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The current issue is the second of the ninth volume of the *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)*, published by the published by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER

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- Submission of Paper: **6 June 2022**

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The Intertextual Relationship between Federico García Lorca and Modern Croatian Poetry

By Sanja Knežević*

The paper will analyze the intertextual and quotation relationship between the cult Spanish poet, Federico García Lorca, and poets Jure Kaštelan, Drago Ivanišević and Vesna Parun, who marked the beginning of a completely new path of Croatian poetry in the second half of the 20th century. Their poetic opuses introduced a specific Lorcan poetics of surrealism into Croatian poetry, merging it with the Croatian tradition of Mediterraneanism (thematization of Mediterranean landscape images and symbols). At the stylistic level, the impact on versification (rhythm), colored language, metaphoricity, and pictoriality will be analyzed.

Keywords: modern Croatian poetry, Federico García Lorca, Drago Ivanišević, Jure Kaštelan, Vesna Parun

Introduction

As a poet, playwright and painter, Federico García Lorca (1898–1936) undoubtedly had an influence on the development of 20th century European literature. The genius of his art, but also his tragic death at the very beginning of the Spanish Civil War, meant that Lorca would, on the one hand, posthumously forever embody the legend of the murdered poet, but on the other, his poetic and dramatic work remains an unending inspiration and a source of intertextual ties in national literatures of Europe and the Middle East to this day.¹ A particular influence was cast by García Lorca on those poets whom were simultaneously open to avant-garde ideas of surrealism and hermeticism, as well as the central social idea of human freedom and a dignified life for each individual. In the sociohistorical circumstances of Spain and Europe in the 1930s, Lorca's antifascist orientation is completely apparent.² It is a well-known fact that Garcia Lorca strongly stood for the people on the fringe of society—that can best be attested by his statements to Madrid newspapers on the year he died, letters to friends, but above all his dramas and poetry. In this context it is worthwhile to remember his poetry books, *Gypsy Ballads/Romancero Gitano* or *Poet in New York/Poeta en Nueva York*. On this occasion we see his statement to Edgar Neville before leaving Madrid, which perfectly shows his free spirit and deep human empathy: "I'm going, because here they keep mixing me up with politics, which I don't understand, nor do I want to know anything... I am everybody's friend, and all I want is for everybody to be able to eat and work" (Hardison Londré 1984, p. 36). Lorca, however, became a

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¹Cf. e.g., the papers of Huri (n.d.) and Reddick (2013).

²Cf. "In 1936 Lorca was dragged through the streets of Granada to face the Fascist firing squad. The reasons were not obvious. He was not active in Leftist circles; but he was a power – he was a man of the people. His books were burned" (Williams 1939, p. 148).

martyr and an icon in the Spanish Civil War after being murdered in Granada, a fact also proven by the printing and distribution of his *Gypsy Ballads* among the republicans on the front. Through one such edition of *Gypsy Ballads* from the front, Lorca also came into Croatian literature. Therefore, this paper will analyse the intertextual links between the poetry of F. G. Lorca and Croatian second-wave modernist³ poets Drago Ivanišević, Jure Kaštelan and Vesna Parun. Before analysing the intertextual relations themselves using choice poems, we will look into translations of Lorca's poetry in Croatia, which will at the same time give an image of his presence in Croatian culture and literature.

Federico García Lorca in Croatian Literature

Croatian poet and playwright Drago Ivanišević (1907–1981), whose poetry we will compare with García Lorca in this paper, is also the first translator of Lorca's poetry in Croatia. A copy of *Gypsy Ballads* from the front was brought to him by August Cesarec, a Croatian poet who joined the republicans in the Spanish Civil War as part of the Communist Party. Cesarec was stationed in Spain in 1937, and he received the aforementioned book in Madrid. After returning from the front, Cesarec gave the book to Ivanišević in Paris. During the 1930's, Drago Ivanišević lived in Paris where he dedicated himself to painting and to his studies, but also connected with French surrealists. In those years he had ties with the Communist Party, and from 1937 he actively participated in relief missions for the Spanish Civil War. Mirko Žeželj, author of Ivanišević's biography, *Prisoner of Freedom/Zatočenik slobode* where he writes about that episode in his life:

Drago 'caught' Spanish language and culture already in Paris in 1928/1929 with Cervantes and Ramón Gómez de la Serna. He started reading in Spanish intensely before the Spanish revolution, and read Lorca during it. The *Gypsy Ballads* were brought to him by Cesarec from Spain⁴, so he started translating it bit by bit (Žeželj 1982, p. 113).

The first translations were published periodically, however, the whole book of Lorca's translations authored by Drago Ivanišević was published in 1950 and titled *A Book of Poems/Knjiga pjesama*.⁵ Ivanišević continued on translating Lorca, and in 1979 he published a book with a selection of Lorca's poetry and drama, named *Federico García Lorca – A selection/Federico García Lorca – Izbor*.⁶ After Ivanišević, other postwar poets took on the translation of Lorca's poetic opus. Along with Drago Ivanišević, we can single out the poet Jure Kaštelan, whose poetry will likewise be comparatively considered against Lorca's in this paper. Kaštelan's translations have, apart from periodically having been published in a collection of Lorca's poetry *Died from love/Umro od ljubavi*, was released in

³In Croatian literature, second wave modernist poets are that generation of poets that affirmed themselves with books of poetry after the Second World War. Second wave modernism as a stylistic formation in Croatian literature takes up the period between 1952 and 1971.

⁴More about it in Cesarec (1961).

⁵Zora Publishing, Zagreb.

⁶Mladost Publishing, Zagreb.

1971. Apart from Kaštelan and Ivanišević, the same of Lorca's poems have been translated by Nikola Miličević and Zvonimir Golob, both members of the new neo-modern movement in Croatian poetry. Golob had already translated *Poet in New York*,⁷ back in 1956. Nikola Miličević, however, was translating other Spanish authors besides Lorca, and one of his better received translations was *Gypsy Ballads*⁸ published in 1970. Among the more prominent later translators of F. G. Lorca's work is Jordan Jelić, an exceptional translator and passionate connoisseur of hispanic literature and culture. Among his translations, one that particularly stands out is *Luna and Death/Luna i smrt*,⁹ a selection of Lorca's poetry commemorating the 100th birthday of the great poet. In recent times, Lorca's poetry has been translated by Andreja Jakuš, most notably being the translation of a selection of Lorca's writing titled *Gypsy Ballads*¹⁰ published in 2014. The overview of Lorca's Croatian translations tells us that the Croatian culture's interest for the poetry of the legendary Spanish poet still lasts. It also shows us that the interest was especially pronounced in the period of the 1950's through to the 1970's, in other words during the Croatian second wave modernist era.

The Intertextual Ties of F. G. Lorca and Three Croatian Poets (Ivanišević, Kaštelan, Parun)

Lorca's very early recognition among Croatian poets has multiple reasons. The most important one being the opening of Croatian poetry towards a complete artistic creative freedom, which considering the complex socio-historical circumstances, had a far-reaching meaning for its further development.

As we stated, in this presentation we will be looking at intertextual links between the poetry of F. G. Lorca and the Croatian poets that, following his footsteps subtly, introduced surrealist and hermeticist poetry into Croatian literature, and also the very specific poetic relationship towards thematizing landscape, childhood and war. For this occasion, we will look at the intertextual links using the poetry of Drago Ivanišević, Jure Kaštelan and Vesna Parun. All three of these poets very bravely paved the way for new movements in Croatian literature after the Second World War. In that context, Cvjetko Milanja, a Croatian literature historian, will call them precursors to new neo-modern currents and will say about them as a group:

The poetic personalities without which it is impossible to start a conversation about Croatian poetry of the second half of the twentieth century, amalgamate the then-European experience, and even more, start newer poetic practices which will have far-reaching consequences (...). It is therefore interesting that almost all were proscribed, not as civil personalities, but precisely because of their poetics and idea of poetry (Milanja 2000, p. 19).

⁷Epoha Publishing, Zagreb.

⁸Student Center of the University of Zagreb Publishing, Zagreb.

⁹Demetra Publishing, Zagreb, 1998.

¹⁰Demetra Publishing, Zagreb.

These three Croatian poets – Drago Ivanišević, Jure Kaštelan and Vesna Parun – were not chosen by way of direct intertextual links, because we will find such links in later poets that opened their poetics to hermeticism and surrealism, but also a deep awareness of the music of the poetic language. Therefore, the three we chose for a comparative analysis, apart from poetologically inheriting Lorca in a limited sense (on a level of poetic text), are close to him in the comprehension of art in the wider sense as well. On a literary field, they wrote dramas as well, like Lorca – the most successful one at that was Drago Ivanišević, while Jure Kaštelan and Vesna Parun left their mark on Croatian theatology with their lyrical theatre. However, their dramas were less accepted by the audience due to their lyricism and symbolism of dramatic language. Ivanišević, like Lorca, was leading acting troupes, which came to the forefront during the Second World War. Like Lorca, they were fine artists as well. The closest one to Lorca's painting was Drago Ivanišević with his surrealist drawings. As Lorca's "first love" was music, and after that literature and painting, Ivanišević's "first love" was painting, so he had a painting atelier in Paris during his lifetime. The one who especially stood out in regards to painting was Vesna Parun, with her fauvist richly colored paintings. They too could be found in the thoughts of Felicia Hardison Londré, who will conclude when writing about Lorca's richness of artistic expression: "He ascribed his lyrical gift to that practice of seeing and hearing the simple authentic detail in everything" (Hardison Londré 1984, p. 2). We will analyze the intertextual links in the examples of poems of Croatian poets Jure Kaštelan, Drago Ivanišević and Vesna Parun. In their poems we observe a direct intertextual relationship with Lorca's poetry, specifically themes, motifs and the versification.

Drago Ivanišević (1907–1981)

As already mentioned, Drago Ivanišević is the first figure in Croatian literature to publish translations of Lorca's poetry. Ivanišević implements fundamental surrealist ideas in his poetry, however, he gives up automatic writing in favour of unity of poetic structure.¹¹ A particularity that links him to Lorca is a refined musicality of the free, very often elliptical, linguistic expression. A similarity to Lorca is recognizable on a thematic and motivic level of the poems – from those inspired by the Mediterranean landscape (e.g., the sea, olives, oranges¹²), to poems in which he speaks as an urban, cosmopolitan poet worried by human existential misery (e.g., the poems "Venice 1936/Venecija 1936" or "Utiverkoop van Amsterdam [The sale of Amsterdam]" from the collection *Diary/Dnevnik* [1957]). It is in these poems that an intertextual connection with Lorca's collection *Poet in*

¹¹Cf. "...it seems that all critics today agree with the claim that poems written around 1930 are especially meaningful to Croatian literature, because in them came to a resolute expression a groundbreaking, truly modern and - as a part of the Croatian second wave modernist poetry – a completely new, avant-garde poetics(...) There we usually consider two dominant determinants of Ivanišević's modernity – surrealism and hermeticism" (Pavletić 1983, pp. 39–40).

¹²e.g., Ivanišević's poems "But you are in rain in wind in leaf/Alī ti si u kiši, u vjetru, u lišću", "Olive/Masline" [A poem written in the Chakavian dialect], "I speak of the sea as of myself/O moru govorim kao o sebi", and others.

*New York*¹³ can be found. The likeness between Ivanišević and Lorca can also be perceived in how they relate to tradition, that is, organic folk art. In fact, Ivanišević started writing early in the Chakavian dialect, the vernacular of the Dalmatian region (collection *The love/Jubav* from 1960). Ivanišević's Chakavian lyricism could therefore be compared to Lorca's collection *Poem of the Deep Song/Poema del cante jondo* in which he sublimates the novum of his own lyricism with traditional Andalusian descants.

As an example of the intertextual link, we present Ivanišević's poem "Guitar/Gitara" from the 1957 collection *Diary*, which we will compare to Lorca's poem of the same name from the collection *Poem of the Deep Song*. Let us look at the poem "Guitar" by Drago Ivanišević:

GUITAR

Water water water
hands and algae
water

lips and dreams
in the pupils' glass
water

by hands and algae
water sharpens teeth
teeth teeth teeth

GITARA

Voda voda voda
ruke i alge
voda

usne i sni
u staklu zjena
voda

rukama i algama
voda oštri zube
zube zube zube

(Ivanišević 2002, p. 97)

¹³"*Poet in New York*, Lorca's most hermetic group of poems, suggests that Lorca was either intentionally subconsciously obscuring his newly unfettered subjectivity of content by the unconventionality of the forms in which he couched his preoccupations" (Hardison Londré 1984, pp. 127–128).

In Lorca's poem we find the verses: "(...) Useless/to silence it./Impossible/to silence it./It weeps monotonously/as water weeps/as the wind weeps/over snowfields./Impossible/to silence it" (Lorca n.d.a).¹⁴

We observe an intertextual link on multiple levels: a) on a motivic level of the guitar that is after all a typical Lorcan motif connected to Andalusian folk music; b) on a level of auditory poetic imagery that compares the sound of the guitar to the sound of water; c) on a versification level – especially with the figure of refrain repeating with Lorca, while Ivanišević strives to produce an imitation of the guitar, repeating the word "teeth (zubi)" thus providing a rhythmic effect akin to the sound of a guitar by alliteration of the "z" sound. The multiple forms of repetition in the poems of both Lorca and Ivanišević enable the poets the achievement of modern expression: liberation from the closed poetic form on the one hand, and on the other, the preservation of the harmonious rhythmicity inherent in traditional (and especially folk) poetic expression. Thereby, we are able to see that both poets utilize, in addition to auditory figures, assonance and alliteration as well as the form of paregmenon. This form assumes the repetition of a word base or the word itself within different morphological forms or syntactic connections. In Ivanišević, it is the word water and teeth, and in Lorca, for example, the verses: "Es inútil/callarla./Es imposible/callarla./Llora monoton/llora el agua,/llora el viento/sobre le nevada" (Lorca 2014, p. 127). We present the verses in the original Spanish in order to better and more clearly illustrate the power of the form of repetition.

