command.

Let us now pay attention to particular passages of the debated drama by Sophocles, where *hybris* plays a significant role, starting with the very beginning of the play. The above-mentioned power-hungry Atreids do not actually play a part in the tragedy; nevertheless, it is the *hybris* of the Atreids that impels their ally Odysseus to devise his cunning craft that becomes a driving force behind the whole dramatic plot.

⁶ Kollberg 2002, 263.

Odysseus is a many-sided and unscrupulous hero. Neoptolemus himself characterizes Odysseus's deeds at Troy in the following words (lines 582–586):

*Neoptolemus: ... There was once a noble prophet, called Helenus,
Priam's son. Odysseus, true to his shameless reputation, went
out on his own by night, and caught him, craftily. Leading
him off in chains, he displayed him to a throng of the
Achaeans, his fine catch.*

Cf. also the dialogue between Philoctetes and Odysseus – lines 1021–1024:

*Odysseus: Know this: these things have been decided by Zeus.
Zeus rules this land. It is Zeus I serve.
Philoctetes: Hateful man! What lies you invent! In using the
gods to shield yourself, you make them liars.*

Odysseus's trick on Philoctetes is cunning; he arranges that the vile and shameful deceit – that is, the deception of the disease-stricken Philoctetes, who has been living in isolation for many years – should be carried out by Neoptolemus, whom Philoctetes does not know and who thus becomes a means in Odysseus's hands.

See lines 1041–1048:

*Philoctetes: See how you managed once again to creep up on me and hunt
me down! I didn't know this boy, so you used him to screen yourself.
But he is too good for you; he and I are well suited. All he knew was
how to do what he was told. And now it is clear he's finding things
hard – partly because he has made a mistake and partly because of
the way I've suffered. Your black soul watched him closely from the
shadows and instructed him carefully.*

Cf. Odysseus's words, lines 1091–1094:

*Odysseus: What do we need you for? Enjoy your walks on Lemnos.
Let's be on our way. Your special prize bow should soon win for me
the honour that was to be yours.*

Odysseus's *hybris* is already evident in the speech that he gives to the young man. Odysseus astutely and fulsomely appeals to Neoptolemus's love for his father, because – just as his father Achilles – Neoptolemus has to be ready to fulfil a command. Neoptolemus, who has been brought up to despise every kind of lie and deceit, is asked to concoct a completely false story about himself becoming, similarly as Philoctetes, a victim of the licence of the Atreids and Odysseus. Obviously, Neoptolemus finds repulsive this conduct, which goes against his own nature. See lines 82–84:

Neoptolemus: Son of Laertes, I find just listening to this sort of talk upsetting – and the thought of acting on it is repellent. I am not, and never have been, the sort to cheat.

Naturally, at first Neoptolemus resolutely refuses – lines 88–90:

Neoptolemus: I was sent to do this job with you, and I don't want to be called a traitor, but I would rather behave with honour and fail than win a coward's victory.

Neoptolemus refuses; nevertheless, it does not take long till *hybris* becomes evident in his behaviour as well. The opportunity to quickly achieve glory and join the famous ancestors offered by Odysseus is too tempting for the ambitious young man. Neoptolemus's «sense of duty», whatever its moral credit, is not insignificant either; the Greek army has to succeed at Troy, and everything has to serve this »higher end«. Neoptolemus betrays himself as well as his father; he adopts his new role so decidedly that he even teaches the chorus how to support him in his lying to Philoctetes. Odysseus succeeds in convincing Neoptolemus to deceive Philoctetes for higher ends.

Cf. lines 105–110:

Neoptolemus: And you don't think it shameful to lie?

Odysseus: Not if that lie means safety.

Neoptolemus: How can anyone have the face to say such things?

Odysseus: When what you are doing is for a profitable end, there's no need to hesitate.

Or lines 65–66: «Odysseus: If you don't do this, you will inflict suffering on all Greeks:»

And lines 77–81:

Odysseus: ... But winning it will be sweet – steel yourself. We can demonstrate our honesty another time. Just for now, for one little day, forget your principles and follow my lead. After that you can spend the rest of your life enjoying an unmatched reputation for righteousness.

Last but not least, cf. also the following part of the chorus (lines 1176–1182):

*Chorus: A man should say what he thinks is right,
But once he's spoken,
There should be an end to grudging, hurtful words.
He was singled out from the mass
And given his instructions.
He has performed a service
On behalf of his friends.*

What in this context inevitably has to occur to modern readers and audiences is the number of crimes for which similar ideas had come to serve as an excuse or balsam for the souls of those people who encouraged or perpetrated these misdeeds. (Let us remember the notoriously known proverb: «You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs.») We cannot banish such or similar thoughts simply because of Neoptolemus's enlightenment, thanks to which he is finally willing to take Philoctetes back to Greece in spite of Odysseus's threats.

Cf. lines 1307–1310:

*Neoptolemus: I made a shameful mistake. I am going to try to put it right.
Odysseus: And, in acting like this, aren't you afraid of the Greek army?*

The words of the poet are marked by some aloofness or even criticism of the conduct of the Greeks in the war, as if a certain degree of «nationwide» Greek *hybris* was in question; cf. lines 1378–1380:

Philoctetes: But we learn this much – that the leaders of the army, those lying heralds of Greece, are cowards when it comes to a fight, for all their bold talk!

or lines 381–387; the significance of this passage cannot be downplayed by the fact that it constitutes a part of Neoptolemus's «playing» with Philoctetes:

*Neoptolemus:, a victim of
Odysseus, that vicious man of vile descent! [But I don't hold
him as responsible as those in command. An army, like a
state, depends on its leaders: men are led astray and become
corrupt because of what their teachers tell them.]
That's all I have to say. Anyone who hates Atreus' sons is
my friend – and the gods' too, I pray.*

(It might have been Euripides's influence that led Sophocles, Euripides's predecessor, to adopt the device of *deus ex machina* in order to provide a final solution to the created dramatic situation. Aristotle in *Poetics* (1460b 33) writes: «Sophocles said that he drew men as they ought to be; Euripides, as they are.») Let us now focus on Philoctetes himself. Even though he is a suffering hero, whose life has been ruined by his fellows, his character is marked by certain amount of *hybris*, although much less considerable than in the case of Odysseus or Neoptolemus. One can possibly understand that Philoctetes does not wish anything good to his former fellow warriors – lines 1350–1351:

*Philoctetes: Death take you all: the sons of Atreus first,
then Laertes' son – and you.*

Philoctetes's hatred is directed even towards gods, as can be seen in lines 440–444:

*Philoctetes: He would! No, nothing bad ever dies – the gods
take care of that. They somehow take pleasure in keeping
crime and villainy from Death's door, but they're constantly
dispatching the good there! What are we to make of this?
We praise the gods, but find them wrong.*

However, the complexity of human condition necessarily involves humility, which does not always have to mean cowardice – cf. lines 1455–1456: «Neoptolemus: My friend, you are in trouble – learn some humility.»

We are fully aware that in examining the *hybris* of the very character of Philoctetes, whom we recommend a certain degree of humility, we are walking on thin ice because we need to pose ourselves the question of whether humility should be a characteristic feature of one's personality under all circumstances or not. Shall we forget past injustices or not? Everyone – both ancient Greek audiences and contemporary audiences and readers – should respond to this question on their own. Not only the particular circumstances but also the nature of the protagonists comes into play.

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HYBRIS SOFOKLA TRAGĒDIJĀ FILOKTĒTS

Raksts veltīts *hybris* fenomena atspoguļojumam Sofokla traģēdijā *Filoktēts*. *Hybris* ir «nepamatota vardarbība, ko izraisa spēka lepna apzināšanās vai spēcīgu jūtu uzplūdums un kas saistās ar nekaunību vai amorālumu», t.i., augstprātība, kas sniedzas pāri pieņemtajai cilvēka uzvedībai, pārkāpjot robežas, ko nosaka dievu likumi un cilvēku morāles tradīcijas, kādēļ dievi to sodīs. Rakstā parādīts, ka *hybris* piemīt ne tikai varaskārajiem Atreja pēctečiem un izmanīgajam Odisejam; tas raksturīgs Neoptolemam un pat cietējam Filoktētam. Taču raksta autore pilnībā apzinās, ka pastāv zināms risks, pētot Filoktēta *hybris*, jo jāmeklē atbilde uz jautājumu, vai pazemībai jābūt personības raksturīgai īpašībai jebkuros apstākļos.

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LAMENT BEFORE THE UNJUSTLY SLAUGHTERED VIRGINS IN THE BYZANTINE EPIC POEM OF *DIGENIS AKRITIS**

Brief summary

This paper studies the motif indicated by the title, as it is presented in the six manuscripts of the Byzantine epic poem of *Digenis Akritis* (13th-17th c). They are all posterior versions, while the original script, which is unfortunately lost, is probably dated back to the beginning of the 12th century.

Five noblemen brothers are searching for their sister, who is captured by the Saracens, along with other virgins. When they face them in the place of the massacre, they suppose that their sister has also been slaughtered, so they lament before her in a sequence of scenes with exceptional sentimental load.

The epic lament in the beginning of the poem brings an important structural innovation. The author's objective is to elevate the captured sister (*Digenis's* future mother), who exits the scene alive and chaste. The element of «suspense» converts the primary sorrow of heroes and audience into joy and relief.

Key words: Byzantine epic poetry, *Digenis Akritis*, motif, epic lament, Mediaeval European epic

Six manuscripts of *Digenis Akritis's* Byzantine epic are preserved (one of them is a prose text). They are dated from the 13th to the 17th century and were found between the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Additionally, there are some Russian versions. Miguel Castillo Didier presents a good view of the manuscripts and the different versions (Castillo Didier 1994, 41-43, 49-53). Unfortunately, we do not possess the original script, which is probably dated to the beginning of the 12th century (Αλεξίου 1995, 55-56).

* The present work is part of the Proyecto del Plan Nacional de I+D+i del Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación del Reino de España (con subvención de Fondos Feder), FFI2009-13058: *Formas de la Épica Hispánica: Tradiciones y Contextos Históricos*.

Our study has to do with the motif of the epic lament before the unjustly slaughtered virgins, as presented in the six versions in the Greek language. The story, up to the point that interests us, can be synopsized in the following. Five young noblemen, following their mother's demand, arrive at the camp of Syria's Emir in order to free their sister, who was recently captured (Emir is called *Μούσουρος* in *E* 723, *Μουσοῦρ* in versions *G*, Book five, vv. 168, 203, 215, 261, *P* f. 6α, lines 11-12, *A* 302, 4306, *T* 3070, and *Ιωάννης* after his conversion to Christianity according to *A* 4307, *T* 3071. Sister's name is *Ειρήνη* in *A* 68, *O* 67, *P* f. 1β, lines 6-7).

The youngest of the brothers, *Κωνσταντίνος* or *Κωνσταντής*, duels with the Emir and wins. The five young men search for their sister at the place indicated by the Emir, but in vain. On their way back to the camp, they meet a Saracen who informs them that, on the previous day, by the creek, Emir's troops slaughtered some Christian virgins, who had not satisfied their carnal desire. The brothers investigate the scene sorrowfully. The scene of the epic lament, which starts from this point, is found in the following verses: Trebizond Ms (*T*), Deuxième livre, vv. 1-38, in Sathas and Legrand 1875, 2-5; Athens Ms (*A*), *Λόγος Δεύτερος*, vv. 431-473, in Μηλιαράκης 1881, 14-15; Grottaferrata Ms (*G*), First book, vv. 227-256, in Jeffreys 1998, 16-19; Escorial Ms (*E*), vv. 79-125, in Αλεξίου 1985, pp. 5-7; Oxford Ms (*O*), *Λόγος Β'*, vv. 355-382, in Lambros 1880, 127-128; Prose text of Andros (*P*), *Λόγος Β'*, f. 9β, line 28-f. 10β, line 34, in Πασχάλης 1926, 321-322.¹

The epic lament that we study can be briefly synopsized in the following diagram:

- a. Finding of the slaughtered virgins–lament–funeral practices (*T* 1-7, *A* 431-442, *G* 227-235, *E* 79-89, *O* 355-367, *P* f. 9β, line 28-f. 10α, line 7);
- b1. Invocation to the Sun (*T* 8-19, *A* 442-454, *G* 253-254, *E* 90-96, *P* f. 10α, lines 7-18);
- b2. Invocation to the Earth (only in *E* 97-102);
- b3. Invocation to the sister (*T* 20-37, *A* 455-472, *G* 236-247, *O* 367-370, *E* 106-124, *P* f. 10α, line 19-f. 10β, line 33);
- b4. Invocation to the hour and day (only in *G* 248-251);

¹ We use the Greek language in some names and in all references to manuscript abstracts, as it keeps the original polytonic system; it is used in the same way in the versions we study. However, we also give the English translations (based on Jeffreys 1998) of some abstracts of manuscript *G*.

b5. Invocation to God (only in *O* 371-375);

c. Group burial (*T* 38, *A* 473, *G* 255-256, *E* 125, *P* f. 10β, lines 33-34).

More analytically, the five young men, in search for their sister, are confronted by a horrible scene: they find the slaughtered virgins, covered with blood and dust (*A* 431, *G* 227, *E* 79, *O* 355-356, *Pf.* 9β). In *E* this scene is repeated twice (vv. 81, 87), while v. 81 presents the way of killing: «...[ὄλες] μαχαίροκοπημένεσ ἦν». Furthermore, manuscript *O* 357-360 emphasizes the fact that each girl suffered from different wounds and fatal weapons.

The scene is particularly horrible. In fact, the virgins' bodies are dismembered: there are no limbs and heads, and even their bowels are taken out (*A* 432-434, *G* 228-229, *E* 80, *Pf.* 9β). Nobody could recognize them (*A* 435, *G* 230, *Pf.* 9β).

The five brothers are surprised and puzzled (*T* 1, where the narration begins; see also *A* 436, *G* 231, *P* f. 9β). In a gesture of exceptionally sentimental load, they hold the heads trying, in vain, to recognize their sister (*T* 2-5, *A* 437-440, *E* 82-85, *P* f. 10α). They toss dust on their heads (*T* 5-6, *A* 440-441, *G* 232, *E* 86-87, *P* f. 10α). Nevertheless, in version *O*, specifically in v. 365, the lament is expressed in a different way: (the brothers) «..καὶ τὰ κεφάλια ἔδεραν καὶ τὰ μαλλιά ἐσύραν». This reference about hair tearing, as a sign of lament, reminds us of vv. *T* 14, *A* 449, *P* f. 10α, where we see the brothers wondering how it would be possible for their mother to lament properly for her daughter. The undiminished lament persists (*T* 6-7, *A* 441-442, *K* 233, *E* 89-90, *P* f. 10α). *E* 88 characterizes the events as unfair and unexpected, while *O* dedicates many verses, in proportion to the short length of the episode, to describing these feelings of sorrow expressed by the brothers (*O* 361-367).

Brothers' lament reaches its peak during the invocation to the Sun, Earth, God and their sister herself.

The basic structure, at least in four of the versions, begins with the invocation to the Sun, the primitive source of life (*T* 8-18, *A* 443-454, *E* 91-96, *P* f. 10α). The brothers refer to it in the second person singular: «..ἦλιε ὦ (Ἦ ἦλιε) λαμπρότατε, φωστήρ παντός τοῦ κόσμου..» or simply «..ἦλιε..» (*T* 9, *A* 444), «Ἦ λαμπρότατε ἦλιε..» twice in *P* f. 10α or even more colloquially «Κὺρ Ἦλιε..» in *E* 91, 94.

Initially, they express their anxiety about their sister's fate and ask the Sun to indicate which one is her body, so that they could lament

and bury her properly (*T* 10-11, *A* 445-446, *E* 91-92, *P* f. 10α). Besides, they are also morally obliged towards their mother (*T* 13, *A* 448, *E* 93, *O* 373, *P* φ. 10α), as noted twice in version *G* 234-235, 252. Their responsibility is reinforced by the fact that the virgin, being the one and only daughter of the family, is also their sweet consolation, as they point out (*T* 35, *A* 471, *E* 120, *P* f. 10β).

This motif often occurs also in Greek traditional songs. Indeed, in one of the most excellent songs, called «του Νεκρού Αδελφού» (Ayensa i Prat 2000, 190-193, 269-272), the son's sense of responsibility towards his mother is so powerful that impels him to come back to life in order to fulfill his promise: to bring his only sister, his mother's greatest comfort, back home, while all his brothers have already passed away.

Here, the brothers move one step further: they lay blame for the misfortune on the Sun (*T* 15, *A* 450, *E* 94). Specifically, in version *G* 253-254, they insist that their sister's unfair death was a result of Sun's jealousy: the daughter used to shine brighter than the Sun. On the other hand, in *P* f. 10α, the young men only think of their misfortune without putting the blame on the Sun, while in *O* there is no reference to the Sun.

The five young men feel devastated and they don't want to live anymore (*T* 16, *A* 451, *E* 95, *P* f. 10α). They feel even more distressed by the fact that the slaughterers not only killed her but also left her entirely unrecognizable. The following verses are characteristic: «..έκοψαν τὰ κάλλη της..» (*T* 18, *A* 453, *P* f. 10α), «..έκοψαν τὰ κάλλη σου..» (*E* 107). Besides, in *E* 96 they underline that life treated them unfairly: «..έμεϊς ᾿ς τὸν κόσμον πολεμοῦμεν καὶ δικαίονουν ἄλλους».

What follows is the most powerful scene of the episode: the brothers turn to their own sister, their «..καρδιά..» and «..παρηγοριά..» according to *O* 367-368. In the same version, in *O*, even though only a few verses are dedicated to the brothers' invocation to their sister (vv. 367-370), the emotion is still high: the brothers' hearts are broken by their sister's absence. In *G*, however, the invocation to the virgin precedes.

The way they address her is very interesting. Sometimes they just call her «..κόρη..» (*T* 35, *A* 470) or «..<ἀδέλφιν μας>..», «..ἀδέλφι μας..» (*E* 108, 118), «..ἀδέλφιν μας καλόν..» (*E* 111), while in other occasions they use a number of adjectives: «..παμπόθητε (η)..», «..εὐγενική ψυχή..», «..παγκάλλιστε ψυχῆ τε καὶ καρδία, μακρόθυμε..» (*T* 20, 27,

29, 34, A 455, 462, 464, 469), «..παγκάλλιστε..» («..most beautiful..» in G 236, 245), «..γλυκυτάτη μας ψυχή..», «..εὐγενική ψυχή..» («..our sweetest soul..», «..high-born soul..» in G 237, 243), «..πάμπολλα ἡγαπημένη..», «..εὐγενική..», «..γλυκυτάτη..» (P f. 10α-10β). These adjectives remind us of ecclesiastical language and hymnology. This is particularly evident in version *E*, where «..παναθλία..», «..μακρόθυμε..», «..ἄσπιλε..», «..παμμακάριστε..» (*E* 115, 117, 119) are some of the adjectives used. The last two are often used for God's Mother, while the adjective «..ἄσπιλε..» clearly refers to *Ακάθιστος Ὑμνος* (a Byzantine ecclesiastical hymn dedicated to the Holy Virgin).

In contrast to the virgin's praise through adjectives, those responsible for her death receive negative characterizations. We note the relevant references: «..ὕπὸ βαρβάρων χειρός..», «..ἀνηλεοὺς ἐκείνου..», «..κύων..», (*T* 24, 25, 32), «..ὕπὸ βαρβάρων χειρός..», (*A* 459), «..σκύλος..» (*E* 113), «..ὕπὸ χειρὸς βαρβάρων..», «..τοῦ ἀσπλάχνου φονέως..» («..by barbarians' hands..», «..of the heartless murderer..» in *G* 239-240), «..ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια τῶν ἀνόμων..», «..σκύλλος..» (P f. 10β). «Who is the murderer?», wonders the author in *A* 467. The act is brutal and, above all, unfair. This is a point on which versions insist (*T* 33-34, *A* 468-469, *G* 236, P f. 10β), especially *E* 109, 115, 117, where the question is raised: how come God cannot see this obvious iniquity (*E* 116)? The slaughterers respected neither the virgin's youth (*T* 23, 26, *A* 458, 461, *G* 238, 241, P f. 10β), nor her beautiful voice (*G* 242). Given that she was brutally killed, along with the fact that she was the only daughter, their act seems even more atrocious. In the versions, it is emphatically noted that not only her soul but also her beauty is lost (*T* 21-22, *A* 456-457, P f. 10β, *E* 112), while in *E* 110 the found body obtains the meaning of a gnome: when the soul is gone, the appearance is also deformed. This gnome strongly reminds us of the mortuary ceremony.

The brothers' questions are implacable, and they are repeated with the use of «πῶς» in invocations which, once again, remind us of ecclesiastical rhetoric and hymnology (*T* 20, 23-26, 29, *A* 455, 458-461, 469, *G* 236-242, P f. 10β). There is one more question starting with πῶς, which brings the drama to its apex: «how shall we recognize you and relieve ourselves», they wonder in despair (*T* 30-31, *A* 465-466, *G* 246-247, P f. 10β). Indeed, in version *P* f. 10β, lines 28-29, the scene is unique. We quote the fragment: «Λέγοντες ἐτοῦτα τὰ θρηνητικὰ λόγια ἐκρατοῦσαν μίαν κεφαλὴν θαρροῦντες ὅτι εἶναι τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῶν». The brothers direct their lament towards the supposed head of their sister, held in their hands.

The virgin is dignified through her brothers' words: she chose death to disgrace (*T* 27-28, *A* 462-463, *G* 243-244), and she did it patiently (*E* 117). Most important of all, the brothers are confident that she preserved her virginity intact, and they praise the Lord for that (*E* 121-122). The virgin became a martyr. This motif has clearly a religious character, reminding of hagiographical and martyrological texts. The sister's moral image is reminiscent of the Virgin Mary (*T* 37, *A* 472, *P* f. 10β).

Apart from the invocation to their sister, in versions *E*, *G*, and *O* we can also find invocations towards other elements. Specifically, in *E* 97-105, right after invocation to God and before they turn to their sister, the five young men address the Earth: they ask (the Earth) to cry and lament with them (*E* 97) and refer once again to the previous massacre (*E* 98, 100). They also add something interesting, which can only be found in this version: the virgins were slaughtered and sacrificed «..εις τουρκικὰ μασγίδια καὶ εἰς ναοὺς μεγάλους..» (*E* 100, 102). This reference to Turks is unique.

Nevertheless, there is still hope. According to *E* 99, the virgin, called «..ἡλιογεννημένη..», may not have been slaughtered. Instead, she may still be held captive. What follows is a religious reference, common in this episode of *E*, which tries to put things in order. After Christ had come among us, human sacrifices and slaughters are immoral, while death itself has its positive aspect (*E* 103-105).

On the other hand, in *G*, the brothers address «..ώρα..» (*hour*) and «..ἡμέρα..» (*day*), which are respectively followed by the adjectives «..πανδεινότητα..» and «..δολία..» (*dreadful* and *deceitful* in *G* 248). It would be better for them neither to see the Sun rise, nor to see the light ever again. It would be better if they were in the dark while their sister, as the young men say, «..ἀνηλεῶς κατέκοπτον οἱ ἄνομοι ἀδίκως..» («has been unjustly and pitilessly butchered by lawless men» in *G* 249-251).

Finally, in *O*, after a short but emotionally powerful invocation towards their sister, the five young men call for God's help and ask Him, if not to save her, then at least to let them see her, so that they could inform their mother and lament for her with the whole family (*O* 371-374).

The episode ends with the group burial of all the virgins (*T* 38, *A* 473, *G* 256, *E* 125, *P* f. 10β). The brothers are overwhelmed by mixed emotions: sorrow, anger, and also a slight hope that their sister lives. Indeed, in *O* 377-378, hope almost becomes a certainty

for *Κωνσταντίνος*. Soon, they will find out that she actually lives and that their hope turned out to be true. She meets her brothers, and the Emir asks her hand in marriage after he expresses his will to convert to Christianity. The final scene is a «happy end». *Digenis*, the basic character of the epic, will later be the son of the Emir and the virgin.

Recapitulating our thoughts, we would like to emphasize the following: the scene of lament we have studied is characterized by its originality. It is hardly usual in epic texts of this kind to deal with laments addressed by brothers to their sister, especially, in the beginning of the poem.

What is the poetic aim after all? In which way is this motif poetically useful?

We believe that here we see a very interesting structural novelty, which actually is one of the author's skills. During the lament, in an early stage of the text, the poet manages to attack the Saracens' vulgarity and brutality and to underline what is more important – the virgin's virtues and moral purity.

The author also uses the element of «suspense». Despite the initial atmosphere of drama and anxiety, the virgin after all exits the scene alive, preserving her dignity and chastity. Thereby she earns the appreciation of the audience. Furthermore, she is going to become *Digenis's* mother, and she has already been praised in the poem. The scene of the lament completes her positive image.

Finally, we hope that this motif will soon be studied in comparison with similar themes in European Mediaeval epic, using a comparative approach.

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NETAISNĪGI NOGALINĀTO JAUNAVU APRAUDĀŠANA BIZANTIJAS EPOSĀ PAR DIGENI AKRITI

Raksts vēlīts virsrakstā minētajam motīvam, kā tas atspoguļots Bizantijas eposā par Digeni Akriti, kas saglabājies līdz mūsdienām sešos rokrakstos grieķu valodā (13.–17. gs.). Visi šie teksti ir vēlāka laika versijas, kamēr oriģināls, kas diemžēl ir zudis, visdrīzāk attiecas uz 12. gadsimta sākumu.

Raksta sākumā sniegts eposa satura īss pārstāsts līdz apraudāšanas epizodei. Pieci augstdzimuši brāļi meklē savu māsu, ko līdz ar citām jaunavām sagūstījuši saracēņi.

Sākumā tiek piedāvāts visās versijās minētās epizodes plāns. Pētījuma galvenā daļa ir īpašo tēmu detalizēta analīze: kad slaktiņa vietā pieci jaunekļi ierauga jaunavas, viņi domā, ka arī viņu māsa ir nogalināta, un vairākās ārkārtīgi sentimentālās ainās viņi apraud māsu.

Pētnieks secina, ka episkā apraudāšana eposa sākumā vērtējama kā nozīmīgs strukturāls jauninājums. Eposa autora mērķis ir izcelt sagūstīto māsu (kas vēlāk kļūst Digena māte), kas epizodē paliek dzīva un saglabā nevainību. Aizturētā atrisinājuma elements sākotnējās varoņu un klausītāju bēdas vērs priekā un atvieglojumā.

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THE INFLUENCE OF STAVRINOS'S POETRY ON ROMANIAN CHRONICLES

Brief summary

The versified chronicle of Stavrinos the Vestiar, dedicated to the feats of the Romanian Voivode Michael the Brave – a unifier of the three Romanian Principalities and many a time defeater of the Turks – constituted one of the most beloved readings of the Greeks during the Ottoman rule. It was only natural for this chronicle to influence several Greek Language works, among which stand out those of Anthimos Diakrousis, Matthew (the bishop of Myra), Ignatios Petritzis and Spontis. However, our research reveals a novel fact: that it also inspired the author of the Cantacuzino Chronicle, which is the only Wallachian chronicle of the era that has survived as a whole.

Key words: Stavrinos, Cantacuzino Chronicle, Michael the Brave.

In September 1593 the High Porte appointed Michael, Ban of Craiova¹ (1593-1601) – a boyar of uncertain princely origin, willing to pay as tribute and gifts a huge amount of money, unparalleled in the history of the Danubian principality – as the prince of Walachia. The appointment appeared to the Porte to secure full submission of the country in the broader geopolitical context of the establishment of the Holy Alliance, whose declared aim was to chase the unbelievers from Europe. Consequently, the emissaries of the great Christian coalition in the region (the Croatian Kumulović and the Ragusan John Marini Polli) avoided the Princely Court in Bucharest on their journey to Iasi, where in August 1594 they concluded a treaty between the Habsburg monarch and the Moldavian prince, Aron Vodă (1591-1592, 1592-1595).

Nevertheless, in spite of all expectations, as a ruler of Walachia, Michael, later nicknamed *the Brave*, decided on his own initiative to join the Christians. He slaughtered the Turks established in Bucharest

¹ Some basic monographs about Michael the Brave and his age are: Nicolae Iorga, 1968; P. P. Panaitescu, *Mihai Viteazul*, 2002; Ion Sârbu, 1976. Regarding the relations between Michael and the Greek world of his time, see Tudor Dinu, 2009.

and launched his own attacks against the Danubian possessions of the Ottoman Empire (Giurgiu, Cetatea de Floci, Hârșova, Siliștra, Brăila, Cervena, Turtucaia, Nicopole). Not even the great imperial army led by Vizier Sinan Pasha (1506-1596) could dethrone him and convert the country into an Ottoman province, as was intended. Michael steadfastly opposed the Ottoman forces at the battle of Călugăreni (23 August 1595), and afterwards, with the help of his Transylvanian allies, crushed the Turks on the banks of the Danube, while they were running for their lives. During the following years, encouraged by this success, the Romanian prince penetrated even more deeply into the Balkan Peninsula (the campaigns of 1596 and September-October 1598), looting the Turkish strongholds as far as Sofia (Plevna, Vidin, Babadag, Turnu, Nicopole, Vratsa, Florentin and Rahova). He was welcomed as a liberator by the Christian population of the Balkans, which had risen in insurrection, assuming that the hour of liberation had come. For example, the Bulgarians in Veliko Turnovo, guided by the Greek metropolitan bishop Dionysios Rallis Paleologos, even proclaimed a king of their own, considered to be a descendant of their last dynasty, the Shishman.

The general enthusiasm raised by the anti-Ottoman victories of Michael the Brave was reflected in Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek folk songs on his exploits (Iordan 1936). These songs were orally transmitted from one generation to another by the Christians of the Empire and could thus be collected and transcribed at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. For example, Greek songs on Michael could still be heard in Macedonia, Thrace, northern Bulgaria and even Asia Minor (Oikonomides 1952).

At the same time, the personality and the deeds of Michael the Brave became the subject for narrative poems composed in Greek by Stavrinos from Epirus,² Georgios Palamedes (Legrand 1881) and an unknown author (Doulaveras 1998) respectively.³ If the last two were preserved in manuscript, only to be discovered by modern scholars, Stavrinos's work enjoyed a great success in the Ottoman- and Venetian-ruled Greek lands, being published as many as 12 times by the Venetian printing houses (Giuliani, Saro, Bortoli).⁴ Despite its questionable literary value, Stavrinos's poem became a work of

² The available modern editions are: Legrand, 1867 (the edition used and referred to in this paper), Natsios, 1996; Komnini, 2004.

³ Basic critical literature on Stavrinos and Palamedes: Vincent, 1995; Dinu 2008.

⁴ In the years 1638, 1642, 1647, 1672, 1681, 1683, 1710, 1742, 1760, 1768, 1785, 1806.

reference in his time, influencing the writings of men of letters such as Anthimos Diakrousis, Matthew (the bishop of Myra), Ignatios Petritzis and Spontis (Russo, 1941).

However, to this day, researchers on Stavrinos's work have never written about a potential influence exerted by the poem over Romanian language writings about the achievements of Michael the Brave. Hence, with this in mind, we made a careful reading of the only other Walachian chronicle dedicated to the period (the *Chronicle* of the Cantacuzino family [Grecescu & Simionescu, 1960]), which led us to surprising conclusions.

For instance, our research proved that the famous scene of Michael's assassination in the *Cantacuzino Chronicle* was written under Stavrinos's direct influence (Legrand 1867, 81-82), being sometimes a free adaptation and at other times a relatively close translation of the original Greek text.

Because of the expansive treatment of Michael the Brave's death in Stavrinos's poem and the comparative brevity of his own chronicle, the Romanian writer was forced to make free use of this source, rather than making a precise translation. From this point of view, his presentation is made up of three distinct units.

In the first, he briefly reports the prelude to Michael's assassination: the deploying of the joint troops of the Romanian prince and of the imperial general on the plain of Turda (în luncile Turzii «on the meadow of Turda», «στης Τόρτας το λιβάδι», 1008) and Michael's request to Basta (1544-1607) for military support with the purpose of freeing his family, who were imprisoned in the castle of Făgăraș. This request helps the general implement his foul plans. The account takes over some pieces of information from the Greek poem, and then proceeds in a free and synthetic way. For instance, the chronicler gives only a general account of the imprisonment of Michael's family by the Hungarians, while Stavrinos holds Steven Csaki responsible («ότι ο Τζάκι Στέφανος εκεί το είχε κλεισεί», 1015). On the other hand, whereas the Epirot poet refers to Michael's child and wife without naming them, the chronicler specifies that Michael's son was Prince Nicholas. Apart from these small differences, the author of the *Chronicle* adds several new points, which are more likely a product of his imagination rather than any historical source. Thus he claims that the plot to assassinate Michael was laid by Basta in collusion with the Transylvanian nobles, whereas Stavrinos sees it as Basta's own

exclusive initiative; the chronicler then has Basta allegedly demanding that Michael should send his troops to Făgăraș and hence remain alone and undefended at Turda, while waiting to receive support during the following days.

On the other hand, the actual account of the assassination is totally dependent upon the Greek poem. In order to limit the total amount of text, the chronicler omits any mention of the omens that Michael completely ignores, but after the sentence «iar când fu într-o dimineață» («and once upon a morning»), which suddenly introduces the reader into the dark atmosphere of the assassination, he follows the Greek text very closely.

We offer below the two parallel passages, using bold and italics for the words and phrases that are an exact translation from the poem, followed by the English translation of the Romanian text.

«Βλέπουν και αλλονούς πεζούς οπ' έρχονται προς αύτον, / εθάρρου ως διά βοήθειαν, τίποτες δεν φοβάτον / Και τούτ' οι τρισκατάρατοι δεν ήτον βοηθοί του, / αμ' ήτανε επίβουλοι να πάρουν την ζωήν του. / Και σαν τους είδε πώφθασαν, εστάθη στα ποδάρια / λέγει τους: «Καλώς ήλθετε, άξιά μου παλληκάρια». / Και κείνοι εξεσπάθωσαν, απάνω του πηγαίνουν, / ωσάν θηρία άγρια στην τένταν του σεβαίνουν / Και ένας από ταυτουνοός σέρνει με το κοντάρι / κι εβρήκεν τον εις την καρδιά εκείνο το ξιφάρι / άλλος γοργά εβάρησεν, κόπτει την κεφαλήν του, / ως δένδρον εγκρεμνίστηκεν το όμορφον κορμί του. / Έτσι τον εθανάτωσαν δίχως να μην το ξεύρει, / δίχως να τύχει το σπαθί εις το γοργόν του χέρι. / Κι έμεινεν το κορμάκι του στο χώμα ερριμμένον, / γυμνόν δίχως πουκάμισον και 'ματοκυλισμένον / Αυτά τα εκατόρθωσεν ο φθόνος οργισμένος / και εχάθη έτσι άδικα αυτός ανδρειωμένος» (1077-1094)

văzu Mihai-vodă oastea nemțească viind cătră cortul lui, unii călări, alții pedestri, și socoti Mihai-vodă că acestea sunt ajutor lui, și nimica de dânșii nu se temeă. Iar ei, procleții, nu au fost ajutor, ci vrăjmași. Și deaca văzu că sosesc, ieși Mihai-vodă din cortu-său înaintea lor vesel și le zise: «Bine-ați venit voinicilor, vitejilor». Iar ei să repeziră asupra lui ca niște dihăanii sălbatică, cu săbiile scoase. Ci unul déte cu sulita și-l lovi drept în inimă, iar altul degrab îi tăie capul.

Și căzu trupul lui cel frumos ca un copaci, pentru că nu știuse, nici să împrilejise sabia lui cea iute în mâna lui cea vitează. Și-i rămase trupul gol în pulbere aruncat, că așa au lucrat pizma încă din «ceputul lumii. Că pizma au pierdut pre mulți bărbați fă» de vină, ca și acesta.

And Prince Michael saw German troops coming towards his tent, some mounted, others on foot, and Prince Michael thought that they were there to assist him and he was not at all afraid of them. And these accursed ones were not his assistants, but enemies. And when he saw them coming, a cheerful Prince Michael came out of his tent in front of them and told them: «Welcome my strong, brave men». But they rushed at him like wild beasts, with drawn swords. And one of them struck him with a spear and hit him right in his heart, while another quickly beheaded him.

And his beautiful body fell like a tree, for he hadn't known, nor did his swift sword happen to be in his brave hand. And his naked body remained cast aside in the dust, for this is the way Envy has worked, since the beginning of the world. Because Envy has ruined many innocent men, like this one».

Despite the general impression of being a translation, the Romanian adaptation of the Greek poetical text shows certain original features; some are insignificant, while others are more conspicuous.

For instance, in order to strengthen the dramatic character of the assassination scene, the chronicler adds the epithet «cheerful» to describe the way in which Michael is welcoming his hired murderers. In the Romanian text these are simply characterized as «vrăjmași» (*enemies* [«επίβουλοι», 1080], without the clarification that they had arrived «in order to take the life» of the prince [«να πάρουν την ζωή του», 1080]). In this way, for a brief moment, the illusion is created that Michael wasn't going to be killed. Further on, the Greek greeting «Καλώς ήλθετε, άξία μου παλληκάρια» (1082, «Welcome my worthy brave men») is freely translated by the substitution of the adjective with another noun that is more or less a synonym of the first («Bine-ați venit voinicilor, vitejilor», «Welcome my strong, my brave men»).

In the actual account of the murder, the chronicler replaces, in an uninspired manner, the historical present, which brings the event under the reader's eyes, by a rather dull Romanian simple past tense («πηγαίνουν», 1083; «σεβαίνουν», 1084; «σέρνει», 1085; «κόπτει»,

1087 – «se repeziră», «dète», «tăie»). Similarly, the Romanian author chooses to use only a few of the verbs in the original text that create the dynamism of the scene in which the German soldiers were all rushing upon the prince (seven verbs in Stavrinós: «εξεσπάθωσαν», 1083; «πηγαίνουν», 1083; «σεβαίνουν», 1084; «σέρονει», 1085; «εβόηκεν», 1086; «εβάρησεν», 1087; «κόπτει», 1087, compared to four in the *Cantacuzino Chronicle*: «să repeziră», «dète», «lovi», «tăie»).

An inspired choice is the transfer of the epithet «γοργόν» (*swift*) (1090) from Michael's hand to his sword («sabiia lui cea iute», «his swift sword») and its replacement by the adjective «vitează» / (*brave*) («mâna lui cea vitează» «his brave hand»). At the same time, the Romanian chronicler doesn't feel at all attracted by the naturalistic presentation of the ruler's body thrown in the dust, which he glosses over as far as possible, without aiming to conceal the fact. Therefore, he translates only the verses «Κι ἐμεινεν το κορμάκι του στο χόμα ερομμένον / γυμνόν» (1091-1092) («Și-i rămase trupul gol în pulbere aruncat», «And his naked body remained cast aside in the dust»), passing over the diminutive κορμάκι (*small body*) and the words «δίχως πουκάμισον» («without shirt») and ἴματοκυλισμένον (*bloody*) (1092).

On the other hand, the chronicler develops a philosophical interpretation of Michael's end as the result of the personified Envy's action. While eliminating the epithet «οργισμένος» (*damned*) (1093) attached to it, he preserves and underlines the reference to the eternal and universal power of Envy («așa au lucrat pizma încă din «ceputul lumii. Că pizma au pierdut pre mulți bărbați făr» de vină, ca și acesta» - «for this is the way Envy has worked, since the beginning of the world. Because Envy has ruined many innocent men, like this one»). Only by means of the adjectival phrase «făr' de vină» (*innocent*), which freely renders the adverb «ἀδίκᾳ» (1094, *unjustly*), he intensifies the sense of tragedy.

Taking into account the fact that Stavrinós's text features no special poetical attributes, its translation did not involve particular difficulties. Among the terms whose equivalent was harder to find is «τρισκατάρατος» (1079, «thrice accursed»), rendered in Romanian by «proklet», an expressive word of Slavic origin (old Slavic *prokletŭ* from *kleti* «to blame, to hate»). A closer match would have been the rather rare word *triclet* / *treklet* (old Slavic *trikletŭ* «thrice accursed»). On the other hand, the common verb «τύχει» (1090) «to happen» is well rendered by «a se împrileji» («to find an opportunity»), most likely coined by the chronicler. Less fortunate is the translation of

γρεμνίστηκε (1088, *collapsed*) by the plain «fell», which diminishes the impact of the image of Michael's body that comes down like a tree under the blows of his murderers.

The long section of the poem following the account of Michael's assassination covers no less than two hundred and eighteen verses and tackles a number of topics, stigmatising Envy, blaming Death, whose inevitability is underlined, lamenting over the tragic end of the prince, blaming the Hungarians and the Germans for the treacherous assassination of Michael and praising the virtues and the achievements of the Romanian prince. Obviously, such an extensive section couldn't have been included in the *Cantacuzino Chronicle*, so that the author was only able to draw some key elements out of it.

For the chronicler, the most characteristic hypostasis of Michael is that of protector of Christendom («Căci era ajutor creștinilor și stătare ca un viteaz bun pentru ei» – «Because he was the comfort of the Christians and he stood strong as a good brave man for them»). The idea undoubtedly originates from Stavrinus, who reiterates it in various forms in the course of his poem («των χριστιανών μεγάλη βοήθεια», 1157; «μέγας βοηθός εις την χριστιανοσύνη», 1163; «των χριστιανών ο στύλος», 1111), repeatedly attaching the epithet of «brave» to the ruler («αυτόν τον ανδρειωμένον», 1097, 1125, 1169).

The statement that Michael «făcuse pre turci de tremurau de frica lui» («made the Turks tremble with fear») is also taken from the Greek poet. The only changes introduced by the chronicler prove to be his translating the word «Agarenes» from the Greek text by «Turks» and skipping the comparison with the fish, which is not familiar to the Romanian folk bestiary («πώκαμεν τους Αγαρηνούς και τρέμαν σαν το ψάρι», 1102 – «he made the Agarenes tremble like fish»; also «Ούγγροι και σάσοι έτρεμαν απ' αυτόν σαν το ψάρι», 1128 – «the Hungarians and the Saxons were trembling at him like fish»).

As a personal contribution, the chronicler imputes Michael's assassination to the maleficent intervention of the devil, «who doesn't want the benefit of the Christian people» («cel ce nu va binele neamului creștinesc»). It was, of course, a commonplace in medieval thought, which is, however, absent from the Greek poem. Stavrinus mentions only some divine interventions, aiming to liberate the oppressed Christians of Walachia (61-64), rescue Michael from the plot hatched against him by cardinal Andrew Bathory (1566-1599) (577-582), or punish the Hungarians responsible for the betrayal and death of the Romanian leader (1192ff).

Satan's incitement does not clear the criminals of their responsibility, so that the author of the *Cantacuzino Chronicle* has no hesitation in uttering imprecations against «the Hungarian people» («neamul unguuresc»), whose men are, allegedly, «bad and cunning by their nature» («τῆρ ἑὶ ficleni ἰνᾶ de feliiul lor»). Naturally, the chronicler anathemizes Basta, too, for giving ear to the machinations of the Hungarian noblemen and murdering the innocent Romanian prince. These curses are a condensation of a large part of the final section of Stavrinos's poem, in which the violence of language (1158-1226) reaches extreme levels that would not have been compatible with the sobriety of a historical chronicle. Successively, Hungarians are characterized as «foul liars» («ψεύστερ μαγαρισμένου», 1199), «filthy nation» («το μιαρὸν το γένου», 1202), «faithless and mischievous» («ἀπιστοι και καταμιτωμένου», 1214), «foul like them [the Turks], you have no truth in you, you haven't been baptized, but you are very impious, foul dogs» («σαν αυτουνούρ εἰστε μαγαρισμένου, / ἀλήθειαν δεν ἔχετε ουδ' εἰστε βαπτισμένου, / ἀλλᾶ εἰστεν ασεβέστατοι, σκύλοι μαγαρισμένου», 1217-1219), «blind and foul» («τυφλοῖ μαγαρισμένου», 1223). The chronicler, much more temperate, takes over from Stavrinos only the curse rendered exactly in Romanian by the loan word, which he utters against all persons responsible for such behaviour.