In the example of the poem "Guitar," we have seen that Ivanišević builds an intertextual relationship with Lorca. On a level of motif and versification, however, even when Lorca's influence is recognizable, he stays original and dares to take a step further in the language experiment of the lyric poem.

As a second example of the intertextual link between the poetry of Ivanišević and Lorca, we will analyze Ivanišević's poem "Dancer/Plesačica" from his first collection *The ground underfoot/Zemlja pod nogama* (1940) and Lorca's poem "Dance/Baile", also from the collection *Poem of the Deep Song*. It is not irrelevant to mention that this poem was also translated into Croatian by Drago Ivanišević. Let's look at the poem by Ivanišević:

She ensnaked me with the feather of the body
and wagtails in the air
With inspired hand she competes with the hair
with bare foot
(i touch: snow, fire, band of light)
it extinguishes my sight
The tide of passion strangles me in the dark
in the fertile dark of weather vane senses:
fireworks pierce, fountains spurt
and it springs
the intoxicating torrent of sound
It bathes my breath
it is the fire of the mind

¹⁴“(...) Es inútil/callarla./Llora monótona/como llora el agua,/como llora el viento/sobre la nevada./Es imposible/callarla” (Lorca 2014, p. 127).

and shining killer of gravity
(Ivanišević 2002, p. 42)

Like in the previous poem, we recognise the intertextual link with Lorca's "Dance"¹⁵ on the level of motif (hair, snake, dream, passion) which they both elaborate upon further through auditory poetic imagery. Both poets achieve an impression of dance movement through the acoustical dimension of language. Let us compare the verses by Ivanišević – "She ensnaked me with the feather of the body/and wagtails in the air"—with Lorca's verses: "Around her head is entwined/a yellow snake./ And she is dreaming, dancing." The motivic and auditory intertextual connection can be compared in these verses as well: "With inspired hand she competes with the hair/ with bare foot/ (i touch: snow, fire, band of light)" (Ivanišević) and "Carmen is dancing/in the streets of Seville./ Her hair is white/and her pupils sparkle./ Girls, close the curtains!" (Lorca n.d.b). With motifs of hair and its shine, both poets achieve a dynamic image of dance. Ivanišević achieves the dynamics of dance movements through the form of enumeration and consecutive pauses (e.g., "I touch: snow, fire, a strip of light"). However, the enumeration of words that contrast with their semantic field further enhances the dynamism of the expression itself, such as playing high and low musical notes. On the other hand, Lorca achieves the dynamics of flamenco using refrain as a poetic form of repetition. After each stanza—the poem consists of three stanzas—comes a refrain with a very distinct rhythm, which gives the poem itself an extra melodiousness. The refrain is delivered in the imperative, and due to its elevated tone it provokes a pause and thereby amplifies the effect of the dynamics within the poem as a whole. For a better perception of the term, we quote Lorca's verses in the original: "¡Niñas,/corred las cortinas!" (Lorca 2014, p. 227).

¹⁵“La Carmen está bailando
por las calles de Sevilla.
Tiene blancos los cabellos
y brillantes las pupilas.

¡Niñas,
corred las cortinas!

En su cabeza se enrosca
una serpiente amarilla,
y va soñando en el baile
con galanes de otros días.

¡Niñas,
corred las cortinas!

Las calles están desiertas
y en los fondos se adivinan,
corazones andaluces
buscando viejas espinas.

¡Niñas,
corred las cortinas!”
(Lorca, 2014: 227)

Both poets use contrast to get the effect of singling out the dancer like a light in the night; Lorca will indirectly evoke nighttime with the refrain “Girls, close the curtains!”, while Ivanišević will do so directly with the verse, “The tide of passion strangles me in the dark.” Viewed in their entirety, both can be characterized as hermeticist. Lorca achieves the hermeticism with the aforementioned refrain, which opens the poem up to additional ways of interpretation, especially by alluding to the Andalusian flamenco full of passion and forceful dance movements. Ivanišević evokes the hermeticism by the ellipticity of verses and by listing motifs that also denote dance, such as passion (e.g., the verses “The tide of passion strangles me in the dark/(...)/fireworks pierce, fountains spurt/and it springs/the intoxicating torrent of sound”).

Taking the example of two poems by Drago Ivanišević and Federico García Lorca, we have noted their intertextual relations, both on the level of motif and of versification. The intertextual relations have shown to what extent Ivanišević’s knowledge of Lorca’s poetry contributed to the further modernization of poetic language and style. Having already introduced hermeticist features to poems written in the 1940’s, features would mainly mark Croatian poetry later on in the 1950s. However, Lorca remained an inspiration to Drago Ivanišević later on. To this speaks the poem “Red Rose,” published in his collection *History/Historija* in 1974. The poem thematizes the death of Zvonko Richtmann, Croatian physicist, killed in a fascist prison. Ivanišević metaphorically speaks of his death using Lorca’s name:

(...)
On earth my hands will rest clean!
For the rose! I shout for the rose! The rose I glimpse that I want
to glimpse
I want!
Federico!
(Ivanišević 2002, p. 533)

Jure Kaštelan (1919–1990)

Jure Kaštelan came into Croatian literature with his collection *Red horse/ Crveni konj* in 1940, which the censorship of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia promptly banned upon release for its recognizably avant-garde poetics.¹⁶ This distinctly modern collection’s title points to a similarity with the tragic Spanish poet. Kaštelan’s interest for Spanish literature and culture lasted since his student days, and by the 1950’s he started translating Spanish. The poem “Nothing is finished” from his collection of poems *Vow for Epetium/Zavjet za Epetion* is inspired by Picasso’s *La Guernica* which had an impression on him during his visit to Madrid in 1982. If we would quote the verses from this late poem of Kaštelan: “Someone cries at the door. Blood screams. The horse screams./Do not enter./All that we loved is dead./ If life is a dream/leave me to dream”, we would recognise that Kaštelan’s poetry stayed close to the Lorcian poetic expression even in its later stages. However, the

¹⁶Croatia was then part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

intertextual ties between Kaštelan and Lorca are recognizable on multiple levels: the similarity in the relation to landscape (sea, poplars, olives), a specific motivic relation (guitar, horse, horsemen), a memory of a childhood in a mediterranean region as a permanent poetic inspiration, implementation of folk song (especially the specific laments – the bugarštica), and finally the affinity towards an exceptional melodiousness and freedom of verse. Kaštelan is tied to Lorca by the coloration of language (e.g., the poems “Reverie” and “An eve in april 1939”). When speaking of the coloration of language as a direct characteristic of intertextual links between these two poets, Kaštelan’s poem “Green and red/ Zeleno i crveno” should be mentioned and compared to Lorca’s “De profundis”¹⁷ from the collection *Poem of the Deep Song*. It is this poem that Kaštelan translated to Croatian. Let’s look and compare Kaštelan’s poem “Green and red”:

I knit green into red
And red with green

Olives give oil
Vineyards wine

And me?
I knit green into red
And red with green.

My two loves.
(Kaštelan, 1999: 170)

In addition to the colorful language, we also see an intertextual connection at the level of the motif. Both poets thematize the space of homeland – Lorca to Andalusia and Cordoba, and Kaštelan to Dalmatia – by use of the metaphor of olive groves and vineyards. Both poets pay tribute to the relationship with their homeland through “love” - Kaštelan will simply say “two of my loves”; Lorca, however, inscribes a sense of tragedy upon his Andalusian homeland, conceiving the poem around the verses “One Hundred Lovers/Sleep Forever”.

Like Lorca, Kaštelan achieves the hermeticism of his poetic expression by building a poem based on a folk song with frequent repetitions and refrains.¹⁸ As a

¹⁷“Los cien enamorados
duerman para siempre
bajo la tierra seca.
Andalucía tiene
Largos caminos rojos.
Córdoba, olivos verdes
donde poner cien cruces,
que los recuerden.
Los cien enamorados
duermen para siempre.”
(Lorca 2014, p. 197)

¹⁸Lorca builds his modern verse on the foundations of traditional Spanish romance and Andalusian *siguiriya*, while Kaštelan does it on the invention within the rhythm of the Heroic Decasyllable. In looser forms Kaštelan is inclined towards refrains, just like Lorca. The poem that most certainly

specific example of hermeticism, Kaštelan's "Horse with no rider" especially stands out, built from twelve units of different verifications.¹⁹ The last section provides an excellent example of the way in which Kaštelan develops an intertextual connection with Lorcan motifs of horses, horsemen, and death. At the level of versification, intertextual connections are recognized in the incorporation of traditional forms of folk poetry into a totally unfettered, modern, hermetic poem. As an example we will quote the last three stanzas of the aforementioned poem:

(...)
Darkness in darkness. Night
and a bird.
A dark stone and a dead man.
who does the
horse in the mountain mourn
horse with no horseman

Who does he mourn?
Who does he wait for?
Who does he call?
A horse in the mountain
horse with no horseman
It rides towards us
with a resonant
trot
a horse in the mountain
horse with no horseman
(Kaštelan 1999, p. 143)

In the verses quoted, we notice an anaphora within the interrogative verses "Whom does he regret?/Who is he waiting for?/Who is he calling to?" which creates an impression of tension in the poem itself. The poet breaks the tension each time with the refrain "cavalry without cavalry". The chorus itself in its alliteration with the sound "k" further enhances the rhythmicity of the poem. We also emphasize this stylistic particularity as an example of Kaštelan's conscious intertextual connection with Lorca. In numerous poems from the collection, *Poems of the Deep Song*, Lorca develops the dynamism and rhythmicity of the poetry through refrains, pauses, and various forms of repetition (alliterations, assonances, and anaphoras).

An overarching subject that makes their intertextual link even stronger is a relation towards death. As Croatian literary history notes, it is as if Kaštelan did not stop writing about the horror of death even after the Second World War, which

shows that best is "Typhoids". It is a poem that thematizes partisan fighters, malnourished and ill from typhus. Throughout the whole poem a verse is repeated "Death is my footsteps".

¹⁹Ante Stamać, who knows best the poetry of Jure Kaštelan, wrote of this poem: "The poem "Horse with no rider", which balladically leans upon the folk motif, (...) deeply poetically confirms the Kaštelanian testament to death (to the mountain, to the sea...). A peculiar requiem that eternally sounds a fantasmagoric dilemma between the certainty of eternal disappearance and faith in the possibility of renewal (...)" (Stamać 2009, p. 51).

he took part in. Death, like with Lorca, weaves through almost every poem like an invisible thread. As an example of the intertextual link with Lorca's poetry we show another poem in which Kaštalan thematizes the horseman, namely in parts of the poem, "Horseman," we will find an intertextual tie with Lorca's famous "Rider's Song/Canción de jinete."²⁰

Horseman

Ride, my horse. Do you hear the trumpet?
Ride,
my horse.

– Hey horseman, my horseman,
is the way long? Where is
your star?
Do you hear the neighing. And drumming. And thudding.
And blades clattering.
Do you hear, my horse?
– Where is the dawn and spear
sunny. And the well of cold water,
my horseman?

Ride, my horse. Do you hear the trumpet?
Ride,
my horse.
(Kaštalan 1999, p. 121)

²⁰“Córdoba.

Leiana y sola.

Jaca negra, luna grande,
y aceitunas en mi alforja.
Aunque sepa los caminos
yo nunca llegaré a Córdoba.

Por el llano, por el viento,
Jaca negra, luna roja.
La muerte me esta mirando
Desde las torres de Córdoba.

¡Ay qué camino tan largo!
¡Ay mi jaca valerosa!
¡Ay que la muerte me espera,
antes de llegar a Córdoba!

Córdoba.
Leiana y sola.”
(Lorca 1998, p. 132)

Kaštelan's poem, like Lorca's, expresses an image of a lone horseman in the night. Lorca shows this using the image of the moon, and Kaštelan that of the star – except that he ties in that motif with the star motif, so that the connected motifs of the star, trumpet and water symbolically show the horseman's elusive goal; simply put, what Cordoba is to Lorca's horseman, the uncertain goal expressed with the sound of the trumpet is to Kaštelan. Both poems invoke the death of the lone horseman. On a level of versification, Lorca implements an Andalusian folk song's cry into the verse, while Kaštelan implements the rhythm of a folk song, thereby paraphrasing in a way the figure of the so called "Slavic antithesis"; not developing it completely, but leaving the usual negative answer to the poem's questions unresolved, i.e., at a level of the elliptically possible.