Stavrinos also gives voice to the widespread conception that punishment would strike the evildoers, even during their earthly life, making the unproven assertion that Basta «was killed with bellows» («l-au belit de viu foale») by order of the emperor. Moreover, in order to be more convincing, the chronicler adds that, as it is written, «he who digs a hole for somebody else, falls in it himself» («cine sapă groapa altuia, el cade ἰνtr-ἰnsa»). However, he does not mention the source of the quotation, which is also to be found under the form «που λάκκον σκάπτει ἀλλουνού αυτόρ θέλει διαγεῖρει» (1196) in Stavrinos, who indicates its origin in the Psalms of David («Ἀλλᾶ, καθώρ το λέγει ο Δαβῖδ μέσα ειρ το ψαλτήρου», 1197).

The adaptation of passages from a medieval Greek text to a Romanian work should not be viewed as an isolated act by a particular author. On the contrary, it has a paradigmatic value, proving that the Greek language was well known to some of the scholars in the Romanian Principalities, even before the Phanariot age. Also, it should encourage researchers to no longer consider old Romanian literature and the Greek literary production of the Romanian Principalities as two isolated entities, but as interdependent. Such an approach, which

we advocate, will hopefully lead to noticeable results in philological and historical research.

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STAVRINA DZEJAS IETEKME RUMĀŅU HRONIKĀS

Stavrina Vestiārija hronika dzejā, kas veltīta rumāņu vojevodom Mihaelam Drosnīgajam, triju rumāņu kņazistu apvienotājam un turku uzvarētājam neskaitāmās kaujās, osmaņu valdīšanas laikā bija viena no iecienītākajām grieķu lasāmvielām. Iznākuši vismaz divpadsmit izdevumi, un ir tikai dabiski, ka hronika atstājusi iespaidu uz vairākiem darbiem grieķu valodā. Sevišķi izceļami Antima Diakrusa, Miras bīskapa Mateja, Ignacija Petricija un Sponta darbi. Šajā pētījumā izdevies atklāt jaunu faktu: hronika iedvesmojusi arī Kantakuzina hroniku autoru, kas ir vienīgā pilnībā saglabājusies Valahijas perioda hronika. Vēl vairāk – ir pierādīts, ka pati Mihaela nogalināšanas aina, kas ilgu laiku tika cildināta kā viduslaiku rumāņu prozas augstākais sasniegums, patiesībā aizgūta no Stavrina. Šajā rakstā sīki pētīts dzejas teksta adaptācijas mehānisms rumāņu hronikā, kā arī izgaismots paša hronikas autora ieguldījums.

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A LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EXEGESIS OF GENNADIUS'S *CONFESSION OF FAITH*

Brief summary

The *Confession of Faith* of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Gennadius II, written at the request of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, had a circulation that included various forms of the *Chronicle of 1570*, authored by the late sixteenth-century Constantinopolitan literatus Manuel Malaxos. Two manuscripts of the *Nomocanon*, also authored by Malaxos, and one copy of his recently identified *Florilegium* contain the *Confession* with an exegesis that is attributed in the former manuscripts to Manuel's evident cousin and contemporary Gregory Malaxos and, in the case of the *Florilegium*, to Manuel himself. A discussion follows the presentation of this evidence, which concludes that the exegesis was almost certainly the work of Manuel and highlights the significance of this work in respect of Manuel Malaxos's literary output overall and of the appreciation of the *Confession of Faith* subsequent to its time of authorship.

Key words: Gennadius II, Confession of Faith, Greek vernacular, Manuel Malaxos

The *Confession of Faith* of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Gennadius II (ci. 1400-ci. 1473), written at the request of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (1432-1481), has drawn attention, amongst other things, as an illustration of the extraordinary relationship between the two men.¹ There are two versions of the text: the original, which is of some length, and a briefer form; both share the same title, are made up of twenty chapters and are accompanied by a Turkish translation.² The briefer version became especially known in the West thanks to its presence in the *Patriarchal History*, which was published by Martinus

¹ For the best statement yet, see Papadakis 1972. The original title of the work is: ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως τῶν ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν.

² The editio princeps of the shorter version was by Johannes Brassicanus (Vienna, 1530), in Greek with a Latin translation.

Crusius (Martin Kraus, 1526-1607) in 1584 in his *Turcograecia*.³ It is of note that, on account of the *Confession's* presence there in Turkish as well as Greek, this publication constitutes one of the first cases of printing in the Turkish language.⁴

The *Patriarchal History*, which is a history of the Ottoman-era Constantinopolitan Patriarchs, is the work of the late sixteenth-century Constantinopolitan literatus Manuel Malaxos (†1580/81).⁵ This individual is otherwise known for having authored the post-Byzantine *Nomocanon* (whose title includes his name), the mostly anonymous *Chronicle of 1570* (of which the *Patriarchal History* is but a variant), as well as a consistently anonymous *Florilegium*.⁶ From amongst variants of the *Chronicle of 1570*, the *Confession* is also present in Cod. Chiacus 161, which happens to be the direct original of the *Patriarchal History*, and in both cases the Turkish translation accompanies Gennadius's treatise.⁷

Two copies of the *Nomocanon* and one copy of the *Florilegium* conclude with Gennadius's *Confession of Faith*, though with the added presence of an exegesis in the vernacular of each of the *Confession's* twenty chapters.

The two manuscripts of the *Nomocanon* in question are Ms. 2 of the Public Library at Siatista (in western Macedonia) and Ms. Hierosolymitanus (Sabae) 131. The first has been described in the following terms:

Χαρτ. 25 χ 18,5 φφ. 168 ἔτ. 1730

Νομοκάνων Μαλαξοῦ

Στὸ τέλος· Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου Περὶ πίστεως ἐρμηνεΐα πρὸς σουλτὰν Μεχμέτ, ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν νεοελληνικὴν ὑπὸ Γρηγορίου Μαλαξοῦ (ἀνέκδοτος).

Γραφεύς· Ἀλέξανδρος Ἱεροπίαις.⁸

³ On this work, see Legrand 1906, 271-274.

⁴ It certainly constitutes the first case in which Turkish in Greek lettering was printed. See Salaville & Dalleggio 1958, 1f.

⁵ For the most recent and fullest statement to date on the life and career of Manuel Malaxos, see de Gregorio 1995.

⁶ On Malaxos's *Nomocanon*, the most comprehensive though somewhat outdated study is by Dyonouniotes 1916. For the *Chronicle of 1570* in general, see Preger 1902. On its authorship by Malaxos, we shall deal elsewhere. On the *Florilegium*, see Sakel 2006.

⁷ Amantos 1928, 46-58.

⁸ Politis 1976, 38.

Ms. Hierosolymitanus (Sabae) 131 has been described in greater detail, which I reproduce at length, for a reason that will soon become clear:

Τεύχος ἐκ χάρτου, περὶ τὸ τέλος γραφὲν τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης ἑκατονταετηρίδος, ἀκέφαλον δὲ καὶ ἀτελὲς νῦν ὑπάρχον· ἔστι δὲ ὕψους μὲν 0,215, πλάτους δὲ 0,162. Μέχρι δὲ τοῦ τέλους ἀριθμεῖ σελίδας 590, ἀλλὰ τούτων αἱ πρῶται δέκα καὶ ἑννέα ἐλλείπουσιν ἡδη.⁹

1. Πίναξ ἀκέφαλος 295 κεφαλαίων, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ρπε' κεφαλαίου, σελ. ιθ'-κς'.
2. Νομοκάνων τοῦ Μαλαξοῦ, ἀρχόμενος νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ β' κεφαλαίου, οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφή· <περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην>, σελ. κζ'-φμη'.
3. <Φοβερόν διήγημα καὶ παράδοξον περὶ ἱερέων ἀναξίων>, σελ. φμθ'.
4. Τεμάχιον Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, σ. φνγ'.
5. <Τοῦ ἀοιδίμου πατριάρχου κῦρ Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ὠραῖα περὶ πίστεως> ἑλληνικῆ καὶ τουρκικῆ γεγραμμένα γλώσση, σ. φξ'. Ὅλον δὲ τὸ κείμενον ὑπάρχει παρὰ τῷ Κρουσίῳ, *Turcograeciae libri tres. Basileae 1584*, σ. 109-119.
6. <Γρηγορίου τοῦ Μαλαξοῦ ἐξήγησις τοῦ πρώτου κεφαλαίου εἰς πεζὴν φράσιν>. Ἀρχ. <Τὸ πρῶτον κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν>, σελ. φξβ'.
7. Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου τὸ β', τὸ γ', τὸ δ', τὸ ε' καὶ τὸ ζ' κεφάλαιον τοῦ περὶ πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν λόγου, καὶ ἡ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων τουρκικῆ μετάφρασις τοῦ Ἀχμέτ, σελ. φξζ'-φπζ'.

Despite the differences in the two descriptions, the content of both manuscripts is in fact the same; viz Cod. Hierosolymitanus (Sabae) 131, 1-7 = Cod. Siatista 2, ff. 1v-13v; 14r-143v; 143v-145v; 145v-147v; 147v-148r; 148r-149r; 149r-168v. Accordingly, Cod. Siatista 2 is in all probability a copy of the original of Cod. Hierosolymitanus (Sabae) 131 (given that this manuscript is incomplete). As for the *Confession* contained in these two manuscripts, it includes the Turkish translation, as occurs with both cases of the *Chronicle of 1570*. As for the exegesis of the *Confession* here present, it is attributed to Gregory Malaxos, evidently a cousin of Manuel and a contemporary, who lived most of

⁹ Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 210f.

his life in Venice, was also a man of letters, though one known almost exclusively for the editing of Greek books.¹⁰

To turn to the manuscript of the *Florilegium*, this is Cod. Sinaiticus 1708. It has been described in terms of material, age, size and scribe as being of paper, the 17th century, size A8 and by Hieronymos respectively, and in terms of content as follows in respect of item 7 (the *Florilegium*) and item 8 (the *Confession*), which are of relevance to our purposes:¹¹

7. λλ. 1-90 Произведение безъ заглавія съ оглавленіемъ 77 главъ впереди; къ нему предисловіе:

Χοσρόης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀνέμαθεν, ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ἰνδιαν εὐρίσκεται ἓνα βιβλίον ποῦ ἐγένεν ἀπὸ τοὺς σοφοὺς ποῦ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ... καὶ ἔδειχνε πῶς δέεται τὴν γνώσι (οἰβρυβ.). <κεφ. α'> Ὅτι ἡ ἀγία τριάς εἶναι εἰς τρεῖς χαρακτήρας, πλήν δὲ ἓνας θεὸς εἶναι καὶ οὐχὶ τρεῖς καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἀνθρωπος εἶναι κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ...

Ἡ θεία καὶ ἀγία τριάς ...

8. λ. 90-108 Ἱεροῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Γεναδίου τοῦ

Σχολαρίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ νέας Ρώμης ὁμιλία

ῥηθεῖσα περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀμωμήτου πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν.

ἔρωτηθεὶς γὰρ παρὰ ἀμηνῶν σουλτάνου τοῦ Μουχαμέδ.

Сопровождается толкованіемъ:

Μανουὴλ τοῦ Μαλαξοῦ ἐξηγήσις τοῦ πρώτου κεφαλαίου εἰς πεζὴν φράσιν.

Thus we have the exegesis, as in the *Nomocanon* manuscripts, though with evidently no Turkish translation (which is confirmed from an examination of the manuscript), and with an attribution to Manuel rather than to Gregory Malaxos. Comparison of the exegesis in the two cases shows the text of the Sinai manuscript to be fuller throughout. Indeed, the feature extends to the treatise of Gennadius itself, showing that what is involved in the *Nomocanon* is an abbreviation of the overall

¹⁰ Sathas 1868, 186, who moreover claims of him to have authored a *Canon* to the Holy Trinity. There is hardly a mention of him elsewhere (in contrast to other members of the Malaxos clan, viz. Andronicus, John, Manuel, Nicolaos, Stavracios, on whom see Legrand 1889, esp. 205).

¹¹ Beneshevich 1917, 164-165.

content of the *Confession* it contains. I provide for comparison the text of Gennadius's first chapter and the first lines of the exegesis (reproduced with the minimum of alteration):

Sinaiticus 1708, 90r	Siatista 2, 147v
<p>Πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἐστὶ θεὸς δημιουργὸς πάντων. ὅσα εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι. ὅτι οὔτε σώμᾳ ἐστὶν οὔτε σώμᾳ ἔχη, ἀλλὰ ζῆ νοερώς. καὶ ἐστὶ νοῦς ἄριστος. καὶ τελειώτατος. καὶ σοφώτατος. ἀσύνθετος. ἄναρχος. ἀτελεῦτητος. ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόσμον. οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ τόπῳ καὶ ἐστὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ. ταῦτά εἰσιν τὰ ιδιώματα τοῦ θεοῦ. δι' ὧν χωρίζεται ἀπὸ τῶν κλησμάτων αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια τούτοις εἰσὶν.</p>	<p>Πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός, δημιουργὸς πάντων τῶν κκτισμάτων. ὁ σώμᾳ οὐκ ἔχη. ἀλλὰ ζῆ νοερώς. καὶ ἐστὶ νοῦς ἄριστος καὶ τελειώτατος. ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόσμον, ἐν οὐδενὶ τόπῳ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑπάρχει. ταῦτά εἰσιν ιδιώματα τοῦ θεοῦ. δι' ὧν χωρίζεται ἀπὸ τὰ κτίσματα του, καὶ ἄλλα παρόμοια.</p>
Sinaiticus 1708, 90v	Siatista 2, 148r
<p>Τὸ πρῶτον κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν ἔναι νὰ πιστεύης ὅτι ἔναι ἕνας θεὸς μόνος. καὶ αὐτὸς τρισυπόστατος· ἤγουν εἰς τρία πρόσωπα ἀχώριστα ἕνα ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλον· τὸ πρῶτον πρόσωπον ὁ πατὴρ ἀγέννητος· τὸ δεῦτερον ὁ υἱὸς γεννητὸς. καὶ οὐκ ἐκπορευτὸς. τὸ τρίτον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. ἐκπορευτὸν καὶ ὄχι γεννητὸν. ἀμὴ ἔχουν μίαν δύναμιν. μίαν οὐσίαν. μίαν θεότητα. μίαν ἐξουσίαν. μίαν κυριότητα. καὶ μίαν βασιλείαν. ἀρχὴν δὲν ἔχουν οὐδὲ τέλος.</p>	<p>Τὸ α' ὄν κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν ἔναι νὰ πιστεύῃ ὅτι εἶναι εἷς θεὸς μόνος, καὶ τρισυπόστατος. τὸ α' ὄν πρόσωπον ὁ πατὴρ ἀγέννητος, τὸ β' ὄν ὁ υἱὸς γεννητὸς, τὸ γ' ὄν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορευτὸν. πλὴν μίαν δύναμιν ἔχουν, μίαν οὐσίαν, μίαν θεότητα, μίαν ἐξουσίαν. καὶ τὰ τρία εἶναι ἕν, ἄναρχα, καὶ ἀτελεῦτητα.</p>

As for the absence of the Turkish translation in Cod. Sinaiticus 1708, it constitutes a unique case from amongst the output of Manuel Malaxos. Given that the *Nomocanon* case, being an abbreviation,

includes the translation, and that the Sinai manuscript is a copy of the original (or even a copy of a copy of the original), then one may take it as rather likely that there did once exist a form of the *Confession* with full exegesis as well as Turkish translation.

As for the differing ascription of authorship, one can note that the statement of attribution is very brief and gives the impression that it is not the work of the exegete himself. Also of note is that the attribution to Gregory occurs in the context of the *Nomocanon*, within whose title Manuel stated his authorship of the work; yet, this fact is absent from our two cases. The attribution of the exegesis to Manuel, by contrast, occurs in the context of the *Florilegium*, to which Manuel never attached his name.

Looking at the exegesis itself, it is made up of free, sermon-like expositions of matters raised in the *Confession*. It bears all the features of the exegetic practice found in Malaxos's other works.¹² Moreover, one finds in the exegesis of the first chapter of the *Confession* allusions to the opening portions of the *Chronicle of 1570*, viz. (again reproduced with the minimum of alteration):

Sinaiticus 1708, 91r	Vivlion Istorikon ¹³ , p. α' β'
<p>ἀμὴ ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ δὲν ἦτον τίποτα ἠτοιμασμένον προτίτερα. ἀπὸ τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ βάθους τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ εἶπε μόνον λόγῳ καὶ ἔγιναν τὰ πάντα. καὶ τοῦτο λέγει πρῶτον καὶ ὁ μωϋσῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ δαυῖδ αὐτὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν. αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο ἡγοῦν ὄρισεν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. καὶ τὰ ἔκαμε νὰ στέκονται ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου.</p>	<p>μὲ τὸ πλήθος τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ ... εἶπε μόνῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἔγιναν τὰ πάντα.</p> <p>λέγει δὲ ὁ μωϋσῆς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑξαμέρου. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.</p> <p>καὶ ὁ θεῖος λέγει δαυῖδ. ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν. αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. καὶ τὰ ἔκαμε νὰ στέκονται ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου.</p>

¹² See Dyovouniotis 1916 for examples of Malaxos's expository renditions into the vernacular of the *Nomocanon's* originally archaizing texts. In the case of the *Chronicle*, note the practice in the case of biblical quotes throughout the length of the work.

Sinaiticus 1708, 90v	Alexandrensis 97 ¹⁴ , 19r, 19v
<p>καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν διὰ τὰ ξεχωρίσωμεν τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν ἐλλήνων ἀπὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν. οἱ ὅποιοι Ἕλληνας ἔλεγον ὅτι πῶς εἶναι πολλοὶ θεοὶ καὶ τόσον ὀνόμαζαν θεοὺς τὰ στοιχεῖα. ἤγουν τὴν γῆν. τὸ νερὸ. τὴν φωτιά. καὶ τὸν ἀέρα. ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ σημάδια τὰ οὐράνια. ὡσάν τὰ ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνο ὁποῦ λέγουν ἐλληνικά. ζεὺς. ἄρης. ἥλιος. ἀφροδίτη. ἔρμηξ. σελήνη. τὰ ὅποια λέγουν πλανήτες ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ διότι ἐλληνικά θεῶ λέγει τὸ τρέχω. καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἑπτὰ πλανέτα ὁποῦ εἶπα τρέχουν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ περπατοῦν πάντα. διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ὀνόμασαν θεοὺς. ἤγουν ὁποῦ τρέχουν. ἀκόμη ἔλεγον καὶ ὅλα τὰ πάθη τὰ ἀνθρώπινα θεοῦς. δηλαδὴ τὸν φόνον. τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. τὴν κλεψίαν. τὴν ὀργὴν. καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες οἱ ἀληθινοὶ χριστιανοὶ λέγουν. ὅτι ἕνας θεὸς ἔναι δημιουργός. ἤγουν κτίστης.</p>	<p>... τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ κρόνου τοῦ ζεῦ τοῦ ἄρη τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς ἀφροδίτης τοῦ ἔρμη καὶ τῆς σελήνης. ὅπου ὀνομάζονται ἑπτὰ ἄστρη ... αὐτὰ τὰ ἄστρη τὰ ὀνόμασεν πλανήτας</p> <p>ἔκαμαν καὶ χειρότερον ἀπὸ ὅλα τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν ... καὶ ὁ καθένας ἀνθρωπος κατὰ τὸ ἔργον του ὀνόμαζεν θεόν. οἱ γεωργοὶ τὴν γῆν. ἤγουν τὴν δήμητραν. οἱ ψαράδες καὶ ναῦται τὸν ποσειδῶνα ἤγουν τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ πόρνοι καὶ ἀσελεγεῖς τὴν ἀφροδίτην. οἱ φρόνιμοι τὴν ἄθηνᾶν, οἱ κλέπται καὶ φονεῖς τὸν ἄρην. οἱ μεθυσταὶ τὸν διόνυσον. οἱ ψεῦται τὸν ἔρμη. οἱ ὑβρισταὶ τὴν ἱριν. οἱ θερμοὶ καὶ λαμπροὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς τὸν ἀπόλλωνα. οἱ κνηγοὶ τὴν ἄρτεμιν. καὶ καθολικὰ πᾶσα ἕνας ἀνθρωπος εἶχεν καὶ θεὸν ἐδικόν του.</p>

Manuel Malaxos's literary output (which appears to have involved a circle of scribes and apprentices) is characterized by differing versions of his works, which is the result of him (or associates) extending or abbreviating cases according to need. It is in fact quite unlikely that a work that bears all the marks of Manuel's literary practice – that is present in association with works he himself authored and that is attributed to him in its fuller form – cannot be his, especially when there is no independent evidence that Gregory authored anything of the sort.¹⁴

On account of its presence in the manuscripts we have discussed, it emerges that the *Confession* was associated with the principal historical

¹³ Moschonas 1945, 68–69, being another variant of the Chronicle.

¹⁴ There is not a single known manuscript written by Gregory, in contrast to the many by Manuel, Nicolas and John Malaxos (viz. Vogel & Gardthausen, 1909, as well as later listings).

and legal compendia of the post-Byzantine world, as well as with the *Florilegium* by the same author. All this constitutes a testimony to the all-inclusive nature of Greek writing in this era, with history, law, ecclesiastics, science and the like merging and overlapping to present a specific and identifiable body of literature.¹⁵

As for the transmission of the work through the above manuscripts, where the original treatise of the *Confession*, together with the Turkish translation in some of these (and presumably in the original of the Sinai codex as well), and indeed with the accompanying exegesis, make up a sizable portion of their content, this constitutes a testimony to the ongoing interest in this work, and evidently to the exegesis in particular, well into later Ottoman times.

As for the exegesis itself, it is of value as a testimony to the Greeks' appreciation of the *Confession* more than a century after its composition. Its importance is enhanced by its association with the figure of Manuel Malaxos, who was as representative an individual as one could find for his time. An edition of the text would be welcome, but it ought to come from someone appropriately qualified in theology for a proper assessment to be made.

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¹⁵ On Malaxos's rewriting of the Byzantine-era *Physiologus*, see Sakel 2010.

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GENADIJA TICĪBAS APLIECINĀJUMA 16. GADSIMTA BEIGU EKSEĢĒZE

Konstantinopoles patriarha Genadija II *Ticības apliecinājumam*, kas tika sarakstīts pēc osmaņu sultāna Mehmeda II lūguma, bija metiens, kas iekļāva 16. gs. beigu Konstantinopoles zinību vīra Manuila Malaka 1570. *gada hronikas* dažādas formas. Divi *Nomokanona* manuskripti, kuru autors arī bija Malaks, un viena viņa antoloģijas (*Florilegium*) kopija, kas identificēta nesen, ietver *Ticības apliecinājumu* ar ekseģēzi, kas *Nomokanona* manuskriptos tiek piedēvēta Manuila brālēnam un laikabiedram Gregorijam Malakam, bet *Florilegium* gadījumā – Manuilam pašam. Pēc iepazīstināšanas ar šiem materiāliem seko diskusija, kur tiek secināts, ka ekseģēze gandrīz pilnīgi droši bija Manuila darbs, tālāk izceļot šī darba nozīmi gan Manuila Malaka paša literārās darbības kontekstā, gan *Ticības apliecinājuma* saprašanā nēlākos laikos pēc tā sarakstīšanas.

II

MODERN TIMES
JAUNLAIKI

Eleutherios Mystakas, Athens Technological Institute, Greece
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HISTORY AND ART: PAINTINGS AND POEMS DEPICTING THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Brief summary

Greece in the Ruins of Messolonghi by Delacroix and *The Woman of Messolonghi* by De Lansac relate to the concept of freedom and the siege of Messolonghi, linking the history of Greece to the history of the Romantic movement. These paintings can be paralleled to the poems of Dionysios Solomos *To the Death of Lord Byron*, *Hymn to Liberty*, and *The Free Besieged*, as if the paintings by Delacroix were created as illustrations of the poems. Delacroix's dark background, the movement and expression of bodies and faces can be matched in verse, forming a unified historical source of Greek history.

Key words: Solomos, Romanticism, Delacroix, *The Woman of Messolonghi*, *Hymn to Liberty*

Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) painted several paintings in the first half of the 19th century, relating to the Greek War of Independence: *Massacres of Chios* – 1824, Louvre; *Greece in the Ruins of Messolonghi* – 1826, Bordeaux; *Botsaris* – 1826, Toledo; *Scene from the Greek Struggle* – National Gallery of Athens; *Scenes from the current war of Greeks and Turks* – 1826, Collection Oscar Reinhart. The first painting was exhibited to the Salon of 1824 in Paris, for the sake of the Greek cause.

Delacroix was informed about the Greek struggle (cf. *Eugène Delacroix*: 1981, 33-34) from the newspapers of his time (cf. *Ιωάννης Δημάκης* 1997, 15; *Claire Constans* 1997, 13-14). In the early 19th century, the philhellenic movement in France, influenced by the ideas of Voltaire, included the major romantic poets, who wrote about Greece (cf. *Λουκία Δρούλια* 1997, 8-11; *Μαρίνα Λαμπράκη-Πλάκα* 1997, 2f). In England, in Italy and in Russia poets wrote about the Revolution (cf., *Ο Φιλελληνισμός στην ευρωπαϊκή λογοτεχνία* 2002).

The publication of the Greek folk songs by Fauriel in 1824, where some stanzas of the poem *Hymn to Liberty* by Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857) appeared, might have come within Delacroix's notice.



Massacres of Chios (*E. Delacroix*)
Hijas slaktiņš (*E. Delakruā*)



Greece in the Ruins of Messolonghi (*E. Delacroix*)
Grieķija uz Mesolongu drupām (*E. Delakruā*)

However, the painter's interest in Greece should be placed within his wider interest in European literature. The works of romantic novelists and poets in France, Germany and England seem to have determined the context of his paintings (*cf.*, James H. Rubin 2001, 32-47). Scenes from Byron's (1788-1824) works in particular recur in many of Delacroix's works (*cf.*, Paul Ioannides 2001, 130-153). The painting depicting the struggle between Giaour and Pasha, which bears the relevant title, should not be related to the events of the Greek Revolution, but to the actual work of Byron, whom Delacroix admired (*cf.* Eugène Delacroix 1981, 42, 54, 64, 65). Byron's death in Messolonghi probably incited Delacroix's closer interest in the events of the particular place.

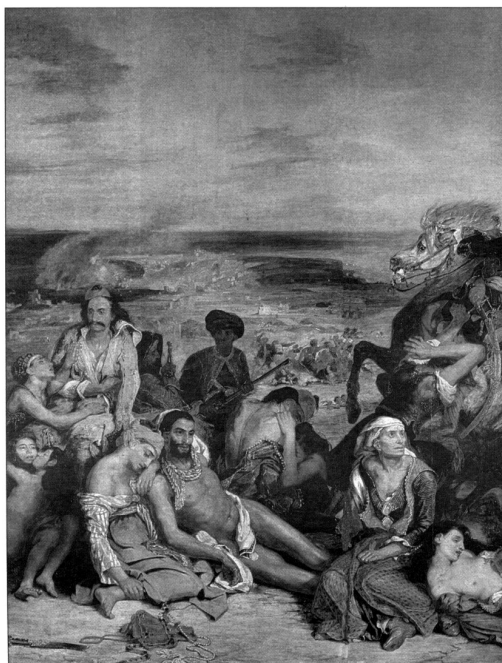
Like Delacroix, Dionysios Solomos never set foot on Messolonghi. Nevertheless, he received information directly from people who came to his native land of Zakynthos during the period of the siege. Solomos was also drawn to Byron's poetry (*cf.*, Louis Coutelle 1977, 214-223; Δημήτρης Αγγελάτος 1992, 28-43; Peter Mackridge 1995, 40-49). The presence of Byron in Greece led Solomos to write the poem *To the Death of Lord Byron*.

In the poem *Glory* (1824), which belongs to the same period of Solomos's poetry as *To the Death of Lord Byron* and *Hymn to Liberty*, the poet observes the void landscape of Psara, very close to the figure of Greece drawn by Delacroix «Στων Ψαρών την ολόμαυρη ράχι/ περπατώντας η Δόξα μονάχη/ μελετά τα λαμπρά παλληκάρια/ και στην κόμη στεφάνι φορεί/ καμωμένο από λίγα χορτάρια/ που είχαν μείνει στην έρημη γη».

In the poem *Hymn to Liberty*, there are also many images which can be related to the paintings «Σε γνωρίζω από την κόψι/ του σπαθιού την τρομερή/ σε γνωρίζω από την όψι/ που με βια μετράει τη γη». The image of the sword and the image of violence remind us of the equivalent scenes depicted by European painters.

Της σκηνής η ώρα, ο τόπος,/ οι κραυγές, η ταραχή
ο σκληρόψυχος ο τρόπος/ του πολέμου και οι καπνοί[...]
και οι βροντές και το σκοτάδι/ όπου άστραφτε η
φωτιά/ επαράσταιναν τον Άδη[...]
Εφαίνοντ' ήσκιου/ αναρίθμητοι γυμνοί/ κόρες,
γέροντες, νεανίσκοι/ βρέφη, ακόμη εις το βυζί[...]
και πεσμένα εις τα χορτάρια/ απεθαίνανε παντού/
τα θλιμμένα απομεινάρια/ της φυγής και του χαμού.

Battles are also depicted with dark colours. Human figures can be related to those in the *Massacres of Chios*, where light is revealing the martyrdom of the defeated, who lie half-dead and naked on the first plane of the painting («απεθαίνανε παντού/τα θλιμμένα απομεινάκια»), whereas the conquerors appear dark. The dark colours and the positions of bodies describe the feelings of desertion.



The Last Communion of the Messolonghiens (L. J. T. Rosignion)
Mesolongiešu svētais vakarēdiens (L. J. T. Rosinjons)

Battle scenes in the *Hymn to Liberty* as well as in *To the Death of Lord Byron* can be compared to Charles Langlois's *The Attack of Ibrahim Pasha against Messolonghi* (Municipal Gallery, Missolonghi), in which the running horses, the falling bodies, the smoke of guns and bombing are depicted in successive bright and dark colours. The battle is at its peak outside the walls of the city, whereas in *The Last Communion of the Messolonghiens* by Rosignion (Private Collection, New York) the battle is seen from within the walls of the city. In Langlois we can see three levels. On the external level, the dead heroes and the mourning female

figure underline the figure of Ibrahim, who attacks the city amidst his innumerable soldiers. It is «the time and the place» of Solomos: «η ώρα και ο τόπος». On the second level, arms and bodies embrace in battle, whereas on the third level, the sky becomes dark with smoke and the bright light of a fire can be seen in the distance: «όπου άστραφτε η φωτιά[...]οι καπνοί και οι βροντές και το σκοτάδι».



The Attack of Ibrahim Pasha against Messolonghi (*Ch. Langlois*)
Paša Ibrahima uzbrukums Mesolongiem (Š. Langluā)

In Rosignon the light of the work is divided in consequent light and dark areas, leading to the scaling of tension. Clouds accumulate in the sky, their density makes light fade, while pink colours change into dark violet. In the lower part of the canvas, a crowd of half naked figures, fighters, women, children, elderly, wounded, gather around the priest. Warm colours prevail here, and light struggles with darkness «ήσκιοι αναρίθμητοι γυμνοί». Numerous human bodies in a wild state – people praying and crying – inside the half-ruined walls of the city, preparing for the last Holy Communion on the eve of their death: «οι κραυγές, η ταραχή επαράσταιναν τον Άδη». Battle and religion are also depicted in Louis Benjamin Devouge's *Messolonghi* (Benaki Museum, Athens): the people of the city fight their battle with the blessings of their priest.

The image of the breastfeeding baby relates closely to Francois Emile de Lansac's *Scene from the Exodus of Messolonghi* or *The Woman of Messolonghi* (Municipal Gallery, Missolonghi), where the mother, having already killed her own baby, is preparing to take her own life in order to relieve herself of a disgraced life. In the background, ancient ruins imply the historical past. Passion for freedom is greater than passion for life, a strong belief of the 19th century, when the connection of the Greek Revolution to Ancient Greece was a common belief (Cf., Antony D. Smith 2000).



Scene from the Exodus of Messolonghi or The Woman of Messolonghi
(Fr. E. de Lansac)

Bēgšana no Mesolongiem jeb Mesolongiete (F. E. Delansaks)

In stanza no. 95 of the *Hymn*, the emphasis on light resembles the white and pink colours of the body of Delacroix's Greece, which prevails over the dark surroundings of Messolonghi (cf. Anna Kafetsi 1985, 14-17):

«Λάμπριν έχει όλη φλογώδη/ χείλος, μέτωπο, οφθαλμός:
φως το χέρι, φως το πόδι,/ κι όλα γύρω σου είναι φως.»

The figure of Greece is an ideal presence in Delacroix, and so is Glory in Solomos's poem about Psara. Delacroix points out in his diary: «Η δόξα δεν είναι μια μάταια λέξη για μένα[...]Η φύση έχει βάλει αυτό το αίσθημα σε όλες τις καρδιές» (Eugène Delacroix 1981, 40). Greece has the form of a young woman, combining the neoclassical concept of beauty with the bold illustration of Romanticism. It is a

majestic as well as an attractive figure. She emerges alone, in the space provided by the painting, relating to the poet's line «περπατώντας η δόξα μονάχη», while the light of the work is skillfully restricted to this figure, leaving all other narrative details of the work in dimlight. The white gown, the pale pink body and the scarf covering the head constitute an illuminated triangle, wide in its lower part and narrow in its upper part, like a candle light: «λάμπριν έχει όλη φλογώδη χείλος μέτωπο οφθαλμός». The surrounding Messolonghi is burnt and in ruins, implied by details: a black mountain side – «ολόμαυρη ράχη», a desolate earth – «έρημη γη». Greece is leaning her arms towards the dead, the bright youth – «τα λαμπρά παλλικάρια», kneeling, and yet standing as well. Her glance, as we may observe, is neither gazing at the spectator nor some other clearly indicated point; it seems to be an immobilized gaze, completely still with the internalized image of disaster.

An element alien to the depiction of sacrifice and struggle for freedom, which is present in the female figures of Delacroix and De Lansac, is the expression of sensuality, which emerges both from the figure of Greece and the body of *The Woman of Messolonghi*. The bursting breasts, painted with plastic exactness, with pale pink strokes, revealing the bodily charms of a beautiful young woman, relates to the approach of Delacroix towards the female figure, in which the sensual aspect prevails. If we read stanzas 83, 84 and 85 of the *Hymn*, we are faced with relevant scenes of bodily charms and female beauty:

Στη σκιά χειροπιασμένες/ στη σκιά βλέπω κ' εγώ/
κρηνοδάχτυλες παρθένες/ όπου κάνουνε χορό
Στο χορό γλυκογυρίζουν/ ωραία μάτια ερωτικά/
και εις την αύρα κυματίζουν/ μαύρα, ολόχρυσα μαλλιά
Η ψυχή μου αναγαλλιάζει/ πώς ο κόρφος καθεμιάς/
γλυκοβύζαστο ετοιμάζει/ γάλα ανδρείας και ελευθερίας

The images of the dancing light-skinned virgins and their waving bright black hair resemble the dark hair of Greece in Delacroix; the sweet breasts of these virgins relate to *The Woman of Messolonghi*. In the poem *To the Death of Lord Byron* (1825), in stanzas 66 and 67, the heroic female figure reveals her charms, forgotten by the lack of freedom and by misfortunes:

μία γυναίκα, που 'χε βάλει/
μεσ' στα βάσανα ο καιρός,/ ξαναδείχνοντας τα
κάλλη/ που της έσβησε ο ζυγός



Botsaris Surprises the Camp of the Turks (E. Delacroix)
 Bocara negaidītāis uzbrukums turku nometnei (E. Delakruā)

The events of the Greek Revolution seem to have moved painters of Delacroix's artistic orientations (Κατερίνα Σπετσιέρη-Beschi 2000, *Η Ελληνική Επανάσταση* 1997). Neoclassical painters were attracted mostly to ancient Greek myths, whereas the romantic artists focused on current affairs: the struggle of the Greeks. Most of the works illustrating scenes of the Greek Revolution have a neoclassical origin; illustration is careful; details are expressed with accuracy. Delacroix is by far a painter who goes beyond this neoclassicist or the so-called academic style. As the art historians point out, he is the exact opposite of Ingres (cf. James H. Rubin 2001, 30-32). Delacroix goes deep into the core of Romanticism. His choice of style in painting is distinctly poetic: «Among painters one can discern between prose writers and poets», he comments in his diary (cf. Eugène Delacroix 1981, 57). His painting does not depend on well-drawn, fully completed illustration, which is so important in neoclassical style. He comments:

the beauty of verse is not found in the level of accuracy with which one obeys rules[...]it is found in a thousand hidden harmonies and matches, which make up the poetic force and belong to the sphere of

imagination. Moreover, it is certain that the happy choice of forms and their relation act upon imagination in the art of painting (cf. Eugène Delacroix 1981, 57).

He claims that «the artists who seek perfection in everything are those who cannot reach it in any field» (cf. Eugène Delacroix 1981, 143).

The above views appear very clearly in the work of Delacroix *Botsaris Surprises the Camp of the Turks*. The variety and power of colours replaces the chiaroscuro. Here we do not have a strict illustration of forms, or the description of details in every narrative element, which leads to the inevitable result of content disperse. We observe an apparent break of line in drawing outlines, whereas the limits of successive colours, the obvious brush strokes of bright colours, almost pure, unmixed on the left lower part, and the formation of light in bright and dark areas, add a unique, unprecedented intensity to movement and create the sensation of velocity of an improvisation gesture. Accordingly, assault emerges as a surprise and explosion.

To add to the parallels between Solomos and Delacroix, Solomos wrote three drafts of *The Free Besieged*; Delacroix returned to his painting about Botsaris close to the end of his life – the first painting he had painted during the years of the Revolution. *The Free Besieged* can also be related to the images presented by the paintings. The setting in which the fighter talks to his weapons, the land where Byron and Botsaris found their grave, creates a contrast between the imminent death and the beauty of nature at its best (not irrelevant to the actual date of the last day of the siege: the 11th of April 1826). The image of the great mother-figure, the homeland, in the third draft of the poem can be also a memory of the figure of Greece, wondering in the ruins of the city:

*Μητέρα μεγαλόψυχη στον πόνο και στη δόξα,
κι' αν στο κρυφό μυστήριο ζουν πάντα τα παιδιά σου
με λογισμό και μ' όνειρο, τι χαρ' έχουν τα μάτια,*

The part played by women throughout the siege is mentioned in various extracts of the second and the third draft with emphasis. The scene of the fearless female presence, ready to die instead of being captured and dishonored, is best expressed in two lines from the 3rd draft, reminding us of the relevant scene as depicted by de Lansac:

*«Αηδονολάλειε στήθος μου, πριν το σπαθί σε σχίση..
με σας να πέσω στο σπαθί, κι άμποτε να 'μαι πρόωτη!»*

The contrast between the beauty of nature and the fatal end is described in detail in the part *Ο Πειρασμός*, completed with the presence of a young girl wrapped in the moonlight. The female figure, which appears bright on a dark background, a background of death and destruction, a contrast typical in Hegelian philosophy, is also a major contrast in the works of romantic poets contemporary to Solomos. Delacroix, De Lansac, Langlois, Rosignion and Devouge belong to the circle of romantic painters; among them, the most well-known, Delacroix, seems to have been influenced by all the major romantic poets and their works.

Although Solomos and Delacroix, as well as the other European painters mentioned have different sources of information, it is indeed most interesting to notice that the scenes depicted in their works appear to be closely related. We traced parallel images between the poet, who had immediate access to information about the struggle of Messolonghi – even if he never went near the place – and the painters, whose information was more indirect, collected from articles in newspapers, translated Greek folk songs, translated poems of Solomos, poems about the Greek cause, the general movement of the philhellenes and, above all, the impact of Byron, especially after his death on Greek soil. The reception of historical events without direct knowledge – e.g., through Lord Byron, who participated in the events – lead to similarities in the works of the poet Solomos, the works of Delacroix as well as in the works of many European painters. The style, which is partly or wholly responsible for this coincidence, is in fact Romanticism.

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VĒSTURE UN MĀKSLA: GRIEĶU NEATKARĪBAS KARA ATAINOJUMS GLEZNIĒCĪBĀ UN DZEJĀ

Eiropas mākslinieku gleznas par grieķu revolūcijas tēmu sasaista Grieķijas vēsturi ar romantisma vēsturi. Delakruā darbs *Grieķija uz Mesolongu drupām* vai Delansaka (De Lansac) *Mesolongiete* saistāmi ar brīvības jēdzienu un līdzdalību Mesolongu aplenkumā. Iespējams vilkt paralēles starp krāsu izmantojumu cilvēku tēlu atveidei minētajās gleznās un cilvēku attēlojumu Dionisija Soloma dzejoļos *Oda Lordam Bironam*, *Himna brīvībai* un *Brīvie ielenktie*, it kā Delakruā būtu radījis savas gleznas kā šo dzejoļu ilustrācijas. Gleznu fona tumšās krāsas, kas norāda uz dabas spēku iesaistīšanos, cilvēku ķermeņu kustības vai sejas izteiksmes gleznās rodamas arī Soloma dzejas rindās. Hijas salas iznīcināšana, Mesolongu aplenkums, Bairaona līdzdalība grieķu cīņā paralēli tēlota 19. gs. sākuma Eiropas glezniecībā un grieķu dzejā kā vienots Grieķijas vēstures avots.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME? FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN RIGAS'S *HELLENIC REPUBLIC*

Brief summary

During the Greek Enlightenment Rigas was one of the first scholars to renew political vocabulary in an attempt to offer an alternative political solution to replace the declining Ottoman Empire. Influenced by the European tradition of radicalism and republicanism he expressed aspirations that no one had dared to voice in the past. In this respect, he was the first political thinker to introduce modern ideas of self-government. However, Rigas could not foresee the newly-born principle of nationality which rose out of the French Revolution. Hence, he could not avoid transforming Jacobinist principles into a nationalist ideology through the role he attributed to the Greek culture within his *Hellenic Republic*.

Key words: *Greek Enlightenment, Rigas, radicalism, Jacobins, nationalism*

More than two hundred years have passed since Rigas Velestinlis (1757-1798) wrote his *Nea Politiki Dioikisis* (1797) for all people suffering under Ottoman rule in the Balkans. So far, scholars dealing with his work shared the conviction that he was largely influenced by the European tradition of radicalism and republicanism.¹ In essence, he transferred post-revolutionary Jacobinist ideas, which sought to ensure loyalty to the revolutionary doctrines, to the Balkans.² Undoubtedly, his revolutionary attitude contributed to the development of the

¹ Kitromilides 2006, 58 and Tabaki 2000, 10. In another study Kitromilides (2000a, 288-335) offers a detailed discussion of Rigas's republican and liberal attributes. Dimaras (1977, 51 and 483, footnote 17) notes that the local Greek nobility that celebrated the revolutionary doctrines of the «restored French democracy» along with a French official in the Phanariot court in Bucharest in 1795 was accused of Jacobinism. Rigas was still in Bucharest in 1795 (Daskalakis 1977, 32) and he could possibly be part of this Phanariot celebrating company.

² Kitromilides 2000b, 11-16. In detail, Kitromilides (2000b, 11) shares with Mazauric (1984) the idea of Jacobinism as a «cultural revolution» in order to view Rigas's thought as a Balkan version of Jacobinism.

subsequent numerous national movements in the Balkans.³ As Kitromilides points out, his plan would also inspire the leaders of the new Greek state to transform the pre-national cosmopolitan radicalism of the Enlightenment into radical nationalism.⁴ In this paper I set out to revise the widely-accepted view that Greek nationalism was only a romantic by-product. Instead, I opt for a more nuanced interpretation of the later stages of the Greek Enlightenment by commenting on Rigas's political manifesto.

I will first provide a brief account of the political scene of the time in broad brushstrokes. First, the French Revolution undoubtedly overshadowed all other political events in Europe.⁵ Furthermore, at the turn of the nineteenth century the Greek Enlightenment reached its peak. In France, but also in the Greek lands, the revolution affected the content of political language: the «throne» or the «monarch» was replaced with the «people» and the «nation». This renewed political language also affected the way Greek-speaking scholars viewed their compatriots. In other words, a transformation in Greek self-perception took place.⁶ In principle, I subscribe to this *locus communis* without hesitation. Many aspects of this shift, though, still remain unexamined. For this reason, in this paper, I set out to explore (inevitably in a sketchy way) how Rigas used Greek culture to renew political language in order to transform Jacobinist principles into an «enlightened nationalist» ideology. This form of nationalism originated

³ Kitromilides (1990, 28-33) describes the diverse «democratic celebrations» in Constantinople and elsewhere which were inspired by the French original festivities.