The poem in which Kaštelan further develops one of the recognizable Lorcan motifs, is the poem "Guitar" from his collection *Red horse/ Crveni konj*. It is a poem that versificationally opens an intertextual dialogue not just with Lorca, but indirectly with the Andalusian flamenco. Kaštelan's poem "Guitar" is composed of five individual poetic units connected with Kaštelan's specific ellipticity and surrealist oneiricity. However, in the first part of the poem "Guitar" an intertextual connection to the aforementioned flamenco is recognizable, but also with the whole of the poetics of Lorca's *Poems of the Deep Song*. It is especially recognizable in the frequent onomatopoeia of the scream. The phonetics of the verse is superior to the imagistic and conceptual. The dynamics of verse determines the melodiousness of the poem and dictates the surrealist air in its next parts. Let's look at the first three stanzas of the poem "Guitar" in which we recognize the intertextual link with Lorca, both on a level of motif-theme and versification:

Zum buli boli daj daj daj
Zum buli boli hej haj

Moonlight. Wine. A twitch of female meat.
A shabby dream in image and story.
Carouse, yell, laugh, cry

Underneath the flowery branch
Alone again
(Kaštelan 1999, p. 27)

The example of Kaštelan's poem shows that with him, the intertextual link with Lorca is based upon a recognizable thematic and motivic repertoire. However, the horse and horseman remain the brunt of Kaštelan's intertextual ties with Lorca. Versificationally, both poets bring the traditional heritage of folk culture of the Spanish Andalusia and Croatian Dalmatia to their avant-garde and modern, surrealist, hermetic verse. Finally, Kaštelan's poem "Guitar" shows that Kaštelan was consciously building ties with Andalusian and generally mediterranean folk songs in his poetic opus.

Vesna Parun (1922–2010)

Vesna Parun entered Croatian literature with the collection *Dawns and gusts/ Zore i vihori* in 1947, just after the Second World War. However, the collection received extensive critique from the regime. This female poet built her poetics upon the contrast of the horrors of war and the beauty of the landscape, and deepened it by contrasting human evil and the harmony of natural laws. This type of poetry was held decadent and counterrevolutionary by the then-communist and social realist critique. While discussing the poetics of putting the landscape into verse, we see direct intertextual connections with Lorca in her first collection. Similar to Kaštelan, Vesna Parun also often brings in the motifs of the horse and horseman into her poetry as a metaphor of death and loss. The fact that her aforementioned collection *Dawns and gusts* shows a horse on the cover and that her first collection of selected poems, *Horseman* (1964), has an illustration of a horseman by Fedor Vaić directly evoking Lorca's drawings, speaks to the fact that the motifs of horse and horseman are not just one in a series of motifs akin to Lorca and other mediterranean poets. Parun was closer to Lorca far more in theme and motif than in versification. For example, as opposed to Lorca whose verse is often elliptical and hermetic, her verses are loose in lush imagery and metaphor. In the analysis of intertextual connections between Lorca's poetry and the previously analyzed Ivanišević and Kaštelan, we noticed a "stylistic intertextual similarity" which is still absent in the relationship between the poetry of Vesna Parun and F. G. Lorca. The interpretation of Parun's selected poems, however, will exhibit an intertextual connection with Lorca on a motif-thematic level, but also on the level of intertextual whimsicality within the genre of parody.

Vesna Parun's poem "Horseman" will hereby serve us as an example upon which we will demarcate the direct intertextual connection with Lorca and his poem "The Rider's Song (1860)/Canción del Jinete (1860)"²¹ from the *Poem of*

²¹"En la luna negra
de los bandoleros,
cantan las espuelas.

Caballito negro.
¿Dónde llevas tu jinete muerto?

...Las duras espuelas
del bandido inmóvil
que perdió las riendas.

Caballito frío.
¡Qué perfume de flor de cuchillo!

En la luna negra
sangraba el costado
de Sierra Morena.
Caballito negro.
¿Dónde llevas tu jinete muerto?

La noche espolea
sus negros ijares
clavándose estrellas.

the Deep Song. Let us look at the first and part of the second stanza of the poem by Vesna Parun:

Roads pass by heavily, the night is pregnant.
The night is fire and silver of your belt.
The black hills rock, vigilant cattle,
The forest grows like destiny mute and stern.
There is west, yellow, you go enthralled;
Some restless wing calls to you.
The earth is rocky, the way shaken up.
Tell me, why do you like the skies and seagulls?

From the forts in the distance an imprisoned song
Spreads dark thirst, inexhaustible and gentle-
O blood dark in the sand, blood from beloved pupils,
Blood for unrest, for a neigh, for naked and cruel longing.
(Parun 1947, p. 155)

As compared to Lorca's poem, in Parun's "Horseman" we find a loose verse and closed mental and imagistic structures. With Lorca, the verse is shorter and more elliptical, with constant repetitions "Woah black pony", "Woah cold pony" making a direct association with the theme of death. Both poems are of a nocturnal atmosphere; with Lorca we notice the verses, "The night spurs/Its black flanks, spangling/Itself with stars", and Parun says: "Roads pass by heavily, the night is pregnant/The night is fire and silver of your belt". Both poets build up the image of night by contrasting light and darkness – Parun does so by contrasting fire and silver, and Lorca by the sheen of spur and stars. We can note the intertextual link in the ambient as well; both poems place the horseman in hilly, difficult to traverse landscapes. Lorca writes: "In the black moon/The side of Sierra Morena/Bled from a wound" associating death with the metaphor of the wounded mountain. It is a similar image we see in Vesna Parun's verses: "The black hills rock, vigilant cattle,/The forest grows like destiny mute and stern". In both poems death is expressed with the metaphor of blood. Here, Parun is more direct, having obviously been influenced by the horrors of The Second World War. She will say for example: "O blood dark in the sand, blood from beloved pupils,/Blood for unrest, for a neigh, for naked and cruel longing". Lorca as well associates death with blood, but from his expression a dual metaphoric relationship can be gleaned:

Caballito frío.
¡Qué perfume de flor de cuchillo!

En la luna negra,
¡un grito! y el cuerno
largo de la hoguera.

Caballito negro.
¿Dónde llevas tu jinete muerto?"
(Lorca 1998, p. 136)

fragrance of the dagger's flower = blood; blood = death. Let us look at the verses: "Woah cold pony/What a fragrance in the dagger's flower".

As opposed to the poem "Horseman" with which Vesna Parun, like Lorca, thematizes death, anxiety and suffering, as a very interesting example of intertextual parody we will look at her poem "Sheep's ballad of the moon, moon". The poem was published in the collection of her satiric lyrics *Apocalypse fables/ Apokaliptične basne* in 1976 (Parun 1976). In Vesna Parun's poem the lyrical subject becomes the sheep as a metaphor of primitive and shallow human characteristics. The parody becomes even more drastic if we know that Lorca's poem "Ballad of the moon, moon/Romance sonámbulo"²² from *The gypsy ballads* thematizes tragic love and death. Like Lorca, Parun starts her "Sheep's ballad of the moon, moon" with the verse "Oh green, I love green!" to turn the poem into satire with the next verse "Bell on the ram, grass in the mountain!/Oh I love that evergreen field/where of onion and bacon/a little shepherd dreams..." Parun speaks directly to Lorca with the verse: "Oh, green I love the evergreen,/beam of garcialorca's moonlight!". Contrasting the high values of art and artist, Lorca embodies, or at least symbolises, the context of European literature with the values of pure matter and superficial relations throughout the whole poem. Parun's poem self-ironically concludes with the verse: "Green, oh I ruminate green!..."

In the context of interpreting intertextual ties of Vesna Parun's poetry with F. G. Lorca, it is evident that this poet was introduced to Lorca very early, maybe even while studying romantic literature in Zagreb. She developed an intertextual connection with Lorca in relation to motif and theme (e.g., horsemen, mountains, forests, flowers, water etc.), however staying true to her own autonomous poetics the whole time. Furthermore, this poet never tried out hermetism or surrealism. On the other hand, the example of the poem "Sheep's ballad of the moon, moon" shows that Lorca was her permanent inspiration, but also a self-identifying symbol of poets and poetry. In the book of satyric lyrics *Apocalypse fables*, the poet "clashes" with the world that has denounced humanist values in favour of material profit. Associating and parodying the poet whose death became myth and inspiration to fight for the freedom of a generation of poets due to his poetic freedom, Vesna Parun obviously proved the statement that poets are not of this world, as Lorca's family resented in the days of his youth.

²²“Verde que te quiero verde.
Verde viento. Verdes ramas.
El barco sobre la mar
y el caballo en la montaña.
Con la sombra en la cintura
ella sueña en su baranda,
verde carne, pelo verde,
con ojos de fría plata.
Verde que te quiero verde.
Bajo la luna gitana,
las cosas la están mirando
y ella no puede mirarlas.”
(Lorca 2014, p. 293)

Conclusion

Croatian literature met with the poetic work of Federico Garcia Lorca at a fairly early stage. His poetry significantly influenced the development of Croatian modern poetry after the Second World War. The intertextual analysis of the chosen poems of Croatian poets – Drago Ivanišević, Jure Kaštelan and Vesna Parun— proved that the intertextual connection between these poets is expressed on multiple levels: a) Lorcan repertoire of motifs and themes (e.g., guitar, horseman, dance, oranges, poplars, mediterranean landscape, death); b) versificationally through musical language (similarity to folk songs and traditional forms); c) modern hermeticist expression (e.g., ellipticity, understatement, fragmentation of thoughts).

At the end, it bears mentioning that the poetry of F. G. Lorca influenced a whole neomodernist generation of Croatian poets (e.g., Nikola Miličević, Joja Ricov, Zvonimir Golob). That Lorcan fervor lasted up until the arrival of post-structuralist and realist poetry, when younger poets deprived the lyric poem of its pictoriality in favor of language experimentation. However, postmodern poetry has awakened a new interest for Lorca. The contemporary Croatian poet Tomislav Marijan Bilosnić published a collection of poems titled *The oranges of Federico García/Naranče Federica Garcie Lorca* in 2020, a collection that we could discuss from a perspective of postmodern intertextual ties at whose center is a play on Lorcan quotes and associations (Bilosnić 2020). Finally, this poet too writes poetic epistles in the collection *The oranges of F. G. Lorca* to the poets mentioned here – Ivanišević, Kaštelan and Parun, invoking their poetic and living connection with Lorca.

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Research on Chinglish in the Internet Buzzwords from the Perspective of Sociolinguistics

By Cui Dan* & Liu Xingyu[‡]

The Internet buzzword containing a lot of Chinglish is a new form of language generated in the context of the rapid development and wide spread of the Internet. A large number of Internet buzzwords, which is different from the traditional media language, correspond with the trend of the time as well as meet the satisfaction of people's language demands. As an academic discipline, the main purpose of sociolinguistic is to study the relationship between people's language and the social condition. This paper will illustrate the Chinglish in the Internet buzzword from the perspective of sociolinguistics.

Keywords: *Chinglish, Internet buzzword, sociolinguistics*

Introduction

Research Background

With the rapid development of the Internet, communicating with each other online has become a kind of normality for many people. Chatting online means that people's use of language can be collected, calculated as well as analyzed, leading to the generation of the buzzword. The buzzword always refers to a word or phrase that becomes very popular for a period of time. As a character that can represent the current social condition, the buzzword has attached more attention from the linguist, especially the sociolinguist. Due to the fact that the language use of people from different nations varies significantly, the buzzword always embodies social characters and reflects people's psychological condition in different nations. Buzzword with Chinese characteristics used by Chinese netizens is definitely tightly combined with China's society, leading to the appearance of some Chinglish buzzword expressions. At the meantime, the usage and wide spread of Chinese buzzword has become the most noticeable social phenomena. As a sub-field of linguistics, sociolinguistics aims to study the relation between language and society in which the users of language live. This paper aims to analyze the Chinglish phenomenon of the Internet buzzword based on the perspective of sociolinguistics.

Significance of the Research

With the development of science and technology, people used to communicate with each other online, giving birth to the Internet buzzword. The buzzword used by Chinese netizens carries Chinese characteristics which can also reflect the

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current condition of Chinese society. Through analyzing the semantic and linguistic of Chinese annual Internet buzzwords, people can recognize different periods of social presences as well as the current cultural types in society. With more progress achieved in the society, linguists initiate to realize the significance of analyzing annual buzzwords. Although a number of papers have been published in the general area of the relation between sociolinguistics and Internet buzzwords, little work has been carried out in search of the Chinglish phenomena in Internet buzzword from the perspective of sociolinguistics. Some scholars analyzed the relation between buzzword and sociolinguistics while others explored the reason why Internet buzzword always carries Chinglish phenomena. On the basis of existing literature data, this research paper carries out studies in an effort to explore Chinglish in Internet buzzword with the sociolinguistics theory.

The study can also help us to understand and know the changes of the society as well as a better prediction towards social and linguistic development in the future. Based on the analysis of the relations among these three factors, people can have a more comprehensive understanding of social and cultural life.

Organization of the Research

The first section of this paper explains the brief introduction of this research background and the research significance. The second section composes of three parts. The first part illustrates the definition of buzzword and the Chinglish phenomena in the Internet buzzword. The following part demonstrates the definition and development of sociolinguistics. The third part is the research in exploring the Chinglish Internet buzzword from the perspective of sociolinguistics. The last section is the conclusion.

Research on Chinglish in the Internet Catchwords from the Perspective of Sociolinguistics

Internet Buzzword

Definition of the Internet Buzzword

Science and technology have made great strides over the past decade, Internet has become the most frequently used in people's daily life. As technology improves, people's language usage can be recorded, calculated and analyzed, giving the buzzword an opportunity to emerge. Although buzzword has attracted wide attention from sociolinguists, there is still no explicit definitions of it from the perspective of sociolinguistics. According to the dictionary, buzzword always refers to a word or phrase that has become popular especially relating to a certain subject or activity. The English linguist, David Crystal defined the network language in his book "Language and the Internet" (Crystal 2001). He indicates that the network language is a media that appears in the entire internet environment and reflects the unique appearance of the internet. However, Genyuan (2010) argues that "network language" itself is a network line and it originally refers to

the computer language in the internet, and also refers to the natural language that have their own characteristics in the internet usage (Genyuan 2010). Nowadays, it generally refers to the latter. Internet buzzwords are the expressions that are popular on the Internet, which is the most active part of the Internet language as well as a customary way of expression by netizens.