⁴ Kitromilides 1990, 134-135.

⁵ Lefebvre (1947, 1-5) interprets the revolution in Marxist terms of class conflicts, mainly between the bourgeoisie linked to a capitalist economy and the displaced aristocracy still adherent to the older feudal system. The ultimate cause of the French Revolution, according to Lefebvre, was the rise of the bourgeoisie. Doyle (1980) offers an alternative revisionist account by stressing not only the intra-class conflicts but also the argument that neither the nobles nor the bourgeois could claim an exclusive link with the market-oriented sector of the economy; instead, he underlines the emergence of a mixed elite, which originated from the wealthiest parts of both the nobility and the bourgeoisie, committed to a reform programme and concerned to protect the right of property against both royal misuse and the threat of social upheaval from below.

⁶ Tabaki (2004, 36) attributes these shifts in mentality to innovative initiatives taken by merchants, especially as regards educational issues. The Andersonian (Anderson 1991, 46) argument that print-capitalism and language accommodated the emergence of an «imagined community» can be applied in the Greek case to explain the emergence of a Greek identity during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

from the liberal doctrines of the Enlightenment and was very different to the subsequent Romantic nationalist ideas which were spread all over Europe later in the nineteenth century.

Rigas called most of the Balkan people to take part in his multi-cultural state. He started his *New Political Administration* as follows:

Ὁ λαός, ἀπόγονος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁποῦ κατοικεῖ τὴν Ρούμελην, τὴν Μικρὰν Ἀσίαν, τὰς Μεσογείους Νήσους, τὴν Βλαχομπογδανίαν, καὶ ὅλοι ὅσοι στενάζουν ὑπὸ τὴν δυσφορωτάτην τυραννίαν τοῦ ὀθωμανικοῦ βδελυρωτάτου δεσποτισμοῦ, ἢ ἐβιάσθησαν νὰ φύγουν εἰς ξένα βασίλεια διὰ νὰ γλιτώσουν ἀπὸ τὸν δυσβάστακτον καὶ βαρὺν αὐτοῦ ζυγόν, ὅλοι λέγω, Χριστιανοὶ καὶ Τοῦρκοι, χωρὶς κανέναν ξεχωρισμὸν θρησκείας.⁷

In this passage Rigas addressed his call to the suffering *people* of the Balkans without religious or ethnic discriminations.⁸ The opening period, though, is carefully structured to categorize two kinds of citizens: the descendants of Ancient Greeks (Christians) and Turks. In this formulation he revealed the «cultural givens» of his time as regards the perception and typology of the Balkan people. Beaton stresses freedom of choice as the *spiritus movens* of national self-denomination in Rigas's writings. For example, freedom of choice gave the right to Moisiodax and Perraivos to be regarded as Greeks despite their Vlach and Slav origin respectively. This freedom of choice, though, was what made Rigas's plan utopian⁹ because, for example, a Turk or a Slav would have to imagine himself as a «Hellene».¹⁰

«Ἑλληγ» was one of the most influential and appealing terms in Rigas's plan.¹¹ But who would be a «Hellene» in Rigas's terms?

⁷ Kitromilides 2000b, 33.

⁸ In this quotation, though, Rigas did not include the Jews.

⁹ Beaton (2007, 83) stresses that in Rigas's work it was a matter of choice and conviction to be a «Hellene». In other words, the re adoption of «Hellene» as a political term for the self-denomination of the Greeks was based more on the criterion of deliberate choice and less on actual racial continuity.

¹⁰ Rigas's plan suffered from the naiveties of «proto-nationalism»; Hobsbawm 1991, chapter 2. I interpret as naivety the feeling of collective belonging that united numerous quite different individuals from all over the world to a certain purpose, a religious or commercial feast. In my view, this naivety would come to an end when the «spirit of nations» came to prevail at the end of the eighteenth century.

¹¹ Kitromilides 2000b, 67 and 71. Especially regarding military service *Néa Πολιτική Διοίκησης* provided that «ὅλοι οἱ Ἕλληγες εἶναι στρατιῶται [...] ὡς

«Hellene» was already a significantly loaded term, and it was its wide symbolic connotations that led him to exploit it. In his formulations he capitalized ideologically on the cultural domination of the Greek-speaking middle class and the Orthodox network in the Balkans. Rigas gave priority to the Greeks since they were best-placed in the Balkans compared to other ethnicities due to their powerful network based on Orthodox religion and commerce. They had the best chance to succeed in putting into practice the lessons of the French Revolution.¹² His plan had a distinctive Greek character, offering the chance to any Balkan inhabitant to become a citizen as long as he would like to be dressed up as, and transform himself culturally into, a citizen of the «Hellenic Republic». His conception extended well beyond the limits of the restricted Ancient Greek mainland, including the once central area of the Byzantine Empire.

In Rigas's plan the new concept of citizenship would offer everyone the chance to become a citizen. In his case the preconditions of citizenship were related to the cultural givens of the multi-cultural conditions within the Ottoman Empire. Despite the fact that he introduced the new concept of citizenship – «Κάθε ἄνθρωπος γεννημένος καὶ κατοικῶντας εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ βασιλεῖον εἴκοσι ἐνὸς χρόνου ἡλικίας, εἶναι πολίτης»,¹³ – the name of the state Rigas envisaged was *Ελληνική Δημοκρατία*: «Ἡ Ἑλληνική Δημοκρατία εἶναι μία, μὲ ὅλον ὁποῦ συμπεριλαμβάνει εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς διάφορα γένη καὶ θρησκείας». While «ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ λαὸς εἶναι ὅλοι οἱ κάτοικοι τοῦ βασιλείου τούτου χωρὶς ἐξαιρέσιν θρησκείας καὶ διαλέκτου· Ἕλληνες, Βούλγαροι, Ἀλβανοί, Βλάχοι, Ἀρμένηδες, Τούρκοι καὶ κάθε ἄλλον εἶδος γενεᾶς»,¹⁴ the sovereign people was called «ελληνικός λαός».

καὶ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες βαστοῦν μιζράκια εἰς τὸ χέρι» or elsewhere the text reads «κάθε Ἕλλην ἢ Ἑλληνίς, ὁμοίως καὶ κάθε κάτοικος τῆς δημοκρατίας ταύτης» should wear a special badge indicative of his/ her national identity. Vranousis (1992, 347-88) points out that this directive was in accordance with the equivalent French regulations that required every French citizen to wear a three-coloured badge. Hunt (1984, 81) shows that, according to the French *Moniteur* of 5 December 1798, the state reserved the right to punish those citizens found not wearing the three-coloured badge.

¹² Manassis 1998, 344. There were rebellions within the Greek lands before Rigas's revolutionary call, such as the Orloff uprising in 1769 (and, also, after him, such as the first Serbian upheaval in 1804), but Rigas was the first to articulate a complete political plan for the future state.

¹³ Kitromilides 2000b, 46.

¹⁴ Kitromilides 2000b, 48.

Rigas's utopian choices exposed the weak points of his plan. The multi-cultural state he envisaged would safeguard the rights of the people against the arbitrariness of the Sultan. Within his multi-cultural state every people would be identified as «ἑλληνικός λαός». If they wanted to be free, they had to be identified as «Hellenes». His multi-cultural state inspired by liberalism was named «Hellenic Republic» after one of the Balkan peoples: Hellenes. Rigas enthusiastically attempted to transfer the revolutionary doctrines to the Balkan peoples in order to save them from the Ottomans.

In essence, Rigas expressed the need for modernity in the Balkans and his work has been seen as influenced by the doctrines and the spirit of Jacobinism.¹⁵ In France Jacobinism emerged out of the French Revolution as a theory of modernity.¹⁶ As an ideology Jacobinism was linked to «patriotism», which was supported by the «patriots» of the French Revolution.¹⁷ Claims of modernity could take quite disparate forms, depending on the socio-cultural and political settings they were articulated in. The French had a state and succeeded in their revolution. In contrast, the Balkans first needed a revolution and, then, a new state to replace the Ottoman Empire. Once this target was satisfied, Rigas's «New Political Administration» would aspire to serve as the yardstick by which to measure the democratic qualities of the imagined Balkan state or, in other words, the «Ελληνική Δημοκρατία», as he called it. His utopian plan was well in tune with the numerous similar proposals for social change and governmental reforms, while questioning the established definitions of the nation and the legitimate source of authority within it.¹⁸ In France, revolutionary rhetoric revolved around the concept of patriotism which was the driving force of Jacobinism.¹⁹

¹⁵ Kitromilides 2000a, 288-335.

¹⁶ Fehér (1987, 11) interprets Jacobinism as a theory of modernity which distinguished between three «logics» (as he calls them): industrialization, capitalism and the process of creating democracy.

¹⁷ Kitromilides (2000b, 14) stresses that Rigas's thought constituted a Balkan version of Jacobinism viewed as «cultural revolution».

¹⁸ Tomaselli (2006, 14) specifically refers to the numerous instances in France where a gamut of intellectuals that ranged from famous scholars, such as Montesquieu, to unknown pamphleteers expressed their concerns and suggestions for social and governmental reforms.

¹⁹ Bouloiseau (1983, 31) points out that while prior to the French Revolution patriotism was all about unquestioned faith to the king and clergy, after 1789 the concept acquired a nationally inspired meaning and was linked with national causes.

The Greek case, though, differed from the French. Despite the fact that in large measure Rigas adapted and translated the constitutions that followed the French Revolution, namely, those of 1793 and 1795,²⁰ the social and political setting in the Balkans was different from the social milieu that caused the French Revolution. Rigas admitted that he borrowed only the form, (*τον τύπον*), from the French constitutions since he would compose his own work to match the Greek spirit (*το ελληνικόν πνεύμα*), as he confessed just before his death.²¹ In his attempt, therefore, to import the doctrines of the French Revolution into different social and political circumstances, Rigas inevitably transformed their spirit.

The crucial difference between Rigas and the Jacobins was that while the Jacobins were the radical guardians of an already existing revolutionary ideology inside a French state, albeit a disparate and multi-ethnic one, Rigas was the first to attempt to create such a political ideology for the establishment of a state, in this case, a multi-cultural one, for the Balkans. Rigas's «New Political Administration» was based on Enlightenment doctrines: rationalization of the state,²² freedom and equality.²³ His main goal was to achieve a political redistribution and reallocation of power within the Ottoman Empire. As in the case of Rigas, who aspired to transform every Ottoman subject into a citizen within his «Hellenic Republic», so the Jacobins believed that the true republican had to be worthy of his title of citizen.²⁴

Given the lack of a state in Rigas's case, patriotism was transformed into nationalism since the main goal of his plan was the creation of a state. The Jacobins themselves eventually departed from the mainstream liberalism of the French Revolution and favoured the idea of the nation

²⁰ Much earlier than Rigas the Poulis brothers had already hosted the *Διακήρυξις των Δικαιωμάτων του Ατόμου και του Πολίτη* in their *Εφημερίς* in 1791; Tabaki 2004, 37.

²¹ In a statement of confession during his capture Rigas mentioned that regarding the French Constitution «μόνον τὸν τύπον θέλει νὰ παραλάβῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, θὰ συντάξῃ δὲ ἄλλο κατὰ τὸ ἑλληνικὸν πνεῦμα»; Legrand 1996, 68-69.

²² In Rigas's case rationalization did not mean dechristianization as in the Jacobin rhetoric and revolutionary practice, as Kennedy (2000, 151-75) points out.

²³ Equality, according to Brinton (1930, 155), was the highest social aim of the Jacobins and their clubs.

²⁴ Bouloiseau (1983, 31) stresses the rhetoric used by Robespierre to link moral with civic virtue and relate good citizens to good patriots.

along with Sièyes²⁵ by invoking an ideology which approximated to nationalism, that is, Jacobin nationalism.²⁶ Nevertheless, the driving force behind Rigas's plan was an «enlightened nationalism». This form of nationalism originated from the liberal doctrines of the Enlightenment and it was very different to the subsequent Romantic nationalist ideas which were spread all over Europe later in the nineteenth century. Rigas blended liberal and radical ideas with nationalist aspirations to achieve his democratic plans. Consequently, due to the different political setting in the Balkans, he transformed imported Jacobinist principles into a nationalist ideology, given the role he attributed to the Greeks and the lack of an autonomous Greek state at that time.²⁷

Rigas wanted to set up a multi-cultural state. The crucial aspect of his plan is the name he chose for his state: «Ελληνική Δημοκρατία». In other words, he created a «Hellenic Republic» for the sake of all Albanians, Bulgarians, Serbians and Turks: «Ἡ Ἑλληνική Δημοκρατία εἶναι μία, μὲ ὅλον ὅπου συμπεριλαμβάνει εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς διάφορα γένη καὶ θρησκείας».²⁸ What linked Rigas and nationalism was the role he attributed to the Greeks in relation to the other ethnicities of his time by ideologically capitalizing on the economic and cultural control the Greeks had over the Balkans due to their commercial ties with Western European countries.²⁹ All these ethnicities are called *γένη*, but all these *γένη*, according to Rigas, must learn the spoken Greek language as a means to communicate with each other: «Ὅλοι οἱ νόμοι καὶ αἱ προσταγαὶ γίνονται εἰς τὴν ἀπλὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, ὡς πλέον εὐκατάληπτον καὶ εὐκόλον νὰ σπουδασθῆ ἀπ' ὅλα τὰ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον τοῦτο ἐμπεριεχόμενα γένη».³⁰ His plan aimed to make the Greek language the basic means of communication among all the citizens of his envisaged state. Consequently, «Ἐκεῖνος ὅπου

²⁵ According to Fehér (1987, 52) it was the crisis of the Enlightenment, as Jacobins conceived it, and the issue of the theoretical foundation of modern democracy that made them depart from liberalism and draw on the metaphysics of the nation in Sièyes's terms (p. 59).

²⁶ Sa'adah (1990, 197) argues that Jacobins's political agenda was an alternative liberalism compared to its Anglo-American counterpart. She also holds that Jacobins exercised what she calls Jacobin nationalism to respond to diverse social problems (p. 196).

²⁷ In his discussion of Rigas's ideology Noutsos (2001, 171) comes to a different conclusion by stressing Rigas's «democratic» aspirations.

²⁸ Kitromilides 2000b, 45.

²⁹ Svoronos 1988, 51-55.

³⁰ Kitromilides 2000b, 56.

ὁμιλεῖ τὴν ἀπλὴν ἢ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν [...] εἶναι Ἑλλήν καὶ πολίτης».³¹

The choice Rigas offered to all Ottoman subjects to become «Hellenes» through the adoption of Greek language served the emancipation, both social and personal, from Ottoman rule, as Mackridge points out.³² This emancipation, though, was to be achieved through cultural homogenization in Rigas's much hoped-for «Hellenic Republic». Rigas invoked both the Ancient Greek and Byzantine heritage in order to shape the political character of the multi-cultural state he envisaged. His «enlightened nationalist» aspirations offered the ideological framework for the cultural homogenization of the Balkans under the domination of the Greeks. Inside his multi-ethnic state, which was destined to succeed the Ottoman Empire, the new concept of citizenship would offer everyone the chance to become a citizen. Although Jacobin influences inspired his work, it was the political needs of the Greeks and the idealized Ancient Greek civilization that echoed a nationalist ideology for the new state.

This nationalist ideology, though, was based on the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment and it had nothing to do with Romantic nationalist doctrines which were developed during subsequent decades. Hence in Rigas's democratic plan freedom of choice meant above all that the Balkan people had only one choice: if they wanted to be free, they had to become «Hellenes». Only through the adoption of a Greek citizenship Balkan people could imagine themselves free. In other words, Rigas's freedom of choice prefigured the emergence of nationalism as the *spiritus movens* behind claims of independence on the part of subject cultural communities which saw themselves as potential nations. However paradoxical this type of «enlightened nationalism» may seem, it hid in a disguised form the most dangerous threat of the all-inclusive enlightening liberal ideas, i.e. the exclusivist doctrine of the «nation».

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³¹ Kitromilides 2000b, 46.

³² Mackridge 2008, 3. An earlier shorter version of this article can be found in Mackridge 2007, 475-83.

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VĀRDA SPĒKS. IZVĒLES BRĪVĪBA RĪGA GRIEKĪJAS REPUBLIKĀ

Grieķu apgaismības periodā Rīgs bija viens no pirmajiem, kas atjaunināja politisko leksiku, piedāvājot alternatīvu politisku risinājumu norietošajai osmaņu impērijai. Eiropas radikālisma un republikānisma tradīciju iespaidā un Ruso un Monteskjē ideju iedvesmots, viņš skaļi runāja par mērķiem, kurus neviens līdz šim nebija uzdrošinājies nosaukt. Viņa iedomātajā valstī jaunais pilsonības jēdziens dotu katram iespēju kļūt par brīvu pilsoni. Tādējādi viņš bija pirmais politiskais domātājs, kas ieviesa modernās idejas par pašvaldību un acināja visas Balkānu tautas iztēloties sevi kā neatkarīgas kultūras kopienas multikulturālā un brīvā valstī. Taču Rīgs nevarēja paredzēt jaunā nācijas principa rašanos franču revolūcijas rezultātā, kas pati bija jaunlaiku produkts. Viņa plāns palīdzēja visām Balkānu etniskajām grupām uzspodrināt savu neatkarīgu un brīvu kopienu paštēlu. Taču viņš nespēja izvairīties no jakobīņu principu izmantošanas, veidojot nacionālistisku ideoloģiju un lomu, kuru ierādīja grieķu kultūrai savā darbā *Grieķijas Republika*.

Pētījums veltīts šī konceptuālā paradoksa analīzei jēdzienu vēstures teorētiskā aspektā. Rakstā pievērsta uzmanība Rīga politiskās leksikas transformācijām laikā, kad uz Rietumeiropas sociālo un politisko pārmaiņu fona tika veidoti jauni jēdzieni un vecie ieguva jaunu nozīmi.

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THE COMMON DESTINY OF HUMAN BEINGS AND TREES IN THE MODERN GREEK POETRY FROM 1880 TO DATE. FIRST APPROACH

Brief summary

The present paper aims to explore the importance of the symbol of «tree» in the works of Greek poets of different generations since 1880s. This first approach discusses several diachronic aspects of the subject, such as the nostalgic «reinvention» of nature at the end of the 19th century, the equation of the destiny of trees to human sacrifices during the Second World War and the first postwar period, as well as the ecological concerns emphatically expressed in the poetics of the most recent years. The article argues that this theme is persistent in the Greek poetry, continually enriched by the concerns of each generation.

Key words: poetry, tree, war, human destiny, ecology

Gilbert Durant remarks in his study *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire* that the tree is a humanised symbol, eminent verticality in nature, similar to humans in their vertical stance. As Durant writes, «the tree does not sacrifice and carries no danger, it is the one that is sacrificed instead, burnt wood, always beneficial even when it is used in torture».¹ He also remarks that «a tree is always born by the death of a hero, thus announcing his resurrection».² Durant holds that, as the tree is governed by the circular alternation of the seasons, it represents time, and, consequently, its fate is closely associated with human destiny.

Since the era of Romanticism, the notion of progress is in conflict with the ideals of nature and artistic creation and the presence of nature is experienced by the poets as a nostalgic recollection of a lost paradise.³ In 1806, William Wordsworth (1770-1850), in one of his

¹ See Durand, G. *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire. Introduction à l'archétypologie générale*, 398.

² See Durand, op. cit., 342

³ See Highet, G. *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Litera-*

best-known poems, accused his contemporaries of having killed their souls, being unable to feel the grandeur of nature anymore, as their sole goal is to make money.⁴ In Europe, the 19th century was the century of predominance of materialism, capital and industry, and poets hated this materialistic world, in which they were obliged to live as exiles.⁵

In the Greek society of the 19th century, a great part of the population sought a better life in the cities, leaving their villages and the countryside behind. Against this trend of urbanism, the town poets, influenced by the French Parnassianism and by the Folk literature and demoticism, turned towards their roots: they «discovered» the folk civilization, the uneducated and unsophisticated people of the countryside, and the simplicity of the folksong.⁶ The themes relating to forest and trees – with various connotations, from the plainest and most conventional to the most implicit and symbolic – were revived and began to play a considerable role in the poetry of the 1880s.

For instance, Kostas Palamas (1859-1943), the intellectual leader of the generation of the 1880s, who brought the «Idea» of the demotic Greek language to prominence, uses a metaphor of the oncoming spring: «Yet I see something; I see through a dim light that foretells the dawn, I see in the middle of winter almond trees blooming into the flowers of the Idea.» («Και όμως βλέπω κάτι βλέπω μέσα σ' ένα θαμποφέξιμο, που μας μηνάει το ξημέρωμα, βλέπω μέσα στο χειμώνα ολανθισμένες τις μυγδαλιές της Ιδέας.»)⁷ In the *Twelve Words of the Gypsy* (*Ο Δωδεκάλογος του Γύφτου*),⁸ a Gypsy, the wanderer and denier of everything, is standing «towered like a branch, the topmost,/of an unpruned, of an ageless,/of a barren, shady tree» «σαν κορφοβλάσταρο / δέντρου ακλάδευτου κι αγέραστου / κι άκαρπου βαρίσκιωτου δεντρού»,⁹ uncommitted, without past and future, until he comes across a violin whose music will help him head towards progress positively, through the paths of tradition: «one April morning/ in a green, sheltered valley/ I noticed something on the ground/half buried in the earth [...] then I bent down and found a violin» («μιαν

ture, 586-588.

⁴ Wordsworth, W. The World is too much with Us. Sonnet 33, in *Miscellaneous Sonnets* (1807).

⁵ See also Koumanoudis, Ang. *Le mythe de Pan dans la littérature grecque et française des XIXe et Xxe siècles*, 39-57.

⁶ See Meraklis, M. Introduction, in *Greek Poetry*, 26-39.

⁷ Palamas, K. *Complete Works*, vol. 6, 186-187.

⁸ We quote translated excerpts from *Kostas Palamas' «The Twelve Words of the Gypsy»*. Translated by Theodore Ph. Stephanides and George C. Katsimbalis.

⁹ Palamas, K. *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*. «Word I. The Arrival». *Ibid.*

απριλιάτικη αυγή / στο βαθυπράσινο λαγκάδι [...] κάτι αγναντεύω κατά γης / μισοθαμμένο μες στο χώμα [...] σκύβω και βρίσκω ένα βιολί»¹⁰. The revelation and regeneration that will finally lead to the absolute synthesis of Art and Science,¹¹ according to Palamas, takes place in a vernal day of the reborn nature that constitutes the background of all the great ideas in the Palamian poetry. «And if I am a tree, I am a tree/of harmony and strings/and nothing more...» («Κι αν είμαι δέντρο, είμ' ένα δέντρο/από χορδή και μουσική,/και τίποτ' άλλο»¹²),¹² the Gypsy admits, as he takes the violin in his hands and discovers himself and his destination in the world for the first time.¹³

George Seferis (1900-1971), in his essay *Kostas Palamas*, emphasizes this awakening of the poetic and universal conscience of the gypsy-creator¹⁴:

The big-hearted old man has passed away! His face was like the old pine tree and the ancient olive tree; these trees that were ripped out and gone with him, as we get to know. [...] The land of Attica lays bare. Its trees are burnt down. But the white marble no one has ever managed nor will ever manage to tarnish. [...] Palamas has been a force of nature. Of the Greek intellectual nature.¹⁵

This is the way how one of the most important representatives of the next generation bids farewell to and honors his predecessor: like a tree, like a cohesive element of Greek nature and Greek spirit, at the same time firmly believing that the environmental destruction of his era will have consequences on the spirituality of modern times.

Later on, in 1944, in the *Last Stop* (Τελευταίος σταθμός), Seferis would talk about the horror of war and human pain:

But the country they're chopping up and burning like a pine tree [...] this is rooted in the mind and doesn't change/this has planted images like those trees/that cast their branches in virgin forests/so that they rivet themselves in the earth and sprout again; [...] our mind's a virgin forest of murdered friends.¹⁶ (Όμως ο τόπος που τον πελεκούν και που τον

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ See also Beaton, R. *Introduction to Modern Greek Literature, Poetry and Prose, 1821-1992*, 120-129.

¹² Palamas, K. The Twelve Words of the Gypsy, in *Word IX. The violin*. Op. cit.

¹³ As far as our subject is concerned, the relationship between a poet and a tree in the poem *Palm tree* (Φοινικιά) by Palamas is also worth studying.

¹⁴ Seferis, G. Kostas Palamas, in *Essais*, v. 1 (1936-1947), 221.

¹⁵ Seferis, G. Kostas Palamas, in *Op. cit.*, 225f.

¹⁶ Translated by E. Keely and Ph. Sherrard in *A Century of Greek Poetry: 1900-2000. Bilingual Edition*.

καίνε σαν/το πεύκο, [...] ετούτα ριζώσαν μες στο μυαλό και δεν αλλάζουν/ετούτα φυτέψαν εικόνες ίδιες με τα δέντρα εκείνα/ που ρίχνουν τα κλωνάρια τους μες στα παρθένα δάση/κι αυτά καρφώνονται στο χώμα και ξαναφυτρώνουν' [...] ένα παρθένο δάσος σκοτωμένων φίλων το μυαλό μας.)¹⁷

The tree as a symbol of stability, intrinsically interwoven with the place and the person, is obliged to suffer its fate and is sacrificed in the fire. Moreover, it symbolizes the historical memory, it transfixes its branches and grows again, it remains pure and unchanged in order to be reminiscent of the sacrifice of human beings. «Our mind's a virgin forest of murdered friends», the poet concludes, implying the common destiny of humans and trees, as the verbal expression of the phrase identifies the fate of the «murdered friends» (in Greek *φίλων* – «filon») with that of the killed leaves (in Greek *φύλλον* – «fyllon») of the trees.

Twenty five years after the end of the German Occupation of Greece, in the middle of the Greek military dictatorship, the collective volume *Eighteen Texts*¹⁸ was published, in which older and younger litterateurs implicitly declared their position against censorship. Manolis Anagnostakis (1925-2005) published *The Sky* (*Ο ουρανός*) in that collection. The text goes:

First I will take your hands/I will feel your pulse/Then we will go into the forest together/We will embrace the large trees/Where we have carved on each trunk/The Holy names many years ago [...]//Our forest is not hidden by the sky.//Lumberjacks do not pass by here.

Πρώτα να πιάσω τα χέρια σου/Να ψηλαφίσω το σφυγμό σου/ Ύστερα να πάμε μαζί στο δάσος/Ν' αγκαλιάσουμε τα μεγάλα δέντρα/Που στον κάθε κορμό έχουμε χαράξει/Εδώ και χρόνια τα ιερά ονόματα [...]Το δικό μας το δάσος δεν το κρύβει ο ουρανός.//Δεν περνούν από δω ξυλοκόποι.¹⁹

The poet finds shelter in the forest, where memory, history and future are all present. There he does not feel threatened, he feels that he turns to a motherly bosom, where human feelings are revived, and that is why we should protect it and embrace it. The sacred names of the dead that are carved on the trees have surpassed the ephemeral human

¹⁷ Seferis, G. Last Stop, in *Logbook II* (*Ημερολόγιο Καταστρώματος Β'*). *Poems*.

¹⁸ Collective volume published during the military dictatorship of Greece. See Beaton, op. cit., 330-334.

¹⁹ Anagnostakis, M. *The Sky*, in *The Target* (*Ο Στόχος*). *The Poems 1941-1971*.

destiny inside this perennial forest, which will not be destroyed by lumberjacks, the counterfeiters of history and events. Anagnostakis's forest is an «earthly» one; it does not leave room for «seductive vagueness»; it is not a challenge to fly or dream; instead, it is a call to cling to the real, to the facts. For this, the sky does not overshadow it; for this, it remains unharmed by every kind of lumberjacks. It is the revival of the lost companionship, a hospitable necropolis that is visited by the survivors, not only to find comfort but also to initiate the young to its secret.

However, the intertextuality of the poem is not only limited from the part of Seferis; is also addressed to one of his peers, Aris Alexandrou (1922-1978), who, during the time of the Greek Civil War and exile, wrote the poem *Into the Stones* (Μέσα στις πέτρες): «Yet, I didn't kill myself./Have you ever seen a fir going by itself to the sawmill?/Our place is here, in this forest/with branches cut down, the trunks half-burnt/with roots wedged into the stones.» («Κι όμως δεν αυτοκτόνησα./Είδατε ποτέ κανέναν έλατο να κατεβαίνει μοναχός του στο προιονιστήριο;/Η θέση μας είναι μέσα δω σ' αυτό το δάσος/με τα κλαδιά κομμένα μισοκαμένους τους κορμούς/με τις ρίζες σφηνωμένες μες στις πέτρες.»)²⁰

The post-war forest cannot be the nostalgic cradle of poetic imagination anymore, nor does it promise the escape and elevation to the sky. It is mutilated, half burnt, and it has become one with the poetic ego. Furthermore, this identification is not limited to the participation of the natural element in the human drama; it is also extended to the absolute identification: the poetic subject, in order to maintain his/her values, becomes a tree, putting down roots in the rocks and thus remaining standing and immovable, getting over human weakness that would allow him/her to flinch and relinquish; he/she remains in his/her place constrainedly, suffering silently, for this is what a tree is destined from its nature to do.

Almost a century after the *Free Besieged* by Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857) –where nature itself acquired a voice to announce the passing of the fighters to immortality and the ever-lasting collective memory with the verse «he who dies today, dies a thousand times» («όποιος πεθάνει σήμερα χίλιες φορές πεθαίνει») – Thanassis Kostavaras (1927-2007) also referred to the glorious death within nature that was reborn²¹ throughout the course of another period that Greece

²⁰ Alexandrou, A. *Into the Stones*, in *Straightness of Roads* (Ευθύτης οδών). *Poems* (1941-1974).

²¹ Kostavaras, Th. *The Battle*, in *Supplements* (Συμπληρώματα).

has suffered, namely, the German Occupation of Greece and the Civil War that followed. However, Solomos's idea of identifying the heroic transcendence of human condition with the absolute natural beauty and the liberation from the utmost bondage of the senses with the ideal of the supreme sacrifice for freedom, in the case of the post-war poet, remains an unfulfilled ideal:

The battle

Η μάχη

*I didn't manage to have a
beautiful death.*

Δεν αξιώθηκα έναν όμορφο
θάνατο.

*Up there in Pelion, just a lad of
sixteen
wearing a cartridge-belt, I
would get hurt and bleed*

Εκεί πάνω στο Πήλιο τότε που
δεκάξι χρονών παλικάρι
Ζωσμένος τα φυσεκλίκια
χτυπούσα και μάτωνα.

*I wish I was done like that up
there.*

Έτσι να τέλειωνα τότε εκεί
πάνω.

*By that bullet that passed only
two inches next to my heart*

Από κείνο το βόλι που πέρασε
μόνο δυο ίντσες πλάι στην
καρδιά

*Under the leafy platans, crowned
with shiny leaves and amaranths
unfading in the stories of sad
companions*

κάτω από τα δασιά πλατάνια
στεφανωμένος με λαμπερά
φύλλα κι
αμάραντα

[...]

αμάραντος μέσα στις ιστορίες
των λυπημένων συντρόφων
[...]

*Now I would not be an ordinary
little man surrounded by fears
By biles, lumbagos and heart
attacks.*

Δε θα 'μωνα τώρα ένα
ανθρωπάκι κυκλωμένο από
φόβους

*Mainly by that other fear that
cannot be cured;*

Από χολές από οσφυαλγίες κι
εμφράγματα.

*For a new humiliation is waiting
for me tomorrow*

Από κείνο τον άλλο κυρίως φόβο
που δεν παίρνει γιατρεία:

Another compromise

Για ποιο καινούριο ξέφτισμα με
περιμένει αύριο ποιο
Καινούριο γονάτισμα

[...]

[...]

The now mature poet and combatant longs for the period of youth and action, when there were still ideals to fight for, when he was innocent and vigorous in the «unfading» nature of Mount Pelion. He

does not regret not having been crowned with laurels or olive branches. He regrets not having been united with nature itself, for not having been crowned with the perennial platans, so that his comrades who survived would remember him as «eternally unfading» and recall the memory of his absolute prime. Instead of that – yet another loss – he himself has survived and has become an ordinary little man, suffering from the usual diseases, facing a new compromise every day. He is a man who is «free besieged» with the opposite meaning of the word, that of «besieged» by the weakness of the flesh and the degradation of moral values under a pretence of freedom, and by the humiliating conditions of an illusory survival.

The poets of the next generation, those of the second post-war generation, have lived in the margin of history; they neither participated in the war, nor were exiled. As to the spirit of camaraderie and that of the common struggles that their predecessors have experienced – later experiencing also the painful losses – the second post-war generation felt it only as a loss of something they did not live through, as a nostalgia for a lost opportunity that was never given to them for action and revolution.²² In the poem «The Window» [Το παράθυρο] by Tassos Korphis (1929-1994), the bitterness about the gradual ideological fading does not reflect the intensity of the moral defeat that is felt in the poem of Kostavaras; nevertheless, it demonstrates the absence of excitement and the settling down under the tree of the youthful enthusiasm: «Behind the window always the same tree./Once we used to untangle our kites from its branches./Later we used to carve its trunk/the primer of our enthusiasm./Now/ we rest on its roots.» («Πίσω από το παράθυρο το ίδιο πάντα δέντρο./Κάποτε ξεμπλέκαμε τους χαρταετούς μας/από τους κλώνους του./Αργότερα χαράζαμε στον κορμό του/το αλφαβητάριο των ενθουσιασμών./Τώρα/ξεκουραζόμαστε στη ρίζα του.»)²³

Gradually, the motif of the tree and the forest as an area of contemplation about historical developments and as a place of memory changes direction and acquires a different social content. The repercussions of the onset of modern civilization and technology are felt not only in the natural environment but also in the autobiographical poetic conscience.

²² See Papageorgiou, K. G. *Introduction*, in *Greek Poetry*, 21-51.

See also Araghis, G. *Introduction*, in A. Evangelou. *The Second Post-war Poetic Generation (1950-1970). Anthology*, 23-57.

²³ Korfis, T. *The Window*, in *Diary (Ημερολόγιο)*.

In 1971, Tassos Porfyris (1931-) published the *Letter (To γράμμα)*: The pine trees that we used to caress after the Liberation/have grown big/That inconsolable wind still whirls/ruffling their needles/ each one/a farewell note/the path has become a highway/Thousands of cars mock at our memory.» («Τα πεύκα που χαϊδεύαμε μετά την απελευθέρωση/Θέριεψαν/Ακόμα στριφογυρίζει κείνος ο απαρηγόρητος άνεμος/Αναστατώνοντας τις βελόνες τους/Κάθε μια/Και μια νότα αποχωρισμού/Το μονοπάτι έγινε εθνική οδός/ Χιλιάδες αυτοκίνητα χλευάζουν τη μνήμη μας.»)²⁴ Ten years later, the same poet adds:

I write because the stone house is far/Half of it buried in the snow and the rest in the bass clarinet [...] Hands and lips, promises of another life/ Slow endless cry resin of a pine tree/I write because the river wakes me up with its cries [...] Because my children know Nemertska by photos/ Because the forest screams – asking for its wild beasts –/at dinner time on the oak dining table. (Γράφω γιατί το πέτρινο σπίτι είναι μακριά/ Το μισό στο χιόνι και τ' άλλο μισό στο μπάσο κλαρίνο [...] Χέρια και χείλια υποσχέσεις μιας άλλης ζωής/Αργό ατέλειωτο κλάμα ρετσίνι πεύκου/Γράφω γιατί το ποτάμι με ξυπνάει με τις κραυγές του [...] Γιατί τα παιδιά μου ξέρουν τη Νεμέρτσκα από φωτογραφίες/Γιατί το δάσος ουρλιάζει – ζητώντας τ' αγρίμια του –/Την ώρα του δείπνου στην δρύινη τραπεζαρία.)²⁵

In no other time period of Modern Greek poetry was the ecological concern about the destruction of the natural environment voiced in such a vibrant way. As I have already mentioned, the ideal of nature has always been the central axis of the poetic universe of the generation of the 1880s. For instance, Miltiadis Malakassis (1869-1943) finishes his own *Forest (Το δάσος)* with the verses: «The forest that frightened you/ until you cross it,/you should forget forever,/evening passerby//for they have become deathbeds now/its wild trees/and you will find them in town/evening passerby.» («Το δάσος, που λαχτάριζες/ως που ναν το περάσεις,/για πάντα θα ξεχάσεις,//διαβάτη αποσπερνέ,//γενήκαν νεκροκρέββατα/τ' άγρια δεντρά του τώρα/και θα τα βρεις στη χώρα/ διαβάτη αποσπερνέ.»)²⁶ Myrtiotissa (1885-1968) writes: «Oh trees! That human cruelty walls you up, to enjoy your beauty by itself/ as I

²⁴ Porfyris, T. *The Letter*, in *Flash back*.

²⁵ Porfyris, T. *I write because the stone... (Γράφω γιατί το πέτρινο...)*, in *The Fifth Exit [Η πέμπτη έξοδος]*.

²⁶ Malakassis, M. *The forest*, in *Debris (Συντρίμματα)*. *Malakassis Collected Poems*.

watch the stones heaped up around you/my soul grieves and mourns over your unfair slavery.» («Ω δέντρα! που η ανθρώπινη σκληρότητα σε ντουβάρια/σας κλείνει, για να χαίρεται μόνη την εμορφιά σας/ ως βλέπω να σωριάζονται γύρω σας τα λιθάρια/πονεί η ψυχή μου και θηηνεί την άδικη σκλαβιά σας.»)²⁷

However, for the first time, with the soft-toned and confessional style of the younger generation, the emotion for nature that is lost together with the ideals of the youth that did not find the appropriate ground to yield fruit, rallies and «socializes» the poets of the introversion, resulting in an almost organized protest that considerably exceeds in intensity the Arcadian movements of the previous century regarding the «return to nature» or the Dionysian elations of the surrealist poets of the 20th century.

In fact, at times the poet foretells the revenge of the destroyed nature, which will not be reborn from its ashes, but will drag down its persecutors to their utter ruin, like in the poem «Countdown» [Αντίστροφη μέτρηση] by Tassos Denegris (1934-2009): «*But the grass/will punish he who trampled it,/the animal with its toxins will hurt the consumer/and the burnt woods/will come/and take your breath away./ And you, unsuspected,/in your mobile ironware.*» («Όμως το χόρτο/θα τιμωρήσει εκείνον που το διάστρεψε,/το ζώο με τις τοξίνες του θα πλήξει/τον καταναλωτή/και τα καμένα δάση/θα 'ρθουν να σας κόψουν/την αναπνοή./Κι εσείς ανύποπτοι/στα κινητά σιδερικά σας.»)²⁸ Likewise in *The Trees* (Τα δέντρα) by Manolis Pratikakis (1943-):

How fair and silent are the trees. [...] When you hurt them, they do not moan; they do not pull their rich/hair. They weep secretly and the roots listen. But sometimes they get stubborn when man/tortures them. Then they get angry, they twist, they spit/the fruit. They take revenge on the hand that burns them./They flood villages./With brains of a tree they legislate. By divine decrees/they eliminate races. (Τι δίκαια και πόσο σιωπηλά είναι τα δέντρα. [...] Όταν τα πληγώσεις, δε βογκάνε· δεν τραβάνε τα πλούσια/μαλλιά τους. Δακρύζουνε κρυφά κι ακούν/οι ρίζες. Όμως καμιά φορά πεισμώνουν όταν ο άνθρωπος/τα βασανίσει. Αγριεύουν τότε, συστρέφονται, φτύνουν/τον καρπό. Εκδικούνται το χέρι που τα καίει./Ρίχνουν χωριά μες στις πλημμύρες./Με δένδρινα μυαλά νομοθετούνε. Με θεσπίσματα/θεία αφανίζουνε φυλές)²⁹

²⁷ Myrtilotissa.Ohtrees!(Ωδέντρα!),in*YellowFlames*(Κίτρινεςφλόγες).CompleteWorks.

²⁸ Denegris, T. Countdown, in *Instantaneously* (Ακαριαία).

²⁹ Pratikakis, M. The Trees, in *The Magic of Non-Assertion* (Η μαγεία της μη διεκδίκησης).

Regarding modern poets, although the social causes that could «awaken» the poetic conscience and mobilize the artistic sensibility towards the claim of a collective vision may have ceased to exist, it seems, nevertheless, that ecological issues and subjects associated with the relationship of humans and nature nowadays lead to a kind of consensus and a firm commitment having as a common goal the rescue of nature and humans.³⁰ This environmental orientation is not expressed by poets alone; it has also been present in other artistic movements; artists from the visual arts field have paid attention to it. A representative example of a joint action of litterateurs and artists of visual arts in this direction is the exhibition entitled «*Let's not forget this time. A «burnt» exhibition (2009)*»,³¹ where more than 80 artists participated – visual artists, photographers and poets.³² After having toured eleven cities in Greece, attracting participations, the exhibition was finally hosted in the «Greek House» in Paris.³³

In reality, it is not possible for the entire issue to be studied exhaustively in the framework of the above approach, which constitutes the starting point for a greater study that will examine the common fate that links the human being / poet with the tree, together with the relationships between poetry, art and ecology. In that case I will refer to a wealth of poets and issues not included in this first presentation, such as, for instance, the extended love towards nature by the poets of the 19th century and its symbolic connotations, as well as the

³⁰ Regarding the identification of humans and trees, see Bachelard, G. *L'air et les songes. Essai sur l'imagination du mouvement*. 279: «The tree that is tortured, the restless tree, the passionate tree can reenact every human passion. Many legends have shown us the tree that bleeds, the tree that cries. Sometimes, indeed, it seems that the rustle of the trees is closer to our soul than the distant howl of an animal. [...] The tree that suffers is the culmination of human pain.» This poetic animism and the personifications of the elements of nature also constitute a common place in the folklore song, where nature is depicted as sympathizing with the human drama or is found in conflict with it, leading it to its culmination.

³¹ «Cette fois-ci il ne faut pas oublier. Une exposition *brûlée*». See also, kame-niekthesi.blogspot.com

³² Another case worth mentioning is the setting by Lavrentis Maxairitsas of Michael Ganas's poem *To the Burnt* (Στα καμένα) in 1993.

³³ I mention, for informational purposes, some of the artists that participated: the poets Nanos Valaoritis, Dinos Siotis, Kostis (Triantafyllou), Andreas Pagoulatos, Jimmy Efthimiou, Michael Mitrou, among others; the visual artists: G. Horhoulis, A. Korkou, Kostis (Triantafyllou), D. Mataragas, A. Stamatopoulos, E. Politopoulou, M. Xenouli, A. Skourtis, J. P. Brazs, Baris, E. Bouffé, E. Fadul among others; the photographers: K. Koutsaftikis, G. Beskos, K. Kolimenos and many others. I would like to express my warmest thanks to the poet-visual artist Kostis Triantafyllou for the catalogue of the exhibition.

nature-centered characteristic of the Greek surrealism (Kalas, Elytis, Empirikos and others). I would like to conclude this brief presentation with a publication in the press on the 14th of April 2009:

The scalpel of Russian doctors brought to light an unprecedented medical case during the surgery of the 28 year old man. It turns out that the young man did not have a tumor but a small tree 5 cm tall that had grown on his lung in an unheard-of way ... The piece of the lung that was removed together with the small tree was preserved in a special solution in order to be studied, as a similar case has not been registered again worldwide.

Reality imitates poetry. The common fate of humans and trees seems to look for modern poets, who will convert everyday language to poetic speech.