Generated from the society, buzzword is the reflection of some certain incidents in the society. As we all know, the emergence of buzzword is based on the current social condition, culture types as well as social changes. The accelerated development of technology gives buzzword an access to spread in a wider range, making it more prominent to illustrate the relation between society and buzzword. Aiming to explore the approach in which did the buzzword reflect the social condition, institutes and scholars initiated to summarize the annual Internet buzzword.

Since 2000, the Global Language Institute has started to use a computer program to track the frequency of English words used on thousands of media outlets, blogs and social media sites around the world to pick the top words each year. Merriam-Webster also selected the word of the year based on how often anonymous users look up words in the online dictionary. The UK's Word of the Year was chosen by the Oxford University Press. By tracking changes in the use of words in the English, the Oxford English Dictionary and the Oxford American Dictionary selected the British and American buzzwords and the word of the year which were the perfect expression towards the condition of the year. In addition, CollinsDictionaries.com has chosen 12 words of the year, based on events of each month. Australia's Macquarie Dictionary has also published its Australian version of the word of the year since 2006. In addition to its word of the year, the Macquarie Dictionary will also rank the selected words by subject category, including agriculture, art, politics, science and technology, Internet, sports, etc. The changes in Internet buzzword demonstrate social and cultural transformations.

The Current Situation of the Internet Buzzword

With the flourish of the Internet era, network buzzword has become popular in the society. In the Internet world, netizens hold different interpretations towards each social event, giving them impetus to accept, spread and even create new Internet buzzwords. Buzzwords are created based on netizens' meaning interpretation, homophones, abbreviations and mixture of Chinese and English. All these changes have made huge impacts in people's daily language use.

When the buzzword emerged, it was arduous for people to summarize the logic and principle to constitute a buzzword. With the accumulation of buzzwords, linguists realized that semantics, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation are the four main elements that constitute a buzzword and once one of these factors are altered, the original word's meaning and function could be totally different, laying foundation for the creation of the network buzzword.

With more than 10 years' development and changes of buzzword, a conclusion can be withdrawn: the created buzzword is closely related to entertaining atmosphere, which can be simple, fun and straightforward to reflect people's emotion, current social condition and people's attitude towards certain incidents. Considering the

buzzword from the perspective of linguistics, a unified standard and norm does not exist to form the buzzword which can originate from the films, TV series and social incidents. Thanks to the arbitrary of buzzword's formation, it is hard for elder people to understand the buzzword's deep meaning, accept its unique formation and employ the buzzword in their daily language usage. Taking 蒜泥狼 as an example, which was a classic buzzword generated in 2010 and categorized into 2010 Annual Buzzword. This buzzword originated from the Chinese expression 算你狠, which was most frequently used in the northeast of China to express people's unwillingness towards their rivals while after being altered into 蒜泥狼, this expression was used by Chinese netizens to make sarcasm of the extreme high market price of garlic. All these buzzwords spread widely online, however, interpreting these expressions is challenging for elderly people who do not use the Internet. The communication gap between the youngster and the elder contributes to the gap in using buzzwords. All these aspects combined together formulate the complex current situation of Internet buzzword usage.

Chinglish in the Internet Buzzword

"Chinglish" is defined as "English with Chinese characteristics" because it stands as the mixture of half English and half Chinese, and is considered to be the "perfect combination" of Chinese grammar and English words. "Chinglish" is different from "Chinese English", which is usually manifested as the irregular expression methods of English learners when they express their thoughts due to the influence of thinking, culture and other factors. And "Chinese English" refers to the language with Chinese cultural connotation complementing to the world corpus which belongs to a part of the world language. The globalization has made great contributions in closely combining the world together, impelling people to learn other countries' language and will finally lead to the mixture between different languages. With the rapid development and wide application of Internet technology, the Internet buzzword goes viral among Chinese netizens, making Chinglish in the Internet buzzword a hot topic in language research discussed by linguists. The Chinglish originates from the social development, which can be understood, comprehended and accepted by people of all ages.

Chinglish, possessing a long history of language development, is a unique language form which can be firstly tracked back to Hong Kong in 1990s. When communicating with foreigners, local residents used to mix Chinese expressions with English words, such as the usage of *long time no see* as a greeting. Whenever two kinds of languages were mentioned, translation must exist as the bridge to connect these two languages and Chinglish's first appearance is in the process of translating Chinese words and phrases into English with Chinese original word order. Taking *mountain people mountain sea* as an example, this is a traditional Chinese expression 人山人海, which is used to describe the crowded people while the Chinglish expression arrange the English word according to the Chinese order. The following phrase of Chinglish is the appearance of network buzzwords. As the Internet technology develops, the utilization of the online software to communicate has gained popularity, causing the surge of network Chinglish buzzwords, such as *you can you up* and *no zuo no die*. The second category is the

combination of pinyin and English word formation, such as *gelivable* and *ungeilivable*. This kind of buzzword combines pinyin and affixes of English words together to express people's current psychological condition, state and nature.

Sociolinguistics

The Background of Sociolinguistics

Compared with other linguistics research subjects, sociolinguistics is a relatively nascent subject with the history of over 40 years. According to Newmeyer (2004) the emergence and development of sociolinguistics are closely related to the social conditions after the World War II. When the war ended, many countries tried to make the recovery from the devastating damages by carrying out national liberation movements to reopen economy and rejuvenate the whole society. During the process of launching these activities, many scholars and national officials realized that it was a challenging work to determine national language after the establishment of the national regime based on the fact that almost all the people could speak more than two languages thanks to the colonial rule with the long period of time. At the same period of time, some ethnic minority groups dedicated to fight for their equal rights while the language had become the barrier in the communication process. The liberation movements also reinvigorate woman's thoughts, giving them more space to consider about their own social identities, giving linguists impetus to consider whether our language perpetuates the gender inequality. Integrated together, all these factors promoted the study of social language, such as African American vernacular English and Chicano Spanish, which can be regarded as the social context in which sociolinguistics comes into being. Newmeyer's view illustrates this problem from the perspective of national integration and the changes of the world pattern (Newmeyer 2004).

However, the debate about the first person proposing the term "sociolinguistics" is still up in the air. According to Le Page (1974), the term "sociolinguistics" first appeared in the second edition of Eugene Nida's 1949 classic "Morphology" in the appendix to the Oxford English Dictionary published in 1986 (Le Page 1974). As an academic discipline, sociolinguistics was first mentioned in Hudson's paper "Sociolinguistics in India" in 1939. Hudson mentioned that Currie published an article entitled "Projection of Sociolinguistics: the relationship of speech to social status" in 1952, which was drafted in 1949 and published in 1952 (Hudson 2000). Since then Currie has laboriously claimed that he has priority in the establishment of the term "sociolinguistics" with constant effort. The following scholars who have made enduring efforts in the development of this academic discipline should be American sociolinguists such as Fishman, Helms and Rabov.

The Definition of Sociolinguistics

As globalization improves by leaps and bounds, the communication among the countries is becoming more and more frequent, making language indispensable in the communication process. Being a tool, language plays an essential role in the process of communication. Thanks to its significance, the enduring exploration towards the language has been made, leading to the emergence of many linguistics

theories regarding the study of language variation and historical linguistics and sociolinguistics are two perspectives that are most used in the analysis of language variation. The study of linguistics from the perspective of historical development mainly follows the historical changes of language, which constantly changes according to the development of history, while the study of linguistics from the perspective of social context aims to put language into the overall social environment. Regarding linguistics from the perspective from social context, language generates and develops together with social development.

According to Holmes and Hudson (1999), sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between people and society. In the view of sociolinguists, language will lack its theoretical basis without being carried out in the social context. The question that perplexes sociolinguists the most is that why people's expression varies according to the changes in social context and they have endeavored to explain these phenomena. The traditional linguistics used to make the exploration of the language variation from the historical perspective, neglecting the sociality of language and the emergence of sociolinguistics has compensated the vacancy of the analysis of language usage in society.

Being a product in the process of social development, language is inseparable from the social context and due to the fact that people's communication rests entirely on the society, endowing the analysis of language variation in social context more prominence in linguistic study. Some linguists state that language change in social context as "incomplete changes" while the diachronic language change is "complete change" and claim that the complete change deserves more attention compared with uncomplete change. However, the fact is that the incomplete language change lays foundation for complete change and the development of uncomplete language change can stimulate the development of complete language change. The development of technology prompts the birth of new things and the word's definition is considered as one of the elementary subjects in the linguistic research. Regarding the relation between people and society, four kinds relations existing in the current linguistics research, the social structure affects and determines the language structure; the social structure affects and determines the social structure; there is no relationship between language and society; admitting the existence of relation between language and society while it is not the perfect time to analyze the relation.

The Schools of Sociolinguistics

When it comes to the discussion of the academic schools of sociolinguistics, scholars are basically categorized into two schools: one is based on dichotomy classification, and is divided into macro sociolinguistics and micro sociolinguistics, and the other is based on the tripartite classification, which the baseline follows the chronic line of main school in the development of sociolinguistics, the development of sociolinguistics, it can be divided into the sociological school of language represented by Fishman, the school of discourse culture represented by Hymes and the school of linguistic variation represented by Labov. This paper will illustrate the sociolinguistics schools based on the tripartite classification. Fishman, the pioneer of sociolinguistics, proposed the Sociological School of Language in his

book *Sociology of Language*, who believed that the language could be divided into two categories, descriptive social language and dynamic social language (Fishman 1972). The sociology of descriptive language refers to the language that explains the language usage phenomenon of the social group which can be accepted by people in the social community. Dynamic sociology of language aims to explain and answer questions such as “what factors contribute to the changes in language use and behavior of social groups”. Fishman’s research covers the macro level of language division (including linguistic, ethnic, religious activities), language planning and vocabulary are included. As the representer of school of discourse culture, Hymes (1974) pioneered in enlarging the research field of discourse cultural communication (Hymes 1974). In his book, *Foundations of Sociolinguistics*, Hymes states that the main aim of the sociolinguistics is to analyze the language’s culture and communication function. According to Hymes (1974), the main research target of sociolinguistics is to illustrate human culture and people’s social communication phenomena rather than language itself. In the book, Hymes proposed three targets of sociolinguistics research, which are sociolinguistics deals with the social problems and language usage, sociolinguistics studies the linguistic reality in the social context, and sociolinguistics is also the linguistics formed in social communication. According to Hymes (1974), sociolinguistics focuses on the penetration between language forms and language social functions that produce different forms of expression of language in society. The main contribution of the school of linguistic variation represented by Labov is his research on the variation and quantification of Massa’s Vineyard and New York urban dialects with sociolinguistics methods.

Research on Chinglish in the Internet Buzzwords from the Perspective of Sociolinguistics

With the rapid development of Internet technology, the access towards the Internet becomes even more facilitate, making people more addicted to the Internet which gives the linguist opportunity to collect the language data which can be viewed as the basis to analyze people’s language behavior under different social context. Once being collected, the most frequently used words by netizens online can be obtained, among which the top ten words are defined as the annual buzzwords. All these words root in Chinese Internet environment and is utilized by Chinese netizens to demonstrate their opinion and attitude towards social current condition. As a subject primarily aiming to illuminate the relation between language and social condition, sociolinguistics should be employed in analyzing the Chinglish in the Internet buzzwords.

The Relation Between the Network Buzzword and the Society

Since 2003, China’s mainstream newspaper began to select the top ten buzzwords annually and authoritative language institutions will jointly release the list of annual top ten buzzwords. Thanks to the media’s attention, the widespread of buzzword has attracted social attention. Through the analysis of buzzword, the overall condition regarding the development of economy, politics and culture can

be comprehended. The buzzword can be viewed as the most direct indicator which can embody the changes in economy, society and culture. Compared with other normal vocabulary, buzzwords can reflect the characteristics of the current cultural and social changes, making it essential to conduct research in buzzword. Taking 蒜泥狠、糖高宗 and 姜你军 as the example, all these three expressions are the alternation of 算你狠、唐高宗 and 将你一军, which are used to express the depressing attitude with the defiant tone towards their rivals. These three altered expressions generate from the surging market price of garlic, sugar and ginger, which raised the heat discussion among the Chinese netizens and a huge amount of people satirized that the price was too high to make the purchase of these vegetables. Bearing this sarcasm in mind, people innovated these expressions to reflect the social condition of 2010, which can be used as evidence for the latter generation to analyze the social condition at that period of time. Considering the buzzword summarized from the last year, the top ten to one are 人民至上、逆行者、飒、后浪、神兽、直播带货、双循环、打工人、内卷、凡尔赛文学 and the English translated version are *Put people and life first, heroes in harm's way, dashing, younger generation, godbeast, live streaming, dual-cycle economic model, dagongren (laborer), involution, Versailles literature* respectively. All these buzzwords epitomize the social condition in 2021, *put people and life first* was proposed in the speech of President Xi Jinping to combat the spread of the COVID-19 with joint efforts. The *heroes in harm's way* is the expression used by Premier Li Keqiang to show respect to those healthcare workers from across the nation to support epidemic control. The word *dashing* used to describe people that are lively and spirited and the Chinese netizens borrowed the word to represent the female who have made great contributions in combating the COVID-19. During the process of fighting against the epidemic, the younger Chinese generation showed their spirit and dedication by participating actively in the fight, giving the whole nation an access to re-identify the younger generation. The phrase *younger generation* is adopted by Chinese netizens to show their appreciation towards Chinese young people. The *godbeast* is the result of the epidemic, which is used to refer the children who could not go to school thanks to the epidemic, making their parents insane by spending nearly whole day at home. All these expressions above are the result of epidemic, which is the most direct reflection of the social condition at that period of time. By analyzing the definition of these expressions, people can have an overall understanding towards the social condition under the spread of COVID-19. *Versailles literature* is a kind of literature used to describe the behavior of mocking online with humblebrag. The most essential of this literature is that the celebrities often disguise their boasts as complaints or seemingly modest statements. Chinese netizens imitate the Versailles literature's typical expression so as to satirize the celebrities, which can unveil people's sarcasm towards the Versailles literature.