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CILVĒKA UN KOKA KOPĪGĀ LIKTEŅA ATSPUGUĻOJUMS GRIEĶU DZEJĀ NO 1880. GADA LĪDZ MŪSU LAIKAM. PIRMAIS SKATĪJUMS

Šis raksts ir pirmais skatījums, aizsākot plašāku pētījumu, kas skar «koka» un «meža» tematiku dažādu periodu mūsdienu grieķu dzejā. Pēfīta pastāvīgi mainīgo tematisko motīvu evolūcija grieķu literatūras pārējas periodos, īpaši dzejā pirms un pēc Otrā Pasaules kara un Pilsoņu kara laikā, kā arī mūsu laika dzejā. Šis pirmais uzmetums apskata nostalgisko «atgriešanos» pie dabas 19. gs. beigās, cilvēka upura pielīdzinājumu motīva «koka» liktenim 1940. gada kara laikā un pirmajos pēckara gados, kā arī pēdējā laika dzejā skaļi paustus ekoloģiskos protestus. «Koks» parādās kā diahronisks cilvēka un dabas universālās vienotības simbols, cilvēka likteņa un ziedošanās simbols vērtību un ideālu vārdā. «Sausuma», «mežacirtēju» un «dedzinātāju» apdraudēts, tas turpina simbolizēt stabilitāti, neatlaidību cīņās, pozīcijas un ideju stingrību. Šajā rakstā parādīta šīs tematikas neatlaidīgā klātbūtne grieķu dzejā, ko nepārtraukti bagātina katras paaudzes intereses un rūpes.

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FROM VASSILIKOS'S Z TO GAVRAS'S Z: A NOVEL AND A FILM AS SYMBOLS OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE GREEK COLONELS' JUNTA

Brief summary

The paper attempts to draw a systematic comparison between the Vassilis Vassilikos's novel *Z. Φανταστικό ντοκμανταίρ ενός εγκλήματος* (1966) and its screen adaptation, Costa Gavras's *Z* (1969), emphasizing the «dialogue» or «exchange» between the two works and their function as symbols of the fight against the military regime of the period 1967-1974 in Greece and as indictments of all forms of totalitarianism. Both the novel and the film effectively use the documentary method and are regarded as thinly fictionalized accounts of the events surrounding the assassination of the leftist politician Grigoris Lambrakis in 1963.

Key words: Vassilis Vassilikos, Costa Gavras, history, fiction, junta, adaptation.

Vassilis Vassilikos's novel *Z. Φανταστικό ντοκμανταίρ ενός εγκλήματος*, a fictional elaboration of the event which shocked the political life of Greece in 1963, the assassination of the leftist politician Grigoris Lambrakis (1912-1963), was published in 1966, when the political events it depicts were fresh in the collective memory and the trial of the accused for Lambrakis's murder began. In 1967, the dictatorship of the colonels banned this work in Greece; nevertheless, it soon began to be translated to one language after another. In 1969, it was adapted for the screen by Costa Gavras, as a French-Algerian co-production, with a screenplay by Jorge Semprun, a musical score by Mikis Theodorakis and a cast including Jean-Louis Trintignant, Yves Montand and Irene Papas. The film became an instant international hit, giving a new boost to the sales of the novel and bringing Vassilikos, Gavras and junta-occupied Greece in the epicentre of international interest.

The paper will attempt to draw a systematic comparison between the Vassilikos's novel and the Gavras's film, emphasizing the

«dialogue» between the two works and their objective (literary and cinemematical) virtues, apart from their indisputable value as historical documents which record and comment upon the political passions of a turbulent period in the modern Greek history. Other issues which will be discussed are the connection of the two works to the fight against the military regime of the period 1967-1974 and their critical reception in Greece and abroad.

At an introductory level, I have to clarify that, in my opinion, the cinematic adaptation of a literary work cannot be considered exclusively in terms of «fidelity» to the source material. A film should be seen as an intertextual work, since it opens a dialogue with the novel it is based on, creates a form of exchange, which adds to the literary and the filmic texts alike, and expresses the filmmaker's subjective understanding and critical interpretation of the literary source. As Robert Stam (Stam 2000, 57, 54-76) puts it, «the literary text is not a closed, but an open structure ... to be reworked by a boundless context. The text feeds on and is fed into an infinitely permutating intertext, which is seen through ever-shifting grids of interpretation».

Gavras's *Z* belongs to the category of film adaptation described by Geoffrey Wagner (Wagner 1975, 222) as «commentary», in which «an original is taken and either purposely or inadvertently altered in some respect. It could also be called a re-emphasis or re-structure». As is usually the case with screen adaptations of novels, several secondary characters and sub-plots are eliminated by Gavras and Semprun, who prefer to focus on the central episodes of the narrative. In the book, the reader gets a very detailed description of the social background, the family situation and the professional profile of each character; thus, Vassilikos creates several short stories around the main story, insisting on the psychological aspect of the characters. All those indices proper (Barthes 1985, 167-206; cf. also McFarlane 1996, 14-15, Kaklamanidou 2007, 38) are exemplified, shortened or completely absent from the film.

Vassilikos chooses to alter the names of the real persons: thus, Lambrakis is simply named *Z*, deputy Tsarouhas becomes Pirouhas, the driver of the murderous delivery truck is named Yagos etc. Gavras also makes several changes in some of the characters' names, an understandable choice since it is a French production: Pirouhas becomes Pirou, Nikitas becomes Nick, while *Z*'s widow is named Helene in the film. The names of the members of the clandestine right-wing organization (Mastodontosavros, Arhigosavros) do not exist in the film, since the grotesque effect they have in Greek would be lost in

French. An important character missing from the film is the harbour-worker Mihalis Dimas, who informs Antoniou about the activity of the organization.

In the novel, most of the action takes place in a town named Oudeteroupolis, which, undoubtedly, is Thessaloniki, as it is evident from the names of the central streets, suburbs, cinemas and references to the White Tower, the International Exposition and the Film Festival. Part of the action evolves in Athens, which appears as a more open city, where Z's murder could not have taken place. In the film, the name of the city where the action takes place is never mentioned and the sole existing indication is the song «Omorfi Thessaloniki», which is heard in a scene. Athens and the episodes which take place there are completely absent in the movie.

In his novel, Vassilikos inserts a long letter that Lambrakis's widow addresses to her dead husband. This letter, a kind of love confession beyond time and space, which «informs» Z about the events following his death, is deconstructed into small parts, which function as interludes interrupting the evolution of the plot. The letter is eliminated in the screen adaptation, which diminishes the character of the widow, who appears in a very few scenes, almost speechless. The «mournful lyricism» of the widow's letter (Karantonis 1978, 137), which counterbalances the raw realism dominating Vassilikos's presentation of the underworld responsible for the murder, is completely absent from Gavras's film, where the realistic element is dominant.

Also missing from the film is one of the novel's most interesting chapters, titled «A train whistles into the night» and depicting the transportation of Z's corpse from Oudeteroupolis to Thessaloniki by train. It is definitely one of the most elegiac parts of the book, where, according to Tassos Vournas (Vournas 1966, 4), «the novelist's passion is at the zenith and the human characters and their inner thoughts are analyzed with the pen of a great novelist». The abovementioned remark is related to Alexis Ziras's (Ziras 1989, 355) observation: «I wonder what remains in our memory from the reading of Z, an epic as well as an elegiac novel [...] If what remains is the thriller mood or the quick action of its screen adaptation, then for sure the diversity of the literary text has been erased, the diversity which is exactly one of its main reasons of appeal.» Even more rigorously, Andreas Karantonis (Karantonis 1978, 138) affirms that «the director [...] kept nothing from the spirituality, the poetry and the soul of the novel».

A final major difference concerns the ending. The novel closes with an extended epilogue, titled «One Year Later», which deals with the fate of some of the characters after the end of the investigation, and the very last page coincides with the ending of the widow's letter to Z, in which she makes a wish (expressing the public request of most Greeks in 1966): the trial which is about to begin should reveal who hit Z with a lever and who were the high-ranking officials hidden behind the conspiracy. Unlike that, in the film, after the famous scenes with the Examining Magistrate interrogating the high-ranking army and police officials and ordering their detention, we see one of Z's friends announce enthusiastically the news to the widow and foresee the fall of the government, while the camera focuses on the young woman's melancholic face, which foreshadows the final lack of purgation: indeed, in the next and final scene the journalist appears to announce, through a TV screen, the verdict of the trial (loose sentences to the little guys who had carried out the murder, acquittal for the influential officials who had organized it), the tragic events related to key witnesses, the fall of the government, the proclamation of elections and the rise of the military junta, which suspended the Examining Magistrate, tortured and sent into exile the lawyers who had supported Z and banned, among others, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Trotsky, Mark Twain, Aragon, Sartre, Ionesco, Pinter, along with the freedom of the press, long hair on males, mini-skirts, and, above all, the letter «Z», which means «He's alive».

In terms of analogies, an initial observation is that both the novel and the film effectively use the documentary method and are regarded as thinly fictionalized accounts of the events surrounding the assassination of Lambrakis; thus, they both border between history and fiction, a fact that is reflected in the difficulties reviewers have in classifying both works in a genre. Tassos Vournas (Vournas 1966, 4) underlines the difficulty of genre classification regarding Vassilikos's novel: «Is it a novel, in which case the writer has the right to use the facts according to the needs of the myth, or is it a chronicle respecting reality, so he is obliged to appreciate and interpret the facts according to their determinative weight?» The same issue is discussed by Apostolos Sahinis (Sahinis 1967, 2), who stresses that «it is possible for a writer to produce fiction in the form of testimonies, chronicles, reportages, if his talent, his abilities predestinate him for this kind of work, and we accept that with pleasure, if all that is given in a literary way, as in the case of Z.» In later reviews, M. G. Meraklis (Meraklis 1974, 211-213)

dismisses *Z* as being neither a novel nor a reportage, whereas Nassos Vagenas (Vagenas 1992) enrols the book in the genre of «non-fiction novel», which started with Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*. The same problem of genre classification can be seen in the reviews of Gavras's film, which is considered to combine elements of the American film noir and the French nouvelle vague: some reviewers use the term «engaged» cinema, some talk about «popular» cinema, some focus on its faux-documentary style, while others consider it «a political cry of rage and a brilliant suspense thriller» (Ebert 1969), or a «devastating suspense story about democracy» (Sweeny 1969, 22).

In technical terms, the technique of multiple focalization, which is dominant in the novel and, according to which, the same situations and events are presented more than once through the point of view of many different characters, is kept, to a lesser degree, in the movie, especially in the episode of *Z*'s killing. Another eminent technique in the novel is variable focalization, with frequent passage from one focalizer to another (only in the first part of the book, titled «19.30 p.m. – 22.30 p.m. A May night», the alternating focalizers are the General, Yagos, Costas, lawyer Matsas, *Z*, Archigosavros, Vagos, Pirouhas, Varonas, Tzimis and *Z*'s widow). In the film, there are shots from different perspectives (Vanoye 1989, 140-145), where the camera replaces the character's eyes and the spectator sees only what the character sees: the photos of the royal couple in the Police Department are seen through *Z*'s eyes, *Z*'s operation is seen through his wife's eyes etc.

In both works, the narrative is full of analepses. In the novel, each character enters the action with a very detailed description of his past, in the form of an analepsis. In the movie, there are fewer analepses, though they are crucial, for example, having a chilling effect in the scenes of the interrogation, as the witnesses testify to the Magistrate. There is also a series of subjective flashbacks. For instance, Nick remembers his meeting with Yangos at his shop a few hours before the murder of *Z*, when Yangos had told him that he could even kill a person that night etc.

Z's adaptation for the big screen confirms Sergei Eisenstein's (Eisenstein 1949, 108-121) observation about the analogy between language and film images on the notion of «montage». According to the noted director and theoretician, montage constitutes the «language», «diction», «syntax» and «speech» of film images, just as sequencing and spacing do between words. This analogy can be seen in Gavras's movie; Vassilikos's speeches of short duration in the realistic parts of

the novel are transformed, thanks to the tight editing, into a series of rapidly changing images, distinguished by their barraging, frantic rhythm.

Z signifies Vassilikos's turning to political literature. As Alexis Ziras (Ziras 1989, 355) accurately remarks, «the invisible protagonist of the novel is the masses, a collective symbol, but, at the same time and in a parallel manner, the protagonist is again the person, the prophetic vision through the person, the tragic story of a promethean figure not far away from Nietzsche's Zarathustra». This combination of collective symbol and promethean person is also present in the screen adaptation through the sketching of Z's character (who, despite the limited screen time, colours indelibly the film, thanks also to Yves Montand's excellent acting) and the astonishing, vibrating crowd scenes (the manifestation with the anti-war slogans before the killing of Z).

In terms of context, an essential similarity between the two works is their anti-monarchical character. In the novel, there are several ironical remarks concerning the royal family: the queen is presented as keeping a diary with insensitive comments about Z's murder and the political situation, and king Constantine is depicted as making a lot of progress in martial arts. In the film, there is the famous scene with the photos of the royal couple in the Police department; moreover, there are suspicions that behind the conspiracy lies the Palace. Both the novel and the film begin with the General connecting «dangerous» ideologies to diseases that need fumigation and emphasize the invaluable contribution of the Examining Magistrate and the press to the elucidation of the affair.

Both the book and the film became popular around the world. Z was translated in French for Gallimard in 1966, and within the next three years translations of the novel appeared in 18 more countries, from the USA, United Kingdom, West Germany and Italy to the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Japan (Stavropoulou 1986, 38-40). The book was recently included in the list of «1000 novels everyone must read» ran by the British newspaper «The Guardian» (Stretch 2009). The film won the Special Prize of the Jury and the Best Actor Prize (for Jean-Louis Trintignant's performance) at the Cannes Film Festival in 1969, two Academy Awards (for Best Foreign Film and Best Editing) and several other international prizes. The Z score went on to become the second most popular Theodorakis's score after *Zorba the Greek* (Papasprou 2009).

The events of May 1968 in Paris were very recent when the novel and the film appeared around the world and, in a way, conduced to their success. The very same time the world was shocked by the Vietnam War, the Soviet invasion to Czechoslovakia, the antiwar demonstrations in American universities. There was a universal demand for attacking all forms of totalitarianism, and the pacifist movement (with Z / Lambrakis as its symbol both in the novel and the film) was more powerful and influential than ever; suddenly Z was found to express all the above and, at the same time, to remind the world of the drama the Greek people had lived and which led to the colonels' dictatorship.

As Vassilikos points out, the story of Z, a doctor and pacifist, was used as a weapon against the junta. The apparent involvement of the authorities signalled the anti-democratic forces at work within the Greek state and anticipated the later coup. If the novel succeeds in capturing the political and social atmosphere of the '60s in Greece and expresses the popular will for elimination of political and military corruption and administering of justice, the film manages to offer a panorama of the conditions which eventually led to the junta. Nevertheless, although the informed spectator knows that the events take place in Greece, the film never loses its universal dimension. When asked recently about the fact that just a few characters are called by name and that the setting is not explicitly Greece, Gavras said this was intentional: while the film is based on real events, he was afraid that, if he used real names of persons and places, the film would be viewed more as history rather than an ongoing indictment of totalitarianism.

The comparison I attempted does not aim to overrate or diminish the importance of any of the two works. The novel and the film function in a supplementary way, as each of them is the product of a particular period, and they both sensitized the international public opinion against the Greek dictatorship and helped the anti-junta cause. Both the book and the movie represent major moments and turning points for the careers of Vassilikos and Gavras respectively and should be re-valued as important works of art, beyond the political context of the Sixties.

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NO VASILIKA Z LĪDZ GAVRA Z: ROMĀNS
UN FILMA KĀ SIMBOLI CĪŅĀ PRET GRIEĶU
MILITĀRO HUNTU

Rakstā sniegts Vasilika romāna *Z Φανταστικό ντοκυμανταίρ ενός εγκλήματος (Kāda nozieguma fantastisks dokumentējums)* (1966), kas ir kreisi noskaņotā politiķa Grigora Lambraka (1912–1963) nogalināšanas

apstākļu literāra versija, sistemātisks salīdzinājums ar tā ekranizējumu, Kostas Gavra *Z* (1969), kas tūlīt pēc filmas iznākšanas kļuva par starptautisku grāvēju. Salīdzinājuma mērķis nav noskaidrot, cik «precīza» ir Gavra adaptācija, bet gan vērtēt filmu kā intertekstuālu darbu, kas iesaistās «dialogā» ar romānu, un kā literārā avota «komentāru». Līdzās analogijām un atšķirībām abos darbos formas un konteksta aspektā rakstā izskatīti arī citi jautājumi, tādi kā simboli, kas saistīti ar cīņu pret 1967.g.-1974.g. militāro režīmu, to universālo dimensiju totalitārisma nosodījumā, veiksmīgs dokumentārās metodes pielietojums vēstures un daiļliteratūras robežšķirtnē, žanra definējuma grūtības un kritiska reakcija uz tām Grieķijā un ārvalstīs.

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THE PLACE OF MODERN GREEK IN THE INTERNATIONAL «TRANSLATIONS EXCHANGE»: ELEMENTS FOR A COMPARATIVE APPROACH WITH AN EYE ON LATVIAN

Brief summary

The approach of translation geography offers interesting insights into cultural exchange as expressed by the flow of translations between countries and/or languages. This study endeavours to highlight some major aspects of Greece (and Latvia) as participants in the international «translation system». A number of tables complete the study.

Key words: Translation, cultural exchange(s), cultural geography, globalization, book market

Introduction

Translation geography, the quantitative analysis of translation flows between languages and states, provides interesting insights into an often neglected dimension of cultural exchange. The «system of translation» (Heilbron 1999, 431) expressed by *extraductions* (translations from a particular language) and *intraductions* (translations into a specific language) appears as a highly hierarchical and asymmetrical system, gravitating around one hyper-central language, English, a few central languages and a great multitude of more or less peripheral languages.

Before studying the place that Modern Greek holds within this system and comparing it to the data concerning Latvian, we shall set out to have a look at the patterns, trends and interrelations that determine translation geography as a whole.

General observations on translation geography

Prominence of English

There is no doubt that «the impact of books from English seems to be paramount» (Wischenblatt 2008, 9), and the share of extraductions

from English has been on the rise for more than half a century. After the acceleration of this growth process in the aftermath of 1989, English may have reached a ceiling, now being the original language of about 60% of all translations. Its closest competitors, French and German, have been losing ground, and it is rather the smaller languages which have managed to consolidate their position. There is no direct symmetry between a prominent role in extraductions and intraductions, not even a reverse one. The English-speaking countries' share in intraductions is minimal (2-3% of their book production consists of intraductions). Traditionally, German- and Spanish-speaking countries have been the major translation importers, even though French is reported to be presently on the verge of overtaking these competitors (Wischenblatt 2008, 39).

Factors contributing to centrality in translation exchange

The rank of a language community on the extraductions scale is not related only to the size of the respective language community or to its international status (as a second language, etc.). The relatively strong position of German and Italian as compared to Spanish, for instance, illustrates that there are also other factors at work, such as socio-economic status, cultural and scientific prestige, etc. The same is true of the share of intraductions by country or by language. Generally speaking, larger communities tend to have a lower proportion of intraductions, whereas this proportion is more significant with smaller languages. A high degree of cultural autarchy, prestige and self-assertiveness, as well as isolationist tendencies, may alter the picture within certain limits. Thus, we should avoid rashly associating a high portion of intraductions on a specific national book market with positive or negative cultural and mental settings. The share of translations is not an indicator for open-mindedness or parochial backwardness. Nor does a dominant share in extraductions automatically translate into an advantage in quality. The English-speaking world, spanning all continents, may offer a greater variety of literary and non-literary subjects just because of its demographic and economic dimensions and its differentiated cultural geography. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that it is not only the *crème de la crème* of Anglo-American literature to whom this community owes its dominance but also to *poetae minores* or «rank and file» authors; the sentimental effusions of Barbara Cartland or sex and crime cocktails concocted by second-rate writers make up an important part of extraductions from English.

«Centrality implies variety»

With regard to the different genres represented in translations, we can see the principle at work for which the sociologist Heilbron coined the formula: «centrality implies variety» (Heilbron 1999, 438). Languages occupying a central or semi-central position in the translation «exchange» tend to export not only fiction books but also an important number of scientific, educational and technical publications. Furthermore, as trend-setters in everyday culture, they excel in the exportation of lifestyle and coffee-table books. Conversely, fiction covers often more than 90% of the books translated from smaller languages. An analogous configuration can be observed within literary translations. Intraductions from central literatures offer a greater differentiation between genres, with prose and entertainment literature usually dominating. (Bornträger 1999, 123). Significantly less «prosaic» are the extraductions from «smaller literatures» which are often being made mainly from poetry, folk songs etc. Yet, there is no tendency without exception, as can be seen by the success of Scandinavian prose authors and playwrights, or recently by Kadare's domination of translations from Albanian.

Greece (compared to Latvia)

The proportion of translations

The proportion of translations has been increasing in Greece over the last few decades. At present the proportion of translation in its book production, which recently reached a peak at 43.5%, is certainly one of the «highest rates compared to other European countries» (VPP 2009, 1). In France and Germany, intraductions account for little more than 10% of book titles. Considering the size of the Greek population and the country's socio-economic potential, it is still a figure that – taken alone – does not give rise to serious concerns as to the autonomy of Greek culture. This estimation is supported by the fact that Greek book production has increased significantly over the last 10 years, and at a faster pace than translation. Thus, the total number of books originally written in the Greek language has not shrunk due to the expansion of intraductions, on the contrary it has still been increasing. The same is true of Latvian book production, even though there the flood of intraductions has been swelling much faster than in Greece and has reached a higher peak, with over 50% in 2007.

In literature the percentage of translations is higher in Greece (as far as prose is concerned) and in Latvia as well. In the Baltic country, more than 50% of the literary works published are translations (Boguta 2000), whereas in Greece 415 new Greek novels came out in 2008 compared to 509 in translation (VPP 2009, 2).

The origin of intraductions

It comes to no surprise that the share of intraductions of English-language publications has been on the increase for more than half a century in Greece, if not for a lifetime. The predominance of American culture models and political influence, first of all after 1945, and the second wave in the aftermath of 1989 under the auspices of globalization, has accelerated a process that had already begun in the inter-war period. Nevertheless, the peak observed in the share of extraductions from English on a global scale after 2000 is also reflected by the Greek translation market. The last decade saw a significant decrease in the share of intraductions from English. But this was to no avail for the closest competitors: The other two major traditional intraduction languages in Greece, French and German, fared even worse. It is the «smaller» competitors, such as Italian and Spanish (and other languages), that have made some good ground, Italian even ousting German from the 3rd rank.

Whilst English had already been solidly established as the main language of intraduction in Greece in 1989, this was not the case in Latvia while it was still under the Soviet rule. Russian was then still the main intraduction language, a configuration that at that time was characteristic not only of the Soviet republics but also of most of the Warsaw Pact states. The share of translations from English by now is higher than in Greece (56% against 41%), so we see a kind of reversal of the situation. From a comparative point of view, these ratios are not extremely high; in Germany 60% of translations were from English (in 2005), and in the Netherlands English even counted for two-thirds of intraductions (in 1990) (Heilbron 1999, 438).

Russian has continued to play a significant role in intraduction into Latvian. After declining in the 1990s, it is now back in force, contending for the 3rd rank with German. It is interesting to look at the other major languages, since they developed quite differently, the most striking feature being the consolidation of the French share, at a modest level but still marking a visible increase. The traditional cultural ties with

German-speaking culture have only experienced a limited revival in the field of intraductions.

A look at the authors mainly translated into Greek show typical differences. English-language authors are not only the most frequent ones to be translated; they are by far the most «vital» sector in the sense that many of them are still alive, whereas a look at the names of French and especially German and Russian authors translated into Greek in Greek bookstores tends to be like «a stroll in the cemetery of world literature», as one Greek observer dramatically put it (Bornträger 1999, 521). In fact, the time elapsing between publication in the original language and translation into another tends to be longer the less central the language of origin is (and sometimes the language into which the translation is made). This certainly is a trend at work in Greece. This is not the case with extraductions from Latvian (and from Lithuanian as well), as rather «vivid» exceptions to this rule, where living authors represent the bulk of present extraductions.

Intraductions compared to extraductions

A look at the most frequently translated authors from and into Greek shows that there is a relative advantage in quality and prestige for Greek authors, light fiction playing only a minor role. What also emerges is the strong representation of the lyrical genre, which again corresponds to the general pattern of extraductions from peripheral literatures. As for intraductions into Latvian, similar observations can be made, and the difference in quality between intra- and extraductions in favour of Latvian authors is perhaps more obvious. Yet, extraductions from Latvian show a peculiarity in that prose largely dominates, a configuration quite different in comparison not only to Greek but also to Lithuanian, the other Baltic language (Bornträger 2009, 140).

Light fiction

The strong representation of translated titles, that Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) had observed in the field of popular literary genres (Gramsci 1987), is reflected by the list of the most frequently translated book titles into Greek and Latvian as well. Barbara Cartland and Stephen King still recently ranked among the most popular foreign authors in Greece (Bornträger 1999, 521). Children's literature is another genre frequently translated from central languages, Christian Andersen's and Astrid Lindgren's international presence being rather an exception.

Yet the increased competitiveness of light fiction in peripheral literature, inaugurated by a whole series of international successes of Swedish, Italian and Spanish detective stories, has found its expression in Greece too. The Greek production in that field had traditionally been not very ambitious and for local consumption only, although even the Greek reading market preferred imported detective and crime stories to local ones. This is essentially still the case today, as is borne out by statistical evidence, as well as by a look into the outlets of book distribution in the Greek countryside. Possibly the most relevant actor in this setting is the typical stationery shop, which often functions as a local bookstore, catering to the needs of schoolchildren with original Greek textbooks and to those of the adult public with a selection of *sex and crime* (in reality rather sentimentality and crime) in Greek translation. The Greek books populating the bookshelves of these shops are much more respectable, usually philological or historical treatises on local traditions and events. But in spite of these appearances, there is now more competition from local authors, in particular by one who has gained international esteem perhaps more quickly than local: Petros Markaris, the writer of ambitious detective stories who completely abandoned the simplistic black-and-white image of reality that had long determined this genre in Greece. His novels offer a nuanced portrayal of Greek society, treating with more or less subtle irony its mindset, shortcomings and problems, from machismo and migration to corruption and unbridled real estate speculation. He presently is one of the most translated living Greek prose authors and his favourite audience seems to be found in Germany. He is the Greek «answer» to the emancipation process of peripheral «light genres» in literature that has been inaugurated by Swedish, Italian and Spanish detective authors, such as Henning Mankell, Andrea Camilleri and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán. Latvia, a rare case for a literature in such a «small» language, also can boast an author of detective novels keeping an international readership on tenterhooks in the person of Andris Kolbergs.

Tables

The major extraduction and intraduction languages in Europe (Wischenblatt 2008, 19) and worldwide (IT 2010)

	Extraductions					Intra-ductions
	World-wide 1979-2005 in 1000	Europe 1979	Eur. 1989	Eur. 1999	Eur. 2006	World-wide 1979-2005 in 1000
English	1032.5	51,1%	53.7%	64.0	60.4	116
French	189.1	13,8%	12.6%	9.5%	10.7%	204
German	172.9	6,9%	6.5%	7.1%	7.0%	270
Italian	56.3	3,8%	3.8%	3.6%	3.5%	59
Spanish	43,9	1,5%	2.8%	2.7%	2.4%	207
Russian	94.7	6,0%	5.2%	1.6%	2.1%	63
Mod. Greek	3.9					23
Bulgarian	3.5					22
Romanian	5.1					17
Latvian	1.1					6
Estonian	3.9					14
Lithuanian	1.8					11

Greece and Latvia: the share of intraductions in book production (Bornträger 2003), (PBBL 2009) and (VVP 2009)

	1960	1970	1990	2000	2008
GR Total BP	1575	2027	2870	6537	9758
GR	12.2%	12.9%	3.8%	35.5%	43.1%/39.8% lit.
LV Total BP in Latvian			883	2044	2447
LV			18.9% (1991)	46.7%	49.8%

Major extraduction languages from Greek and Latvian (IT 2010) and (LLC 2009)

	English	French	German	Romanian/ Lithuanian	Russian
G 1979-1997	15.3%	12.5%	20.1%		4.0%
G 2000—2005	47.2%	10.7%	12.0%	R 3.5%	0.9%
LV 2005	37.7%	11.5%	13.1%	L 3.3%	18.0%

Intraductions (by titles) into Greek (Bornträger 2003), (VPP 2004), (VPP 2009) and (PBBL 2009)

	From English		French		German		Italian	Russian
	to GR	LV	GR	LV	GR	LV	GR	LV
1991		25.2%		9.6%		20.7%		17.8%
1995	59.5%	49.0%	17.5%	7.7%	8.3%	19.4%		10.2%
2000	60.7%	54.6%	17.5% (1999)	3.1%	9.6%	12.4%	5.1% (1999)	10.4%
2002	63.9%		18.2%		7.2%		4.3%	
2005		50.0%		4.2%		13.8%		12.3%
2008	40.9%	56.2%	11.3%	6.3%	5.1%	10.2%	6.5%	10.6%

Most frequently translated authors into and from Greek (Greece) and Latvian (Latvia), 1979-2005 (IT 2010)

R	Greece extraductions	Greece intraductions	R	Latvia extraductions	Latvia intraductions
1	Kazantzakis, Nikos (Prose) *1883	Hargreaves, Roger (P) *1935	1	Ziedonis, Imants (P, L) *1933	Steel, Danielle (P) *1947
2	Kavafis, Konstantinos (Lyric poetry) *1863	Verne, Jules (P) *1828	2	Ezera, Regīna *1930 (P)	Roberts, Nora (P) *1950
3	Ritsos, Giannis (L) *1909	Shakespeare, William (Drama) *1564	3	Kolbergs, Andris *1938 (DN)	Marinina, Aleksandra B. (DN) *1957
4	Elytis, Odysseas (L,P) *1911	Disney, Walt productions (comic strips) (founded in 1923)	4	Lācis, Vilis (P) *1904	Christie, Agatha (DN) *1890
5	Seferis, Giorgos (L) *1900	Andersen, Hans Chr. (P) *1805	5	Skujiņš, Zigmunds (P) *1926	Lindgren, Astrid (P)*1907
10	Markaris, Petros (Det. novel) *1937		7	Rainis, Jānis (D) *1865	

Greece and Latvia: the share of intraductions in total book production (Bornträger 1999, passim), (VPP 2004) (VPP 2009) and (PBBL 2009)

	1960	1970	1990	2000	2008
Total	1575	2027	2870	6537	9758
GR	12.2%	12.9%	3.8%	35.5%	43.1%/39.8% lit.
Total in Latvian			883	2044	2447
LV			18.9% (in 1991)	46.7%	49.8%

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MŪSDIENU GRIEĶU VALODAS VIETA
TULKOJUMU TIRGŪ:
SALĪDZINOŠĀS PIEEJAS ELEMENTI, IESKAITOT
LATVIEŠU VALODAS GADĪJUMU

Tulkojumu ģeogrāfija sniedz vielu jaunai un interesantai pieejai kultūru apmaiņas pētniecībā. Tās uzmanības lokā ir tulkojumu aprīte starp valstīm un kopienām. Pēc īsa ieskata «tulkojumu sistēmas» (Heilbrons) pamatnostādņēs, kur valda stingra hierarhija starp dažām centrālajām un daudzām perifērām valodām, tiek analizēti atsevišķi galvenie aspekti un tendences attiecībā uz grieķu publikāciju lomu šajā tulkojumu aprītē, salīdzinājumam arī nedaudz ieskatoties Latvijas situācijā. Pētījumu ilustrē vairākas statistikas tabulas.

Paraskevi Delikari, Academy of Athens, Greece

CONTESTING THE CURRICULUM: TEACHING GREEK AS A SECOND OR/AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE, A CASE STUDY

Brief summary

In this text we consider the political and ideological terms which constitute the basis for the structure of the Hellenic Studies Program curriculum at the University of Washington (Seattle) and the influence of these terms, according to our reading, on the ambivalences and contradictions of teaching Modern Greek as a second and/or foreign language. This text is also a sort of reflection on my personal teaching experience there.

Theoretically and methodologically, I apply to the political discourse theory as it is formed by Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and Yannis Stavrakakis. The basic argument of this work is that the concept of «hellenicity» is a «nodal point» which articulates unhistorical and decontextualized heterogeneous material and facilitates the potential and temporary imagined renegotiation of national identities and «otherness» by the «homogenes» (people who share the same *genos*).

Key words: Curriculum, discourse theory, Hellenicity, nodal points, identity, otherness.

Theoretical and Methodological Issues

The main focus of this paper is on the ideological and political terms which define the structure of the Curriculum of Hellenic Studies Program at the University of Washington, Seattle, USA. According to our reading, these terms are engaged in the ambivalences and contradictions of the teaching of Modern Greek as a second and/or foreign language. This text is also a sort of self-reflection on my personal teaching experience there and an effort to negotiate my very own multi-faceted experience of this program.

The basic argument of the paper is that the concept of «Hellenicity» is a «nodal point» (Laclau & Mouffe 1985, 12). Theoretically and methodologically, I apply to the political discourse theory as it is formed by Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and Yannis Stavrakakis. Discourse theory

does seek to provide novel interpretations of events and practices by elucidating their meaning, it does so by analysing the way in which political forces and social actors construct meanings within incomplete and undecidable social structures. This is achieved by examining the particular structures within which social agents take decisions and articulate hegemonic formations. Moreover, discourse theorists seek to locate these investigated practices and logics in larger historical and social contexts, so that they may acquire a different significance and provide the basis for a possible critique and transformation of existing practices and social meanings (Howarth 2000, 129).

According to this theory, the paradox work of nodal points is that «although they are thought to be points of supreme plenitude of meaning, nevertheless, they operate in a self-referential, tautological, performative way...their role is purely structural and masks an «underlying» constitutive lack» (Stavrakakis 1997, 274, emphasis added).

In the context of the Hellenic Studies Program, «Hellenicity» does not exist by itself. It operates as a «nodal point», articulating unhistorical and decontextualized heterogeneous material, like personal experiences, rituals, «national sentiments», performances (manifestations) of the «Hellenic civilization» (i.e. participation in national feasts, sharing traditional clothing and dances), memories, personal narrations, tourist visits to Greece, emotions of nostalgia, abstracts of television discourses. «Hellenicity» is so proved to be a discursive construction which facilitates the potential and temporary imagined renegotiation of national identities and «otherness» by the «homogenes» (people who share the same genos).

The «moments»¹ of the Hellenicity discourse interact with the pragmatological conditions of teaching Greek as a second and/or foreign

¹ As we have intimated, discourse theory investigates the way social practices «systematically form the identities of subjects and objects by articulating together a series of contingent signifying elements available in a discursive field... Besides the concept of discourse itself, Laclau and Mouffe introduce four basic categories in order to account for this conception of identity. These are the categories of articulation, elements, moments and nodal points... Laclau and Mouffe argue that all identity emerges through the articulation or rearticulation of signifying elements. Hence they define «articulation» as any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. «Discourse» is the structured totality resulting from this articulatory practice. «Moments» are the differential positions that appear articulated within a discourse...» (Laclau & Mouffe 1985, 105, emphasis belongs to the text, as cited by Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000, 7).

language in this context, and they both articulate the epistemological, political and educational curriculum according to which Greek language is expected to be taught, at the same moment defining the content, the aims and objectives, as well as the limits of the specific teaching. So, what could be an effort of literacy in a terra incognita – and more specifically the Greek language really for the majority of students in the UW (University of Washington), which could serve as a broadening means of the teaching context and the didactic possibilities – is doomed to subversion because of an obsessive and stranglehold interpretation of «Hellenicity», which cannot admit and negotiate the terms of its absence successfully and insists on an auto-interpretation in maximalist, unhistorical and narcissist terms instead.

The empirical material: The empirical material of this paper is comprised of: Ten (10) questionnaires; six (6) letters which have been completed by the students of this Program, especially those of the second level, under my request, where they narrate their stimulation and their expectations of the choice of this Program and the learning of the Greek language; personal notes from my extended discussions with the Heads of the Program (the present and the previous, Professor and Professor Emeritus respectively); personal notes from my many discussions and meetings with the President and the members of the Greek community in Seattle; experiences that I owe to my professional status which got me into contact with several performances inside the «Greek» community and the «Greek» church of Saint Demetrios.² I have collected the material during the fall and spring quarters of the academic year 2006-2007.

Moments of the Hellenicity discourse

a) **The teaching of the Greek language:** The Hellenic Studies Program at the University of Washington was initiated «in the summer of 1998 following the establishment of the Hellenic Studies Endowed Fund and subsequently to an agreement between the University

² There is a very strong controversy among the community members about the language in which the church rituals have to be performed. The Saint Demetrios church uses both Greek and English language for the church services, while the other two «Greek» orthodox churches use English only. In the context of this paper, it is interesting that the Head of the *Hellenes of the Northwest* – see here, below in the same page – one of the most powerful men in this community, whose name is usually figured among the Maecenases of the Hellenic Studies Program, attends exclusively the church in which only the English language is used.

and the «Hellenes of the Northwest», an officially organized group of people interested in Modern Greek history and culture,»³ as they define themselves (emphasis added). The Hellenic Studies curriculum dovetails with that of the European Studies as it is considered as «a concentration within the European Studies program» and it is part of the programs run by the Jackson School of International Studies. It is also funded by individual «Hellenes», «phil-Hellenes», and foundations such as Onassis foundation, AHEPA (*Sons of Pericles, Daughters of Penelope and Maids of Athena*) (www.ahepa.org).

There are lessons offered, like *Greek History from 7000 BC until today* (taught by the President of the Program), *Greek History from 1770 to 2004* (in 2006-2007 the lesson was taught by a Dr of Ancient veterinary studies), and its program description is formulated as follows:

Greece's history from the late 16th to the early 21st century introduces fundamental events and people that shaped its present European status. Topics will include: the Revolution, Independence, Presidency, Monarchy, the Revival of the Olympics, Balkan Wars, World Wars I-II, Catastrophe (Asia Minor) and Greece's entry to the E.U. Knowledge of either modern Greece's society or the Greek language is not required» (emphasis added).

In such a context the unhistorical and de-contextualised knowledge taught is not surprising; see, for instance, below the unhistorical use of the concepts of «Macedonian» victors in the «Olympics», which relegate to ethnocentric perceptions of Hellenism.



³ More details on the history of the Program see also <http://depts.washington.edu/hellenic>.

b) Translating in English to learn Greek: Before travelling to the USA I contacted the person who taught Greek as a second or/and foreign language at the UW, so that I could be informed about the level of my students-to-be. The man informed me that he was teaching Greek at the high (second) level and the students were highly qualified in the Greek language, as they were able to translate in English the text of Anzel Kourtian, *Ta tetradia tes Anzel Kourtian: mnemes apo te Mikrasia 1915-1924*, Athens: Plethron, 1980 (The Notes of Anzel Kourtian, which refer to the persecution of Christians by the Turks [1915-1924]). Before I finally went there in October 2006, I had prepared a lot of exercises for my proficient students. During my very first contact with them, I realized that they could hardly understand a few words, such as «good morning» and «good evening» in Greek, although they were able to recognize the national stereotype of the «enemy» of Greece, i.e. the «Turks».

c) The discovery of America by Greeks in the «ethnocentric» discourse of the «Greek» community of Seattle: Juan de Fuca



Ioannis Fokas (*Ιωάννης Φωκάς*), better known by the Spanish transcription of his name, Juan de Fuca (born 1536 on the Ionian island of Kefallonia; died there 1602), was a Greek maritime pilot in the service of the Spanish king Philip II, best known for his claim to have explored the Strait of Anián, now known as the Strait of Juan de Fuca. It was his name that has welcomed me in my first meeting with the President of the Greek community in Seattle, and there was a very strong interest expressed by some of the heads of the Greek community in Seattle to fund a systematic research and study of his life in order to be able

to apply with validity to his claim that he was the first to arrive in New Spain in 1587, and that, off Cabo San Lucas in Baja California, the English privateer Thomas Cavendish seized his galleon *Santa Ana* and abandoned him ashore (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_de_Fuca).

d) Singing «phonetic» Greek at the Greek orthodox church of Saint Demetrios



According to the website of the church,

St. Demetrios is home to over 680 families, many of whom are 3rd and 4th generation descendents of the original founding families of our community. We are proud however, that our Orthodox Faith has attracted many who have chosen to convert to Orthodoxy and that have now become a part of the fabric of our present day community, and we celebrate the passion for Christ and enthusiasm that they and all of our parishioners bring to St. Demetrios (<http://www.saintdemetrios.com/>).

I had the subsequent experience in this church. I was invited to attend a dancing and singing performance given by some of my students as the final rehearsal on the occasion of an international folk dance contest which was going to be held in San Francisco. I came in the church and saw about twenty young men (three of them were students of mine in the beginners' classroom, about 2 meters tall), dressed in the Greek traditional folk clothing (referring to the period of the Greek liberation from the Turks in 1821). They were singing a very difficult folk song. Their parents were crying touched by their sons' Greek and I was trying to maintain my seriousness as they were the same people who, in the morning of the same day, had learned how to say «kalimera» (good morning) in Greek. I was wondering about what Hellenicity these parents were crying for!

Interpretations: national and «homogenic» identifications

In the afore-mentioned contexts *Hellenicity* as a discursive construction facilitates the contingent and temporary imaginative reconciliation of national identities and feelings of otherness for as long as some people try to be recognized as «homogenes». National and «homogenic» identifications are tested, performed and changed in turn. By the term «performed» we refer to the concept of linguistic performance, i.e. the process and the result of (every) language usage as a language behavior which is prescribed and organized on the basis of an underlying grammatical knowledge or an abstract language system affected by social factors.⁴

According to our reading in circumstances as the above described, the social categories are not pre-constructed, but are articulated within the language interaction, the analysis of which, through qualitative methods, can illumine different aspects of the social reality parallel to its discursive articulation.

The moment of the original constitution of the social is the point at which its contingency is revealed, since that institution is only possible through the repression of options that were equally open. To reveal the original meaning of an act, then, is to reveal the moment of its radical contingency – in other words, to reinsert it in the system of real historical options that were discarded – in accordance with our analysis above: By showing the terrain of the original violence, of the power relation through which that instituting act took place... Insofar as an act of institution has been successful, a «forgetting of the origins» tends to take place. The system of the possible alternatives tends to disappear and the traces of the original contingency to fade away. In this way, the instituted tends to assume the form of a mere objective presence. This is the moment of sedimentation. It is important to realize that this fading entails a concealment. The sedimentation is possible to be so total... that the contingent nature of this impact, the original dimension of the power, is not visible. Therefore, the objectivity is constituted simply as presence... (Laclau, 1997, p. 99)

⁴ For a detailed analysis of the concept of «linguistic performance» see, for instance, Jones, B. M. *Linguistic Performance and Language Background: A Study of Pupils in Welsh-Medium Schools, a Report of a Research Project Funded by the Faculty of Education of the University of Wales*. University, of Wales: Faculty of Education, 1992.

According to our argument, in the case of «Hellenicity», as its constitution *does not need* to be successful, permanent and sedimented, the «origins of constitution» are revealed in all the examples and constitute equivalent social identifications of the «homogenes» which they perform, turning to the Greek or English language.

The emotional elements of a discourse, or how a grammatical exercise has begun the personal story of Nikos and mine

«Something which belongs to the order of affects plays a central role to the construction of the social by the discourse... and the affect is not something which is added to the meaning but something innate to this...» (Laclau 2004β, 49, unpublished text, as cited by Stavrakakis 2004, 168). In these terms I was able to reflect on my emotions every time I was reading a text created by a student of mine on the occasion of a grammatical exercise with 15 verbs. Nikos, the student, is the son of a second-generation «Greek» man. Nikos's father has never visited Greece and is married to an American woman. Nikos's grandmother went to Seattle as a bride and she was the only one of his family to have visited Greece. Nikos had visited Greece the summer before our meeting (2006), gripping the chance of a project run in the University of Ioannina for those attending the European Studies Program in UW and wanting to have an experience of the Greek culture. By the end of this project and after visiting his grandmother's homeland, the island of Lesbos, he has become a very passionate «Greek». Although he did not speak a single Greek word, he took part in the exams which could afford him the opportunity of the Certificate of Attainment in Modern Greek (a sort of Certificate that I first introduced in the University of Washington with the cooperation of the *Centre for the Greek Language*). On his preparing tests for the exams, he wrote an «autobiographical answer» to the «grammatical exercise with 15 verbs»:

A story with 15 verbs

February 7th 2007

I will begin with «I». I am from Seattle, but I will see my city Mytilene every day. Unfortunately, Seattle is very far away from my house... I will stay in Greece, and I will be coming to my homeland. Everything for Greece! I know that I will not stay in Greece soon, but I know I will finish my life there.

Why do I have to hear in English what is correct in my language!⁵ It is okay because I am studying Greek and I will study until I will learn. From now on I will become more Greek and I will tell my story from Mytilene. I look forward to the time I will be able to come back to Mytilene (emphasis added).⁶

This text is a sort of serendipity⁷ for me and, despite my anti-ethnocentric discourse analysis, I catch myself touched every time I read it.

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⁵ The unknown to him – until that moment – Greek language is described as «his» language.

⁶ Phonetic transcription of the original text: «Tha arhiso me ego. Eimai apo to Seattle alla ego tha do tin poli mou Mytilini kathe mera. Dystyxos to Seattle einai poly makria apo to spiti mou ...Tha meino stin Ellada kai tha erxomai stin patrida mou. Ola gia tin Ellada. Ksero den tha meino stin Ellada syntoma alla tha teleioso ti zoi mou ekei. Giati prepei akouso sta agglika pot einai sosto glossa mou? Entaksei einai giati diabazo kai tha diabaso ellinika ospou ksero. Apo tora tha ginomai perissotero Ellinas kai tha po tin istoria mou apo tin Mytilini. Perimeno gia pote mporo na gyriso stin Ellada.»

⁷ As Merton (1962) noted, «There is a rich corpus of literature on *how* social scientists ought to think, feel, and act, but little detail on *what* they actually do, think, and feel» (p. 19). (Merton 1968, 157) provided a systematic attempt to make sense of serendipity in sociology, speaking of the serendipity pattern, whereby *unexpected data provide the spark for the creation of theoretical analysis* (emphasis added). For Merton (1968, 157) three features characterize datum that fits into a serendipity pattern: it must be «unanticipated,» «anomalous,» and «strategic» (i.e., with implications for the development of theory). See also Fine, Gary Alan and Deegan, James G. Three principles of Serendipity: insight, chance, and discovery in qualitative research: *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 9: 4, 1996, 434-447.

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Nikos's answer

February 7th, 2007

Μια ιστορία με 15 σφάλματα από την
 Θα αρχίσω με ερώ... σελίδα (153)
 Είμαι απ' το Σιάτλε, αλλά ~~επιθυμώ να πάω~~
 να δω ~~εστιάσει~~ την πόλη μου, ~~Μεσσηνή~~ κάθε μέρα.
 Δυστυχώς ~~πράγματι~~ ~~είναι~~ είναι πολύ μακριά από το
 σπίτι μου και ~~των~~ γονείς μου. Θα μείνω στην
 Ελλάδα, και ~~θα πάω~~ ~~και~~ θα έρθω στην
 πατρίδα μου. ~~Θα έρθω~~ ~~στην~~ ~~Ελλάδα~~ ~~και~~ ~~θα~~ ~~είρω~~ ~~και~~ ~~δεν~~
 θα μείνω στην Ελλάδα σύντομα, αλλά θα
~~επισκεφτώ~~ ~~την~~ ζωή μου εκεί. Γιατί πρέπει
~~να~~ ~~είμαι~~ ~~στην~~ ~~Ελλάδα~~ στα αγγλικά ποτε ~~είναι~~ ~~και~~ ~~αυτό~~
 γλώσσα μου. ~~Εντάξει~~ ~~είναι~~ είναι, γιατί ~~διαβάζω~~
 και θα διαβάσω ~~Ελληνικά~~ ~~από~~ ~~την~~ ~~Ελλάδα~~ ~~και~~ ~~θα~~ ~~είρω~~.
 Απ' ό,τι θα είμαι περισσότερο Έλληνας
 και θα πω ~~την~~ ~~ιστορία~~ ~~από~~ ~~την~~ ~~Ματιλήνη~~.
 Περιμένω για ποτε ~~να~~ ~~μπορώ~~ ~~να~~ ~~γυρίσω~~ στην
 Ελλάδα!

Paraskevi Delikari, Atēnu Akadēmija, Grieķija

IZAICINĀJUMS MĀCĪBU PROGRAMMAI: GRIEĶU VALODAS KĀ OTRĀS VALODAS VAI/UN SVEŠVALODAS MĀCĪŠANA

Šajā rakstā apskatīti politiskie un ideoloģiskie nosacījumi, pēc kuriem strukturēta Grieķu valodas un kultūras studiju programma Vašingtonas Universitātē (Sietlā), un šo nosacījumu ietekme, mūsu izpratnē, uz neviennozīmīgumu un pretrunām, mācot jaungrieķu valodu kā otro valodu un/vai svešvalodu. Raksts atspoguļo arī autores personīgo pedagoģisko pieredzi šajā situācijā un centienus tikt galā ar šīs programmas problēmām. Darba galvenā doma: «grieķiskuma» jēdziens ir «mezgla punkts».

Teorētiski un metodoloģiski autore piemēro politiskā diskursa teoriju, kā to veidojuši Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and Yannis Stavrakakis. Saskaņā ar šo teoriju mezgla punktu paradokss ir tas, ka, «lai gan tos uzskata par saturiski sevišķi bagātiem punktiem, tie tomēr funkcionē pašattiecinošā, tautoloģiskā, performatīvā veidā... tā loma ir tīri strukturāla un piesedz «slēptu» būtisku nepilnību».

Šajā kontekstā «grieķiskums» nepastāv pats par sevi. Tas funkcionē kā «mezgla punkts», kas artikulē nevēsturisku un dekontekstualizētu heterogēnu materiālu, tādu kā personiska pieredze, rituāli, «nacionālās jūtas», «grieķu civilizācijas» performances (t.i., piedalīšanās tautas dzīrēs/svētkos, tautas tērpa valkāšana un tautas deju dejošana), atmiņas, indivīdu stāsti, tūrisma braucieni uz Grieķiju, nostalgiskas izjūtas, televīzijas diskursu fragmenti. Tādējādi ir parādīts, ka «grieķiskums» ir diskursīvs konstrukts, kas sekmē nacionālo identitāšu un «citādības» potenciālu šī brīža iedomāti atsāktās sarunās, kuru dalībnieki ir «homogenes» (burtiski: «pie tās pašas cilts piederšie», š.g. «grieķi»).

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LANGUAGE LITERACY, GREEK LANGUAGE AND ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE THROUGH ICT (EDUCATIONAL SOFTWARE)

Brief summary

Learning the Greek language – and every language at that – does not mean simply learning Greek words or learning to speak Greek. Language literacy is related not only to general education, that is, learning to read and write in Greek, but also to the acquisition of knowledge of the Greek culture from ancient times till today. We use educational and cultural tools – which have been developed with Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) – for adult students and teachers of the Greek language for the purpose of attaining Greek language literacy. This study was designed to develop practical and effective teaching strategies of computer application software for group or in-person instruction.

Key words: language literacy; ancient culture; educational software.

1. Introduction

Many people learn foreign languages through computer application software (Lee 2001, 2). As a tool, the computer is used by teachers and students to aid learning and facilitate academic work. Millions of courses have been taught all over the world about the applications of the computer. The expectation and assumption were that teaching of computer application software that is highly organized, provides hands-on learning and proceeds in small steps would be successful in increasing the skill level of students (Lee 2001, 2).

Universities all over the world are continuously exploring ways to use this technology for improving teaching effectiveness (Seal, Przasnyski 2001, 33).

As this has occurred, institutions are being faced with many issues making the lessons succeed technologically. Faculty need to focus on learning theory in the design of instructional technology, so that they could create lessons that are not only technology-effective but also meaningful from the learner's standpoint (Fidishun, 2). Malcolm

Knowles's theory consists of learning strategies focused on adults. It is often interpreted as the change and control of adult learning process.

Knowles provides and promotes effective methodologies for adult learning, especially for self-directed learning. He puts forward three reasons for self-directed learning. First, he argues that there is convincing evidence that people who take the initiative in learning (proactive learners) learn more things and learn better than do people who sit at the feet of teachers, passively waiting to be taught (reactive learners). «They enter into learning more purposefully and with greater motivation. They also tend to retain and make use of what they learn better and longer than do the reactive learners» (Knowles 1975, 14).

The second reason is that self-directed learning is more in tune with our natural processes of psychological development (Knowles 1975, 15). The third reason is that many of the new developments in education put a heavy responsibility on the learners to take a good deal of initiative in their own learning (Knowles 1975, 15).

When this theory is integrated into the design of technology-based learning environments, it is possible to create lessons that not only serve the needs of students to use the latest technology but also focus on their requirements as an adult (Fidishun, 1) (online available at: www.mtsu.edu/~itconf/proceed00/fidishun.htm). Andragogy theory includes ideas such as an adult's readiness to learn, the role of the learner's experiences, the faculty member as a facilitator of learning, an adult's orientation to learning, and the learner's self concept (Fidishun, 1).

The Greek-language-learning software that I will present in the following chapters served as a means of transition from group instruction to self-directed learning of adult students.

2. The adult students' learning

The adult students and the needs and interests of them as learners are the starting points for the training activities (Edmunds, Lowe, Murray and Seymour, 1999).

An adult has assumed responsibility for himself/herself and others, that's why adults differ from pupils as learners. They also differ specifically in self-concept, experience, readiness to learn, time perspective and orientation to learning (Edmunds, Lowe, Murray and Seymour, 1999).

Adults become ready to learn something when, as Knowles explained, «they experience a need to learn it in order to cope more

satisfyingly with real-life tasks or problems» (Knowles 1980, 44). It is important that lessons developed by means of technology-based solutions should, where possible, be concrete and relate to students' needs and future goals (Fidishun, 2). These needs may be adapted from the goals of the course or learning program, or from the student expectations that were mentioned earlier (Fidishun, 3).

The design of technology-based instruction must include opportunities for learners to use their knowledge and experience (Fidishun, p. 4). It is for this reason that those who develop technology-based instruction for adult learners need to create opportunities for what Jack Mezirow calls «reflective learning» (Mezirow 1991, 6).

Technology-based instruction will be more effective if it uses real-life examples or situations that adult learners may encounter in their life or on the job (Fidishun, 3). Fidishun aptly describes the situation of adult learners as dependent learners and delineates the possibilities of their development through using the learning tools of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT):

In spite of their need for autonomy, previous schooling has made them dependent learners. It is the job of the adult educator to move adult students away from their old habits and into new patterns of learning where they become self-directed, taking responsibility for their own learning and the direction it takes. Technology is a perfect path for the facilitation of self-direction. The ultimate ability of initiatives such as ICT-based learning to be non-linear allows an adult to follow the path that most appropriately reflects their need to learn. It becomes extremely important for those who are designing technology-based adult learning to use all of the capabilities of the technology including the ability to skip sections a student already understands, and multiple forms of presentation of material which can assist people with various learning styles. All of these can be used to permit students to follow a path of learning that most appropriately suits them (Fidishun, 2).

3. Theory and methods

New technologies (ICT) can be developed for the design and expansion of computing tools, which are available to everyone who learns the Greek language. They provide them with an opportunity to express their thoughts, ideas and intuitions, and they are supportive to the construction of knowledge by creating learning environments that are rich in primary-source-data, opportunities for speculation and

experimentation. To facilitate the use of theory of andragogy while teaching with ICT tools, we must use technology to its fullest (Fidishun, 5).

Arguments for the use of technology many times include statements about its flexibility and the ability of the learner to move through lessons any time, anywhere, and at their own place. These arguments also include logical explanations of how a learner may adapt to the lessons or material to cover what they need to learn and eliminate the material that is not appropriate or that they have already learned. To adapt to the needs of adult students, these definitions of technology-based learning must be utilized to make its design interactive, learner-centered and to facilitate self-direction in learners (Fidishun, p. 5).

Software that we are presenting derives from the broader CAI category (Computer Assisted Instruction) (Panagiotakopoulos, Pierrakeas, Pintelas 2003, 24), by which the presentation of a broad spectrum of chapters on computer may assist teaching. CAI software programs are designed to use texts to present a major portion of the learning materials. It is important to investigate how the text material can be better presented to allow for more efficient leaning (Huang, Lin 2001, 128).

The particular software is a means of communication between user and the computer, which, where needed, reacts with positive feedback to the user.

There is also the procedure of evaluation in the software.

Initially, the user-friendly software will promote motivation towards language acquisition through the technological path. The procedure is interactive and contributes to having better learning results. It is indisputable that «animation» has many supporters (Panagiotakopoulos, Pierrakeas, Pintelas 2003, 32). When the «animation» as a moving image interacts with the users, then:

- a) We have their active participation,
- b) They can collect data and select the data appropriate for the composition and presentation of their homework,
- c) It promotes the development of initiative, creative and critical thought, and perceptiveness (Panagiotakopoulos, Pierrakeas, Pintelas 2003, 28).

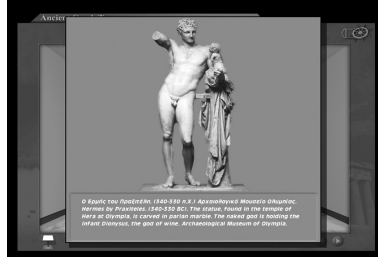
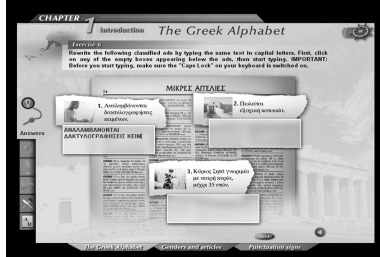
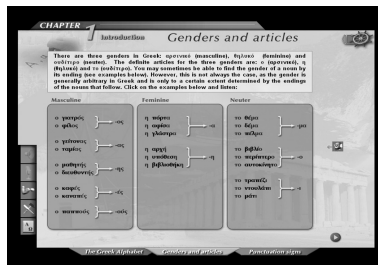
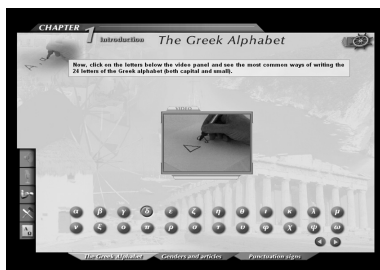
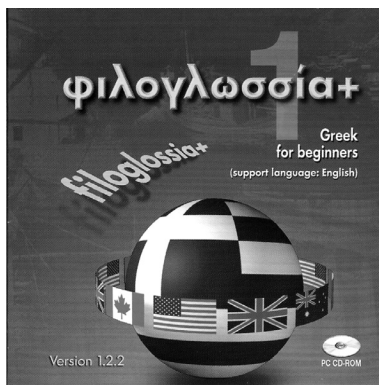
Teaching the Ancient Greek Language through the educational software seems like teaching:

- A language lesson,
- A literature lesson,

- A cultural lesson and
- A lesson of human wisdom.

4. The educational software

4.1 The educational software *Filoglossia+1 (Φιλογλωσσία+1)*, *Filoglossia+2 (Φιλογλωσσία+2)*, *Filoglossia+3 (Φιλογλωσσία+3)*, *Filoglossia+4 (Φιλογλωσσία+4)*



Filoglossia is a multimedia software of four (4) CDs for learning Greek designed by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (ILSP). According to the European Common Framework of Reference for Teaching, Learning and Evaluation of Modern Languages, it is classified at the basic level of learning foreign languages (threshold-waystage) (Charalampopoulou 2006, 87). The program is based on the «communicative approach» and focuses on the comprehension and production of both oral and written speech. In short, *Filoglossia* focuses on the development of language skills.

Each chapter is accompanied by a number of various exercises aiming at the development of all language skills (oral and written speech comprehension, pronunciation, spelling, vocabulary and grammar exercises, formation of sentences, etc.), while a number of language tools enable the user to do such things as:

- To record his/her voice and compare it with a native speaker,
- To listen to the pronunciation of any Greek word,
- To use the Bilingual Greek-English Dictionary.

Language materials are structured in four parts:

- Dialogue,
- Vocabulary,
- Grammar,
- Useful phrases.

Apart from the language material, the program includes: rich audio-visual material related to aspects of contemporary Greek civilization (Greek paintings – map of Cyclades). The dialogue texts are supported by videos.

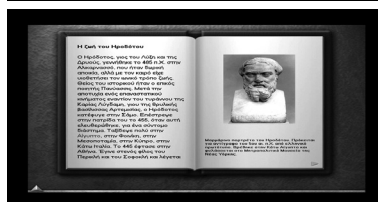
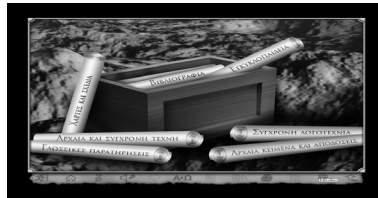
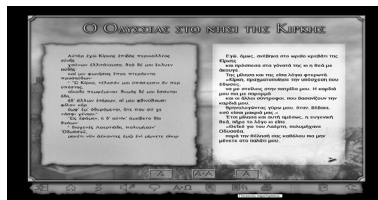
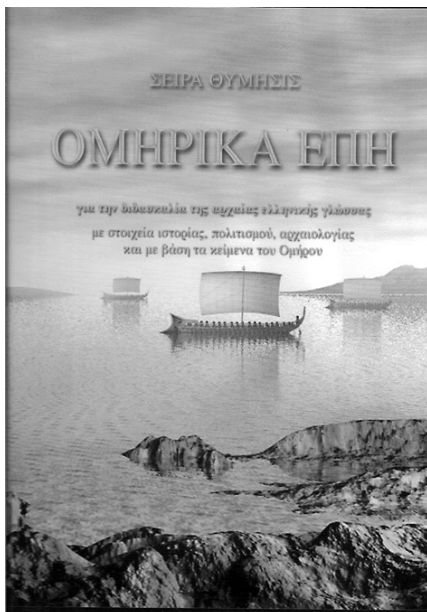
Filoglossia is aimed to the linguistic and socio-cultural development of the student (Charalampopoulou 2006, 88).

4.2 The educational software «Thimisis» («Θύμησις»)

The extensive course *Thimisis* (Θύμησις) (also designed by ILSP) includes the following software:

- a. *Homer's Epics* (Ομηρικά Έπη),
- b. *Herodotus* (Ηρόδοτος) and
- c. *Antholog* (Ανθολόγιο).

It is focused on learning the ancient Greek language with elements of history, culture and archaeology based on *Ulysses* and *Iliad* of Homer (around 850 B.C.).



Two important characteristics of this software are:

- 1) Introduction of an intense cultural dimension into learning of Ancient Greek and
- 2) An emphasis on cross-curriculum approach of teaching, based on ancient Greek texts.

The software *Herodotus* focuses on teaching the Ancient Greek Language through the histories of Herodotus (around 440 B.C.).

There is also a digital guide of the museum of Delfi (Greece) and of other museums.

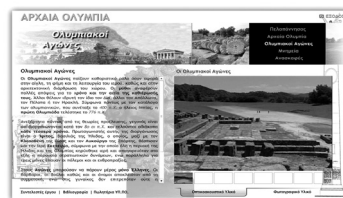
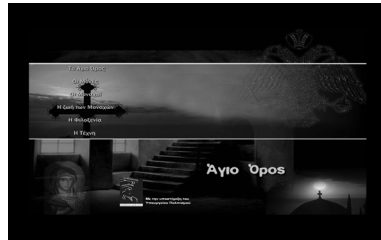
The *Anthology* software includes teaching the Ancient Greek language through the following subjects:

- Education,
- Music,
- Sports,
- Relations between men and women,
- Aesop's fables.

4.3 The educational software *Trip to culture*, developed by the Greek Ministry of Culture

The Ministry of Culture of Greece has produced a learning software referring to four important geographical parts of Greece:

1. Holy mountain of Athos (Άγιο Όρος)
2. Ancient Olympia (Αρχαία Ολυμπία)
3. Ancient Market of Athens (Αρχαία Αγορά Αθηνών)
4. Mystras (Μυστράς)



Within the same learning software, there is another part presenting:

- Dramatization of Greek prose pieces,
- Dramatization of poems,
- Dramatization of ancient drama.

CDs include dramatization of prose pieces and poems of famous Greek writers and poets, where an actor with music accompaniment

reads the texts. The dramatizations of ancient drama include CDs with comedies or dramas, such as, for example *Hens* of Aristophanes (446–386 B.C.). At the beginning, there is an audio part, where the student can listen about the life of Aristophanes and, after that, listen quotations from the comedy.

4.4 The educational software *Alexander the Great* (Μέγας Αλέξανδρος)

Another important multimedia software has the title *Alexander the Great* (Μέγας Αλέξανδρος) (designed by Lambrakis Publishing House).



Students can follow Alexander's (356–323 B.C.) route to Asia through audio – visual material, describing all the famous fights, historical facts and legends about him. The following subjects are presented:

- Personality of Alexander the Great,
- His teachers,
- The Persian army,

- The Macedonian army,
- Fights,
- Legends,
- The chronicle,
- The locations of the fights (maps).

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Software

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Homer's Epics (Ομηρικά Έπη), Thimisis (Θύμησις), ILSP.

Herodotus (Ηρόδοτος), Thimisis (Θύμησις), ILSP.

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Penelope Frandzi, Patru Universitāte, Grieķija

VALODAS PRASMES, GRIEĶU VALODA UN ANTĪKĀ KULTŪRA MODERNO MĀCĪBU TEHNOLOĢIJU PIEDĀVAJUMĀ

Jaunās informācijas un komunikācijas tehnoloģijas (IKT) var izveidot un paplašināt datorinstrumentu klāstu, kas ir pieejami ikvienam, kurš mācās grieķu valodu. Tie piedāvā iespēju izteikt savas domas, idejas un izjūtas, un tās atbalsta zināšanu veidošanu, radot tādu mācību vidi, kurā ir daudz oriģinālo avotu datu, prātojumu un eksperimentēšanas iespēju. Konkrētā programmatūra ir komunikācija dialoga formā starp lietotāju un datoru, un, kad vajadzīgs, dators reaģē, sūtot pozitīvu atsauksmi lietotājam. Programmatūra ietver arī novērtēšanas procedūru.

Sākotnēji abas programmatūras, kas ir lietotājam draudzīgas, veicinās motivāciju apgūt valodu, izmantojot tehnoloģijas. Procedūra ir interaktīva un sekmē labākus mācīšanās rezultātus. Nav apstrīdams, ka kustīgajam tēlam (animācijai) ir daudz atbalstītāju.

III

ECHOS AND REFLECTIONS
ATBALSIS UN ATSPULGI

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Turkey

THE GREEK LOANWORDS IN TURKISH AND THEIR USE IN THE GREEK LANGUAGE*

Brief summary

In this paper, we describe Greek words, which are included in the Turkish language, analyze their meanings in Greek and theoretically explore the mechanism of the existing connection between the two languages. Also, we present the 19th century Greek handbooks, which facilitated the Greek-speaking people of the Ottoman Empire learning the Ottoman-Turkish language. Finally, we compare the Greek and Turkish current lexicographical bibliography and come to a conclusion that a high percentage of the Greek loanwords in Turkish have a similar use in Greek and keep the same meaning in these languages. However, a few but very significant words follow a different semantic route in the two languages.

Key words: Greek – Turkish language, loanwords, comparative studies, common vocabulary

1. Introduction

A language can vary from nation to nation or even within the same nation, according to the particular conditions and development process of the society which this language expresses. In this case, the perceptions and assessments of societies that speak different languages would be different as well. Every language, having the quality to be a communicative channel, has the power and richness to meet its cultural needs. However, the expression and vocabulary of any language are different. For example, a notion, expressed with a single word in one language, can require three or four words, when transferred into another.

* We want to thank warmly Mrs. Penelope Kambaki-Vougioukli (Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Greek Literature, Komotini – Greece) for her useful comments on our paper.

The word «waterfalls», which has a visual characteristic in English, is expressed as «çağlayan» (*guggling*) in Turkish. In distinction from the Turkish word, the English word reflects auditory perception. Besides, every language has a vocabulary related to the priorities of its own culture. For instance, the words «snow» and «ice» do not exist in the African languages, just as the Eskimo languages do not have the words for «desert» and «camel» (Eker 2003, 10).

Language is a living and developing mechanism. The fact that it interacts with other languages and cultures and that it exchanges words with others is the evidence of its being dynamic and always evolving. Evidently, it is easier to borrow foreign words from other languages in place of the non-existent vocabulary in one language than to produce new ones. For this reason, in languages that have chosen this way, foreign words multiply over years. All languages in the world borrow from each other some words that they need and that generally do not exist in their own language. The words, idioms, terms, grammatical structures, etc. received from another language, especially in cases of neighboring peoples, are called «loanwords».

It is definitely an interesting issue to investigate loanwords in languages; however, it is a difficult process, and there is always a lot to do. As far as languages other than English, French or German and some others – more usually European ones – are concerned, there has not been a lot of research. Turkish is a language that has borrowed a number of words from other languages, including Greek, and we thought it would be of interest to investigate such an issue, also taking into account the fact that there are a lot of Turkish words in Greek as well.

2. Research Background

The first known sources of the Turkish written language are the ancient Turkish Göktürk epigraphs. These are written works of 725-735 AD. Although there is a long chronological distance between them, we find historical information about the Göktürks in Byzantine chronicles (Moravcsik 1938). The Turkish language has had a continuously improving and broadening kind of vocabulary since its first periods. There are plenty of borrowed Arabic and Persian words in the Turkish language, especially due to the influence of Islam. In the 11th century, innumerable Greek and Armenian words entered into the language of Eastern Anatolian people. Thus, many items and notions originally not available in Turkish were borrowed from these languages – especially

words relevant to architecture, environment, navigation, foods, etc. – and adopted and adapted to Turkish. After the 14th century, this language relationship developed in the Balkans. As a result of the interaction with the Genoese and Venetians, numerous Italian words relating to seamanship and trade passed on to Turkish (Sezgin 2004, 11). The connection of Turkish with Greek started in ancient times and the Byzantine period. Generally speaking, it is possible to say that from the 11th century up to the 1920s there was a strong interaction between the two languages (Karaağaç 2005, 174).

Both Greeks and Turks lived under the domination of the Ottoman Empire for many centuries, and the long common life of the two nations naturally created rich interactions between the Greek and the Turkish languages as well (for an examination of the interaction of two languages, see also Tokalak 2006, 459-474). Language comprises one of the basic cultural phenomena, and it is certainly the vital evidence of the co-existence of these two nations. Most of the time, one language leaves inefaceable tracks on the other, and it obviously underlines the crossed courses of the people speaking it. Sometimes language is more illuminating than history, which becomes ideologically tense and which either underlines or debases important chosen factors of the parallel cultures of the two neighboring countries. This situation pertains to Modern Greek and Turkish as well, because there is a considerable relationship between these languages, resulting from having been living together in the same geographical area. Unfortunately, this interesting relationship has not been studied with the necessary scientific soberness and the relevant spirit of cooperation until today.

3. The Study

Instead of reaching conclusive and certain results, our study will outline some of the ways of research and will endeavor to contribute to the above mentioned issue. In this paper, we would like to describe the Greek words which have entered into the Turkish language, to analyze their meanings in Greek and to theoretically explore the mechanism of the existing connections between the two languages. At the same time, we would also like to demonstrate the opposite direction of this influence between languages, namely, the influence of Turkish on the development of Modern Greek.

The proofs of this systematic contact are abundant, although they have not been recorded and evaluated enough. Maybe the ultimate reason for this is that the Greek and Turkish scholars, philologists,

and linguists of today, in contrast to those of the past, are ignorant of the mutual influences between the languages and lexicographical bibliography. Therefore, an impressive similar development of all elements referring to language, spiritual culture and literature is still latent to some extent.

3.1. Present Status of Research

Since the 18th century and even earlier than that, the Modern Greek language has operated as an international commercial and cultural language for many Balkan nations in the Ottoman Empire, such as the Vlachs, Bulgarians, and Albanians (Konstantakopoulou 1988, 11-13). All the same, the language of the Ottoman administration and cultural identity was Turkish. As a natural consequence of this, an unimpeded and essential communication between these two languages predominant in Anatolia emerged.

During the 19th century, various handbooks were published in order to facilitate the Ottoman Empire's Greek-speaking people learning the Ottoman-Turkish language. This material opens a new field of research, which to date remains almost uninvestigated. Like the Department of Greek in Trakya University (University of Thrace), other Departments of Greek Language and Literature newly established in Turkey promise remarkable scientific perspectives for comparative studies.

Without going into a detailed exploration of the 19th century Greek bibliography, we have identified the following remarkable publications, dividing them into four categories:

A) Dictionaries

Turkish-Greek and Greek-Turkish dictionaries («greekika», according to the terminology of that period) appeared very early. These dictionaries use the phonetic transmission of Turkish in the Greek alphabet or the official Arabic writing with indication of the Turkish accent in Greek. For instance, we refer to:

- a) the dictionaries that were composed by Zacharias, the monk from Mount Athos, Kesaria, which were first published in Venice and republished many times (1804, 1814),
- b) the dictionary composed by doctor Dimitrios Alexandridis, published in Vienna (1812),
- c) the result of the lexicographic cooperation between the Porte (Bab'ı Ali in Ottoman) translator A. Th. Fardis and the Otto-

man language teacher K. I. Fotiadis (1860-1864) published by the printing house of Evangelinos Misailidis in Constantinople, and

- d) the two-volume Greek-Turkish dictionary by I. P. Panagiotidis (1897, 1898, Constantinople).

B) Grammars and methods of teaching the Ottoman-Turkish language to Greek-speaking people

These handbooks are mainly intended for Greek students, who «should show interest in the Turkish language equivalent to their interest in their own mother tongue and put it above any other language» (Adosidis 1850, ζ), as stated in the preface to one of these books. Some examples of this category are:

- a) Dimitrios Alexandridis (1812), *Greek-Turkish Grammar*, Vienna,
- b) Translator Konstantinos Adosidis (1850), *Elements of Ottoman Grammar*, Constantinople,
- c) Judge Alexandros Konstantinidis (1873), *Theoretical and Practical Method for Learning the Ottoman Language*, Constantinople, and M. Ligias (1901), *Elemental Grammar of the Ottoman Language*, Constantinople.

C) Greek Anthologies of the Ottoman literary texts for use in schools

These books include texts from the Ottoman Literature, vocabulary and commentaries, like the two-volume Anthology published by the Ottoman Language teacher Kleanthis Charalambidis (1875) in Constantinople.

D) Translations of Turkish handbooks to Greek and adaptations for Greek-speaking students

This category includes such books as, e.g., the *Ottoman Grammar* by the Arabic-Turkish teacher Hafız Refi Efendi, published in Constantinople (1875, 1887) by permission of the Ministry of Education and adapted by Alexandros Naum and Dimitrios K. Makridis.

Since the late 19th century, the subject of interaction between the two languages has been extensively dealt with, as reflected in the international bibliography. Typical examples are the studies of Franz von Miklosich (1884) and Louis Ronzevalle (1912), who both examined the influence of Turkish on the Greek *demotic* language (the latter

especially in the region of Edirne), and of Gustav Meyer and Karl Krumbacher (both in 1893), who, in turn, explored the Greek elements in the Turkish vocabulary.

Increasing interest also appeared in the Greek bibliography beginning with the first decades of the 20th century. As for Greek loanwords in the Turkish language, Anthimos Papadopoulos (1932) established a first catalogue with 372 entries divided into the following groups: *religious, nautical, zoological, botanical, technical, medical, gastronomical* and *general* terms. The Papadopoulos's collection is very useful for research, as it proves that Greek loanwords in the Turkish language originate mainly from the *demotic* language; however, this work is nationalistically prejudiced. A more objective work seems to be the lexicographic collection written by Evaggelos Bogas (1951), which includes Greek words from Turkish-Greek and Turkish-French dictionaries of the Ottoman period. Bogas claims that a vast majority of the entries were transferred directly (744 out of 827 words) and indirectly (25 words through Persian and 58 words through Arabic) from the Modern Greek language into Turkish. In the preface, Bogas records certain statistical data for the Turkish words in the Greek language. Later on, the same researcher wrote a paper on the subject of the old Turkish loanwords in Modern Greek (Bogas 1959). The two above mentioned studies (Papadopoulos 1932, Bogas 1951) claim that there are more Greek loanwords in Turkish compared to the Turkish ones in the Greek language. Yet, in 1959, Konstantinos Koukkidis, in his publication on the regular Greek vocabulary borrowed from Turkish, just by comparing the number of collected words, without difficulty reached the conclusion that the Greeks adopted more borrowed language elements than the Turks did before the Turkish Republic was founded (Koukkidis 1959, 281-282). Of course, the interpretation of this fact, which is connected to the specific historical and social conditions, is not a subject of the present study.

Similarly, very recently in Greece, Maria Dimasi and Ahmet Nizam (2004) and Iraklis Millas (2008) published two catalogues that include the common vocabulary of the two nations, containing numerous internationally used words of Greek origin for various scientific disciplines. Finally, Apostolos Kerkineoglou posted on the internet an integrated catalogue of the Greek words in the Turkish language, which has been continuously updated and contains the etymology of each entry, and, in many cases, corrects the mistakes found in the previous bibliography (Kerkineoglou).

Furthermore, Andreas Tietze and Christos Tzitzilis in their studies have collected the Greek words still existing in Turkish (Karaağaç 2005, 175). Recently, Günay Karaağaç has done some important research on the relationship of Turkish with various European and Asian languages. In his latest study, where borrowed words in Turkish are examined, the chapter referring to Greek takes up an essential part. Finally, in Turkish Universities, the morphophonology of loanwords in Turkish is studied at a postgraduate level.

3.2. A Proposal for Taxonomy

Our basic source for the modern Turkish language is the 10th edition of the official dictionary edited by the Turkish National Language Institution (TDK 2005). In this dictionary, there are 358 words in Modern Turkish registered as being of the Greek etymology. Out of them, 18 are of Italian origin; however, it is believed that they were transferred into Turkish through Greek. For example: *iskarmoz* / *σκαρμός* (*skarmos*) = a kind of fish, or *kuzine* / *κουζίνα* (*kuzina*) = stove. From these words, 73 or 20% have idiomatic use in Turkish. Some examples of the Greek loanwords are:

1. Plant kingdom:

- *defne* / *δάφνη* (*dafni*) = daphne, a species of deciduous and evergreen shrub with fragrant flowers;
- *kapari* / *κάππαρη* (*kapari*) = caper, a perennial spiny bush with big white to pinkish-white flowers.

2. Navigation, fishes:

- *ablatya* / *απλάδι* (*apladi*) = floating gill net;
- *çipura* / *τσιπούρα* (*tsipura*) = *sparus aurata*, gilthead seabream, a kind of fish.

3. Habitation:

- *kerevet* / *κρεβάτι* (*krevati*) = bed, a piece of furniture for sleeping;
- *yali* / *γιαλός* (*gialos*) = a seaside mansion. In Modern Greek *γιαλός* means coast.

4. Ecclesiastic terms:

- *aforoz* / *αφορισμός* (*aforismos*) = anathema, a spiritual suspension with which the church may expel a person from the community for various reasons;
- *diyakoz* / *διάκονος* - *διάκος* (*diakonos* - *diakos*) = deacon, the first of the three orders of priesthood.

5. Food, drink:

- somun / ψωμί (psomi) = loaf, round and inflated bread;
 - cibre / τσίπουρο (tsipuro) = Greek raki, alcoholic distillate from grapes.
- 6. Folk medicine:**
- salya / σάλιο (salio) = gob, saliva, spit, aqueous excretion from mouth;
 - lohusa / λεχούσα (lechusa) = a childbearing woman, a woman who has just become a mother.
- 7. Geography and relative terms:**
- körfez / κόλπος - κόρφος (kolpos - korfos) = bay, a body of water that is partly enclosed by land;
 - lodos / νότος (notos) = southern or southwest wind, libeccio.
- 8. Agriculture, pastoralism:**
- çivgar / ζευγάρι (zevgari) = span, a couple of animals for rural works;
 - mandıra / μάντρα - μαντρί (mandra - mandri) = sheepcote, sheepfold, stockyard.
- 9. Wear:**
- kundura / κοντή ουρά - κούντουρος (kondi ura - kunduros) = simple shoes without toecap. In Modern Greek κοντή ουρά means a short tail and κούντουρος in medieval Greek means crop-tailed;
 - şayak / σαγίον - σαγιάκι (sagion in medieval Greek and sagiaki) = unwearable woolen cloth, crash.
- 10. Coins, measures, weights:**
- drahoma / τραχώμα (trachoma) = marriage portion in cash; from the medieval Greek verb τραχώνω = I give a portion in τραχύ (trahi) = silver coin;
 - paydos / φαγητό (fagito) = the period of a break at work; in Modern Greek φαγητό means eating.
- 11. Musical organs, dance:**
- organun / όργανον (organon) = musical organ;
 - horon / χορός (choros) = the folkloristic dance of the Black Sea; in Modern Greek χορός generally means dancing.
- 12. Animals, fowls:**
- midilli / μυντιλής (midilis) = a runty horse; in Modern Greek Μυτιλήνη means the island of Lesbos; the midilis, a species of tiny horse, lived in this island;
 - ispinoz / σπίνος (spinos) = *fringilla coelebs*, chaffinch, a small songbird.

13. Various

- gönye / γωνία (gonia) = angle, triangle, gnomon.
- yortu / γιορτή (giorti) = festival, fiesta, holiday.

4. Results and discussion

Although the already mentioned Greek bibliography has a higher number of Greek loanwords in Turkish, it does not contain all the entries found in the TDK dictionary. As it can be seen in Diagram 1, the percentage of common entries varies approximately between 40 to 48 %. The only exception is the recent Kerkeineoglou compilation, where the similarity of words reaches as high as 68 %. A comparison of the Greek and Turkish bibliographies provided below brings to light a notable variance of the linguistic material being considered of the Greek origin.

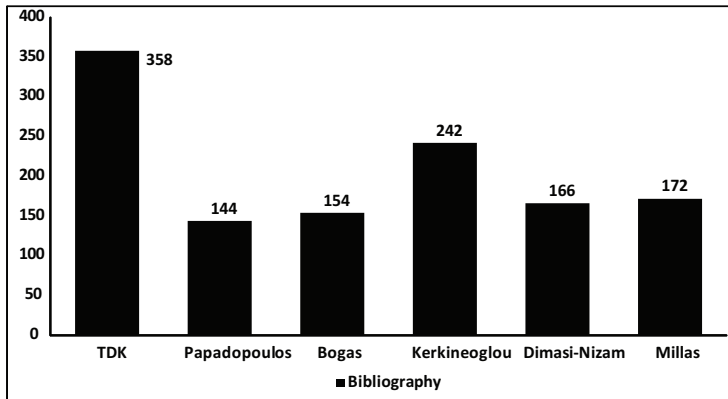


Diagram 1. Common entries compared to TDK Dictionary

The use of the 358 above mentioned loanwords in the Modern Greek language is divided into three categories (Diagram 2):

- A. Words with the same meaning in Turkish and Greek.** The majority of the words (265 entries or 74%) are used in the same way and have the same meaning in both languages [e.g., agora / αγορά (agora) = shopping centre of the city; avlu / αυλή (avli) = open space at a house on the front or back side; demet / δεμάτι (demati) = a bunch of uniform things; hoyrat / χωριάτης (horiatis) = peasant, a person living in a village; liman / λιμάνι (limani) = harbor, port].

- B. Words with the same meaning that are not used commonly.** This category refers to meanings, which express former social needs and situations that have disappeared from the modern society and, as a consequence, are no longer used on a day-to-day basis. They are mostly found in local idioms or in older literary texts. They amount to 60 words or 17% [e.g., *kokona* / *κοκώνα* (*kokona*) = term for women of aristocratic origin, lady; *kümes* / *κουμάσι* (*kumasi*) = hennery; *martolos* / *αρματολός* (*armatolos*) = armed Christian who did not join the regular army in the Ottoman Empire; *semer* / *σαμάρι* (*samari*) = packsaddle, an accessory for riding on pack animals; *üvendire* / *βουκέντρα* (*vukendra*) = goad, a stick to vaccinate oxen].
- C. Words with the same etymologic origin but with differentiated meaning.** Only 33 words or 9% have common etymologies but differentiated meanings in both languages currently spoken. They are mostly Greek words with narrower meaning in Turkish [for example: *aftos* = lover / *αυτός* (*aftos*) = third person pronoun; *fantazyä* = demonstration of Arabic riders during festivals / *φαντασία* (*fandasia*) = representation in the mind of objects or situations oppressed in our subconscious; *kopil* = vagabond / *κοπέλι* (*kopeli*) = boy in a Cretan idiom; *erkete* = observation / *έρχεται* (*erchete*) = comes; *alay* = military unit / *αλλαγή* (*alagi*) = change].

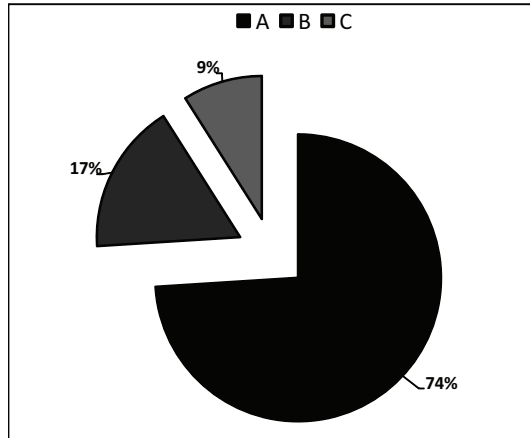


Diagram 2. The Greek loanwords of Turkish in the Greek language
 A – words with the same meaning, B – words that are not used commonly,
 C – words with differentiated meaning.

5. Conclusion

In our study, we pointed out that a higher percentage of Greek words in the Turkish language have a similar use in Greek and they have the same meaning in both languages. A salient percentage of words continue to be used in a uniform way, but, despite the need, has almost vanished today; it keeps on existing as a live evidence of the close relationship of the two nations. Moreover, the Greek words which were used by the Turkish writers and the Turkish society during the Ottoman period and during the first years of the Turkish Republic were no longer used in the daily language due to the fact that their usage diminished in time and that the social and the commercial interaction between the two nations decreased. Finally, a few but very significant words follow different semantic routes in the two languages. This practically means that some loanwords are totally incorporated in their new linguistic environment and have an almost independent use.

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GRIEĶU VĀRDU AIZGUVUMI TURKU VALODĀ UN TO LIETOJUMS GRIEĶU VALODĀ

Turku un grieķu kultūras sakari izveidojās jau senatnē. Kultūras apmaiņa kļuva straujāka Osmaņu impērijas laikā. Šie sakari skāra ne tikai grieķu tautu, bet arī citas Balkānu tautas.

Šis raksts veltīts grieķu vārdu aizguvumiem turku valodā un to lietojumam grieķu valodā. Daudzi grieķu vārdi nonāca valodā, ko dēvē par «Turcijas turku valodu» un kurā vēl runā Anatolijā un Balkānos. Mūsdienās ir daudz vārdu, kas ienākuši turku valodā, pateicoties Anatolijā dzīvojušajiem grieķiem. Šie vārdi ir lielākoties reliģiski, jūrniecības, zooloģiski, botāniski, tehniski, medicīniski, gastronomiski un vispārlietojami termini.

Rakstā aprakstīti turku valodā iekļautie grieķu vārdi, analizēta to nozīme grieķu valodā un teorētiski pētīts mehānisms, kas saista šīs divas valodas. Tiek aplūkotas 19. gadsimta grieķu valodas rokasgrāmatas, kas rosināja Osmaņu impērijas grieķiski runājošos cilvēkus mācīties osmaņu turku valodu.

Noslēgumā identificētie 358 grieķu valodas aizguvumi turku valodā, kas eksistē jaungrieķu valodā, iedalīti trīs kategorijās: a) vārdi ar vienādu nozīmi turku un grieķu valodā (265 šķirklji vai 74%, piem., *avlu / αυλή (avli) = pagalms*; b) vārdi ar vienādu nozīmi, bet retāk lietotāji (60 vārdi vai 17%, piem., *martolos / αρματολός (armatolos) = bruņots kristietis, kas neiestājas Osmaņu impērijas armijā*; c) vārdi ar to pašu etimoloģisko izcelsmi, bet ar atšķirīgu nozīmi (33 vārdi vai 9%, piem., *alay = karaspēka vienība / αλλαγή (alagi) = maiņa*).

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CZECH JOURNEY TO MODERN GREEK*

Brief summary:

The Czech public did not have the first opportunity to get to know «modern-time» Greece until the 2nd half of the 19th century and did so when classical philologists made their study trips to Greece. The form of the Modern Greek language inspired them to publish occasional comments in their travelogues and also a few essays dedicated in particular to the Modern Greek language. Their «classical-philological» view of the Modern Greek language, influenced simultaneously by the nationalism of the Czech national revival, provides an interesting evidence of primary interest in the Modern Greek language in the Czech scholarly community.