From the comparison between the network buzzword in 2010 and 2020, the relation between network buzzword and society can be easily recognized. With the analysis of the buzzword in 2010, the current market condition with the surging price of vegetable can be comprehended by the latter generation while the analysis of the top ten network buzzwords can reveal the social condition under the spread

of COVID-19, making following generation available to outline the general social condition and giving foreigners a better understanding towards the Chinese real social condition under the influence of the coronavirus. With the characteristic of reflecting the social condition, it is even more prominent to illustrate the Chinglish in the Internet buzzword from the perspective of sociolinguistics.

The Reason of Chinglish's Emergence from the Perspective of Sociolinguistics The Internal Language Causes

In search for the reason of the Chinglish in the network buzzword, the internal language reason stands as a powerful contributor to the popularity of Chinglish on the Internet. From the linguistic perspective, many Chinese words and expressions have no equivalence in English, which will lead to the inaccurate translation. Concerning this linguistic gap between Chinese and English, Chinese netizens created some Chinglish expressions to give an accurate description about Chinese unique social condition, such as 作 and 给力 with no equivalence in English, promoting the emergence of *no zuo no die* and *geilivable*, which were used to picture Chinese social condition with a more accurate meaning. Chinese scholars also combined Chinese with English grammar, by adding the negative prefixes in front of the *geilivable* and change it into *negeilivable*, extending the meaning of this expression.

With the facilitate communication between the countries, people from different nations can exchange their ideas through the Internet, giving the Chinglish expression more access to transfer around the world. The language exchange between different language groups will produce the mutual influence and finally alter the expression's original meaning. Being spread to other English-speaking countries, the Chinglish expression gained popularity, making the expression lose its original language characteristics, which leads to the result that the application of the Chinglish become the more appropriate one to describe the social condition. As a Chinglish expression, *people mountain people sea* means that there are a lot of people in some place, very crowded, usually used to describe a big event or place which was used mostly by Chinese netizens while gained popularity in foreign countries and was included in the Oxford Dictionary. According to the statistics, the number of new Chinglish terms included in the Oxford Dictionary is 245, which counts more than 5% in the total number of new terms. In 2014, *you can you up* and *no can no bb* have been added into the Urban Dictionary, a satirical crowdsourced online dictionary of slang words and phrases. The popularity of Chinglish reveals that this unique expression has become a certain approach to observe the whole nation as well as demonstrates the increasing strength of China.

The sociocultural causes

The sociocultural changes also pose great impacts on the network buzzword. As the globalization develops in depth, the communication between countries has been linked closely, giving Chinese and English a more extensive application in people's daily language use. With the increasing number of Chinese people learning English and more foreigners choose to learn Chinese, the integration of

two languages has been realized, providing a favorable environment for Chinese netizens to create new network buzzwords.

The appearance of Internet buzzword is a phenomenon combined with linguistic and cultural characteristics. The generation and development of buzzword has been greatly influenced by social changes in political, economic and cultural aspects. The political element not only defines the nature of the buzzword but also renders the political characteristic to the buzzword, making it distinctive from other buzzwords. The last few years have witnessed the birth of the network buzzword with political traits such as *targeted poverty alleviation*, *Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei integration* and *the new norm* are three buzzwords summarized from 2014, 2015 and 2016 respectively. The linguistic variation diverts according to the changes in political aspect of the society, demonstrating the fact that the buzzword can reflect the political condition in the society. The economic aspect in the society can be regarded as the second sociocultural cause which contributes to the emergence of the Chinglish in Internet buzzword. As the economy develops, China has now become as the world's second largest economic power, which can greatly increase people's living standards. Through reform and opening up, China has gained more momentum in economic development, with which Chinese people have plenty time to experience lives in all rounds. The buzzword such as *the economic downturn*, *mass entrepreneurship* and *mobile payment* are the response to the rapid economic development as well as people's improving living standard. The cultural changes also make promotions to the emergence of buzzword. With the slack policies together with the development of Internet, the restriction for people to connect with people from other countries has alleviated. The language creation has been stimulated with the basis of the obscure boundary between country and the birth of new ideas and viewpoints. The cultural exchanges among countries have been deepened which give people passion to create new things, resulting the emergence of a large number of network buzzwords. The expression like *go die*, *online celebrity* and *MOOC* are the reflection of sociocultural condition.

Conclusion

As the product of the social change, the function of Internet buzzword has both sides. On the one side, through the analysis of the Internet buzzword, the current social condition can be revealed. With the use of Internet buzzword, people's communication efficiency can be simplified. Being one of the main users of this Internet buzzword, teenagers who prefer to chase for fashion can build their culture confidence and realize their own national identities. With these exchanges in language, Chinese and English can gain improvements so as to strengthen the communication capability.

While on the other hand, the use of the Internet buzzword also has some shortcomings in the real application of language. The wide use of buzzword in people's daily life may enlarge the language gap between the younger generation and the elder one. The Internet buzzwords often gain their roots from the Internet,

which is unfamiliar for the Chinese elder generation. If teenagers apply the Internet buzzwords frequently in daily communication with their parents, Chinglish will impose negative impacts on the intergenerational communication. What's more, the buzzword is created by Chinese netizen with no formal shapes and most of these expressions are not being verified by the language institutions, enlightening people to be cautious when encountering the formal text. In addition, it is challenging for teenagers to make selection between formal expressions and Internet buzzwords.

Chinglish is an emerging language form generated under the background of the extensive application of Internet together with the deep linguistic and cultural integration of Chinese and English. The Internet buzzword reflects social condition which have not been examined and verified by formal linguistic organizations. With all these factors combined together, the Chinglish in the Internet buzzword should be treated dialectically. From the perspective of sociolinguistic, the emergence of Chinglish in the Internet buzzword has both advantage and disadvantage. Therefore, during the process of treating these expressions, more attention should be paid to distinguish the right approach by avoiding the weakness of the emerging language form so as to achieve a healthy and sustainable development.

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Byzantine and Georgian Hymnographical Heritage ("Lenten Triodion" under George the Athonite's Redaction)

*By Lela Khachidze **

Most of the numerous translations of the great ecclesiastical figure - George the Athonite were created in Greece, on Mount Athos. The "Lenten Triodion" is one of the collections compiled by George the Athonite (1009-1065). He was thoroughly acquainted with the Byzantine and Georgian theological writings. The main principle of his epochal activity was maximum approach of the earlier Georgian translations to the Greek originals. In collections translated from Greek, he tried to show the modern Byzantine liturgical practice in full. The same principle is used in "Lenten Triodion" under his redaction. This is one of the most important liturgical-hymnographic books in Christian church, containing numerous hymns for Great Lent. "Lenten Triodion" under George the Athonite's redaction is much more extensive than its contemporary Greek analogues. The significance of this collection for the study of Byzantine hymnography is determined by the work done by George the Athonite for identification of the authors of the hymns preserved in it. This collection preserves translations of the hymns of 14 Byzantine poet-melodists of the 5th - 10th centuries. Most of them are well known in scholarly literature, but a significant part of the hymns of the same authors whose originals are not present in the famous scholarly literature are preserved in this collection. The academic edition of this collection according to the nine ancient Georgian manuscripts is prepared by the group of Georgian scholars and its electronic version will be placed on the Internet.

Keywords: *Byzantine hymnography, George the Athonite, Lenten Triodion, Georgian hymnography*

Introduction and Literature Review

The relations between Georgia and Greece have a long history that could be traced back to a distant past. This relationship was further strengthened after the adoption of Christianity in Georgia. Translations of the Holy Scripture and ecclesiastical writings were made for the most part from the Greek. At the same time, there emerged and developed an original Georgian ecclesiastical literature which reached the peak in the works of George the Athonite (1009-1065).

Most of the numerous translations of this great ecclesiastical figure were created in Greece, on Mount Athos. He is canonized by the Georgian and Greek churches. The "Lenten Triodion" is one of the collections compiled by George the Athonite.

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The “Lenten Triodion” (known in Georgian as “Markhvani”) is one of the most important liturgical-hymnographic collections, which contains hymns for the Great Lenten period. The process of compiling this collection reflects the development of Byzantine ecclesiastical poetry, which is mainly divided into two periods. The first is known as the “Jerusalemite period” and the second as the “Constantinopolitan period”. Many specimens of the “Jerusalemite period” have come down to us only in Georgian manuscripts and was studied by Kekelidze (1912), acad. E. Metreveli and representatives of their school (The Oldest Iadgari (Tropologion) 1980).

The collection known as the “Lenten Triodion” contains the treasury of Byzantine hymnography - numerous hymns, written by the greatest representatives of the Christian church and culture. A great many hymns have come down to us as anonymous, the authorship of which today cannot be established on the basis of only Greek sources.

The hymns included in the “Triodion”²³ are varied in terms of form, volume or poetic quality. The first dated hymn in this collection belongs to the 5th century, and the last to the 15th century. During this long period of time many things naturally fell into oblivion, and many require clarification and study.

Over time, this collection has undergone significant changes. On the one hand, it was shortened, on the other hand - it was expanded extension with a new repertoire. This or that author, who in a certain epoch occupied a prominent, leading place in the Greek “Triodion”, gradually, for various reasons, lost the primacy or was completely ignored, and this was reflected in the new redactions of this collection. Most of the obsolete hymns were composed during the Jerusalemite period of Byzantine ecclesiastical poetry. Translations of Byzantine hymnography, including Georgian, make it possible to restore these ancient and, at the same time, the best specimens.

There exist important works devoted to the Greek and Slavonic “Triodions” by Karabinov (1910), Cappuyns (1935), Slaveva (1972, pp. 93–116), Momina and Trunte (2004). Along with them, the redactions of the Greek and Slavonic “Triodions” have been considered (*Τριώδιον κατανυκτικόν* 1879, *Τριώδιον* 1975, *Lenten Triodion* 1975).

Greek “Triodions” laid the foundation for this collection in other languages, including Georgian.

The study of Georgian liturgical-hymnographic collections revealed that the first hymns for the “Triodion” can still be found in the “Jerusalemite Lectionary”, which reflects the ancient rule of worship. Later, these hymns were supplemented with a new repertoire of the “Oldest Iadgari” and the “Great (New) Iadgari”.

As the study of Georgian manuscripts has shown, in the first half of the 10th century the first Georgian “Triodion” was separated from the “Iadgari” as a separate collection. The fact that “Triodion” is the first independent collection in the history of differentiation of the “Oldest Iadgari” must be explained by the special importance of the period of Great Lent, and, consequently, this collection.

As it turned out, in the first half of the 10th century, the compiler and editor must have been the great Georgian hymnographer - Ioane Minchkhi. This

²³In this study, the term “Triodion” refers only to “Lenten Triodion”.

redaction of “Lenten” was of the Jerusalemite type. It contained the “three-odes” hymns and hymnographic canons of three famous Byzantine hymnographers - Theodore Studites (VIII-IX cc.), Elia of Jerusalem (VIII c.) and Stephanus Sabbaites (VIII c.). Together with them, the first Georgian “Triodion” included more than 100 original hymns by Ioane Minchhi (Khachidze 1987).

A new stage in the history of Georgian culture is associated with the literary and theological school of Athos founded by Euthymius the Athonite (955-1028). Georgian monks who lived and worked on Mount Athos took an active part not only in the life of Georgia, but also in the Byzantine life of that time, in the cultural-educational processes. They set themselves the goal of translating all the Byzantine literature of that time into Georgian.

According to his biographer - George the Athonite, St. Euthymius translated “troparia for Lenten Triodion”. Some elements of this “Triodion” translated by him have been identified and studied to date. This redaction of the “Lenten Triodion” has not been specially studied, as the manuscripts containing it are not exactly known yet.

The Georgian “Triodion”, like all other liturgical books, reached the peak of its development thanks to the activities of the greatest representative of the Georgian church and culture - George the Athonite, who determined the further development of Georgian theological literature and culture in general. He “transformed and perfected everything he took on”. Numerous collections translated by him, including the “Triodion”, became “a kind of vulgate” (Kekelidze 1980, p. 137).

The main goal of George the Athonite’s epoch-making activity was to bring the earlier Georgian translations as close as possible to the Greek originals. Most of the numerous translations from Greek were made by him.

George the Athonite’s numerous translations belong to all areas of theological writing. These translations immediately after their creation were canonized by the Georgian church and Georgian culture.