Key words: travelogues, Modern Greek, Czech national revival, Fallmerayer's theory, František Vymazal (1841–1917)

The first contacts of the Czech public, both scholarly and lay, with «modern-time» Greece took place at the end of the 19th century, when classical philologists tried to discover «mutilated» remnants of the Ancient Greek world during the course of their travels to Greece.¹ The increased activity of Czech travellers on Greek soil was possible thanks to travel scholarships, which were granted from 1893 to 1914 by the Austrian Ministry of Religion and Education to classical philology and history teachers, who were working in secondary education.² Since the Greek railway system was not interconnected with the European railway networks until 1916, Czech travellers were setting out on their journey to Greece by ships from Trieste. This routine and perhaps

* This paper was written under the auspices of the *Centre for Interdisciplinary Research into Ancient Languages and Early Stages of Modern Languages* (research program MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University in Brno, the Czech Republic.

¹ Czech travelling activities in Greece in that period, including publishing that followed, are described in detail by Alena Frolíková, see Frolíková 1986/1987, p. 92–106; Frolíková 1987, 121–123.

² The travelling scholarship fund was founded in 1891, by edict no. 23250; see *Verordnungsblatt für den Dienstbereich des Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht 1892. Kundmachungen*, 527. Kepartová 2008, 208.

somewhat monotonous journey, which was limited by ship timetables, included two compulsory stops at Corfu and Syros, from where the ships sailed on to Constantinople and Jerusalem – the main travellers' destinations.³ From the ports of Patras and Athens, the travellers were setting out on trips to archaeological sites of the interior Peloponnese by train or, if they headed for mountain areas difficult to reach, on mules with a driver.

Their travel experiences, which they published in local Czech newspapers, bulletins or travelogues after their return, consisted mainly of descriptions of those archaeological sites. The travellers, however, did not ignore Modern Greeks' way of life either, simultaneously showing their interest in the Modern Greek language. In this paper, I would like to comment mainly on that interest. Be it occasional comments or specialized articles published in scholarly classical philological periodicals of the period, there was a list of topics which appeared and repeatedly attracted the classical philologists' attention.

First, as secondary education teachers, they could not have omitted the topic of great interest to the Czech public at that time: the discussion about the pronunciation of Ancient Greek. The problem of pronunciation became current again because of the recent foundation of the Greek state and because of the progress in the area of comparative linguistics. The discussion was not taking place solely on the academic level; it was also influenced by nationalistic tendencies, not only Greek but also Czech. For the Czech public, however, the basis of the problem was mainly didactic – in other words, the question was: What pronunciation convention should be used when reading the Ancient Greek texts out loud in a classroom?

Concerning this problem, most scholars were stuck to conservative opinions, which were further reinforced by their personal encounter with «modern Greeks». Their argumentation was supported by the belief that the already very difficult didactics of Ancient Greek would become even more complicated, because there are no equivalent sounds in Czech for many Modern Greek phonemes and it would thus be pointless to tire both students and teachers by trying to pronounce them.⁴ There were, naturally, some pioneering scholars, who supported Modern Greek pronunciation of Ancient Greek.⁵ Their views not only

³ Frolíková 1983, 73–85.

⁴ Kalousek 1902, 15–17.

⁵ Korec 1899, 77–81.

were based on the Hellenistic pronunciation of Greek but also were clearly practical. The readers were offered utterly modern incentives to the Modern Greek pronunciation of Ancient Greek – for example, they were told that, with the progress of transport in Greece, it will be necessary even for Czech people to learn Modern Greek, that the knowledge of Modern Greek language will open the whole eastern coast of the Mediterranean for travelling, etc. All those suggestions remained «platonic»⁶, i.e., idealistic after all; the so-called «Erasmic pronunciation» prevailed in the country and it is still used nowadays.

The second topic that interested Czech classical philologists was the spread of the Modern Greek pronunciation to the general public. Not being sure of the right pronunciation, they quite often described certain dialectal pronunciation of Modern Greek, which they heard from local villagers or mule drivers. Because of the locations of their trips, it was usually the Peloponnesian dialect. As their reading public had already acquired a good level of the Ancient Greek language at grammar schools⁷ or were scholars themselves, the authors could describe the pronunciation using the forms which were already known to the public. In other words, they used a method similar to that which is used in textbooks today, such as *Modern Greek for Classical Philologists*. Today's readers might be surprised by the great attention paid to the voiceless pronunciation of the phoneme /s/ (σ)⁸ between two vowels, which exists both in Ancient and Modern Greek and which is not at all foreign to a Czech speaker. We have to search for the cause of this in the co-existence of Czechs and Germans, who voice the phoneme /s/ like /z/ if it is between two vowels in the middle of a word or at the beginning of a word in front of a vowel. This pronunciation influenced the pronunciation of Ancient Greek not only by the German but also by

⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷ Ancient Greek was introduced as a compulsory subject at grammar schools with 5-year study duration as early as in 1804. The educational reform (1849–1850) also introduced reading of Ancient authors as compulsory at (from 1818 onwards) classical grammar schools with 6-year study duration, while Ancient Greek was included in the study programme from the 1st to the 6th year, four to six teaching hours per week. The so-called *Educational Reform of Bonitz-Exner* in 1854 (*Organisational Outline – Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich*) introduced only small changes in the order of reading the Ancient authors, and, as a result, Ancient Greek and Latin constituted more than 40 % of the curriculum, even though natural history and physics were also introduced. afránek 1903/1904, 378–385; Svato 2004, 39–52.

⁸ Korec 1899, 79.

the Czech speakers, a great percentage of whom still studied at German schools. The authors stress the difference in the pronunciation of the phoneme /s/ not only because Czechs (and Germans) pronounce it in the wrong way but also because in the period of the national revival it was important for them to distance themselves from the German-speaking world by any means.

Furthermore, we can deal with the third topic that is often discussed in the works of Czech classical philologists: the so-called «Greek language question» in the context of the Czech national revival. Many scholars supported Fallmerayer's theory of the Slavic origin of «Modern Greeks», and some extended it even further, from the anthropological point of view to that of the language, thus developing theories about the influence of the «Slavonic language» on the Modern Greek phonology, morphology and syntax. Thoughts of this kind can, to a great extent, be attributed to the large influence which Fallmerayer's theory exercised in Europe at that time. At the same time, the Slavic ideology, which strengthened the belief of Czechs in the independent future of their nation, surely played an important role as well.

Comparing Greeks and Czechs as two subjugated nations also supported the Czech national conscience. In this comparison, Greeks were necessarily in a worse position than Czechs, because, as Czech scholars claimed, «their language and literature was even poorer than ours in the Middle Ages» and Modern Greek was «even worse off than the Czech language, corrupt through and through by the Albanian, Turkish and Vlach languages».⁹

Approximately at the same time when classical philologists began to busy themselves with the current form of Modern Greek, the first Czech textbook of the Modern Greek language appeared on the market. This book, oddly enough, comes from the pen of an amateur linguist František Vymazal (1841–1917). He devoted his whole life to writing textbooks and grammar books, mainly of Slavic languages and German. Apart from those, he also wrote textbooks of relatively exotic languages that he did not speak himself, such as Turkish, Hebrew, Danish and others.¹⁰ Many of the books, which were published by the bookseller František Bačkovský's publishing house in Prague from 1895 onwards, were parts of the so-called «easy and quick» series.¹¹

⁹ Korec 1897, 123.

¹⁰ Bláha 2004, 89–99.

¹¹ Gregor 1959, 127–135.

Among these, by an order of the publisher himself, was also Vymazal's textbook called *Novořecky snadno a rychle* (*Easy and Quick Modern Greek*), published in 1897.¹²

His textbook consists of a grammar summary, supplemented by short sentences translated into Modern Greek, with the help of which autodidacts could practice Modern Greek conversation. Even though the book does not refer to any authority, it is obvious from the comparison that he used as the paradigm two German books known well enough in the Czech environment of the time: the book by Karl Wied for autodidacts¹³ and the enlarged and revised Daniel Sanders's German edition¹⁴ of the English grammar book *A Handbook to Modern Greek* by Vincent and Dickson.¹⁵ As Sanders's grammar book seemed totally insufficient to Vymazal,¹⁶ the latter turned for help to Mr Rudolf von Sowa, a professor of the 1st German grammar school in Brno. Through him, he came in touch with a Greek officer. From the reports of Vymazal's contemporaries and from his own memoirs we learn that the two met every Sunday for a two-hour Modern Greek conversation.¹⁷

With respect to explaining the Modern Greek pronunciation in Vymazal's book, it is, however, obvious that this native speaker, whose pronunciation Vymazal adopted as the paradigm, spoke some kind of a southern dialect of the Modern Greek language. For example, he recommends the pronunciation of voiceless fricatives (/x/ as [χ]) and also a very strong palatalization of /k/, /ɣ/ and /n/ in front of anterior vowels: «The word κεφαλή is pronounced [ce'fali]... σκύλος as ['scilos] ... χαίω as ['fero] ... the word τέχνη sounds as ['techni], not ['techni]. Those who pronounce the word as ['techni] speak pretentiously.»¹⁸ Some researchers expressed the opinion that this pronunciation is adopted from a Cretan speaker of Modern Greek.¹⁹ This hypothesis may be supported by a detail from the morphology of nouns: Vymazal mentions the ending -ω as well as -ων as possible endings of genitive plural of all nouns (Vymazal 1897, 29). The muting

¹² Vymazal 1911–1912, 104.

¹³ Wied 1893².

¹⁴ Sanders 1881.

¹⁵ Vincent, Dickson 1879.

¹⁶ Vymazal 1911–1912, 104.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁸ Vymazal 1897, 8–9.

¹⁹ Salač 1958, 79–81.

of the final *-v* in genitive plural of the article and of nouns is one of the typical characteristics of the Cretan dialect,²⁰ and we could assume that Vymazal heard a similar pronunciation from his Greek friend. Neither Sanders nor Wied mention this unusual form of genitive.

Vymazal's concept of grammar is simultaneously laconic and chaotic. Knowing neither Modern nor Ancient Greek, it would be very difficult for autodidacts to be able to speak Modern Greek «easily and quickly» with the help of this book. The grammar rules are so simplified in some units that they cannot be used in practice. In contrast to that, the vocabulary used in the sentences is very well chosen, and Vymazal's experience in writing similar books for other languages shows itself clearly here. Modern readers enjoy the phrases such as «Ποῦ εἶνε τὸ ἀναγκαῖο;» or «Ὁ πρόθυμος δούλος σας» (Vymazal 1897, 20–21). However, the introduction of words from various levels of Greek language is misleading and creates new difficulties for the reader who cannot consult the glossary (e.g., *θίψα* next to *δίψα*, *ψέζ* next to *ἐχθέζ*, *ἐδῶ* next to *ἐνταῦθα*).

Despite all the above-mentioned drawbacks of the book, the effort of the amateur to introduce new didactic methods must be recognised, and so must the interest of the publisher in a language which was very exotic for the Czech environment of the time. Even though the 20th century brought new historic events to which we are grateful for the creation of the tradition of Modern Greek language studies in the Czech Republic in the first place,²¹ the 19th century Czech classical philologists' travels also contributed to the development of this branch of studies, even though largely within the scope of classical philology.

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²⁰ See Kontosopoulos 1994², 30–31.

²¹ After the Civil War of 1949 in Greece, there was an inflow of political refugees and their children for whom Modern Greek teachers began to be educated.

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ČEHU CEĻŠ UZ JAUNGRIEĶU VALODU

Čehi, gan izglītote, gan vienkāršā tauta, pirmo reizi iepazīna «mūsļai-ku» Grieķiju tikai 19. gadsimta otrajā pusē, pateicoties klasiskās filoloģijas speciālistiem un viņu mācību ceļojumiem uz Grieķiju. Jaungrieķu valoda iedvesmoja viņus pievienot dažus gadījuma rakstura komentārus saviem

publicētajiem ceļojumu aprakstiem un izdot atsevišķas, īpaši jaungrieķu valodai veltītas esejas. Galvenie temati, kas arvien atradās čehu zinātnieku interešu lokā, bija šādi: 1) diskusija par sengrieķu izrunu, 2) jaungrieķu valodas izrunas apraksts, pamatojoties uz personisku pieredzi, kontaktējoties ar jaungrieķu valodas nesējiem, 3) «grieķu valodas jautājums» čehu nacionālās atmodas kontekstā. Tajā pašā laikā mūsdienu Čehijas Republikas teritorijā iznāca pirmā jaungrieķu valodas mācību grāmata. Tās autors bija valodnieks-amatieris no Brno Františeks Vimazals (1841–1917), un grāmata saucās *Novořecky snadno a rychle (Vieglais un ātrais ceļš uz jaungrieķu valodu, 1897)*.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ANTIQUITY ON CZECH-WRITTEN LITERATURE OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

Brief summary

The influence of Greek culture can be traced in Czech literature from the origins of the Czech state in the 9th century to the present day. Individual authors find in ancient Greece a source of inspiration for both the subject-matter and form of their works. This influence can be seen, above all, in the modern history of Czech literature, in which it is interesting to observe not only the individual motifs adopted from classical Greece but also reasons for this degree of inspiration.

Key words: reception of classical motifs, Czech literature

The cultures of ancient Greece and Rome have always been a source of inspiration for European literatures. Writers, poets and dramatists have long searched for themes as well as art forms and poetic methods drawn from the classical era that could be applicable to their own work. The use and adaptation of antiquity has been by no means coincidental – it has served the aesthetic function of the art form in question, and oftentimes carried a political significance. Exploring shifts in the use of classical themes in individual national literatures over time may, in fact, reveal an interesting perspective on their development. This paper thus presents a very brief overview of Czech-written literature from the period of the Czech revival movement to the present.

The beginnings of the national revival movement in the Czech lands take us back to the final third of the nineteenth century. This period is characterized by the effort to revive the Czech language after more than one hundred years of suppression by the German language. There existed neither Czech literary production nor translations of the world's most significant works of literature; intellectuals spoke and read in German, and the Czech language had survived only as a regional language among peasants. Under these circumstances, the

first attempts to codify standard Czech appeared, and, particularly, the emancipation of Czech as a fully-fledged language was encouraged. The primary challenge faced by the revivalists of the time was to deal with the stereotyped view of Czech as an inferior language, lacking the expressive means which could be compared to Latin or German. Consequently, the use of classical themes came to be seen as a service to the nation.

One of the main features of the struggle for equality of the Czech language was the large number of translations from classical literature. As early as the era of humanism, there existed Czech translations of some classical authors. However, these translations concentrated primarily on philological-interpretative dimensions, without higher stylistic aims (Varcl 1978, 385), an approach which obviously did not correspond to the ambitions of the revivalists. Those trained in classical languages thus returned to translating the authors who represented an essential corpus of school reading in ancient Greek and Roman literature (Varcl 1978, 332f).

Another means of justifying the use of the Czech language was to demonstrate its aesthetic value through the production of Czech-language works following the model of classical authors. Thus, at the beginning of the national revival movement, writers found inspiration in the classical schema of versification and genre, such as the ode, the dithyramb, the elegy, the eclogue, the idyll, poetic lists, the epigram according to Marcus Valerius Martialis (between AD 38 and 41-104), quantitative and accentual syllabic hexameter, the elegiac distichon, Sapphic, Asclepiadean and Alcaic meter, as well as other *metra horatiana* (Varcl 1978, 333; for translations in this period, see also Svoboda 1957, 121ff). Because of their excessive association with Greek and Latin, the intellectual and aesthetic value of this poetry, however, appears to be rather poor.

Imitating antiquity as a means of acknowledging Czech as a «noble» language did not come to an end until the discovery of later proven forgeries of the old heroic epics written in Czech (*Rukopis královédvořský*, *Rukopis zelenohorský*) and the arrival of the modern innovative literature represented, for example, by Ján Kollár's (1793-1852) *Slávy dcera*, František Ladislav Čelakovský's (1799-1852) *Ohlasy písní ruských* and Karel Hynek Mácha's (1810-1836) work. Both tendencies played a significant role in supporting the emancipation of Czech literature. Subsequent literary production was rather distant from antiquity. For example, the so-called «May Generation» (including

Jan Neruda – 1834-1891, Vítězslav Hálek – 1835-1874, Karolina Světlá – 1830-1899 and Jakub Arbes – 1840-1914, among others) did not search for inspiration in antiquity, perhaps with the exception of Hálek's drama *Sergius Catilina*, which was inspired by Shakespeare rather than any other classical author (Varcl 1978, 385, Závodský 1968, 314). This generation of writers came together around the revolutionary year of 1848, after the fall of Metternich absolutism and the rise of Bach's absolutism. In this difficult period, Czech literature dealt with other urgent topics of the time – social and political issues – and, therefore, no real engagement with antiquity was seen as worthwhile.

In contrast, a group associated with the Lumir journal (as represented by Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853-1912), for his attitude to antiquity see Stiebitz 1931, 283-287 and Svoboda 1957, 194ff; and Julius Zeyer (1841-1901), for his attitude to antiquity see Svoboda 1957, 189ff), younger almost by an entire generation, focused on antiquity to an extent unseen in Czech literature since. What reasons can be found behind this radical turn? Again, the question can be answered by reflecting on the political situation in the Czech lands of the time, that is, towards the end of the 1860s. The hopes of the revolutionary year of 1848 were fading, the regime of absolutism was becoming stronger, and the Habsburg monarchy was defeated by Prussia, which resulted in the loss of a large section of Czech territory (in fact, the whole of Silesia). Complete bewilderment came in 1867 with the so called Austro-Hungarian Compromise, which duly ignored the Czech claims. Czech writers thus turned to classical themes in order to be able to express their critical views on political issues (for example the poem *Morituri te salutant* by Jaroslav Goll (1846-1929) can be interpreted as an explicit anti-oppression message – see Varcl 1978, 351; Svoboda 1957, 189). In addition, the choice of classical themes made it possible to point at a contrast between reality and the ideal. Whereas antiquity was viewed as beautiful and pure, reality appeared tragic and hopeless.

The next generation of authors belonged to the period of *fin de siècle*, which was characterised by decadence and strong antagonism towards the previous literary generation. Although the poetic programme of the writers concerned was very different, the Lumir generation had left such a significant mark on Czech literature that their successors could not afford to overlook classical themes. A significant writer of the time, as well as a predecessor of the new generation, was Josef Svatopluk Machar (1864-1942), who put forward a rather radical view of antiquity as the happiest period in the history of humankind,

contrasting it with Christianity, which, according to him, meant the fall and destruction of human civilization. From this standpoint, Machar's understanding of European antiquity (see Stiebitz 1934, 209-214, and Svoboda 1957, 304ff) largely reflected the political concept typical of the Czech lands of the time. The Czechs often saw the Catholic Church as being opposed to Czech national emancipation – an opinion which reappeared after the foundation of the independent state after the First World War, when the Catholic Church was accused of having pro-Habsburg attitudes. Consequently, a new Christian church came into being as a counterbalance, linking itself to the Protestant roots of Czech history. In other words, Machar used antiquity as a means to fight against clericalism.

Yet, Machar's understanding of antiquity was rejected as too artificial, fabricated by those authors associated with *Modern review* (*Moderní revue*) (for their attitude to antiquity see Stiebitz 1931, 283-296). Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic (1871-1951), a prominent representative of the group, saw passion, sensuality and the glorification of homosexuality as those aspects worth mentioning in connection with the classical period (Varcl 1978, 365f). To some extent, though, this decadent attitude to antiquity was as artificial and fabricated as that adopted by Machar. The anti-historical view of antiquity became typical of the whole literary production at the turn of the twentieth century (Varcl 1978, 366ff). In any case, the classical world was uniformly interpreted as an escape from reality at that time.

In the period between the two World Wars, classical themes, with the exception of drama production, were explored sporadically. The main cultural trend was established by the avant-garde, whose cultural programme of de-canonization and erosion of the traditional went against any classical perspective. Similarly with atheism – belief in the non-existence of God – the purposeful disregard for antiquity could be seen as a form of its use.

It may be worth noting here that translational literature, with its political and aesthetic undertones, had been abandoned by the end of the national revival movement. Large-volume translations of classical authors followed, coming from the academic rather than literary environment.

After the Second World War, and under the communist totalitarian regime, antiquity retreated into the background, even though for many authors it still played an important role. On the one hand, it did not fit the predominant aesthetics of the communist period – be it the

social realism of the fifties, the period of social criticism of the sixties, or the aesthetics of the so called «goulash socialism» of the seventies and eighties. On the other hand, antiquity was not «politically inappropriate», perhaps also due to the respect that Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) paid to the classical legacy in their work; as did Zdeněk Nejedlý (1878-1962), a prominent cultural ideologist in the Czechoslovakia of the fifties.

In terms of the aesthetics of social realism, antiquity was too elitist and therefore difficult for common people to understand. Hence it was not often used in pro-regime literature. An exception can be found in a drama by Vítězslav Nezval (1900-1958), called *The Sun over Atlantis will set again today* (*Dnes ještě zapadá slunce nad Atlantidou*), written in 1956. In this work, a powerful and advanced Atlantis is about to conquer Athens. The ruler of Atlantis is planning to use a powerful weapon, but its power eventually turns on him and Atlantis is engulfed by the sea. Although this obvious reference to the Cold War promotes a sympathetic view of the then regime, the literary qualities and the generally peaceful meaning of Nezval's drama is not to be underestimated.

Since antiquity did not correspond to the aesthetic requirements of the time, it was thus understood to be a source of «safe» topics which were unlikely to encounter censorship. Therefore, historical novels became very popular (for such writers as Jarmila Loukotková [1923-2007] and Josef Toman [1899-1977] see Stehlíková 2009).

In the aftermath of the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, a number of authors were affected by the ban on publication. Some of them emigrated, others struggled to make a living, having been denied their professional aspirations. However, some did utilize their translational skills, especially in the world of theatre, and often used classical works in literary camouflage as a means of highlighting contemporary problems in society. Thanks to this period, a number of wonderful translations of classical works into Czech were made. Among others, Sophocles's *Oedipus the King*, was translated by Jan Skácel (1922-1989), a great poet silenced during the seventies and eighties. The play was first introduced in his translation in 1973 (another name had to be used for the translator) and then staged several times; in 1988, it was staged in Prague for the last time during Skácel's life. Since Skácel was constantly working on the translation, each staging was slightly different, manifesting in new poetic forms. In the last version, Skácel even offered a different ending from the original, accentuating both the

dire situation in the Czech society at the decline of the regime and his own private problems.

Since the fall of the totalitarian regime in 1989, the perception of antiquity in literature was comparable to that of the rest of the world. It has been used as one of the many attractive settings for historical novels. In accordance with the reader's taste, these have aimed at great historical authenticity.

This brief walk through Czech literature has brought us to the recent past. In conclusion, we can briefly recap the reasons for the use of antiquity in Czech literature from the national revival movement until today as follows: First, classical themes were seen as a service to the nation. Second, they were treated as a means of escapism. Third, they became neglected, thereby demonstrating the separation of Czech literature from the classical tradition. Later, antiquity offered a politically safe setting for literary production, and, in addition, the possibility of hidden artistic expression. Finally, it has served as an attractive background to fiction literature to date. This overview is inevitably schematic and does not exemplify the work of every single author of a particular period. However, I believe that it does represent a new point of departure in looking at Czech literature and its development.

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SENĀS GRIEĶIJAS IETEKME UZ ĀEHU 19. UN 20. GĀDSIMTA LITERATŪRU

Grieķu kultūras iespaids uz Āehu literatūru izsekojams no Āehu valsts pirmsākumiem 9. gadsimtā līdz mūsdienām. Atsevišķi autori rod antīkajā Grieķijā iedvesmu saviem darbiem gan tematikas, gan formas ziņā. Šī ietekme vislabāk saskatāma mūsdienu Āehu literatūras vēsturē, un interesanti atzīmēt no klasiskās Grieķijas aizgūtos konkrētos motīvus un arī šādas iedvesmas cēloņus. Šis raksts veltīts antīkās Grieķijas ietekmei uz Āehu rakstīto literatūru 19. un 20. gadsimtā. Tajā skaidrots, kāpēc un kādam estētiskam vai politiskam nolūkam izmantoti konkrēti antīkie motīvi un tēmas. Antīkās pasaules aizguvumi politisku mērķu sasniegšanai bija īpaši raksturīga 19. gadsimta parādība. Antīkās Grieķijas motīvi ieguva ļoti specifisku slēptu politisku nozīmi 20. gadsimta otrajā pusē komunisma apstākļos bijušajā Āehoslovākijā.

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THE RELIGIOUS QUESTIONING OF NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS AND ITS IMPACT ABROAD

Brief summary

Many works of Nikos Kazantzakis have religious issues as central or side themes. In this paper, two of his dramas, his long epic *Odyssey* and some other works will be discussed to show the impact their religious aspects had abroad (Switzerland, Germany, U.S.A.).

Key words: Kazantzakis, dramas, performances abroad, novels, translations in America, film: *The Last Temptation of Christ*.

Nikos Kazantzakis was always prone to contemplation and philosophical questioning – in fact, since his childhood – focused on religion, especially his personal relationship with God. He expressed this religious questioning for the first time in his writings in 1909, in a play titled *Comedy: One-act tragedy*. Its central subject is waiting for death and the absence of God.

In an elegant red drawing-room, two old men, one representing thought and the other action, converse: neither of the two has found the meaning of life. The state of metaphysical *Angst* is a state of waiting. There come eleven people, and they are waiting for the twelfth – God – who is to come at midnight. No one comes. They ask the ascetic to pray to God, but nothing happens, and one by one they die. The ascetic directs an indictment against God, because He has not kept His promise of final revelation and vindication. The title implies that the comedy, which the Church performs in misleading people with metaphysical promises, is a tragedy for humanity (Kerényi [1959] 1982). This is Kazantzakis's first great questioning, but it did not lead him to unbelief and deliverance from metaphysical anxieties, as it did many other thinkers and intellectuals. On the contrary, the questioning intensified the religious anxieties, with which all his works are imbued to the very end. The core of *Comedy* is a philosophical problem, which would become central to European consciousness several decades later. Karl Kerényi (op. cit.) linked this work with two outstanding plays of

the later European theatre: *Huis Clos* by Jean-Paul Sartre and *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Becket. Naturally, these authors were not aware of Kazantzakis's work. Kazantzakis was a pioneer on the spiritual path which led to such works.

In Greece, this play has never had a regular theatre production, only one TV film based on it, which now seems to have vanished from the archives. Its first presentation was on the Canadian TV in 1966. Then, there was a radio production in France in 1969. Its first real theatre production took place in Zürich, Switzerland, in 1970, translated into German by the prominent Greek scientist and political activist Argyris Sfountouris. The event instigated a lot of publicity before and after the performance. A public discussion was organized in order to talk about the play and also the novel *The Last Temptation*, because it was believed that by 1970, Jesus Christ and Christian belief had become an intimate issue, a sort of taboo. The discussion was conducted by the university professor Argyris Sfountouris and two priests. Kerényi's analysis and comparison of *The Last Temptation* with *Huis Clos* and *Waiting for Godot* was brought in all the time. A critic commented that neither of the latter two plays attacked the Church and the established credos as directly and openly as *The Last Temptation*, and it was not surprising that in Greece it was still forbidden. He went on that it was an honour to stage for the first time this radical play of the world-famous writer. The critic pointed out that the central idea of this work is that metaphysical waiting is fruitless and Christ is a liar (or a lie) (Unnamed b 1970).

After 1946, Kazantzakis lived in France, gaining an international reputation. This was the period when existentialism was dominant in France, was spreading in Europe and was gradually coming to be known in America. He wrote *Sodom and Gomorrah* in 1948, choosing the biblical theme to symbolise contemporary problems, as he himself explained in an article of the time (Kazantzakis 1954). It is based on the story of Lot and his daughters. In the end, when fire begins to consume everything, Lot does not accept salvation; on the contrary, he resists God – moreover, he rejects God, because he thinks him to be mean and irresponsible towards humanity. This work condenses, more than any other work of Kazantzakis, the two main trends of thought of the twentieth century: psychoanalysis and existentialism (Petraokou 2005, 600-618, Petraokou 2007).

The first production of *Sodom and Gomorrah* was in Germany in 1954, by the National Theatre of Mannheim. The play, translated by Hans Schwarz, was entitled *Feuer über Sodom* (*Fire over Sodom*). The

German critics were not impressed by this existentialist rejection of God (Schüller 1954, Schön 1954, Unnamed b 1954).

Its next production was in Hollywood, translated by Kimon Friar. Its opening night was a glamorous social event, with many celebrities in the audience. The play was thought to be provocative, because in it «Man not only challenges God but defeats Him. [...] it is obviously intended as a call for man to act with independent spirit [...] it is not every day that we meet a writer who pits man and God in equal combat» (Greenstein 1963).

The play had a second production in New York in 1963, in the same translation, although entitled *Burn Me to Ashes*. The biblical content of the play was considered outmoded (Watts 1963). Its deviation from traditional religious thinking was recognised. It was called «a philosophical exercise inquiring into the will of man and the ways of God», in which «the imperfections of God and man come into merciless examination» (Harris 1963). «It is [...] an earnest and indignant expression of distaste to the qualities attributed to an imperious God of vengeance» (Watts 1963). «In strong (and heretical) terms, Kazantzakis portrays God as «Almighty» but nothing else, leaving man unguided to face temptations, err and ultimately to decide on the right path» (Palatsky 1963). The poetical-symbolical style, however, was not praised: «The Greek playwright has created a morality play that would have been powerful to a truly Christian audience [...] the symbolism of the play is out of keeping with today's atheistic and agnostic theatergoers, particularly in a New York audience» (Christopoulos 1963).

Kazantzakis became known – and famous – in the United States during the fifties. In 1958, one year after Kazantzakis's death, his long epic *The Odyssey* was published in the U.S.A. in a fine translation by Kimon Friar. Under the title *The Odyssey: A Sequel*, to help readers understand that it was not Homer's *Odyssey*, it became a bestseller and was established as a modern classic (Friar, 1975). In America, there were a lot of press reviews and gradually more and more theoretical criticism. A great number of university professors and students developed a dedicated love for this work. It was even adapted as a theatre play and produced in 1970. It also inspired two musical versions. *The Odyssey* has a religious motive among others. Even Christ appears in it, as a black fisherman. Its ending, presenting Odysseus on an iceberg to confront death and ultimate annihilation, is usually interpreted as nihilistic or atheistic, and Odysseus as a modern hero moved by a *Weltanschauung* usually labelled by Kazantzakis's critics as «heroic

pessimism» or «Dionysiac nihilism». The press reviews at the time of publication were mostly favourable. The writers of the articles, besides relevant information, added comments like «To read *The Odyssey* [...] is to accompany Kazantzakis in the search of modern man for his soul, for that is the true theme of the book» (Kazantzakis Museum). They considered it reverently as «a work of asceticism, containing the core of Kazantzakis' philosophy» (Daulbier 1959). Peter Bien believes that in America the epic hero Odysseus became the darling of the youthful counterculture of the 1960s: they had found their guru (Bien 2010).

When *Askitiki. Salvatores Dei* was translated by Kimon Friar (the translation entitled *Spiritual Exercises*) and published in the U.S.A. in 1960, it also had a warm reception. A critic wrote:

Kazantzakis' basic notion that man creates God in his own evolving image—the theory that God is essentially the search for God—may appeal to humanists and troubled skeptics, but will antagonize the religious. Philosophically, the Greek writer's twin deities were Bergson (with whom he studied) and Nietzsche...

The article ends concluding that, in his own special way, Kazantzakis was also a believer (*Time*, June 06, 1960). The Ecumenical Institute of Chicago bought 1000 copies of the *Saviours* and studied this text intensely for a long period. They even composed hymns based on some of its verses. Kazantzakis was looked upon as a spiritual guide in the chaotic, materialistic world of today (Friar, 1975).

The Last Temptation was translated by Peter Bien and published in the U.S.A. in 1960. This work was also favourably received, although its religious content was much more obvious than that of the other two works. Nevertheless, mainly because of this work, Kazantzakis had been accused of heresy, the book was banned to the Index of forbidden books by the Catholic Church, and Kazantzakis himself had been threatened with excommunication by the Orthodox Church. The reviews ran like this:

Believers in the Christ of the Bible will recoil from his Jesus as too human, too stained with paradox and with base details of existence. And yet believers in the Christ of humanism [...] will recoil even more sharply from this Jesus as too divine, too plainly in the grip of God. The contrast is inevitable, for Kazantzakis was trying to express his own mystical belief that God and man are one (*Time*, June 06, 1960).

Still, things were not so intellectually cool. Owing to various attempts by the fundamentalist right-wing Christians to remove the book from the libraries (especially in California), liberal religious people – such as Unitarians and Quakers, and also some Presbyterians and Episcopalians – began to hold seminars on the book in their churches (Moore 1963).

Whereas press reviews were mild and rather praising at the time the book came out, when Martin Scorsese's film appeared in 1988, there was a real uproar in order to banish and even have the film destroyed. A group of conservative Christian ministers demanded that the studio destroy all copies of the film. The ministers, who had not seen the film but had read a version of the screenplay, charged the text with portraying Jesus «as a mentally deranged and lust-driven man». One priest announced: «It is the most serious misuse of film craft in the history of filmmaking.» Another declared: «Our Lord was crucified once on the cross. He doesn't deserve to be crucified a second time on celluloid.» Fundamentalists were upset by scenes in which Christ is shown as tormented and self-accusatory and in which he persuades Judas to betray him because it is God's plan. But the worst was that Christ, while he was crucified, had a vision of himself in a sexual relationship with Mary Magdalene.

The Italian director Franco Zeffirelli called the movie «damaging to the image of Christ. He cannot be made the object of low fantasies.» «This is an intentional attack on Christianity,» concluded the national director of Morality in Media. Scorsese, annoyed, pointed out that ninety-nine percent of those who were complaining had not seen the picture. At the same time, there were different perceptions of the film as well. For example, the Rev. William Fore of the National Council of Churches saw the movie as «an honest attempt to tell the story of Jesus from a different perspective.» Catholics and Methodists, in turn, issued no formal response to the film (all quotes in this paragraph are from Leo 1988).

There were strong efforts to stop the release of the film on the grounds that it would cause an added frustration to Christianity and would make Christians to loose their faith. A fundamentalist preacher got into touch with 170,000 pastors, mailed out 2.5 million action packets, and had agreements from all the movie theaters in San Antonio that they would not play the movie (Harmetz 1988).

If Kazantzakis's works are no more best-sellers in America, they are still selling. What has not withered is academic critique and analysis,

which to a great extent focuses on the religious motives and ideas that Kazantzakis has integrated into them, which the churches for many years confronted as heretical, while today most readers and spectators consider these ideas as alternative or even interesting and inspiring.

Kazantzakis was shaken in his Orthodox Christian belief in his school days, when he understood the incompatibility of scientific and religious beliefs. He was a serious thinker from his early youth, and his philosophical questionings focused steadily on metaphysics, however hard he tried to get rid of it in his mature age. It was rather intensified as years went by, up to the very end. When Kazantzakis was in his thirties, he even thought that he might become some sort of religious or anyway spiritual leader for people, and he wrote *Salvatores Dei* as some kind of Gospel which he labelled «meta-communist». He intended to preach it in the Soviet Union, where he stayed for three long periods during the mid-war years. Yet, the communists disliked his obsession with metaphysics, and he became disappointed with them and with himself for his inefficiency to inspire them, as he explained in his novel *Toda-Raba*. His subversive religious questioning, although it cost him a lot of persecution during his lifetime and even after his death by the religious and conservative circles, inspired some groups of people, mostly in the U.S.A., who take him seriously to this day and study his writings with a lot of reverence. Still, his works, best selling as they may be, are restricted to the educated and intellectual circles. It is different with the film, as we saw, although all these negative reactions and scandals served as a kind of advertisement as well. Anyway, in most countries the film copies are not played in the cinemas and they are not very easy to find on DVDs. Once more, the medium is the message.

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NIKA KAZANDZAKA RELIĢISKIE MEKLĒJUMI UN TO IETEKME ĀRZEMĒS

Niks Kazandzakis atstāja Griekiju 1946. gadā pēc tam, kad bija pirmo reizi nominēts Nobela prēmijai, un vairs tur neatgriezās. Viņš apmetās uz

dzīvi Francijā, kur sarakstīja vairākus romānus, kas pārtulkoti daudzās valodās un atnesa viņam pasaules slavu. Kimons Fraiers pārtulkoja angļiski viņa apjomīgo eposu *Odiseja*, kas kļuva bestsellers ASV, izraisot neskaitāmus akadēmiskus un neakadēmiskus kritiskus rakstus un pat vairākas adaptācijas teātrim/operai. Šis process turpinās, jo iznāk arvien jauni Kazandzaka darbu tulkojumi visdažādākajās valodās. Daudzos viņa darbos reliģija parādās kā centrālā vai blakus tēma, un viņa grāmatas, bet īpaši to teātra vai filmu versijas, izsauc lielas diskusijas un baznīcas un reliģisko aprindu fanātisku reakciju. Šis raksts veltīts Kazandzaka lugu *Sodoma un Gomora* uzvedumam Vācijā un ASV un *Komēdija: viencēliena traģēdija* iestudējumam Šveicē. Bez tam skarti reliģijas jautājumi, ko viņa darbi rosināja ASV, sevišķi *Odiseja*, *Kristus Pēdējais kārdinājums* un *Gara vingrināšana* (Askitiki), kas izraisīja aktīvu pētniecību un kritiku, un pat vienu otru skandālu.

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N. KAZANTZAKIS'S NOVELS ENTERING NATIONAL LITERATURE: A UKRAINIAN DIMENSION

Brief summary:

Translated Greek literature, before becoming part of the Ukrainian Soviet literary polysystem, had to undergo adaptation to the dominant ideology and poetics both at the level of language and text structure. The present paper explores N. Kazantzakis's novels *Captain Michalis* and *Christ Recrucified*, translated into the Ukrainian language in the 1960s and containing ideological and poetological refractions, with a focus on displacement of N. Kazantzakis's original accents in the target texts due to omitting contextually important textual units. The paper also discusses synonymisation of equivalents and improper rendering of the original words-symbols in the target texts.

Key words: Nikos Kazantzakis, Ukrainian national literature, translation, equivalent, symbol.

The process of translating a literary work resembles writing an original text. A translator, just like a writer, takes decisions as to which work he/she will translate and how, either adjusting it to the national literary system (Even-Zohar 1990) in a target language, or not conforming to the valid principles of a certain poetics and ideology. All the changes in a translation in comparison with the original are the result of adapting the target text to a certain ideology or to a certain poetics (Lefevere 1983, 71), aiming at influencing the way in which readers receive the text. Translation is a rewriting of an original text according to the norms of a certain poetics and ideology, a means of manipulating the national literature.

Ukraine as a part of the Russian Empire and later of the Soviet Union has passed a rather difficult way of forming its national literature because of the general control and restrictions as far as writing and translating activities concern. After the period of Stalin's (1879-1953) political repressions and Khrushchev's (1894-1971) denouncing of Stalin, the so-called period of Thaw began, when censorship was eased and the Soviet culture and science were allowed some freedom.

Within the period of the mid 1950s – early 1960s the Ukrainian literature, just like the literatures of other Soviet republics, was enriched with translations of a very good quality. The most outstanding works of the world literature were translated into Ukrainian, establishing the school of Ukrainian literary translation. These works entered the Ukrainian national literature through many-volume series like *Diamonds of the World Poetry*, *Foreign Novella* etc., and some of them remain unchallenged until now (Коптілов 2003, 27). Furthermore, even despite the fact that it was prohibited to publish in Ukrainian the contemporary literary works, which had already been published in Russian, the Ukrainian translators and publishers sometimes managed to outstrip their Russian colleagues, so that readership from other Soviet republics could read some works in Ukrainian only (it was possible because of actual similarity of the two languages and due to some prescriptions regarding editing). This «competition» still persists; for example, one of the latest Harry Potter novels has been published in Ukrainian earlier than in Russian, just like G. Marquez's *Memories of My Melancholy Whores* and other works. Of course, among the translated works, there were Greek ones as well, specifically poems by Y. Ritsos, short stories by A. Samarakis, *Life in Grave* by S. Mirivilis etc., mostly the works devoted to the struggle of the Greek people against Germans during the WWII and against the dictatorship of the colonels.

Nikos Kazantzakis (1883-1957) is the most translated Greek writer in Ukraine, who has visited the Soviet Union several times as a member of the Greek-Soviet Friendship Society. Rectification of injustice, creation of society of a new type and liberation struggle of the Greek people could and had to command sympathy of Soviet readers, because they had undergone a similar experience and enjoyed a new social order. Besides, the writer derided churchmen, like it happened in the Soviet Union at that time. Kazantzakis's *Christ Recrucified* was published in Ukrainian in 1958 (a Russian translation appeared in 1962), *Captain Michalis (Freedom or Death)* followed in 1965 (second edition – 1975; according to our data, not translated into Russian until now). Unfortunately, the comparative analysis of the original texts and translations revealed that the novels *Christ Recrucified* and *Captain Michalis* have undergone ideological adjustment by the Soviet censorship (Смирнов 1934, 512), or refraction (Lefevere 1983, 71).

The Ukrainian translation of *Captain Michalis*, which is 40 pages shorter than the original text, is a vivid example of the Soviet censorship's editing of translations. For instance, in the Ukrainian translation

the passages about the wife of the Captain Michalis's nephew have been omitted, as she was Jewish (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 450). Also, the Ukrainian readers get no idea of how the Cretans, being blind drunk, pay their last respects to their dead friend by jumping over him (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 236-238) or how they «celebrate» by singing and joking the death of the Captain Michalis's father (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 505). Another important episode, omitted in the translation, is the story about the Italian journalist, who fainted at the sight of a Turkish man's head, which the Greeks had cut and brought to him, making the journalist leave the Greek camp (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 414). Even though these episodes may really be considered cruel, N. Kazantzakis has chosen this very grotesque way to praise the extraordinary power of the invincible Cretan spirit not afraid of death, accustomed to death like to lamb slaughtering (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 474). This Cretan attitude to death, caused historically, made the Cretans different from the rest of Greek people. As this attitude is a significant aspect of Kazantzakis's own worldview, omitting these episodes wrests the original text.

An aesthetic editing of the original texts resulted in eliminating the information about sexual relations of the heroes, which we also consider to be an important constituent of the ideological content of the two novels. More specifically, in the novel *Captain Michalis* the idea of uninterruptedness of people's struggle for freedom rests on the belief that posterity would carry it on. That is why N. Kazantzakis considers it important to mention that inhabitants of a village that has been burnt to the ground couple among stones like scorpions (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 479), while the translators decide on omitting this.

On the other hand, sexual relations comprise an inherent part of human life. They are as natural as sleep or meal, and N. Kazantzakis, portraying his heroes, describes these details without considering them unimportant. Yet, in the Ukrainian translation you are unlikely to find some scenes, like the one in the leper village (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 56), also the demotic song about a love affair between an aunt and her nephew (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 480), some sections about the teacher (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 351, 352), one section about the Captain's mare, which did not respond to the Bey's stallion because she was pregnant (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 276) etc. What is most interesting is that in the Ukrainian translation sometimes one phrase only is omitted, one sentence, like, for example, in the story about the wedding of the Captain Michalis's grandfather, where it is not mentioned that he cracked three beds during the night (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 472).

In the Ukrainian translation of *Christ Recrucified* sections about the relations between Lenio and Nikolio are also absent (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 145-146, 295, 300, 314, 260).

Regarding the poetics, it is worth mentioning that beginning from 1933 the Soviet government organized a campaign aiming at making the Ukrainian language similar to Russian at the morphological and lexical levels in order to eliminate the specific spelling rules that approximated the Ukrainian language to the Polish and Czech bourgeois cultures (Стрпixa 2006, 149). As far back as in 1970 a list of undesirable Ukrainian words still existed (Стрпixa 2006, 250). Editors had to replace them with other Ukrainian words which phonetically sound like Russian, as we can see in the Ukrainian translation of *Christ Recrucified*. Taking into consideration the idiomatic character of Kazantzakis's language, the existing translations do not render the speech peculiarities of the personages of these two novels.

At the same time, we are glad to mention that the translation of the novel *Βίος και πολιτεία του Αλέξη Ζορμπά*, known in English as *Zorba the Greek*, made by the talented translator A. Cherdakli during the Perestroika in 1989, when the Soviet reader was allowed to become acquainted with a freethinker Zorba, is of a very good quality. The translator was trying hard and has managed to find Ukrainian idiomatic equivalents, also using language units from Ukrainian dialects, so that we can enjoy the beautiful, rich vernacular language of Zorba as opposed to the neutral language of the narrator.

Another problem a translator of N. Kazantzakis's works has to deal with is the rendering of words with metaphoric or symbolic meanings, which mark general convictions of the writer or the ideological content of certain texts.

One of such symbols is η ανηφοριά (ο ανήφορος) – ascent, uphill, way up. In the novel *Christ Recrucified* N. Kazantzakis uses the word for the first time when describing the ascent of captain Fourtounas to the priest's house, which is situated uphill (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 11-12), i.e. closer to God, that makes him almost equal to God spatially, though not spiritually, as we see later. Shepherd Manolios, who will act God's part in the Passion play, spends all his time up in the mountain, where he constantly reads the Gospel and sometimes comes down to the village driven by his spiritual pursuit. The third place associated with God is Mount Sarakina, where refugees headed by Father Fotis settle.

Kazantzakis's ανήφορος denotes not only ascending Golgotha, i.e. passion, but also agape, which means that one has to live out God's

love among people he/she loves, although mobilisation is required (Ματσούκας 1989, 61). Father Fotis preaches that although the way up is difficult, full of stones (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 303), it is the only right way (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 323), which they will make together to find God at the top (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 351). So, Kazantzakis's *ανήφορος* leads to socially just world, where there is no humiliation, poverty, bondage, and also denotes the striving of life in general. As in Greece those who fought for freedom usually walked this bloodstained way up, it became the way of the Greek Nation (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 334). Similarly, in *Captain Michalis* we read that those, who decide to go to the mountains to fight, choose the right way (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 510). Without such people as Captain Michalis, who are making their way uphill, the Cretans and Greeks risk disappearing.

In the translations of these two novels we find various lexical units used to render the meaning of *ανήφορος*: «вулиця, яка круто підіймається вгору» (the way leading up abruptly), «крутий схил» (a steep descent), «крута дорога» (a hard way) etc. (Казанτζакіс 1958), which take us far from the metaphoric usage of the symbol. We agree that in certain contexts the word may be rendered in different ways. However, taking into consideration the symbolic character of the word with a concrete meaning, with some individual writer's shades of meaning added, I believe that translators had to choose and use one certain equivalent. This equivalent, however, should evoke from readers of the translations associations common with those of Greek readers of the original text. In the case of *ανήφορος*, it is rather difficult to find such an equivalent, as Greece is full of mountains and *ανήφορος*, therefore, is a widespread phenomenon, while in the flat Ukraine *ανήφορος* is an almost unknown notion, both in the strict sense of the word and metaphorically. Therefore, it is of huge importance to keep in translation the same «way» and «up» with the metaphorical meaning of a hard struggle which will surely bring freedom. In the English translation, «the rising path» (Kazantzakis 1972, 322) equivalent is used, with association to the Resurrection («Christ has risen!»).

The key symbol of the novel *Captain Michalis* is the Arkadi Monastery, one of Crete's most venerated symbols of freedom and the everlasting struggle for it. It is not simply some historical event, which happened to take place in the monastery. This monastery and everything related to it are very important for understanding the mentality of Cretans, who, in their struggle for freedom, decide on death, considering it the only possible way to become free themselves and bring nearer the day of

liberation of their posterity. The subtitle *Freedom or Death* automatically activates the Greek reader's background knowledge about the events of the Cretan War of Independence, evoking corresponding associations. In the text, this historically true battle-cry functions as a means of cohesion and coherence. As the Arkadi Monastery is a historical reality unknown for the majority of Ukrainian readers, the translators considered it necessary to place a footnote telling about the events in Crete. At the same time, the section in which the novel's personages themselves tell about the monastery was eliminated, and this ruined the connection between the subtitle-battle-cry and the described events. As a result of corruption of such implicit information required for understanding the actions of personages, the Ukrainian reader is hindered from perceiving the writer's general idea.

An improper or superficial reading of a text to be translated, mostly due to inattention, turns out destructive when it comes to rendering units, which present the writer's ideas. One of the most important symbols of the hypertext of N. Kazantzakis is ο σταυρός – a cross. In the novel *Christ Recrucified* Manolios thinks hard, constantly asking himself how he can bear the huge burden of the cross, the huge burden of Christ (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 26). Therefore, translation of the episode of the murder of Manolios demands attentiveness. Manolios is not crucified in the literal sense of the word; still, Christ is being recrucified, as Manolios outstretches his arms like a cross, opens his arms in a crosswise manner, «...άνοιξε πάλι σταυρό τα χέρια του» (Καζαντζάκης 1973, 458), like Christ the Redeemer statue in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). In the Ukrainian translation Manolios folds his arms. Despite the fact that in falling down he opens his arms in a cross and at the end does resemble the crucified Christ – «...покотився на церковні плити й затріпотів. Руки в нього все ще були розкриті, мов у розп'ятого...» (Καζαντζάκης 1958, 430) – still the impression of the original scene is lost in the translation. We also witness the same in the Ukrainian translation of *Captain Michalis*. The original reads: «Μα δεν πρόφτασε να τελειώσει μια μπάλα μπήκε μέσα στο στόμα του μια άλλη πέρασε από το δεξό του μελίγγι και βγήκε από το ζεφρό» (Καζαντζάκης 2001, 541). The bullets which killed the Captain had the trajectory of the hand of a Christian crossing himself, from the right to the left hand side, the sign of the Cross. This can be interpreted as God either blessing the Captain and forgiving his sins, or blessing the whole nation. In the Ukrainian translation – «одна куля влучила йому в рот, друга пройшла навиліт через скроні» (Καζαντζάκης 1975, 439) – one

bullet hit through the mouth, just as in the source text, while the other simply passed clear the Captain's temples, without its movement from the right to the left side specified. Therefore, not having these hints, which seem inessential on the surface, the Ukrainian reader is unlikely to correctly interpret the author's evaluation of the Captain's life and death, as well as the symbolic essence of Manolios's personage.

So, the existing Ukrainian translations of the novels *Captain Michalis* and *Christ Recrucified* by N. Kazantzakis, due to their being adjusted to the dominant ideology and poetics, need to be revised with attention to the peculiarities of Kazantzakis's idiostyle both at the level of language and notions. The latest Ukrainian translation of N. Kazantzakis is of his *Ασκητική*, published in 1999, in the third volume of the Collected Papers of the Historical and Philological Society named after Andrei Beletskii (1911-1995) (an outstanding Ukrainian philologist who started teaching Modern Greek at the Kiev National Taras Shevchenko University in the 1950s). Unfortunately, nowadays translators as well as writers in Ukraine still prefer to write books in Russian, as they sell better. Thus, in 2003 in Kiev, *Zorba the Greek* was published in Russian, translated from the English edition of 1952, in which, as it is known, the prologue is absent. Another famous Ukrainian philologist and translator, O. Tsybenko from the city of L'viv, now living in Athens, translated *Last Temptation* into Russian and published it in 1999 in Russia. In connection with the above-stated problem, the Chair of Hellenistics of the Kiev National Taras Shevchenko University initiated in 2004 and conducts since then the Greek literature translation contest among students learning Modern Greek, aiming at attracting Ukrainian students to translation into Ukrainian. Within the framework of the contest, among other texts, two chapters from N. Kazantzakis's *Last Temptation* and *Report to Greco* have been translated and published in the *Anthology of Greek Literature* (2008).

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NIKA KAZANDZAKA ROMĀNU IENĀKŠANA NACIONĀLAJĀ LITERATŪRĀ: UKRAIŅU DIMENSIJA

Visplašāk ukraiņu valodā tulkotais grieķu rakstnieks ir Niks Kazandzakis. Diemžēl viņa romāni *Kapteinis Mihalis* un *No jauna krustā sistais Kristus*, kas tulkoti pagājušā gadsimta 60. gados, tika pakļauti valdošās ideoloģijas un poētikas ietekmei un adaptēti gan valodas, gan teksta struktūras līmenī (attiecībā uz autora pasaules uzskatu un romānos paustajām idejām), izraisot ideoloģiskas un poētoloģiskas novirzes.

Teksta oriģināla un tulkojuma salīdzinoša analīze parādīja, ka teksta sagrozīšana kavē lasītājam uztvert rakstnieka jēdzienus, jo Kazandzaka akcenti ir pārvietoti. Tas ir arī tādēļ, ka tulkojumos vārdi-simboli pārceļti ar sinonīmu palīdzību (kā tas notika ar vārdu *ανήφορος*), tulkoti nepareizi (tulkojumā nepareizi tulkoti atsevišķi tēli, piem., saistībā ar Kapteiņa Mihaļa un Manolio nāves epizodēm), vai arī kontekstuāli svarīgas vienības ir izlaistas. Pēdējā gadījumā noticis oriģināla pielāgojums padomju realitātei, kurā nebija vietas seksam un amorālai, pēc vadošās ideoloģijas normām, personāžu rīcībai, kuru autors bija iekļāvis, lai uzteiktu krētiešu gara spēku cīņā par savu brīvību.

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ANCIENT AND MODERN GREEK HEROES TALKING ALONE ON STAGE: TOWARDS THE AUTONOMY OF MONOLOGICITY

Brief summary:

In a different way from the rationalized and confined use of monologicity in ancient Greek theatre, in modern Greek theatre of the last two decades there is a growing tendency towards writing ancient-themed monological and most often single-character plays, bringing and isolating on the textual and performance stage specific dramatic figures bequeathed by the ancient Greek dramatic corpus. The present paper will attempt to describe this «phenomenon» of modern Greek ancient-themed play-writing, looking for the reasons of its appearance on a sender-production level, commenting upon its function on a message-text level and, finally, approaching the perceptive response of the audience in relation to it.

Key words: ancient Greek drama; ancient-themed modern Greek drama; monologue; soliloquy; monologicity; single-character play

In ancient Greek drama the «typical» soliloquy (i.e. a more or less long speech in which a dramatic figure talks to him/herself with no actual addressee on stage)¹ falls primarily under the category of *narrative, informative, diegetic, technical* or *expository* monologue, which: a) in most cases takes the form of a Prologue and only exceptionally interposes in the course of the action; b) is spoken either by a secondary – in view of its textual, scenic and communicational importance – dramatic persona (which is often a god), or by the principal dramatic figure (which is always a mythic mortal hero or heroine); c) in the soliloquy of a Prologue, depending on the divine or mortal identity of its speaker, aims primarily at informing the *external* (textually latent) audience

¹ For the distinction between monologue and soliloquy according to the «situational» or «structural» criteria see Pfister 19912, 126-127; Frieden 1985, 17-22. For the «history» of the study of the monologic form, especially in ancient Greek drama (beginning with Fr. Leo's «Der Monolog im Drama», AGG, N.S., X5, Berlin 1908), cf. Schadewaldt 1966, esp. 3-34; Medda 1983, esp. 59-47; Battezzato 1995, esp. 5-25.

of the background situation and, secondly, of the development of the plot; d) finally, constitutes a technique, particularly favorite and recurrent in Euripides's *corpus*, tending to substitute the *analeptic* and *proleptic* function carried out mostly by the «oracles» and «dreams» in the work of Aeschylus and Sophocles (Goward 1999). The «human» one-(wo)man narrations of the Watchman in *Agamemnon*, of the Pythian Prophetess in *Eumenides*, of the Nurse in *Medea*, of the Farmer in Euripides's *Electra*, of Andromache and Helen in the homonymous tragedies, of Jocasta in the *Phoenician Women*, the divine prologues of Apollo in *Alcestis*, of Aphrodite in *Hippolytus*, of Hermes in *Ion*, of Poseidon in *Trojan Women*, of Dionysus in *Bacchantes*, the narrative intermediate soliloquies of the Manservant in *Alcestis* (v. 747-773) and of Menelaus in *Helen* (v. 386-435) – all these are some indicative examples among others of *narrative, expository* tragic monologues addressed to one's self and to the spectator, which (re)set a typical frame for each play's action, summarizing the past events that have led to the crucial present situation and usually prescribing the way of resolving that «crisis», while leaving at the same time some quite important narrative «gaps» in the outlined development of the plot.

Besides all the above *technical* solitary speeches, the tragic repertoire is occasionally enriched with some other «types» of soliloquies, as these may be classified according to their dramatic function: «solitary speeches addressed to nature, gods or other metaphysical entities» (e.g. the soliloquy of the Aeschylean Prometheus Bound or the Euripidean Electra just after the dialogical prologue, v. 88-127 and 86-120 respectively); «meditative» soliloquies just before the crucial decision of an act (e.g. the soliloquy of Menelaus just after his encounter with the Old Servant of the Egyptian palace in Euripides's *Helen* [v. 483-514]); «lyrical confessional» soliloquies (e.g. the soliloquy of wretched Hecuba in the homonymous tragedy [v. 59-97] as well as in the *Trojan Women* [v. 98-152], and the emotionally agitated soliloquy of Andromache just after her scenic confrontation with the Maidservant [v. 91-116]); or soliloquies which propose a combination of the dramatic functions mentioned above and are addressed to various – divine or human, animate or inanimate – narrative receivers (the soliloquy of Ajax just before his committing suicide [v. 815-865]; the soliloquy of Ion just after the likewise solitary prologue of Hermes [v. 82-183]) etc.² In most of these cases, the solitary tragic speech sets from the beginning and

² For different «models of monologue» according to various criteria see Puchner 1986; idem 1991, 214-219; Pefanis 1999, 218-220.

during the time it lasts one or more «imaginary» narrative addressees (specific deities, natural elements, family persons, the subject of the utterance him/herself), since the dramatic figure soliloquizing has no other actual and effective addressee on stage (cf. the narrative soliloquy of Electra in the presence of the sleeping and exhausted Orestes in Euripides's *Orestes*), or at least he/she does not perceive any other scenic presence (cf. the lyrical monody of the Euripidean Electra, while Orestes and Pylades are watching aside [v. 112-166]).

Despite their usual «marginal» position in the framework of the drama as a whole or of a particular episode, the tragic soliloquies are always strictly integrated in the action, which they define more or less with regard to the dramatic past, present and future, as well as they are as much as possible dramatically justified: either by an exceptional situation which impels the human dramatic figure to exteriorize his/her moral problems and practical preoccupations, or by the generally typical and conventional function that – in Euripides's work par excellence – the divine soliloquizing figures assume in order to inform – literally and metaphorically from a great height – the audience about the existing, past and future dramatic state of things. Thus, in a theatre strongly codified and conventional at all semiotic levels, the monological speech, far from revealing its own specific technical character as well the conventional character of the general theatrical code as a whole, on the contrary, lays claim to dramatic causality and rational coherence, presupposing – despite its possible recurrent oscillations – the final unity of the subject as the principal agent of the action.

In the same perspective, the Chorus is never present during the solitary –narrative, meditative, lyrical or confessional – soliloquies, either because it has not yet performed the Parodos (cf. the numerous narrative solitary prologues or the case of Ion speaking alone to himself before the entrance of the Chorus [v. 82-183]), or because it has temporarily withdrawn from the scenic space (*metastasis*), so as to come back once the soliloquy of the hero has finished (cf. the solitary speech of Ajax, while the Chorus, divided in two halves, has left the scene in quest of the desperate hero; the narrative soliloquy of the Manservant in *Alcestis* or the two soliloquies of Menelaus in *Helen*, while the Chorus, in both cases, is temporarily absent).³ Inversely, the permanent presence of the Chorus, after having performed the Parodos (the very

³ For the relation between the withdrawal of the Chorus and the creation of a «monological space» see Schadewaldt 1966, 20-23.

few cases of *metastasis* exempted), assures and maintains the dialogical preponderance of the dramatic communication, while, at the same time, the strongly conventional and anti-illusionist function of the recurrent and quite long choral intervals, which have no actual dramatic addressee on stage (*Parodos*, *stasima*, ode of the *exodus*), is quite «softened» precisely due to the collective dramatic nature of the Chorus, the massive way of their lyrical or meditative intervening and the social, universal dimension they offer to the tragic experience as a whole.

In a different way from the rationalized and confined use of monolocicity in ancient Greek theatre, the predominant dialogical and dialectic form of which is mainly assured by the collective figure of the Chorus,⁴ in modern Greek theatre of the last two decades – starting from 1990 and up until 2009 – there was a growing tendency towards writing ancient-themed monological and most often single-character plays, usually capable of fulfilling the performance time and constituting self-contained performances, bringing and isolating on the textual and performance stage specific dramatic figures – mostly feminine – bequeathed by the ancient Greek dramatic corpus. Beginning with Yiannis Ritsos's successive poetic, «drama-like» monologues (*The Dead House*, *Under the Shadow of the Mountain*, *Philoctetes*, *Orestes*, *Ajax*, *Persephone*, *Agamemnon*, *Chrysothemis*, *Helen*, *Ismene*, *The return of Iphigenia*, *Phaedra*) that were written during the '60s and '70s and have since been continuously reedited and performed (Chassapi-Christodoulou 2002, 898-936), during the last two decades we meet in new «solitary» contexts: the geographically and psychologically banished Andromache in Akis Dimou's *Andromache* or *View of a Woman at the Height of the Night* (2003); the ambiguous Clytemnestra in Iakovos Kampanellis's *Letter to Orestes* (1993) as well as in Avra Sidiropoulou's *Clytemnestra's Tears* (2004); Andromache, Alcestis, Hecuba, Pythia, Ion, Helen, in the homonymous monologues of Konstantinos Bouras, which were included in the comprehensive edition entitled *In the Constellation of Hecate* (1997);⁵ Medea in the poetically dense and semantically

⁴ With the magnificent exception of later *Alexandra* (3rd century B.C.), a lengthy monological «obscure poem», according to *Suidae Lexicon*, of 1.474 iambic trimeters, where a messenger-servant-guard (?) narrates to a «silent» anonymous king (most probably Priam) the secret prophecy of Cassandra. See Hurst 2008, with literary introduction, translation and commentary of the text.

⁵ Bouras's monologues *Helen*, *Hecuba*, *Cassandra*, *Andromache* and *Pythia* would be later integrated verbatim, in the form of citations-readings, in the monologue *Circe* (included in the comprehensive edition entitled *Cold Fire*, 2005).

open monologue *Medea – the Exodus* of Giannis Kondrafouris (2000); the murderer of Laios in Marios Pontikas's *The Murderer of Laios and the Crows*, composed by two successive long monologues «for a man and a woman» (2004); Oedipus's mother and wife, Jocasta, in the homonymous monologue of Giannis Kondrafouris, written in hospital in 2007, a short time before the premature death of this writer (2009); the prophetess and Trojan princess Cassandra, enlightened from totally different points of view in Anna Manolopoulou-Skoufa's *Cassandra* or *In a Frenzy of Prophesying* (1990), Constantinos Bouras's *Cassandra* (1997, *supra*), Andreas Flourakis's *Cassy* (2007), Marios Pontikas's *Cassandra Addresses the Dead* (2007) and, last but not least, in Dimitris Dimitriadis's last single-character play, *Cassandra's Annunciation* (2009).

This growing tendency of modern Greek theatre towards writing ancient-themed monological plays falls certainly under the worldwide recent tendency towards writing and producing monological and most often single-character plays and is related to a constellation of many different – financial, social, political, cultural, dramaturgical or completely practical and personal – reasons that influence the theatrical act at the levels of production as well as reception (Patsalidis 2008).

On the other hand, those monological and single-character plays, which bring and isolate on present stage solitary and soliloquizing ancient mythical figures, dispose some specific characteristics in view of their dramatic quality and their receptive dynamics, which differentiate them deeply from most other non-ancient-themed modern monological plays. The touch-stone for this dramatic differentiation of ancient-themed monodramas is the explicit – already denoted *peritextually* through the title (Genette 1987) – existence of one or even more specific dramatic *subtexts*, with which the new dramatic *hypertext* (Genette 1982) converses directly, focusing each time on and bringing to a new life a specific soliloquizing dramatic figure. Under these particular *intertextual* circumstances, the archetypal, mythical and literary alike figure is redefined, while its different versions are emerging, counterbalancing and mutually disputing through the intersection and the dialogue between different subjectivities: that of the *subtextual* dramatic figure, that of the *hypertextual* dramatic figure and that of many (or all) of the intermediate – dramatic, literary or even extra-literary – *personae* of that specific ancient and mythical figure. What finally floats upon and imposes its image and presence on the ancient-themed monodramas is a body in duplicate, if not *ad infinitum*, a surface without any secure hyper-narrations which could guarantee its continuity and

coherence. Constantly de-centered, the dramatic soliloquizing *ego* welters into a cistern of words, silences, pauses or impressions in the quest of a stable frame of reference that usually ends in another simulated image of stability through a continuous play of transformations – if not, usually, deformations – that guarantee the «poly-phonic» function and its multilayered discourse (Patsalidis 2008, 241; Kakavoulia 1997, 146).

If the *hyper/inter-textuality* of the literary myth is the necessary support, on the basis of which the writer will articulate and elaborate his/her new message, the position of the lecturer/spectator towards the artistic result of the ancient-themed monologue is equally complicated and substantial. The *resemantisation* of a specific mythical figure, proposed by the playwright, can enter into action and bring-in an artistic result only *via* the spectator, who is invited, by virtue of his/her preceding experiences, to recognize the possible explicit *subtexts* or implicit *intertexts*, so as to perceive the displacements and the connections between the dramatic past and future of the literary myth. In the rest of the ancient-themed plays of regular extent – that are divided in different acts, scenes, images etc. – the articulation of the *hypertextual* plot is usually capable per se of satisfying to a high degree the «expectations» of the «average receiver», without compelling him/her to perceive precisely the nature and the form of the *intertexts* used by the writer in order to articulate his/her message and propose a new version of the literary myth. Contrary to that, in the case of most of the ancient-themed monological and single-act plays, the isolation of the figure from the mythical and the literary context as well, the focusing on it in a completely new space-time, the totally subtractive and selective foregrounding on some specific characteristics of the figure, the exceptional allusiveness of the *analepses* into the dramatic past or of the *projections* into the dramatic future, often in combination with a highly elaborated and poetically orientated speech in stylistic and linguistic terms – all these are recurrent features which exclude or at least discourage from the beginning their «empirical» and «fragmentary» approach by the *synchronic spectator* in his/her effort to reconstitute the internal cohesion of the play. Thus, the *implied receiver*, inscribed and proscribed by many of the aforementioned ancient-themed monological plays, is or rather should be a totally adequate connoisseur not only of the myth which frames the soliloquizing dramatic figure each time but also of most of its artistic versions, dramatic or not, ancient or not, which have ever since given new forms and meanings to its semantic dynamics. From that point of view, the autonomization

of the monolocality of ancient dramatic figures and its integration in modern dramatic contexts presuppose not only a sender-playwright but also a receiver-playgoer armed with rich and specialized cognitive, theatrical and humanitarian «equipment». The quite important success with which some of the aforementioned monological and single-act ancient-themed plays – some of which constitute a particularly demanding palimpsest in view of its (de)codification (see for instance the last ancient-themed plays of Marios Pontikas or the monodrama *Cassy* of Andreas Flourakis) – were met in Greece and abroad make us optimistic about the possible fusing of the *real* and the *ideal spectator* in a society that seems, perhaps nowadays more than ever, accustomed to human and scenic loneliness, familiarized with the solitary speaking on stage, willing to participate in the «destruction» of the dialogicity and listen closer to the «inner» speech if not the individual delirium, the polyphonic if not the schizophrenic subjectivity of dramatic figures (Patsalidis 2008, 241-242), who continue with their monologue, despite its important quantitative and qualitative displacements from antiquity to this day.

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SENIE UN MŪSDIENU GRIEĶU VAROŅI – VIENI UZ SKATUVES: CEĻŠ UZ MONOLOGA AUTONOMIJU

Atšķirībā no pārdomātā un ierobežotā monologa lietojuma antīkajā grieķu teātrī, kur dominējošā dialoga formu nodrošināja kolektīvais Kora tēls, mūsdienu grieķu teātrī pēdējo divu gadu desmitu laikā vērojama progresējoša tendence rakstīt monoloģiskas un visbiežāk viena personāža lugas par antīkām tēmām. Parasti šādas lugas spēj aizpildīt izrādei pare-

dzēto laiku un ir uztveramas kā patstāvīgas izrādes, kas ievēd un izolē tekstuāli un izpildījuma ziņā īpašus drāmas tēlus, kas mantoti no grieķu antīkās drāmas korpasa (visbiežāk sievietes). Raksts vēlīts šādam mūsdienu grieķu dramatisku darbu rakstniecības «fenomenam» par antīkām tēmām, meklējot tā rašanās cēloņus, komentējot tā funkciju idejas-teksta līmenī, un, visbeidzot, skarot publikas reakciju uz to, publikas, kas šķiet pieradusi pie cilvēka un skatuvīskās vientulības un vēlas piedalīties dialoga «sagraušanā», ieklausoties lūgas mitoloģiskas un literāras izcelsmes tēlu sarežģītajā un specifiski intertekstuālajā iekšējā runā.

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THRACIAN REBEL SPARTACUS IN THE HISTORY OF LATVIAN TRAGEDY AND THEATRE

Brief summary:

This article considers one outstanding example that represents essential features of intersections of perception of the ancient history (slave rebellion), cultural heritage (genre of tragedy) and quest for contemporary aesthetics in the Latvian 20th century culture. Tragedy «Spartacus» (1943) by Andrejs Upīts (1877-1970) was written for introducing the Soviet ideology in the Latvian culture, since the author was a convinced Marxist and became a collaborator after the Soviet occupation in 1940. Irrespective of the author's intentions, in later stage productions of his tragedy, the hidden potential of Spartacus's image was covertly turned against the Soviet ideology. So, the motif of ancient slaves' rebellion, used for strengthening the Soviet ideology, obtained the dimension of latent artistic resistance.

Key words: Spartacus, tragedy, A. Upīts, Marxism, ideology, perception

Introduction

In the 20th century culture Spartacus was a sign in which topical issues of the century were expressed through transforming the material of the ancient culture. For many centuries nobody took interest in this Thracian rebel, but from the second half of the 18th century until now Spartacus has become one of the most often used images, echoing social and political topicality. Interest in the Spartacus motif started in the context of the Enlightenment and the ideas of human rights. The first widely known literary production was tragedy *Spartacus* (1760) by the French writer Bernard-Joseph Saurin, who «declaimed and dissertated in the manner of Voltaire» (Dowden 2007, 261). In the 19th century literature the Spartacus motif was used for channeling the ideas of nation-building both in Germany (play *Spartacus* by Ernst von Wildenbruch, 1873) and Italy (novel *Spartacus* by Rafael Giovagnoli, 1881). Later the image of Spartacus was used as an ideological icon in the communist, socialist and, nowadays, even in the gay rights movements.

Countless novels, several films, organizations and enterprises bear the name of this leader of slave uprising. The hidden potential of this powerful image has also been at least partly revealed in Latvian literature and theater. The motif of the uprising of slaves led by Spartacus has been used in Latvian literature on several occasions, and tragedy *Spartacus* by the Latvian writer Andrejs Upīts (Picture 1), written in 1944, takes a special place among these works.



Picture 1. Andrejs Upīts
1. attēls Andrejs Upīts

I. Andrejs Upīts (1877-1970): Personality, aesthetical and political views

As an author, the outstanding Latvian prose-writer and playwright, Andrejs Upīts has grown in the tradition of the 19th century realism, later seeking ways to the modernist novel. Upīts's realism borders with naturalism, although he also made use of impressionist methods and symbolism. One of the most important turning points in his creative life was the encounter with Marxism, which became the basic platform of his later writing and world-view. From this perspective, in his works, Upīts strived to give panoramic, big-scale descriptions of the social conflicts of his time. This approach became the source of both his strength and weakness.

In 1940, when the Republic of Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union, Upīts became a collaborator and functionary of the newly established Soviet regime in Latvia, and the fate of many Latvian writers suddenly became dependent on his benevolence. During the years of the World War II Upīts lived in Russia, where he wrote his

last important works: *The Green Land* (1945), an epic novel about the historical and social processes in Latvian countryside, and tragedy *Spartacus*. After the war Upīts turned mainly to the history of literature and literary criticism and became part of the establishment of the Soviet occupation power, which meant for his creative writing an inevitable decline that could well be characterized as «the sunless eclipse», words from the title Upīts chose for his strongly critical book on Latvian writers in exile (1967).

However, a great part of the author's life was spent in the modernist era. Generally being rooted in the tradition of the 19th century realism, Upīts mostly adhered to the conceptualization of realism, when other writers, using their predecessors' experience, strived for deeper metaphysical and symbolic representations of existence. The conceptualization of Upīts's writing found its expression in ideological discourse, where he used mainly historical material. At the same time, in selection of this material, especially in the few cases when he tapped into the heritage of the ancient world, historical elements intersected with the paradigm of mythical perception of the world. In these points of intersection the writer's style essentially changed, showing a peculiar interaction of realism and romanticism. Admittedly, Andrejs Upīts was not a pioneer in this respect, for this tendency appeared already in the literature of the second half of the 19th century, in the works of those authors who influenced the Latvian writer. What were the new opportunities for the perception of the ancient culture offered by this interplay of romanticism and realism? Using a somewhat rough terminology, we can say that for the first time in European literature there appeared a sort of «slave literature», which offered a new symbolic language for expressing the ideas of emancipation and liberation. In the Roman manuals on economic activities we can read that there were three kinds of working tools: silent, partly vocal and talking, the latter being slaves. Although it is true that slaves sometimes were important characters in ancient comedies, their presence rather created a comic effect that was not far from absurd. Speaking about tragic characters, Aristotle argued that women were not particularly well suited for the roles of tragic heroines and that slaves were totally inappropriate for tragic characters (Aristotle, 1544a20), although it is interesting that Aristotle mentions such a possibility at all.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the phenomenon of the ancient slavery became interesting and useful as a material for embodiment of topical ideas. The most important texts which attracted Upīts's

attention were novel *Spartacus* by R. Giovagnoli and Gustav Flaubert's *Salammbô*. Upīts was especially impressed by the epic and colorful scenes of the mercenaries' mutiny depicted in Flaubert's novel. His conviction that this novel is historically precise and realistic, however, seems to be rather unfounded. The main characters of the novel – Matho, Salammbô and Spendius, the organizer of the uprising – do not act as historical personages but rather are driven by uncontrollable and primitive impulses. The historical background, therefore, becomes only a decorative set, where these impulses can be best expressed in accordance with the author's idea.

Giovagnoli's novel is written in a different key. It is characterized by romantic flair and trust in humanity and humanness. The rebellion of slaves in the Ancient Rome has been associatively identified with the struggle for Italy's unification and against the foreign oppressors. Therefore, Rome loses its historical concreteness and acquires features of Italy. Both Spartacus and Caesar have been depicted as equal prophets of the future. It is also significant that Giuseppe Garibaldi wrote an introduction for this novel. For Giovagnoli Spartacus was the only logical choice to be picked from the Roman heritage.

Although in Italy Spartacus was a foreigner, in the light of the 19th century Italy's ideology of unification and liberation, he was the best suited to symbolize the dreams and aspirations of the nation in its struggle against foreign oppressors. Moreover, interpreted in the perspective of the 19th century, Spartacus's story took on mythic dimensions, as ideological manipulations with masses then became more and more important and the proletariat, concentrated in the big cities, strived to assert itself in the historical processes. Spartacus thus became a Prometheus of the modern times. The heroic but sidelined and lonely demigod, transformed into the image of Spartacus, continued his mission of enforcing justice, discrediting the powerful and redistributing goods. By virtue of these mythic transformations, a long and prolific life in the 20th century literature, art and also ideology, including countless novels and the famous Hollywood epic, has been secured for Spartacus.

II. Tragedy *Spartacus* (1943) by Andrejs Upīts: Artistic, theoretical and ideological explorations

Spartacus, the last work in Upīts's trilogy of historical tragedies (two others: *Mirabeau*, 1926, and *Joan d'Arc*, 1930), is a peculiar synthesis of

his artistic, theoretical and ideological explorations. The main idea of this quest was to find the most precise artistic concept for depicting the historical process in literature, especially by trying to show the role of masses, for, looking at history from the Marxist perspective, Upīts believed that masses were its main driving force.

Upīts wrote several theoretical articles on this issue (the most important of them are *The Realistic Tragedy* (1924) and *The Problem of Depiction of Masses in Literature* (1926)). These works reveal the main principles the writer used as a basis for his concept of historical tragedy. To make the masses a character in the tragedy was a daring and innovative, yet dangerous and risky idea, because a work of this genre demands an unusual character with a strong individuality. The ideas Upīts defined in his theoretical writing were not so easy for him to embody in plays. The writer devoted six years to writing *Spartacus*, gathering material, studying the history of Rome and slavery. The tragedy itself was written in a very short time, and it provoked controversial reviews. It even prompted a wide public debate in Moscow. The final verdict of the Soviet establishment was favorable after all, and Upīts's *Spartacus* was even declared to be a substantially new step in the history of Latvian drama. However, in the actual text, the author had considerably strayed from the principles of realistic tragedy he had himself devised. Discrepancies with the conceptual setup can be seen in all the most important aspects, such as the historical accuracy, the central hero, the hero and masses.

Upīts's tragedy *Spartacus* can be considered historical only insofar as the author has used the historical fact of the slave revolt. Otherwise, all the plot of the tragedy, although it has historical persons acting in it, is neither real nor realistic. The main lines of interaction between the characters Spartacus and Cathilina, Spartacus and Caesar have been developed in a Romanticist manner.

Upīts's own comments on some of the dubious fragments of his tragedy show that either the writer's knowledge about the history of Rome was very vague, or he had an unconventional understanding of the term «historical fact».

The tragedy is full of anachronisms. In a text that was supposed to be written in a realistic manner, the words of Cathilina, a Roman patrician, «I am also a slave of the Roman society» (Upīts 1977, 52) are just out of place. In his essay *Realistic Tragedy* Upīts wrote: «All the eternal issues are fantasies of romantics and idealists» (Upīts 1952, 681).

However, in order to create conflicts in his tragedy *Spartacus*, Upīts himself used basically perennial issues of relations between persons and power, at the same time ignoring all historical terms and conditions (e.g., Spartacus's relationships with Cathilina and Caesar). Generally, Upīts's understanding of tragedy was radically different from the conventional principles of the genre. He believed that the original source of the genre – the Greek tragedy – «cannot move and convince deeply» (Upīts 1952, 680). According to Upīts, the main purpose of a realistic tragedy is to show the masses as real historical heroes, «who in their class, social, political and ideological struggle put forward men of genius to express clearly their unconscious minds, to channel their instincts into precisely defined routes» (Upīts 1952, 682). However, in *Spartacus* Upīts was considerably far from these principles that he himself had defined. This divergence can be explained by two possible reasons.

The first and the foremost reason is that the genre of tragedy itself cannot be subject to these principles. A dramatic text is not suitable for the depiction of masses, for dialogue and monologue are the dominant means of expression in such a text, allowing to show individual characters and their relations, but not masses and historical processes. The other possible reason could be Giovagnoli's influence, as many characters and story lines have been directly borrowed from his novel, bringing into the tragedy also its romantic atmosphere.

Furthermore, Spartacus could not become the genius who would express and channel somebody's unconscious thoughts into a precisely defined route, for he had no idea about this defined route. In the tragedy Caesar describes Spartacus, saying precisely that his dreams about freedom are abstract. Therefore, many phrases that Upīts has put into Spartacus's mouth sound like pure rhetoric that has basically no connection with the real events. The masses of slaves in Upīts's tragedy are also only a motley and disorganized crowd of people. The end of Spartacus is especially conspicuous, for it shows neither any hope nor social optimism. Some critics, who held Upīts's work in high regard, argued that, in the character of the famous warrior, the writer emphasized aspects which «relate to the liberation of masses from Hitlerism» (Krauliņš 1974, 452). Such parallels, however, would not be very complimenting to the fighters against Nazism, for Spartacus's army in the tragedy is just a disorganized and chaotic crowd. It is true that from the perspective of the 20th century, especially from the point of view of the Communist doctrine, which was so popular in the middle of the

century, we can see some signs of social optimism in Upīts's tragedy; yet, if we stick to the text, the darkness of the finale can best be expressed by Giovagnoli's words: «.. the goal itself is only a fruit of a heated fantasy that humankind will never attain» (Džovanjoli 1978, 199). The last remark of the tragedy:

«.. rattle of weapons. A flash of lightning, then black darkness» (Upīts 1977, 261).

III. Stage productions of Upīts's *Spartacus*: Way from pro-Soviet manifesto to latent resistance

Although the tragedy *Spartacus* by A. Upīts has been staged only three times, but generally it has seen a rich theatrical life. It is also significant that all three productions have occurred in similar circumstances: all three times the play was staged in the period of the Soviet occupation in Latvia, when artistic freedom was subject to various restrictions and esthetics – to the doctrine of socialist realism. Still, ideological circumstances during each staging in 1945, 1970 and 1977 were different. The year of 1945, although it brought the renewed Soviet occupation, had its positive aspects as well: the war had ended and ideological dogmas were only in developing stages.

In the 1970s, although the control of the ruling regime was strict and ruthless, art itself had contributed to a gradual disintegration of the ruling doctrine of socialist realism. While critics and art theoreticians were extolling the doctrine, speaking about its inexhaustible potential, the works of art and literature themselves were no longer either particularly socialist or realistic. And even the ideologically correct, albeit undeniably talented, writing of such a dedicated Marxist and collaborator as Andrejs Upīts assumed completely different meanings in theatrical productions. As an important historical figure and contributor to the historical progress from the Marxist point of view, *Spartacus* was included in the Communist iconography from the very beginning of the Soviet regime, with numerous collective farms, factories and movie theaters being named after the leader of the uprising of slaves (there was a movie theater «Spartaks» in Riga, too). There were songs, about him etc. *Spartacus* name was tied especially with sports education; a sports club in Russia is still bearing his name, and nation-wide sports games, Olympics of Soviet kind, were called Spartakiad and were an essential part of the Soviet sports scene. Speaking about the Latvian *Spartacus* on stage, there were, as is said already, three productions of

the play at three various theaters: at the Daile (Art) Theater in Riga in 1945 (the first stage production in this theatre after the reoccupation of Latvia by the Soviet troops); at the Liepāja Theater in 1970; at the Drama Theater named after A. Upīts (presently, the National Theater) in 1977.

The production in the Daile Theater was the first play the company staged in the postwar season, and it became significant as a fusion of two aesthetic systems: the officially approved tradition of realism, represented by the text of the play, and the tradition of conceptual theater of form developed by Eduards Smilģis, the founder and chief director of the Daile Theater, despite the fact that in the Soviet Union the only officially recognized theatrical tradition was that established by the K. Stanislavsky.

The manifesto issued by the founders of the Daile Theater reads:

-A theater is a temple of art for aesthetes, where the spiritual energy of humankind is being released.

-Rational elements must be ignored and artists must strive for emotional experience.

-[Emotional] experience can be achieved by working on sight and hearing, which in turn can be achieved only through artistic form.

-The main element of a theatrical performance is actors' gestures» (Grēviņš 1971, 86).

The text of *Spartacus* contains lots of rhetoric, and its crowd scenes suited well for this non-realistic theatrical tradition. Although critical reviews of that time do not make a particularly reliable source, they create an overall impression of an impassioned, dynamic and optimistic performance, in which characters were not shown as having individual features but rather as typical models, embodying historical conflicts and injustices. The production featured lots of music, color and light, and represented a sort of operatic aesthetics. Since at that time standards for a socialist theater had not yet been developed in Latvia, critics, although cautiously, acknowledged that the production of *Spartacus* was a fertile combination of the experience gained in the theater company's long-time development and the new endeavors in the direction of a healthy realism. Later, though, the theater had to suffer a lot for its experience gained in its long-time development, as reproaches for formalism were inevitable. Artūrs Filipsons, who played the central character (Picture 2), had a prominent role in ensuring the success of the production, as he was an actor of a towering stature,

with a loud and expressive voice and precise gestures. His on-stage presence created a compositional center, and his ability to play a leader who at the same time was a deep-thinking man could not leave the audience unimpressed. Filipsons was the leading actor of the troupe and a heartthrob. However, today we can see in his image how the ideal of male good-looks has changed in the course of time, as it is quite obvious that Filipsons does not match the modern-day ideal of youth and slimness. Perhaps he was closer to the type Kirk Douglas represented in the Hollywood film *Spartacus*.



Picture 2. Scene from *Spartacus* in the Daile Theatre (1945),
in the centre Spartacus – Artūrs Filipsons
2. attēls. Skats no *Spartaka* Dailes teātrī (1945), centrā Spartaks –
Artūrs Filipsons

In later productions of Upīts's tragedy we see quite a different visual version of Spartacus, and also in the latest film about the slave leader shot in 2004 – Spartacus is a youthful and slender man.

The production of *Spartacus* in the theater of the western Latvian city of Liepāja in 1970 (Picture 3) did not create a theatrical sensation, and the staging did not draw much attention from critics; still, it is possible to reconstruct some characteristic features from the reviews of that time. The keynote of the production was detachment and realism that could be in a way called literary theater, when the source

text is made the central element of the staging. Efforts to create an authentic environment dominated the stage design, and costumes were stylizations of ancient Roman clothing. The staging clearly depicted various social groups, changes in their behavior in the course of the play, the growing self-confidence of slaves and changes in their stature, conduct and manner of speech. The scenes of the staging were reminiscent of some antique relieves. The message of the staging was that this is history, and that these events of a distant past can be interesting and enlightening also in modern times.



Picture 3. Scene from *Spartacus* in the Liepāja Theatre (1970)
3. attēls. Skats no *Spartaka* Liepājas teātrī (1970)

The third and most important production of *Spartacus* in 1977 eliminated any historical distance. Actors were playing in a uniform manner. The text of the tragedy was only one of the elements of the performance, the objective of which was to speak to the audience about current problems of the day. The message that was impossible to express directly could be brought home through the pseudo-historical text of the Soviet literary classic. Thus, the homage to the classic was turned into a message to the contemporary audience. Critical reviews of that time describe a scene in which Spartacus, played by actor of the Drama Theater Rolands Zagorskis (Picture 4), climbs scaffolding and,

hanging upside down, speaks about freedom. That was a degradation of the central character nearly impossible for a Soviet-time theater. At any rate, such behavior had nothing to do with pomposity or the stature of the hero-leader. The director Valdis Lūriņš defined the idea of the staging in the following way:

It is necessary to rouse the desire for a dream-goal in the audience, to find for just ten seconds a Joan of Arc or a Spartacus sitting in the audience, to kindle faith, activity and willingness to do something good for their people (Čakare 1989, 94).

Later in retrospect, the director said:

Spartacus was my longing for a hero and also for clarity and faith – because I must have known unconsciously that the time in which we were living was rather senseless (Čakare 1989, 93).



Picture 4. Spartacus – Rolands Zagorskis, the Drama Theatre (1977)
Pictures are taken from the Museum of Literature and Music, Rīga
4. attēls. Spartaks – Rolands Zagorskis, Drāmas teātris (1977)

The stage design by Juris Toropins played an important role and was conceived as an abstract arena, depicting life and existence as a cruel sports competition.

Andrejs Upīts's *Spartacus* has not been staged in Latvian theaters since 1977. Does it mean that the potential of this text in the era of democratic freedoms and postmodern aesthetics has been exhausted? Who knows? In 2004 a new version of *Spartacus* was shot in Hollywood, based on the same novel that inspired the *Spartacus* flick of 1960, while Latvian theatrical stages are now populated by other characters of antiquity, the latest being *Caligula* by Albert Camus. As a literary character, *Caligula* also has its Latvian biography, and in this tradition we can also see interaction between aesthetics and ideology, though this is a different story.