The “compiling” character of George the Athonite’s translations is known in the scholarly literature. Of contemporary Byzantine collections, he translates some of them not word for word, but gathers material from all sources. The colophons attached to the manuscripts translated by him create the impression that George the Athonite tries to fully acquaint the Georgian reader with the contemporary and pre-Byzantine liturgical practice. A deep knowledge of the Greek church and Byzantine literature contributed to this, as well as the fact George the Athonite lived and worked in the main centers of Christian culture of that time - Mount Athos, Black Mountain, Constantinople, Jerusalem and Georgia.

Actually, such a complete collection has not been found either in the existing publications of Greek “Triodion” available to us, or in the Greek manuscripts described in the scholarly literature.

Methodology

Numerous “Triodions” of George the Athonite’s redaction which belong to various collections of Georgian manuscripts, have come down to us. At the first stage of the research, we got acquainted with them according to the “descriptions” and selected one group of manuscripts. The choice was made in accordance with the significance and chronology of these manuscripts.

Among the manuscripts stored at the Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, we have selected the manuscript -A-568 (12th century).

The Georgian manuscripts preserved on Mount Sinai, Mount Athos and Jerusalem are described by Garitte (1956) and Blake (1922, 1931). On the basis of these descriptions, we considered 2 Athonite (Ath -59 and Ath -38) and 5 Jerusalemite manuscripts (Jer - 130, Jer - 61, Jer - 67, Jer - 56 and Jer - 141) to be especially important and studied them. The texts of all of them will be reflected in the edition of George the Athonite’s “Lenten Triodion” as versions.

As a basis for the publication, we considered the Georgian manuscript preserved at the National Library of Paris - Georg. 5 which represents the “Triodion” of George the Athonite’s redaction having autographic significance. Its publication was mainly prepared from the electronic version of this manuscript, which is available on the website of the National Library of Paris²⁴. We got acquainted with separate, difficult-to-read passages of the text in the original manuscript.

The Georgian National Center of Manuscripts keeps black-and-white photocopies of all the manuscripts of interest to us, which we also used in the research process. Basically, we used their electronic versions, where the text is easy to read. This is the Library of Congress website²⁵.

The Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem helped us to make precise some of the hard-to-read passages of the Jerusalemite manuscripts by sending us relevant color photocopies.

On the basis of all these manuscripts, we have prepared a critically acclaimed scholarly edition of the “Triodion” of George the Athonite’s redaction, which was partially compared with the existing versions of the Greek “Triodion”.

Results

Among the “Triodions” of George the Athonite’s redaction, the manuscript kept in the National Library of Paris – Paris. georg.5 is especially noteworthy.

Research has shown that the manuscript Paris. george. 5 was not copied at one time and by one person. It must be bound relatively late. Its main part consisting of 432 pages (1r-216v) is the “Triodion” under George the Athonite’s redaction and executed in 11th-century Athonite handwriting. After the “Triodion” of George the Athonite’s redaction, Parisian manuscript presents a new redaction

²⁴<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8596867k/f8.planchecontact.r=D%C3%A9partement%20des%20manuscrits,%20G%C3%A9orgien>.

²⁵<https://www.loc.gov/search/?in=&q=jerusalem+microfilm+Georgian&new=true>.

of the “Triodion” which, as it turns out, is made up by compilation with the “Triodion” of George the Athonite’s redaction preserved in the same manuscript. This redaction of the “Triodion” contains translations of prominent Georgian theologians of the 11th century - Ephrem Mtsire (Junior) and Arsen Ikaltoeli (from Ikalto).

The only place where the roads of three great Georgian figures - George the Athonite, Ephrem Mtsire and Arsen Ikaltoeli - intersect is the Black Mountain in Antioch. It was here that both redactions of the Georgian “Triodion” and the unique Georgian manuscript itself – Paris. georg. 5 must have been compiled.

Taking into account the “Life” of George the Athonite, it becomes possible to determine the time of compilation of the “Triodion” under his redaction. According to the “Life” of the saint, it is established in the scholarly literature that in 1040-1056 he labored on Athos, stayed in Georgia in 1059-1065 and died in Constantinople in 1065 (Kekelidze 1980, pp. 217–220).

Therefore, the “Triodion” of George the Athonite’s redaction must have been compiled in its completed form on the Black Mountain, in the years 1056-1059. It is assumed that in the same period there was compiled an extensive liturgical and hymnographic collection – “Parakletike” by George the Athonite, in particular, his autographic manuscript At - 45 (Bruni 2011, p. 116).

In the process of working on the Parisian manuscript, it turned out that one part of it preserved in it was incorrectly bound. In the publication of this collection we put the text in the original, the right order.

The manuscript Paris. georg. 5 preserves the colophons of George the Athonite himself. These colophons attest that during compilation of the collection he relies not only on one original (Greek or Georgian), but collects material from all of them.

In this collection the divine service of each day of Great Lent contains an extensive hymnographical material. As a rule, the Morning Office begins with small-size hymn which is followed by whole range of “others”. The small size hymn – “The Prokeimenon”, which is usually accompanied by its “others” is also a necessary component. The systematic introduction of “Prokeimenon” is typical of other liturgical-hymnographic collections by George the Athonite.

In this “Triodion” at the morning service, we sometimes come across small size hymns – “ypakoe”, which are followed by some similar hymns. The manuscript contains 9 “ypakoes” inscribed with the name of Romanos the Melodist, and the second part of the “ypakoes” is unsigned but bears a special mark (see below).

Together with the small size hymns presented by full texts, in Parisian manuscript there are also such cases when “additional” short size hymns are indicated “inside the book of stichera –Sticherarion”. In this case, it is meant a separate collection of such (small size) hymns from which the “additional” hymns can be performed.

The comparison has showed that the results of studying the “Triodion” precisely coincide with the “Life” of the saint. The same is in this case, particularly, according to the “Life”, George the Athonite, translated stichera (small size hymns) according to the rule of that time, with observance of poetic

meter and melodies, including hymns intended for the Great Lent (*Monuments of old Georgian literature II* 1967, p. 147).

A peculiar poetic form for the “Lenten Triodion” is “three-odes” - hymns consisting of three odes. Hence, the Greek name of this collection – “Triodion” comes from it. The “three-odes” are heard daily during Lent from Monday including Friday. This is an extensive repertoire - hymnographic material intended for the two preparatory weeks of Great Lent and the seven weeks.

Georgian translations of Theodore Studite’s “three-odes” are found in the “New Iadgari”, in the first Georgian “Lenten Triodion”, and in Euthymius the Athonite’s “Triodion”. The whole cycle of “three-odes” for Great Lent of this author is preserved only in George the Athonite’s collection. The study showed that George the Athonite specially compared the text of all of them and corrected according to his contemporary Greek “Triodions”.

In George the Athonite’s “Triodion” for each day of Lent we systematically encounter the “three-odes” of another author - Joseph the Hymnographer (from Sicily, IX century) who is a prominent representative of Byzantine hymnography (Tomadakes 1971). It appears that the extensive hymnographic repertoire of this author for “Triodion” - the “three-odes” were first translated into Georgian by George the Athonite. The introduction of the hymns of Joseph the Hymnographer to Great Lent liturgy took place in the Constantinopolitan rite, and in this case George the Athonite reflected this rite.

In the Pancake Week, the 3th layers are added to the “three-odes” of the aforementioned authors – five “three-odes” of Anton Studites (IX century). The originals of four of them are not found in the existing literature on “Triodions” known today. Georgian translations are a means of clarifying and restoring the originals of the works of this brilliant hymnographer.

On Saturdays and Sundays of Great Lent, as well as on special holidays, George the Athonite’s “Triodion” presents complex poetical form - hymnographic canons, along the beginnings of which, as a rule, their authors - the greatest representatives of Byzantine hymnography are indicated. This is a treasury of the Christian church and ecclesiastic poetry, specially studied and established by one of the key figures of the Middle Ages - George the Athonite.

The study showed that along with contemporary Greek “Triodions”, the source of George the Athonite is also the earlier Georgian manuscripts, in particular, that redaction of the “Triodion”, which is preserved in two Georgian manuscripts of the Sinai collection – Sin - 5 (1052) and Sin - 75 (XI c.). This redaction of the “Triodion”, in addition to Jerusalemite, contains the elements of Constantinopolitan rite, including the “Great Friday liturgy” translated by Euthymius the Athonite (*Description of Georgian manuscripts* 1979, p. 26).

The comparison makes it clear that in cases where the earlier translations coincide with his contemporary Greek “Triodions”, George the Athonite transfers them unchanged into his own redaction of the “Triodion”, in some cases corrects the old translations according to the Greek and often translates the hymns once again from Greek.

The manuscript Paris. georg. 5, which we consider to be the basis of the scientific publication of George the Athonite’s “Triodion”, demonstrates one more

characteristic feature of his work. It is great precision in indicating the authors and establishing texts for hymns. In the huge hymnographic repertoire, in the conditions of a large number of manuscripts and different testimonies, the great work done to reveal the authors lost or forgotten over time is the most important feature of the work of George the Athonite, which acquires great scientific value today.

Apart from Greek-Slavonic “Triodions” and collections known to date in scholarly literature, in this manuscript, most of the canons, “three-odes” and small size hymns have the indication to the authors. In those cases when the authors of certain hymns are indicated in the earlier Georgian manuscripts, George the Athonite’s “Triodion” usually coincides with their indication. Research has shown that George the Athonite often indicates the authors of certain parts of compilation hymns. His work in this direction is of great importance for the study of Byzantine hymnography, since the existing publications of the Greek and Slavic “Triodions” usually lack an understanding of their compilation. Hymns compiled in their time by several authors are now most often attributed to one author, are unsigned or completely lost.

The names of the authors of hymns are indicated in Parisian manuscript in several ways: - in full form (e.g., Andrew or Andrew of Crete), abbreviated (e.g., I—e (Ioane) An—ti (Antoni) or using monograms – (e.g., B (Basil).) The most frequent is the indication of the authors abbreviated or written with contractions.

George the Athonite’s “Triodion” includes numerous hymns of 14 Byzantine hymnographers. They are: Romanos the Melodist (V-VI cc.), Andrew of Crete (VII c.), Elia the III - Patriarch of Jerusalem (VIII c.), John Damascene (VII-VIII cc.), Stephanus Sabbaites (VIII c.), Kosmas of Jerusalem (VIII c.), Theodore Studites (VIII-IX cc.), Theophanes Graptos (Confessor, IX c.), Anton Studites (IX c.), Joseph of Sicily (IX c.), Christopher (IX c.), George (IX c.), Mark and Basil. Most of them are well known in scholarly literature, but a significant part of the hymns of the same authors whose originals are not present in the famous scholarly literature are preserved in the “Lenten” under George the Athonite’s redaction.

In this collection, there are also such cases when the specimens of Byzantine hymnography are given in two translations. Such cases are usually based on two criteria: 1) they are of particular importance in the Byzantine rite; 2) their earlier translations are distinguished by their artistic merits. In the presence of these two criteria, along with his own translations George the Athonite includes the earlier translations without change. One example of this is the masterpiece of medieval Christian poetry – “The Great Canon” of Andrew of Crete - an extensive hymn that is performed in several parts during Great Lent.

The Parisian manuscript presents the first Georgian translation of this canon, which belongs to Euthymius the Athonite (127v-138v). This is an extremely lyrical translation, executed according to the creative principles of Euthymius the Athonite. It is followed by the second Georgian translation of it performed by George the Athonite (138 v-154 v). At the end of this translation the colophon of George the Athonite’ is preserved in relatively small letters, in which he explains the purpose of his translation. According to the colophon, Euthymius translated the text of this hymn in an abridged form. He also changed the sound of the hymn (melody) and hirmoi (rhythmic and melodic size). This is not surprising for two

reasons: 1) This was the first translation of this hymn into Georgian; 2) The hymn, as is known, has a complex rhythmic and melodic structure. Its creation and especially its translation into another language was associated with great difficulties. Therefore, George the Athonite translated this canon anew. As it was said, the goal of George the Athonite's translation was to adjust the Georgian translations in accordance with the Greek originals, so his translation textually coincides with the Greek original. He skillfully introduced this text into the Greek rule of chanting.

Thus, in this case, along with his own translation, George the Athonite considered it necessary, to present the translation of Euthymius the Athonite with appropriate explanations.

A similar case was revealed in a Parisian manuscript in the case of the no less famous hymn of John of Damascus – “The Day of Resurrection”. This hymn is another striking example of Byzantine hymnography. It is known as the “Golden Canon” and ranks first among the hymns of this author. From the day of creation until today, it is sung on the greatest Christian holiday - Easter Sunday. In the Parisian manuscript, this hymn is also presented in two translations, one of which belongs to George the Athonite, and the other is the earlier one. Comparison of the Georgian translations of this hymn with the Greek original has revealed that George the Athonite's translation exactly matches the original. It is an adequate translation with distinctive artistic merits.

Thus, according to the testimony of Paris. georg. 5 manuscript, in cases where the early translations are distinguished by special artistic merits, George the Athonite presents them unchanged along with his own translations, of which he informs us with special colophons.

By the time of compilation of this “Triodion”, the Greek church was already following the Constantinople rite, with which George the Athonite was well acquainted. However, in the “Triodion”, as in other liturgical-hymnographic collections compiled by him, he included numerous hymns from the early - Jerusalemite period, which are no longer found in the 11th century Greek “Triodions”. It is the Georgian translations of a great many hymns that are often the only way to restore them today. It is also noteworthy that George the Athonite uses the old way and marks the names of the odes of the hymnographic canons - according to the initial words of 9 biblical hymns, and not by contemporary Greek rule - numerical numbering.

Along with the designation of the authors, the Paris manuscript contains indications of a different type, some of which require further study, and others were deciphered in the process of working on the manuscript. In this regard, the cross indicated in the beginnings of one group of hymns in the manuscript - † (3r, 8v, 42r, 57r, 94v, 103r, 177r, 184v, 191r, 198r, 207r, 208v) deserves attention.

As it turns out, in the Parisian manuscript, this cross sign (†) is indicated along the hymns of “ypakoe” (“ibakoi”) type. The “ypakoe” is one of the oldest types of hymns, the introduction of which in Byzantine hymnography is associated with the name of Romanos the Melodist. This type of hymns in Byzantine hymnography is mainly known as “kontakion”.

The study has shown that in Georgian manuscripts the term “kontakion” is usually rendered as “ypakoe”. The same is in the manuscripts of Paris. georg. 5, which preserves several dozen of this type hymns. Each of them indicates the type of hymn – “ypakoe”.

As observation has shown, in Georgian manuscripts the term “kontakion” is usually conveyed by “ypakoe”.

The hymnographical heritage of Greek authors preserved in the “Triodion” of George the Athonite requires special research, which is equally important for the study of both Georgian and Byzantine hymnography. The solid foundation of such study is the completeness of George the Athonite’s “Triodion” and the determination of the heritage of the authors presented in it with great accuracy. This time we present one of the samples from the works of Romanos the Melodist, named “the father of Byzantine hymnography”.

Discussion and Conclusions

“Lenten Triodion” of George Athonite’s redaction provides extensive information on the great representatives of the Byzantine Church and culture. One example of this is the work of an interesting hymnographer of the VIII century – Stephanus Sabbaites. According to the Greek and Slavonic manuscripts, only several hymns of this author are known. According to the “Triodion” by George Athonite Stephanus Sabbaites has created the cycle of the hymns for the Lent - 26 “three-odes”, 3 hymnographical canons and some stichera. These hymns represent one of the best examples of Byzantine hymnography.

A similar situation is observed in the case of Elia the III -Patriarch of Jerusalem (VIII c.). In scholarly literature the hymnographic canons for only two Sundays of Lent (Sunday of Prodigal Son and IV Sunday) by this author have been known. In “Lenten Triodion” of George Athonite’s redaction the hymnographic canons for the rest five Sundays of Lent have been revealed.

“Lenten Triodion” of George Athonite’s redaction also makes it possible to modify and clarify a number of views existing in the scholarly literature. Among them is the work of the greatest hymnographer - Romanos the Melodist.

In Parisian manuscript small size hymn “Adam’s Lament” is set on Cheesefare Sunday which is dedicated to “Adam’s expulsion”. The hymn presents the expulsion of Adam from Paradise with great dramatization.

This kontakion is considered the earliest example of the “lamentation genre” in theological poetry. It is noteworthy that this hymn included in the “Lenten Triodion” on the Cheesefare Sunday – directly before the start of the Lent in remembrance of the tragedy of the Fall.

At the beginning of the hymn the name of the author - Romanos is indicated. The hymn consists of 7 troparia. Georgian translation of this hymn is published by us with commentaries (Khachidze 2018, pp. 133–156).

The recent scholarly edition of Romanos’ works belongs to Grossidier de Matons. This edition contains the authentic texts of hymns attributed to Romanos

known for today (Grosdidier de Matons 1964). This hymn is not included in this publication because Romanos is not considered its author.

This hymn is not included in the works of Maas and Trypanis (1963) either. Its text is published by Maas under the title “Das Verlorene Paradies” (Maas 1910). The “kontakion” is anonymous in this edition. In Maas’s view, the unknown author of this hymn lived earlier than Romanos and is regarded as one of the “oldest ancestors” of Romanos and his school.

According to the “Lenten Triodion” under George the Athonite’s redaction, the author of this oldest hymn who was considered a predecessor of Romanos and his school is Romanos himself. At the same time, the manuscript preserves the old Georgian translation of the hymn.

The comparison of the Georgian translation with the text published by Maas shows that the similarity is obvious, but this is not an exact, a word-for-word translation of this text. In the Georgian translation, the troparia of a hymn are more extensive and artistically perfect. George the Athonite seems to have had just such Greek original at hand. This must be a reflection of Medieval Byzantine tradition of the mid-11th century. The structure and metric dimension of the Georgian translation of the hymn must reflect the same tradition.

The first troparion of the Georgian translation of this hymn undoubtedly represents the “prooimion” or the prologue strophe which is evidenced by the following: 1) The last two lines, with a little difference, are repeated in the rest troparia; 2) The “prooimion” is of different content. It starts with a prayer of supplication to the Savior, where he begs to give him the “gift of a word” – the inspiration for writing a hymn.

Adam’s expulsion from the paradise is presented in the hymn with dramatization characteristic to Romanos. Mourning is even more aggravated by the angel who slammed and “banned” the gates of Paradise.

The scholarly literature marks the dialogue form characteristic of Romanos’ hymns. It is so in this hymn too. In the 4th troparion of the hymn, Adam appeals to Paradise and asks for help. This is one of the most emotional passages of the hymn.

The next (V) troparion also represents an appeal to Paradise and here comes the theme of the Holy Scripture. cf.: Genesis 3: 18. In the following (VI) troparion of the hymn the paraphrase of the corresponding section of the Holy Scripture is given: cf. Genesis 2, 17.

The refrain characteristic of the "kontakia" is repeated in every troparion of the hymn. It is interesting to note that the last troparion of the hymn generalization occurs and the supplication is expressed not only on behalf of Adam but of the mankind.

In the manuscript Paris.georg. 5, the hymn is referred to as “ypakoe” and is set on the Tone 8 and the hirmos is also indicated: “Don’t be excluded”.

As a rule, in Parisian manuscript the hirmoi are indicated at the beginnings of “ypakoes” – the hymns having an inscription with the name of Romanos. This fact attracts attention, because by the time of Romanos’ activity the metre based on the correspondence of hirmoi - troparia had not yet existed.

Today it is difficult to say when and by whom the “arrangement” of Romanos’ kontakia according to this new rule occurred. It is noteworthy that the “Patmos kontakarion” which also dates to XI century, Romanos’ “kontakia” in the same rule are set on hirmoi metres (Arentzen and Krueger 2016).

As it was obvious from the comparison with previous manuscripts, the arrangement of Romanos’s kontakions according to the new rule - putting on the hirmoi – is attested for the first time in Georgian hymnography in the manuscripts under George the Athonite’s redaction.

The strict observance of rhythmic and melodic signs of the hymns, which was associated with great difficulties, is one more peculiarity of George the Athonite’s working method. As it turned out, he did a special work from the viewpoint of establishing the texts and signs of rhythmic division of the hymns written by Georgian hymnographer Ioane Minchkhi included in “Triodion” (Khachidze 1987, pp. 61–78).

He seems to have done similar work with the Georgian translations of numerous hymns translated from Greek included in “Lenten Triodion”.

Thus, the Georgian translations of this hymn are of special interest also from the viewpoint of the study of its rhythm and melody.

This hymn of Romanos the Melodist appeared to be included in the existing publications of the Greek and Slavic “Lenten Triodions” (*Τριώδιον κατανυκτικόν* 1879, p. 105, *Lenten Triodion* 1975, pp. 140–141). Here, the hymn is also performed on Cheesefare Sunday, and it is not presented separately but included after the 6th ode of the hymnographical canon of Christopher the Protosecret.

In these publications of Greek and Slavic “Lenten Triodions”, this hymn of Romanos is included without ascribing the name, in the same way as the majority of short size hymns. At the first troparion of the hymn (“The teacher of the ignorant and giver of wisdom”), “kondak” is written and at the rest troparia – “Ikos”. There is also difference in the hymn structure: in the “Lenten Triodion” under George the Athonite’s redaction the hymn contains 7 troparia, and in Greek and Slavic “Lenten Triodions” – 5: the 5th and the 6th troparions lacking.

The publications of Greek and Slavic “Lenten Triodions” are based on the late tradition of manuscripts, and the “Lenten Triodion” under George the Athonite’s redaction is compiled in the 11th century, on the Black Mountain, one of the most powerful centers of the Christian culture of that time by the person, who at the same time, labored on Athos and was thoroughly familiar with modern Byzantine tradition.

The hymnographical heritage of Greek authors preserved in this “Triodion” requires special research, which is equally important for the study of both Georgian and Byzantine hymnography. The solid foundation of such study is the completeness of George the Athonite’s “Triodion” and the determination of the heritage of the authors presented in it with great accuracy by George the Athonite. This time we presented one of the samples from the works of Romanos the Melodist. It is desirable that foreign specialists participate in this large-scale study together with Georgian scientists. This is a matter for the future.

Academic edition of the “Lenten Triodion” under George the Athonite’s redaction is prepared and its electronic version will be placed on the Internet. The

manuscript of autograph value – Paris. georg. 5 will be represented as a basis for publication, the body text.

All different readings, spelling and pencil errors existing in the Georgian manuscripts - Ath - 59 (XI c.), Ath - 38 (XI c.), A-568 (XII-XIII cc.), Jer - 61 (XIII-XV cc.), Jer - 130 (XI-XIII cc.), Jer - 67 (XII c.), Jer - 56 (XII-XIII cc.) and Jer -141 (XIII-XV cc.) containing the “Lenten” under George the Athonite’s redaction are reflected in the critical apparatus of the edition.

Together with publication there will be published a survey study in which main peculiarities of George the Athonite’s “Lenten” are considered.

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Homer and Euripides: Remarks on Mythological Innovation in the Scholia

By Marco Comunetti*

This paper analyses two exegetical strategies adopted by ancient scholars to explain Euripides' mythological innovations and variations with respect to Homer through a selection of scholia. The first approach considers Euripides a (mis-) reader of Homer. The dramatist regards an epic passage as the reference text, but fails to understand its wording correctly: therefore, he uncritically reproduces the model, even though inspired by a genuine impulse to emulate; this circumstance de facto equates the tragedian with a sort of exegete and represents his deviation from the epic text as the locus of an implicit (erroneous) interpretation. The second approach evaluates the work of Euripides, comparing it with the Homeric poems, by means and in the light of concepts of literary criticism. The tragedian creates a good or bad product depending on whether his innovation achieves a certain poetic result: an implausible or unrealistic description of a character is contested, whereas a strategy to enhance the emotional impact of the dramatic moment is recognised and perceived as a careful and conscious artistic operation, hence possibly praised.

Keywords: ancient scholarship, exegetical activity, Greek scholia, literary comparison, literary criticism

Introduction

The poetic treatment of myth was a much debated topic in Hellenistic and Roman scholarship²⁶. In this discussion, Homer occupied a unique position: he was the authority maintaining the traditional version of a legend and the fundamental poetic model of the subsequent literature²⁷. Ancient critics paid specific attention to the divergence of a narrative from the common or widespread account, and their attitudes towards this issue were various, depending on both the characteristics of the texts analysed and the knowledge or interests of the commentators themselves. Ancient exegetes' assessments of Euripides'

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²⁶Nünlist (2009, pp. 257–264) provides an account of the major questions that ancient commentators addressed when dealing with mythological issues; see also Nünlist (2015, pp. 738–739, s.v. *Mythology*).

²⁷In a survey on the citations from Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes in the scholia to these authors, in those to Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius and in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Montanari (1992, pp. 78–84) shows that the citations from Homer noticeably outnumber all the others; only in the scholiastic corpus to Aristophanes the citations from the comic poet prevail. The commented author is normally the most quoted after Homer. From a different and complementary perspective, Scattolin (2007) analyses some scholia to Sophocles and Euripides where ancient scholars cited together with or instead of Homer authors who appear to be a better comparison.

innovations²⁸ provide a rich and varied sample of such phenomenon: different approaches reflect numerous critical trends, which produced multiple results. For the sake of clarity these can be arranged in two categories, bearing in mind that well-defined demarcations are not always possible due to the nature of the scholia, our main source on the subject. On the one hand, there are neutral annotations which, e.g., indicate the mythological variants between Homer and Euripides as a simple matter of fact²⁹, or attribute to the dramatist the use of a model different from the Homeric poems³⁰. On the other hand, there are more articulate comments expressing or implying value judgments, which often blame but at times, on the contrary, defend or even appreciate the mythological alteration and thus the poetic invention introduced by Euripides, whose origin and reason they attempt to recognise. To the latter class belong two interpretative methodologies distinguished in terms of theoretical assumptions and explanatory objectives: the first one considers the tragedian a (mis-) reader and exegete of Homer; the second one evaluates his work by means and in the light of concepts of literary criticism. This paper aims to examine these two exegetical strategies in order to shed light on a specific aspect of how poetic works were read and studied in Hellenistic and Roman epoch; the focus is on the reasons and the interpretative perspectives of the ancient commentators.

The practice of textual comparison should be considered the result of a complex operation, which provides a trace of the breadth and variety of the objectives of Hellenistic and Roman scholarship. Quotations from the works of different authors show that ancient scholars used to consult many sources while commenting on a text, thus broadening their cultural and exegetical horizons: comparing different literary products, indeed, contributes to understanding multiple features of a text and to revealing its relationship to tradition and/or the effects of its reception on subsequent literature. So, this article concentrates on textual comparison as a critical and interpretative tool adopted in ancient scholarship to comment on a text along with the search for poetic models³¹.