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TRĀĶIEŠU DUMPINIEKS SPARTAKS LATVIEŠU TRAĢĒDIJAS UN TEĀTRA VĒSTURĒ

Rakstā tiek aplūkots Andreja Upīša (1877–1970) traģēdija *Spartaks* kā spilgts piemērs antīkās kultūras recepcijai 20. gadsimtā, kā arī kā paraugs ideoloģijas un mākslas mijiedarbei, kas tapusi dialogā ar klasisko senatni. Rakstā tiek sniegts vispārīgs ieskats trāķiešu dumpinieka Spartaka tēla izmantojumā Eiropas kultūrā, bet īpaša uzmanība pievērsta Andreja Upīša interesei par antīko senatni un tās izmantojumam viņa daiļradē, kā arī viņa teorētiskajai refleksijai par sengrieķu iedibināto traģēdijas žanru un šī žanra potenciālu jaunajā laikmetā. Upīts izstrādā savu marksistisko masu traģēdijas izpratni, ko tiecas realizēt savos daiļdarbos. Īpaša uzmanība rakstā pievērsta neviennozīmīgajiem rezultātiem, kas veidojas, cenšoties antīkās kultūras materiālu iekļaut marksistiskajā pasaules uztveres shēmā. Upīša traģēdija *Spartaks* ir piedzīvojusi ne pārāk bagātu, bet ļoti interesantu skatuves mūžu. Tā aplūkojumam ir veltīta raksta trešā daļa. Ik viens no trim iestudējumiem (Dailes teātrī, Liepājas teātrī, Nacionālajā, tolaik Drāmas teātrī) ir risināts savdabīgā stilistiskā manierē. Traģēdija, kas rakstīta no marksista un kolaboracionista pozīcijām padomiskās vēstures progresa izpratnes atbalstam, vēlākajās skatuves interpretācijās iegūst antipadomisku skanējumu, tādejādi vergu sacelšanās motīvs, kas bija padarīts par padomju ideoloģijas ikonu, iegūst latentu pretestības varai dimensiju.

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THE MYTH OF AMPHITRYON AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS IN 20TH CENTURY DRAMA

Brief summary:

This article focuses on J. Giraudoux's play *Amphitryon* 38 and P. Hacks's comedy *Amphitryon*. Giraudoux takes part in a paradoxical game, involving tradition and stereotype. By using the plot of the myth, he confronts the divine and the human worlds, assigning the greatest value to humans and thus disassembling the conventional hierarchy. Hacks's comedy is characterised by an original visual solution of the scene, unity of genre and consistency of characters. Its main axis is formed by the contradiction between the predictability of marriage, as represented by *Amphitryon*, and the uniqueness of Jupiter's passion.

Key words: myth, interpretation, play, tradition

The myth of Amphitryon and his beautiful wife Alcmene, loved by Zeus, has one of the best-known plots in world drama. We know that several Classical Greek authors (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides etc.) interpreted this myth in their plays. The original text, however, has been lost. Plautus's (250-180 BC) comedy *Amphitryon* is very popular, and has been revised several times in the form of various plays as well as operas, especially in the 15th-16th centuries. After Plautus, the most outstanding interpretations of this myth have been created by Moliere (1622-1673), Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811) and two classics of the 20th century – the outstanding representative of the French intellectual drama Jean Giraudoux (1882-1944) and the German playwright Peter Hacks (1928-2003).

In this paper, the main attention has been paid to J. Giraudoux's play *Amphitryon* 38 (1929) and P. Hacks's comedy *Amphitryon* (1968), exploring their relations not only with the myth but also with its literary tradition.

The story, as known to the world's literary tradition, can be summarised as follows: while the heroic Amphitryon roams the

battlefield, his faithful and loving wife Alcmene has been visited by Jupiter himself, who has assumed her husband's likeness (it must be noted that in literary interpretations of this Greek myth the Roman names of the deities are generally used). Alcmene, naturally, does not suspect anything amiss and, as such, is without guilt. In their interpretations of Amphitryon's character, the playwrights mostly accentuate his excessive, blind jealousy, which can be only tamed by the ruler of Olympus himself. At the end of the play, in all his divine glory, Jupiter publicly announces Alcmene's innocence and the imminent birth of Heracles, the future hero.

The Roman playwright Plautus fully respects the myth in his comedy, and the main driving force of his play is a cunning intrigue as well as a multitude of misunderstandings caused by the facial resemblances between Amphitryon and Jupiter and, especially, Mercury (Jupiter's agile companion) and Sosia, Amphitryon's servant.

Moliere, in turn, by using the scheme of action and the main situations from Plautus's play, supplies them with quick and graceful dialogues as well as carefully detailed characters – another very significant component. Thus, for instance, Alcmene in Moliere's interpretation is no more a passive sufferer, as she was depicted by Plautus, but becomes proud and courageous enough to resist her husband's merciless accusations.

A major twist in interpretations of this plot was made by one of the most prominent representatives of German romanticism – Heinrich von Kleist. Having initially envisioned his *Amphitryon* as a translation of Moliere's comedy, during the working process he diverged from the guidelines drawn by Moliere and foregrounded an entirely different conflict. The jealous Amphitryon is not the main character of von Kleist's play. Instead, the main character is the wonderfully pure Alcmene, who in a rather ruthless way confronts the multi-faceted nature of man's spiritual life and issues unsolvable in principle, grounded in relations between the ideal and real worlds represented by Jupiter and Amphitryon.

J. Giraudoux, a representative of French intellectual drama, claims his play *Amphitryon 38* as being the thirty-eighth interpretation of this myth in the history of world literature. He clearly has taken his predecessors' interpretations of the myth into account, but has renounced the comic elements caused by the likeness between Mercury and Sosia, and in his characteristic manner develops the wit and

lightness of Moliere's comedy, while extending his play beyond an unequivocally comic pathos. It can be argued that Giraudoux followed the guidelines drawn by Kleist in paying most attention to Alcmene and Jupiter, thus in a paradoxical manner solving the question of contradictory relations between divine and human truths.

For example, in the second scene of Act 2, Jupiter, having turned himself into Amphitryon, in a dialogue with Alcmene tells her about the ideally designed world which, as envisioned by the ruler of Olympus, consists of three dimensions, four elements, seven basic colours and the dogma of destiny. Alcmene, however, confuses him by asking about the creation of pine-trees and the existence of the colours purple and malachite. It appears that, although the world was created by Jupiter, its beauty comes from itself – it is alive, transient and therefore marvellous.

Furthermore, in the sixth scene of the same Act, Alcmene meets Leda, whom Jupiter had once visited in the form of a swan, in the well-known legend. Then we come to know that the former lovers of the lord of the gods – Leda, Semele, Danae and others – have established a special assembly, annual gatherings of which are dedicated not only to demonstrations of unworldly beauty but also to the voicing of abstract ideas. By exposure to the love of Jupiter, Leda has entirely renounced the worldly life, because this singular and short act of love, in which Leda's partner was not even precisely a swan but more like a cloud which had assumed the likeness of one, has entirely emptied her and erased everything human within her.

Alcmene categorically refuses to accept the divine scenario, which not only threatens her uncompromising beliefs regarding love and faithfulness but also purports to turn her into one of many – a counterpart of Leda, Semele and the others. It should be noted that Amphitryon is not the jealous husband in this play but rather can be characterised as Alcmene's great love and, therefore, a significant part of her being.

For that reason, the interpretation of the myth, as created by Giraudoux, is made peculiar by the fact that his Jupiter not only assumes the face of Amphitryon but also changes his entire self, turning, in fact, from a god into a man. That is precisely the main prerequisite for Jupiter's approach to Alcmene without destroying her fragile human nature, especially because Alcmene in the presence of the ruler of gods gives an oath to either stay faithful to her love for Amphitryon, or die.

The historian of religions Mircea Eliade writes that myth is significant because in it not only the actions of humans but also the objects of the world actually do not possess an autonomous, abstract value. An object or action acquires value and thereby becomes real because, in one way or another, it takes part in a reality which transcends its own (Eliade 1995, 18). It means that our world corresponds to the one in heaven. Every virtue, which is manifest here, has its duplicate in heaven, which belongs to the genuine reality (Eliade 1995, 20).

Giraudoux, although he uses the mythological plot, interprets it in an entirely different way. By confronting the worlds of humans and gods, he demolishes the conventional hierarchy, puts them face-to-face on a common plane, weighs them each against the other, and it becomes clear that each of them has its own truth and validity. In Giraudoux's plays based on mythological plots, the greatest miracle is not god, but human beings. Their being indeed is the transcendent reality, and everything in this world gains its meaning and value only in direct relation with them.

It would be futile to seek obvious inconsistencies between *Amphitryon* 38 and the ancient Greek myth. Only certain additions can be mentioned. The author utilises peculiar elements of alienation, that is, specific interruptions in the action of the play, when special characters – carriers of ideas (The Soldier, The Trumpeter, for example) – create a kind of intellectual bridge to the viewer. Giraudoux also extends the boundaries of the popular plot by introducing the beautiful Leda etc. The feeling of inconsistency comes from elsewhere – it is the drift of accents towards an entirely different problem, different conflict, different solution (if one exists at all), and, ultimately – towards an entirely different idea.

Quite unexpectedly, the German playwright of the 20th century Peter Hacks, with his (possibly 39th) interpretation of *Amphitryon*, is stylistically more closely related to Moliere than Giraudoux or Kleist. It can be argued that Hacks in some manner even surpasses Moliere in classicism, as the plot line of Hacks's *Amphitryon* is simplified, being even closer to Plautus. Additionally, in his play, a surprising unity of characters is evident, as well as a cohesive emotional pathos that is uncharacteristic of most 20th century dramas. Hacks, just like Plautus and Moliere, creates the comical facet of the play by utilising the visual similarities between Jupiter and Amphitryon, as well as Mercury and Sosia, often supplementing these relations with elements of farce.

Hacks's Amphitryon is a successful warrior and an exemplary husband, who fulfils his duties to society and marriage with surprising rigour. Upon returning from a battlefield, he always utters the same words to his house and wife, and his moments of intimacy with Alcmene merit three unchanging terms of endearment. In other words, the house of Amphitryon is ruled by unwavering peace and feelings, which have become a habit. In this situation, Jupiter suddenly intrudes in the lives of the couple. The ruler of the gods, seeking the love of Alcmene, has assumed the likeness of her husband and tries to behave in accord with Amphitryon's practiced unchanging scenario of married life (according to Hacks's interpretation, Amphitryon and Alcmene have been married for ten years). This deception continues only for a short while, since Jupiter after all is a lover, not a husband. Mercury, trying to lessen Jupiter's passion and get him back within the boundaries of *his role*, can rattle his thunder as hard as he wants – according to the author's vision, columns fall on the stage from all that effort – but all in vain, as the lovers hear only each other's words (while the spectator does not, as the terrible noise prevails). Jupiter is in love, and Alcmene also feels as if for the first time in love. Jupiter sees love in a different way. Therefore, the central conflict of the play is constituted by the contrast between the routine of married life, as embodied by Amphitryon, and the freshness of feeling lived through by Jupiter.

The characters created by Hacks have almost no internal contradictions: in the finale of the play, Alcmene decisively chooses Jupiter whilst knowing that he will return to his heavenly heights in a short while. Nonetheless, this course of action does not mean Alcmene is unfaithful: in Jupiter, she loves Amphitryon as he could be.

In Hacks's play not only Jupiter but also Sosia the servant has been juxtaposed with the character of Amphitryon, who is a simple and plain man. He hates the inexplicable, and the idea of truth being a relative term simply makes him mad; therefore, the comical situations in the dialogues between Sosia and Amphitryon are caused less by misunderstandings related to a particular situation than by their incompatible world views.

Hacks's Sosia is a philosopher and a slave in a single person, who accepts the punishments of fate in stoical peace and demonstrates his *weather-vane* character at the same time. Sosia is even able to relinquish his own name, *id est*, his own persona, thereby driving the impassive cynic Mercury to despair. In the end, Jupiter turns Sosia into a dog (to the utter satisfaction of Sosia himself). After this the *philosopher*

displays the first traces of self-initiative in his life by biting Mercury's leg and then gains immortality and eternal life in the constellation of Canis, the dog.

The most interesting aspect of *Amphitryon* by Hacks is not the structure of the play, revelation of characters, the highlighted problem or its solution, but the stage design. Hacks chooses to hide his characters behind masks; the gods have golden ones, while the masks of mere mortals have natural colours. Jupiter and Mercury, turning into Amphitryon and Sosia, cover their masks with ones similar to those of the relevant mortals, though also painted gold. When characters become invisible, they use black masks.

Another nuanced stage solution in Hacks's comedy should be mentioned. In world literature, the exceptionally long duration of the love night of Jupiter and Alcmena is a popular motif: in accord with Jupiter's command, the god of the sun does not step into his golden carriage for three days. Hacks perceives the night as a material character, although the role is filled by a blue curtain, which moves, excites and calms down again, becomes darker or lighter and even blushes, as it submits to or opposes Jupiter's orders.

Hacks's Alcmena is an exact opposite to von Kleist's heroine, whereas the character of Sosia possibly mocks the ambiguity that is characteristic to J. Giraudoux's works. Nonetheless, Hacks's otherwise flawlessly constructed play still lacks something – after von Kleist and Giraudoux, even after the frolicsome comedy of Moliere, it seems to be over-simplified. Hacks has too easily ruled the mysterious and the transcendent out of human life – the aspect that his predecessors paid so much attention to.

Regretfully, it is possible to outline here only some significant tendencies of the interpretation of this myth in the literature of the 20th century; nonetheless, even this fragmentary insight demonstrates the wide possibilities for interpretation that the antique world still offers us.

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MĪTS PAR AMFITRIONU UN TĀ TRANSFORMĀCIJAS 20. GADSIMTA DRAMATURĢIJĀ

Viens no pasaules dramaturģijas iecienītākajiem mitoloģiskajiem sižetiem vēstī par Tēbu valdnieku Amfitrionu un viņa sievu Alkmēni, kuru iemīlējis Zevs. Šo mītu savās lugās izmantojuši Aishils, Sofokls un Eiripīds. Ļoti populāra ir Plauta komēdija, kas vairākkārt pārstrādāta lugu un operu formā, bet ievērojamākie šī mīta interpreti pēc Plauta ir Moljērs, Heinrihs fon Kleists, Žans Žirodū un Pēters Hakss.

Rakstā galvenā uzmanība pievērsta franču intelektuālās drāmas pārstāvja Ž. Žirodū lugai *Amfitrions* 38 un vācu dramaturga P. Haksa komēdijai *Amfitrions*.

Ž. Žirodū iesaistījies paradoksu pilnā spēlē ar tradīciju un stereotipu. Izmantodams mitoloģisko sižetu, viņš konfrontē dievu un cilvēku pasauli, vislielāko vērtību piešķirot cilvēkam un tādējādi izjaucot vispārpieņemto hierarhiju. Ž. Žirodū daiļradē sintezējas gan reālistiskās, gan nereālistiskās mākslinieciskās kvalitātes.

P. Haksa komēdijai raksturīgs savdabīgs vizuālais risinājums, žanriskā vienotība un atveidoto raksturu konsekvence. Centrālo konfliktu veido pretruna starp Amfitrionā iemiesoto laulības dzīves prognozējamību un jūtu pirmreizīgumu, ko pārdzīvo Jupiters.

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THEATRE AND SOCIAL IMAGINATION: CORNELIUS CASTORIADIS'S CONCEPT OF SOCIAL IMAGINARY IN THE CONTEXT OF PERFORMANCE THEORIES

Brief summary

In the context of theatre studies, Greek philosophical thought has mostly been represented by the ancient philosophers, namely by Plato and Aristotle. Turning to contemporary thinkers, a study of Cornelius Castoriadis's thought about the social imaginary and the function of art may turn out fruitful in focusing on the creative character of theatre performance. This paper aims at creating an intelligible dialogue between Castoriadis, Lehmann and Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari concerning the structure and constructive character of meanings in theatre (text and performance) – an area where «there is no image that does not have a minimum meaning and there is no meaning that is not borne by an image» – as well as the role of the social imaginary in postmodern or the so-called postdramatic theatre.

Key words: Cornelius Castoriadis, Meanings, Social Imaginary, Theatre Performance, Postdramatic Theatre

The work of art and the chaos

As indicated by Cornelius Castoriadis, a work is artistic to the extent that it emerges through chaos and makes this chaos appear in the eyes of collectivity. Therefore, it is a «window of society that gazes into the chaos and at the same time the form that is given to that chaos» (Castoriadis 2000, 87, 2007, 99). Genuine art takes root in significations created by the social imaginary; it is defined by the historicity of the society and reveals the abysmal depth that gapes inside us and inside the world. Art, in particular theatre, reminds us that we pass the greater part of our lives on the surface of things, captive of transient concerns or insignificant activities, and that behind the fragile appearances and inside ourselves, inside our bodies, the abysm lurks that we continuously tend to forget. Thus, theatre is this slit «from where we see into the Abysm, (...) it is the presentification of the Abysm» (Castoriadis 2007, 46-47, 52).

Performances, images and meanings

Castoriadis usually writes about art, and his analyses are also related to theatrical art in particular. The on-stage juxtaposition and the unhierarchy of theatrical codes, and thereby the synchronicity of their activation and the subsequent fragmentation of the spectators' perception, cannot under any circumstances eliminate the notional cores of theatrical performance and even less can constitute the «aesthetics of the receding meaning», as Hans-Thies Lehmann argues (Lehmann 2002, 139). There is no scenic image that would be deprived of a minimum meaning (Pefanis 2007a). Even the silent, impassive and inert body that falls in a long scenic duration cannot be simply considered in its «physical substance» without any signification, because this «physical substance» is already signified twice: as «physical», namely, without instituted meanings, and as «substance», namely, as a fundamental ontological stratum of meaning.

When Lehmann argues that «postdramatic theatre is presented as a theatre of *self-contained corporeity*» (Lehmann 2002, 150), he suppresses the fact – also stressed by Denis Guénoun – that theatre is not presence, but presentation, and every presentation is engaged with thought (Guénoun 1997, 39). He also suppresses the fact that corporeity would not be understood without a magma of body's imaginary meanings. Castoriadis's typical answer would be «that with regard to the subject there is no image that does not have a minimum meaning and there is no meaning that is not borne by an image» (Castoriadis 1997, 118). It would not be difficult for us to imagine what his answer would mean for the unexpected completion of the above-mentioned position, namely, that this self-referred, self-focused and self-contained corporeity in postdramatic theatre «is charged with a new signification, (...) a signification that covers the ensemble of the social existence», and with a mystagogy «of a theatre of pure presence, that escapes from the production of meaning» (Lehmann 2002, 152). A body without meanings, without references, an image without content can cover the ensemble of social existence semantically. But what can «social existence» mean outside the socio-historical context, what can «pure presence» mean outside the world of significations that emerges in particular social situations and historical coincidences?¹ On the one hand, «the ensemble of social existence» is inconceivable without a uniform world of significations. Castoriadis clearly says that

¹ See the criticism on this argument in Pefanis (2007b, 288-292).

«what holds a society together is the holding-together of its world of significations» (Castoriadis 1985, 499). On the other hand, inasmuch as the signification is «that by means of which and on basis of which individuals are formed as social individuals» (Castoriadis 1985, 507), what can a «pure presence» represent without significations? What less can it be than a metaphysical construction that aims at the cancellation of the supposed metaphysical constructions of dramatic theatre and in particular of their meaning? Without the minimum meaning we run the risk of taking the random as an absolute truth of the theatrical relation. Yet, «a random ensemble still represents (...) a formidable organization», therefore, a dense stratum of meanings. «If this were the case, it would not lend itself to any organization or it would lend itself to all; in both cases, all coherent discourse and all action» would be impossible (Castoriadis 1985, 477).

The spectator, which constitutes one of the *sine qua non* conditions of the theatrical relation, is rightly considered today as co-creator or re-creator, as Castoriadis would argue (Castoriadis 1993, 70-71, 2000: 85), of a performance, an interpretation or in general of a theatrical event. And this re-creation is interwoven with representations that are formed in the conscience of the spectators during the theatrical representation (Rancière 2008, 19).

Nevertheless, these representations are also located on stage, in the thoughts and experiences of actors, who either embody roles or simply perform some actions; they always start from some images that inhabit their thoughts or feelings. Therefore, the theatrical relation evolves as a perpetual game of images and meanings, on-stage as well as off-stage, by actors and spectators, a mutual game of image-making meanings and signifying images, wherein it would be absolutely absurd to isolate any definitive meaning or image. As «there is no thought without representations» (Castoriadis 1985, 461), there is no representation without thought. The absolutely «physical» or «corporal», or «iconical», or «pure» theatre is nothing but a strong abstraction, which, in case we take it to the letter, would lead us to a paralogism just as an absolutely «intellectual» theatre. It is impossible to discern the representations of a thought from the thought itself, as it is impossible to discern quite well the representations of the actors and the spectators from the theatrical relation that connects them and which is born inside and thanks to each individual theatrical performance. That is why an authentic performance, as well as the representation of thought (*Vorstellung*), «is not re-presentation (*Vertretung*), it is not there for something else or in

place of something else» (Castoriadis 1985, 462), but is an autonomous propelling of that other, a creative action of conscience that is projected into the future selfsame, and is born inside and by that other: the past, tradition, «reality».

In other words, the performance is not *produced* by something that precedes it, like the consequence from its cause. As many theoretical approaches, which mainly originate from Antonin Artaud, point out, the theatrical performance is not a representation of reality (Sarrazac 2000, 63); it is not a reproduction of a former object. On the contrary, thanks to its transforming and transfiguring power, which is expressed amongst actors and spectators, it can itself produce new individual experiences and new collective situations.² Within this framework and as much as possible, a reduction of the referential/mimetic function in favor of the performative function is sought,³ as well as the creation of an «energetic» theatre, according to Jean-François Lyotard, that will produce discontinuous events, through which the conformity of the scenic arts would be substituted by the independence and synchrony of sounds, words, corporal forms and images in such a way that insinuations or express references are not evoked, but only unintentional tensions (Lyotard 1994, 97-98) or non-representable ideas (Lyotard 1988, 21).

However, according to Castoriadis, all that cannot happen in default of language and significations it bears. To a prospective argument supporting the view that the past dramatic language has exhausted its expressive limits and that – as Lehmann would set it forth – it describes a past image of personal and social conflicts (Lehmann 2002, 287), Castoriadis would object, on the one hand, that «the idea of the possibility of a complete analysis of linguistic expressions is equivalent to positing that absolute knowledge exists» (Castoriadis 1985, 491), and, on the other hand, that personal and social conflicts are based at first on social significations and, therefore, on the language by means of which they are articulated. Since the expressiveness of language is not finite, it is entailed that significations that are formed by means of this language do not have an end and, accordingly, the significations of the dramatic language should be irreducible and should not be de facto engaged in past images. The fact that this happens quite often does not mean that in general the performances that are based on the

² On this point see Erika Fischer-Lichte (2008).

³ In the concept of Jean Alter (1990).

dramatic language are saturated with the past and are dysfunctional or that the postmodern societies could not and should not wish to allow a complex and profound representation of their conflicts (Lehmann 2002, 287). Dramatic conflicts, dialogues, representations of fictional characters, all these characteristics of dramatic theatre are interwoven with philosophical thought itself and the images and meanings that it produces; therefore, they do not simply double something that already exists in the imagination of a writer, nor do they establish a hierarchical relation having this writer as the foremost, but they constitute fields of quest and research, wondering, contestation and self-contestation, transformation of mental objects to socio-historical objects,⁴ namely, fields of creation.

Lehmann's postdramatic model⁵ that describes a strong tendency of the contemporary theatre can become accepted as a source of remarks, arguments and ideas, but not as a uniform theory that categorizes in topics some paradigm change and confirms a segment of historical and aesthetical order that supposedly introduces us to the post-drama era. Moreover, this segment has been contested over the past few years from many sides,⁶ not only because it reduces the symbolic field, and thereby also the critical impact on theatre spectators, and paves the path to extreme forms of individuality (Roques-Vigarelo 2008) but also because it presents important gaps in its rational structure, if it is taken to the letter. The theory of postdramatic turn leads to a flagrant error of circular argument: it presupposes that what it ought to prove, namely, the retreat or even withdrawal of dramatic speech, something that is not consistent with the empirical facts of special festivals or meetings, of continuous appearance of new playwrights, of satisfactory presentations of their plays on stages and the relevant publishing activity in many European countries (Ryngaert 2002, 7-8, Wallon 2006, 939-943).

It seems that the problem should be approached in a different way: we constantly talk about revolutions in art, perhaps because we do not talk anymore about revolutions in our social life; and we love paradigm changes in science or art, perhaps because a deep «paradigm change», having an essential impact on our social lives and our daily routine, does not occur.

⁴ About this process of transformation see Castoriadis (1985, 440).

⁵ For a detailed criticism of this model see. Pefanis (2007b, 247-317).

⁶ See, for example, Ryngaert (2002, 7-10), Biet-Triau (2006, 926-928), Sarrazac (2007, 7-18), Triffaux (2008, 193-210).

Rhizomes and magmas

Gilles Deleuze's thought moves in the same direction – that of non-representation – when he, writing on the «theatre of recurrence», refers to a pure power, to a language that speaks before the words, to gestures before the organized bodies, to masks before the faces and to visions and phantoms before the dramatic characters (Deleuze 1989, 19). Castoriadis's thought could possibly meet with Deleuze's thought if the theory on creation of the former was combined with the theory of the latter and that of Félix Guattari about rhizomes (Deleuze-Guattari 1980) and becoming as an infinite flow through deterritorialised fields (Deleuze-Guattari 1981). The meaning of rhizomes refers to a concept of a world with conditions of correlations and heterogeneity, during which the systems of individual entities or nodes are abandoned, instead seeking non-hierarchical relations of multiple narratives without origin or central root to serve as the source of these relations, with free flows of desires, meanings and forms in an eccentric, non-uniform becoming. This anti-essentialist view, which is contrary to every kind of determinism and has an important impact on the theory and practice of postmodern performances,⁷ could be associated, in some respects, with Castoriadis's theory about the creation of significations, radical imagination and magmatic flow – although only on condition that the differences between these views are discerned and kept, in particular as far as it concerns the sedimentary origins of the Castoriadean becoming, the presence of the necessary conditions for the creation of imaginary magmas and, of course, the significance that is attributed to the process of instituting significations. As it is obvious, the forces of the centre, the past institution and the present orderliness that for Deleuze-Guattari are fully disengaged from the free flows of desires and forms, for Castoriadis would simply lead to multiple forms of subjective empiricism or even skepticism.

That becomes clear on the level of theatrical stage. The rhizomatic thought finds an open field of application in the postmodern performances, of a Carmelo Bene, for example, or a François Tanguy (the Théâtre du Radeau of the latter, from the 90s, that could be considered as a Deleuzian stage), where radical and subversive scenic figures, tensions and procedures at the expense of productions,

⁷ See suggestively Fortier (1996), Bottoms (1998), Ashline (2002), Fenske (2006).

integrated morphemes and extreme detachment of actions from texts or actors from fictional characters are enforced.⁸

In contrast to that, the magmatic thought – although it would consider performance as potential creation of new significations and figures, which cannot be explained by earlier historical and social causes – would not isolate the performance from the historical and social context under any circumstances. According to Castoriadis, performance, since it is authentic, is creation of imaginary significations and figures, but these have no meaning without the social imaginary from the «legein» and «teuchein» [speaking and action] of a given society. On the one hand, performance is not reducible to anterior parameters; on the other hand, it also does not constitute a random event, an orphan action. Thought is involved in every creation, and in every thought there is involved an incontestable but improvable affirmation of the world, within which thought and creation originate, including the creative thought and the thought of creation.

We are capable of thinking only by positing together these indubitable and undemonstrable statements: there is a world, there is psyche, there is a society, there is signification. And this path is the path of philosophy and of the only true science, thoughtful science (Castoriadis 1985, 473).

From this point of view, disguise and representation, as two essential features of dramatic or literary theatre, do not constitute simple repetitions of an anterior text, but quests and creations of another ontological order within the frame of socio-historical and corporal-mental conditions, as the subject is not simply doubled, but elucidates him- or herself through the other, in whom the subject is transformed and whom he or she represents, by changing in the present and recreating for the future its meaningful images. In this view, «there is no final meaning or final interpretation in theatrical production» (Constantinidis 1993, 293), and, hence, Castoriadis stands closer to Alain Badiou, who argues that «every dramatic text is latent to itself. It resides in the incompleteness of its meaning. It is resuscitated and accomplished in every representation» (Badiou 1990, 69).

⁸ Little surprise, then, that Deleuze has chosen Carmelo Bene's art in order to write his most «theatrical» text: «Un manifeste de moins». See Bene-Deleuze (1979: 85-131).

Returning to social projects

Cultural creation is interwoven with significations and is inalienable both from historical time and social transformation and from the ability of society to contest and be self-contested. Autonomous societies call into question their own institution, their own central imaginary significations and representations that they constitute for the world and life, as Sophocles's *Antigone* shows us in an excellent way (Castoriadis 1993, 11-32; 2008, 212-220). What does «to call into question» mean? What else than that – through these institutions, significations and representations – they create the other, a theatrical scene, where they can treat the otherness, that phantasm of themselves that allows them to imagine themselves as another?

In this point of view, Castoriadis's position on modern art and modern theatre in particular would be considered as rigid or pessimistic by some and critical and discerning by others. He believes that geniuses no longer exist and that they are fabricated by journalists per trimester: «(..) when an era has no great men, it invents them»; he concludes that modern stage direction, a mixture of provincialism and presumptuous arrogance, skillfully copies the great stage directors of the European historic avant-garde, such as Meyerhold, Reinhardt or Piscator; he talks about an over-civilized and artistically neo-illiterate public, which consumes imitations and ersatzes as digestible goods, these derogations of the original modern art «that is already three quarters of a century old» (Castoriadis 2007, 20).

The shrinkage and counterfeiting of creativity could not but keep step with the lack of authentic critique: fabrication of factitious geniuses, invention of «modernist» trends, theoretical alibi for supposed changes of paradigms and revolutionary techniques and styles that have become advertising slogans (Castoriadis 2000, 117), and, above all, promotion of sales and artificial renewal of the consumers' interest. The absence of every personal judgment, the cowardice of disapproval and the lethargy of the living past have become the main professional specialization of critics. «The profession of the modern critic», he points out sarcastically, «is identical to the profession of the stockbroker that Keynes defined so successfully: he guesses what the average common opinion thinks that the average common opinion will think» (Castoriadis 2007, 22).

The decline of modern art cannot be irrelevant to the collapse of theoretical thought, to its confinement in university networks and

financial dependencies. All these elements constitute for Castoriadis a «reverse academicism» (Castoriadis 2007, 30, 37) or an «anti-academicism» that is synonymous with the cult of the void form, of the arid speech, of the insignificant action, of the programmatically death-persuasive declaration of the end, as well as the programmatically melancholic imposition of the «post» – when in both cases the «before», the tradition, the past, the historical deposit have been suppressed or exhausted and cancelled indirectly.

However, theory is not what lays on the ensemble of scenic creation and the theatrical relation in general in a deferred time, but it is inherent in this relation because it constitutes an organic part of the human universe that we call «praxis». Theory as such is a «prattein» (to do), a particular and uncertain «prattein», interwoven with the project of the world's elucidation (Castoriadis 1985, 112, Pefanis 2007b, 28). Without this project, theory, in the best case, is reduced to absurdities of a fruitless eruditeness, while in the worst case, it is transformed to a defender of the artistic retailing, offering a coat of importance to the commercialization of art that the modern liberal oligarchies attempt even more consistently. Castoriadis's thought urges us to return to that project and, through the theatrical relation, try to create new projects.

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TEĀTRIS UN SOCIĀLĀ IZTĒLE: KORNĒLIJA KASTORJAŽA KONCEPCIJA PAR SOCIĀLI IMAGINĀRO IZRĀDES TEORIJU KONTEKSTĀ

Teātra studiju kontekstā grieķu filozofisko domu visplašāk pārstāv antīkie domātāji Platons un Aristotelis. Pievēršoties mūsdienu domai, pētījums, kas skar Kornēlija Kastorjaža idejas par «sociāli imagināro» un par mākslas funkciju, varētu būt auglīgs, koncentrējoties uz teātra izrādes radošo raksturu. Šis raksts mēģina veidot dialogu starp Kastorjadi, Lēmanu (Lehmann) un Žilu Delēzu & Fēlikšu Gvatari par nozīmju struktūru un to konstruktīvo raksturu teātrī (teksts un izpildījums) – sfērā, kur «nav tēla bez vismaz minimālas nozīmes un nav nozīmes, kuru neveido tēls» – arī par sociāli imagināro postmodernajā vai tā dēvētajā postdramatiskajā teātrī.

Pēc Kornēlija Kastorjaža domām patiesa māksla sakņojas sociāli imaginārās nozīmēs; to nosaka sabiedrības vēsture un atklāj milzīgo dziļumu, kas paveras mūsos un pasaulē. Māksla un īpaši teātris atgādina mums, ka, būdami pāejošu rūpju vai nesvarīgas darbošanās gūstā, lielāko dzīves daļu pavadām lietu virspusē un ka aiz trauklās šķietamības, arī mūsos, mūsu ķermeņos vīd bezdibenis, ko mēs parasti aizmirstam. Tādējādi teātris ir sprauga «pa kuru mēs lūkojamies bezdibenī, tas ir bezdibeņa demonstrējums».

Lai gan Kastorjadis parasti raksta par mākslu vispār, viņa analīze attiecas arī uz teātra mākslu. Viņš iebilst Lēmana postdramatiskā teātra teorijai sakot, ka nav skatuviska tēla, kam nebūtu vismaz minimāla nozīme. Pat klusējošs, bezkaislīgs un inerts ķermenis skatuviski ilgā kritienā kā «fiziska substance» nav bez nozīmes, jo šī «fiziskā substance» jau ir divkārt apzīmēta: kā «fiziska», tāpat bez piešķirtas nozīmes, un kā «substance», tāpat kā fundamentāls ontoloģisks nozīmes slānis. Kad Lēmans argumentē, ka «postdramatiskais teātris parādās kā *atsevišķas* materialitātes teātris», viņš ne tikai noklusē faktu – ko uzsver arī Denī Genons –, ka teātris nav klātbūtne, bet gan sniegums, un ikviens sniegums saistās ar domu, ka nav arī stingri noteiktas saiknes starp katru skatuvisku ķermeni un ķermenim piešķirtajām nozīmēm, bet arī neapstrīdamo faktu, ka materialitāte nav uztverama bez ķermeņa imagināro nozīmju magmas. Tipiska Kastorjaža atbilde būtu, ka «attiecībā uz subjektu nav tēla bez vismaz minimālas nozīmes un nav nozīmes, kuru neveido tēls». Lēmana postdramatiskais modelis, kas apraksta spēcīgu mūsdienu teātra tendenci, var tikt pieņemts kā papildu piezīmes, argumenti un idejas, taču ne kā vienota teorija, kas tematiski klasificē kādu paradigmas maiņu un apstiprina vēsturiskas un estētiskas kārtības sektoru, kas it kā ievēd mūs postdrāmas laikmetā.

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MEDEA IN GEORGIAN POETRY

Brief Summary

The myth of Argonauts is reflected in literature of different nations, and it is not surprising that Georgian writers have also paid special attention to this mythological plot and its heroes. Medea, the daughter of Aietes, the King of Colchis, attracts the attention of Georgian artists and inspires their work. The image of Medea holds a prominent place in the works of Georgian poets of the XX century. Notably, Georgian poets do not acknowledge the crimes committed by Medea, creating an impression of justifying her behaviour. The poets show sympathy and support for Medea in their work.

Key words: Medea, Jason, Georgian poetry, behaviour, betrayal.

Ancient culture had a strong positive influence on Georgian culture and its literature. It is interesting to see how many mythological plots, motives and heroes have inspired Georgian writers. The myth of Argonauts is reflected in literature of different nations, and it is not surprising that Georgian writers have also paid special attention to this mythological plot and its heroes. The story of the Golden Fleece seekers has conquered a special place in the ancient art and literature. The first mention of Argonauts and Colchis is found in the oldest works of Greek literature: Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Apollonius Rhodius (III BC) in his poem «Argonautica» makes more detailed mention of the myth of the Golden Fleece.¹ In spite of some scientists' scepticism, archaeological findings provide proof that the places mentioned in Homer's works and in Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* are linked to Colchis, present-day West Georgia. That is why Medea, the daughter of Aietes, the King of Colchis, attracts the attention of Georgian artists and inspires their work.

At the end of the XIX century and throughout the XX century, the Myth of Argonauts and its heroine – Medea – became very

¹ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Translation and commentary of A. Urushadze, Tbilisi 1970.

popular in Georgian literature. Euripides's tragedy *Medea*² and Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* have inspired many Georgian works of literature. Georgian writers offered a new interpretation of these ancient Greek stories. Regardless of the period or literary movement, each of the Georgian writers who have interpreted these stories tried to justify Medea's behaviour and to rehabilitate her.

My presentation is about a woman of Georgian origin, who returned to Georgian literature through Greek mythology. Greek authors managed to create Medea's image as one of the most popular images in the world. The famous Georgian writer Akaki Tsereteli was the first to show interest in Argonauts and to try to justify Medea's behaviour. Based on the Myth of Argonauts, he wrote the poem *Medea*, thus igniting deeper interest towards Medea in Georgian literature.

In the XX century, this myth was most popular among Georgian symbolists. The famous Georgian symbolist T. Tabidze wrote four poems under the influence of this myth: *Medea's song*³, *Medea*⁴, *Pontus Euxinus*⁵, *Colchis await for the new Orpheus*⁶.

The poem *Medea's song* was created in 1910. Although the name Medea is used only in the title of the poem and is not mentioned in the body, it is still evident from spirit of the lyrics and the names of mythological heroes that this Colchian woman inspired the poet. It is interesting to mention that the author identifies himself with the heroine Medea. She is uttering a monolog which reflects the lonely spirit of the artist and at the same time her spiritual condition. The poem *Medea's Song* portrays desperate, hopeless and lonely Medea who seeks salvation in death.

Another poem *Medea* (1911) by T. Tabidze can be split into two parts. In the first part, Medea is in a foreign country dreaming about the happy old days spent in her home country. In the second part of the poem, the poet encourages us to cry for the lonely woman, who is living among «others» and whose life is like death, and who will always be followed by condemnation of her motherland.

Sandro Shanshiashvili is another XX century Georgian author who wrote four poems based on the Myth of Argonauts: *Medea and the*

² Euripides, *Medea*, Translation of B. Bregvadze, Logos 1999.

³ Tabidze T., Poems, Tbilisi 1996, 42.

⁴ Ibid, 55.

⁵ Ibid, 129.

⁶ Ibid, 203.

Beautiful Elene (1911),⁷ *Jason and Reno* (1911),⁸ *Golden Fleece* (1911)⁹ and *Medea* (1911).¹⁰ Of these four poems I will review two: *Golden Fleece* and *Medea*. The poem *Golden Fleece* is based on *Argonautica* by Apollonius Rhodius. Some small differences are apparent between the poems, the main difference being that in the Georgian version Jason obtained the Golden Fleece without any fight or problem. Aietes welcomed Jason and his crew with great respect and hospitality. Even after the king learned the true purpose of their visit, he did not become hostile. By this, the poet wanted to highlight that hospitality, even towards enemies, is a unique feature of the Georgian character. In contrast to *Argonautica*, with Medea's help Jason obtained the Golden Fleece without any fighting and left Colchis together with Medea. In this poem, Medea is portrayed as a very attractive, proud and patriotic (until she falls in love with Jason) woman, who is deeply in love, a woman who, because of her love for Jason, forgets her country, her parents and her pride.

Another poem by S. Shanshiashvili, *Medea*, is an interpretation of Euripides's *Medea*. The story line of the Georgian poem follows that of the ancient tragedy. The story develops in Corinth, where Jason is unfaithful to Medea and is planning to marry Creusa. In order to highlight Medea's lonely, unbearable existence in a foreign country, the author changes a few passages of the original story. The children of Medea and Jason are depicted in a different light. They abandon their mother and want to stay in Corinth with their father and step mother.¹¹ Medea's suffering is worsened by the bad news about the misfortunes that occurred in her homeland since she left. Medea knows that she is to blame for these tragedies.¹² The poet accentuates Medea's misery by witnessing the conversation between Jason and Creusa, where the lovers are expressing their feelings to each other and are discussing how to get rid of Medea. Despite Jason's betrayal, Medea still loves him, yet receives brutality from her husband in response. Abandoned by her husband and children, lost in a foreign country, Medea decides

⁷ Shanshiashvili S., *Works in one volume*, Tbilisi 1976, 422-441.

⁸ *Ibid*, 442-457.

⁹ *Ibid*, 458-492..

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 493-525.

¹¹ Shanshiashvili S., *Work in one volume*, Tbilisi 1976, 521.

¹² *Ibid*, 507-508.

to get her revenge on Jason for his betrayal. First she kills Creusa and afterwards both of her children.¹³

*The Sea and Medea*¹⁴ is the title of a poem written by G. Leonidze in 1961. The title clearly indicates that the poem is about Medea. While the poet is waiting for Medea to return from the sea, suddenly he notices Jason on the deck of a ship. The poet wants to kill the Greek hero. Even though he acknowledges the crimes committed by Medea, he still wants to get close to her and refers to her as a goddess of love.

The theme of Argonauts and Medea is part of the set of poems *Flowers of Hellada*¹⁵ by I. Noneshvili, written in the 70s of the XX century. The story of the poem *Medea* evolves in Argo, close to Corinth, where the author suddenly hears the Colchis lullaby. The author refers to Medea as the most beautiful woman in Colchis and to his suffering sister. The poet blames Jason for taking the Golden Fleece and Medea from Colchis. He also blames Jason for making Medea fall in love with him and then betraying her. The author blames Greece for not welcoming the foreign woman and being cruel to her.

As I mentioned, I have reviewed the work of the Georgian authors who reflected on the Argonauts and Medea. From the 70s of the XX century, Georgian writers' interest towards this subject started to diminish, which probably can be explained by social and political events that took place in the country. The poems that I reviewed in my presentation depict a Medea who is very similar to the heroine of Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius. However, their distinctive feature is that each author manages to create a feeling of sorrow and sympathy towards her. Some authors even manage to justify her actions. The poets try to stress the negative aspects of Jason's character and, by this, justify Medea's behaviour. The Georgian poets highlight that Jason's betrayal was not limited to a husband's infidelity, but rather was the betrayal of a person who, for the sake of her love, left her country and parents and made Jason the sole purpose of her lonely life in a foreign country, and, as a response, received betrayal and neglect.

¹³ Shanshiashvili S., *Work in one volume*, Tbilisi 1976, 524.

¹⁴ Leonidze G., *Poems*, Merani 1980, 353-354.

¹⁵ Noneshvili I., *Poems vol. II*, 393.

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MĒDEJA GRUZĪNU DZEJĀ

Antīkajai kultūrai bija spēcīgs pozitīvs iespaids uz gruzīnu kultūru un literatūru. Interesanti atzīmēt, ka mitoloģiski sižeti, motīvi un varoņi iedvesmojuši gruzīnu rakstniekus. Mīts par argonautiem atspoguļots daudzu tautu literatūrā, un nav jābrīnās, ka arī gruzīnu autori pievērsuši īpašu uzmanību šim mitoloģiskajam sižetam un tā varoņiem. Argonautu tēma antīkajā mākslā bija ļoti iecienīta. Stāsts par zelta aunādas meklētājiem ieņēma īpašu vietu antīkajā mākslā un literatūrā. Pirmo reizi argonauti un Kolhida minēti Homēra *Iliādā* un *Odisejā*. Detalizētāk mīts par zelta aunādu aprakstīts Rodas Apolonija (3. gs. p.m.ē.) poēmā *Argonautika*. Neskatoties uz dažu zinātnieku skeptisko vērtējumu, arheoloģiskie atradumi sniedz pierādījumu, ka vietas, kas minētas Homēra darbos un Rodas Apolonija poēmā, saistāmas ar Kolhidu, mūsdienu Rietumgruziju. Šī iemesla dēļ Mēdeja, Kolhidas valdnieka Aiēta meita, izraisa gruzīnu mākslinieku interesi un dod iedvesmu viņu darbiem. Mēdejas tēls ieņem ievērojamu vietu 20. gs. gruzīnu dzejnieku darbos: gruzīnu simbolistu G. Tabidzes, S. Šanšiašvili, arī I. Nonešvili, G. Leonidzes dzejā. Jāmin fakts, ka gruzīnu dzejnieki neatzīst Mēdejas noziegumus, mēģinot it kā attaisnot viņas rīcību. Dzejnieki savos darbos arī jūt līdzīgu Mēdejai un atbalsta to.

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Baznīcas iela 5, Rīga, LV-1010
Tālrunis: 67034535
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