²⁸For an overview of the characteristics and use of myth in Euripides see Wright (2017). On the relationship of Euripides with epic sources and models see in particular Davidson (2020).

²⁹E.g., *Sch. Eur. Ph.* 12: καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με: ἀσφαλίζεται τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῆς ἡρώϊνης, ἐπεὶ οἱ παλαιότεροι Ἐπικάστην <αὐτήν> καλοῦσι. καὶ Ὅμηρος “μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδαο ἴδον, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην” (*Od.* 11, 271). “They call me Jocasta: he (*sc.* Euripides) certifies the name of the heroine, because the more ancient (*sc.* authors) call her Epicasta. And Homer as well: ‘and I (*sc.* Odysseus) saw the mother of Oedipus, the beautiful Epicasta’”.

³⁰E.g., *Sch. Eur. Tr.* 822: Λαομεδόντι παῖ: τὸν Γανυμήδην καθ' Ὅμηρον (*Il.* 5, 265; 20, 231) Τρωὸς ὄντα παῖδα Λαομέδοντος νῦν εἶπεν ἀκολουθήσας τῷ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκότι (...) φησὶ δὲ οὕτως (fr. 29 Bernabé = 6 Davies = 6 West) (...). “Son of Laomedon: he (*sc.* Euripides) called in this passage Ganymede son of Laomedon, although according to Homer he was son of Tros, following the one who composed the *Little Iliad* (...) He says so (...)”.

³¹The study of literary citations, textual comparison, and intertextuality in ancient scholarship has developed considerably in recent decades: see Calvani Mariotti (1987), Grisolia (1992), Montanari (1992), Montanari (1995), Turra (2006, pp. 151–152), Scattolin (2007), Perrone (2010), Braswell (2012), Phillips (2013), Montanari (2016), Phillips (2016, pp. 167–210), Vergados (2017), Cannatà Fera (2018, pp. 252–253), Gennari Santori (2018), Pagani (2018), Comunetti (2020), Montanari (2020), Vergados (2020, pp. 289–316), Gennari Santori (2021a, 2021b), Montanari (2021a, 2021b).

This investigation is conducted on four scholia from Euripides' corpus - the richest among the surviving scholiastic collections of the tragedians³² - which exemplify the critical approaches under examination: three of them are relative to the *Hecuba* and one to the *Rhesus*³³; the inclusion of two scholia from the *Iliad* and one from the *Odyssey* to relevant passages cited as reference or comparison texts within the tragic annotations enriches and broadens the research. It is worth remembering that the scholia are the result of the compilation of material drawn from various sources, which preserve the work of Hellenistic and Roman scholars in a fragmentary and scattered condition. In these annotations, the expressions introducing citations and/or establishing comparison between authors are varied but often stereotyped, and their choice does not seem to comply with a codified scheme; moreover, they are concise and condensed even when inform on the purpose of the citations³⁴. The scholia does not explicitly state the method and literary notions adopted by ancient scholars, because they collect material which ultimately goes back to commentaries on single texts and not to theoretical treatises: therefore, concepts and abstract principles must be deduced from their actual application³⁵.

³²An overview of the scholiastic corpus to Euripides, with indication of the main studies on it and its editions, is provided by Dickey (2007, pp. 31–44, 2015, pp. 505–508); for further bibliography and an accurate catalogue describing the witnesses that transmit the scholia and scholarly material to Euripides see also Mastronarde (2010-in progress).

³³The *Rhesus* has been transmitted as part of the 'Euripidean Selection', a repertoire of ten plays also comprising *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Troades* and *Bacchae*, all equipped with scholia except the last one, but it is generally assumed to be the work of a poet of the 4th c. BCE. *Rhesus*' hyp. B shows that the question of its attribution had already been raised in antiquity; this is, however, the only surviving evidence of a debate on the issue in ancient times. The scholia lean *e silentio* towards the attribution of the play to Euripides, revealing no doubts about its authenticity. They actually seem to indicate that scholars such as Crates of Mallus (*Sch.* 5; 528a¹), Dyonisodorus (*Sch.* 508), and Parmeniscus (*Sch.* 528a¹) read the same *Rhesus* that we have and knew it as Euripidean; see Merro (2008, p. 218). Besides, ancient scholarship on *Rhesus* shows a patent affinity in content and methodology with the scholarship on Euripides' other tragedies, following the same path during the Hellenistic and at least the beginning of the Imperial era; see Merro (2008, pp. 9–61, esp. 17 ff), Fries (2014, pp. 22–55). It should be noted, in any case, that for the purposes of this research it is not relevant whether the commentator of the scholion to the *Rhesus* here examined considered this tragedy to be Euripidean or not; this would have no effect on the reasoning in the investigation, which revolves around the ideas and methods of ancient exegetes.

³⁴Tosi (1988, pp. 59–86) emphasises the importance of recognising the link between the cited and commented texts, in order to understand reason, meaning and purpose of the citations; Tosi (2013) analyses some examples where this operation is complicated by a possible corruption in the connection between the *interpretamentum* and the commented text, or by the ambiguous explanation provided by ancient scholars on controversial passages. For an analysis of the citations by Hellenistic and Roman scholars and an attempt to classify them see Montanari (2016, esp. pp. 73–74). In particular on poetic citations in tragic scholia, within contexts and for purposes of literary criticism, see Grisolia (1992).

³⁵For an overview of the most important features of the scholia see Wilson (2007, esp. pp. 50–68). On the main stylistic and formal conventions and some recurrent topics in this kind of material see Nünlist (2009, pp. 8–14). For a definition of 'scholion' and 'scholiastic corpora', a history of the arrangement and development of such collections, as well as a critical discussion of the modern debate on this issue see Montana (2011), with bibliography.

The Murder of Agamemnon with an Axe

In the exodus of the *Hecuba*, Polymestor predicts that Clytemnestra will kill Agamemnon with an axe³⁶.

Eur. *Hec.* 1277, 1279 Battezzato

κτενεῖ νιν (sc. τὴν Κασσάνδραν) ἢ τοῦδ' ἄλοχος, οἰκουρὸς πικρά (sc. ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρα).

καυτόν γε τοῦτον (sc. τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα), πέλεκυν ἐξάρασ' ἄνω.

The wife of this one, ferocious sentinel of the house (sc. Clytemnestra), will kill her (sc. Cassandra).

And this man himself (sc. Agamemnon), raising up an axe.

A scholion argues that the νεώτεροι (“the younger / post-Homeric authors”), among whom Euripides is obviously included, added the detail of the weapon because of a misreading of the verse in the *Odyssey* which states that Aegisthus ambushed Agamemnon at a banquet and slew him as an ox at a manger. According to the *interpretamentum*, the comparison means that the Atreides was murdered when he should have been resting after his labours, an implicit allusion to the exploits of the war and the return from Troy, but later authors did not understand the symbolic meaning of the image and represented it as real with the addition of the axe. Hence, from this perspective, the younger authors have uncritically reproduced the model, even though inspired by a genuine impulse to emulate, distancing themselves from it due to incorrect exegesis, which might be otherwise defined as the consequence of a too literal interpretation³⁷.

Sch. Eur. *Hec.* 1279 Schwartz³⁸

οἱ νεώτεροι μὴ νοήσαντες τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρω “δειπνίσσας, ὡς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ” (*Od.* 4, 535 = 11, 411) ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄν ἔδει μετὰ τοὺς πόνους ἀπολαύσεως τυχεῖν, τοῦτον ὡς βοῦν ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ Κλυταιμνήστρα, προσέθηκάν ὅτι καὶ πελέκει

³⁶The detail of the axe recurs in both Eur. *El.* 160, 279, 1160 and *Tr.* 361–362.

³⁷Aristarchus often regarded the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as a reservoir of information and a source of inspiration for later authors, who could also develop stories and details starting from the epic text (e.g., *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 9, 575a¹; *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 24, 527–528a; *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 24, 735a). The scholar of Samothrace also detected examples of wrong interpretations or pseudoliteral reworkings of Homer: e.g., *Sch. Il. Ariston.* 22, 351b: οὐδ' εἴ κέν σ' αὐτὸν <χρυσῶ ἐρύσασθαι ἀνάγοι>: ὅτι ὑπερβολικῶς λέγει. ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἀντίσταθμον χρυσὸν πεποίηκε πρὸς τὸ Ἐκτορος σῶμα ἐν Φρυζίῳ (*TrGF* 3: 364–370); “Not even if [Priam, son of Dardanus] should command to pay your weight in gold: (sc. there is the critical sign) because he (sc. Homer) is using hyperbole. Aeschylus, on the other hand, actually represented a golden ransom in compensation for Hector's corpse in the *Phrygians*”; cf. *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 8, 70a; *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 22, 210a¹. On the relationship between Homer and the νεώτεροι in the use of myth according to the perspective of Aristarchus see Schironi (2018, pp. 661–686), with bibliography. The notion that a misinterpretation of the Homeric text resulted in a specific detail of a later work is widely attested in the exegetical scholia to the *Iliad*: e.g., *Sch. Il. ex.* 4, 59b: πρεσβυτάτην (sc. Ἥρην): τιμωτάτην νῦν. πλανηθεῖς δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Ἡσίοδος νεώτερόν φησι τὸν Δία (cf. *Th.* 454–457); “The eldest/most honoured (sc. Hera): in this passage (it means) the most honoured. Hesiod, misled by this passage, says that Zeus is younger”; cf. *Sch. ex. Il.* 5, 880; *Sch. ex. Il.* 18, 38.

³⁸On this scholion see Roemer (1906, pp. 32–34), Elspenger (1907–1910, pp. 125–126), Nünlist (2009, p. 259).

ἀνηρέθη. διὸ σημειωτέον ἐνταῦθα τὸ “καὺτὸν τοῦτον πέλεκυν ἐξάρασ’ ἄνω” (Eur. *Hec.* 1279): - MAB

Not understanding that the verse in Homer: “after inviting him to a banquet, as one kills an ox at the manger” is instead of: “Clytemnestra slew as an ox this man who was to get pleasure after his labours”, the younger authors added that he was killed with an axe. Therefore, it is necessary here to mark with a critical sign the verse: “and this man himself, raising up an axe”.

The murder of Agamemnon is mentioned several times in the *Odyssey*, with a fluidity of conception and elaboration that is justified in the light of the different contexts and perspectives³⁹. The relevant verse recurs two times within the poem: in the section dedicated to the account of Menelaus’ shipwreck in Egypt, when Proteus narrates Agamemnon’s return from Ilium, his emotion at the arrival in homeland and the execution of the ambush by Aegisthus and twenty henchmen (4, 512–537)⁴⁰; and in the dialogue between Atreides’ ghost and Odysseus in the *Nekyia*, when the dead hero recounts the violent massacre carried out against him and his companions by Aegisthus with Clytemnestra’s complicity and support (11, 404–434)⁴¹. The woman, cunning and terrible, here meditates on the death of the husband and kills Cassandra with her own hand brandishing a sword (11, 424: φασγάνῳ).

The Homeric δειπνίσσας (“after inviting him to a banquet”) is referred to Aegisthus, whereas the scholion makes Clytemnestra the subject of the homicide; this discrepancy can be explained by taking into account various factors. First of all, the degree of participation of the woman in the murder is variable already in the epic poem: she is from time to time either absent, or an accomplice, or a conspirator and responsible for the crime; the idea that she was the architect of the deceit and actual perpetrator of the assassination was afterwards fortunate, as the paradigmatic example of Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* demonstrates⁴². Secondly, the expression σὺν οὐλομένη ἄλόχῳ (“with my accursed wife”) in *Od.* 11, 410 might have influenced the ancient commentator: Aegisthus is the nominative in the phrase, but Clytemnestra plays an active role in the action as well. Thirdly, Euripides ascribes the murder to the woman: it is, therefore, not illogical to suppose that the ancient exegete cited the Homeric verse making Clytemnestra its subject under the influence of the tragic text.

³⁹*Od.* 1, 28–43; 3, 193–198, 232–235, 253–312; 4, 90–92, 512–537; 11, 404–434, 439, 452–453; 24, 95–97, 191–202.

⁴⁰*Sch. Od.* 4, 535 e2 grasps Agamemnon’s desire for rest after his labours, and therefore states that the image of the ox at the manger must be read figuratively; see Pontani (2010, p. 330) *app. ad loc.* From another perspective, *Sch. Porph. Od.* 535e2 aims to justify the behaviour of the hero and to remove any doubt about his possible weakness for not realising the trap: the reference to the banquet does not mean that he was drunk, and the comparison with the ox does not designate him as an arrogant but a brave man. On the link between these annotations and the tragic scholion see Pontani (2005, p. 101).

⁴¹On these two passages see respectively West (1981, pp. 359–361) and Heubeck (1983, pp. 291–293).

⁴²On the characterisation of Clytemnestra and the change of her role in the murder of Agamemnon from the *Odyssey* to Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* - also with a comparison with Pindar - see Montanari (2018).

Sch. Od. 11, 410 observes that Homer does not mention the use of specific items in the execution of the murder - which appear in subsequent literature - namely a clothing that serves to entrap the victim⁴³ and precisely the axe: having the text of the *Odyssey* as its focus, it records the characteristics of the epic description by subtracting the innovations added by later poets. This neutral remark counters the reasoning of the tragic scholion, which considers the expansion of the traditional representation as the result of an erroneous exegesis⁴⁴.

Sch. Od. 11, 410 Dindorf

σὺν οὐλομένη ἀλόχῳ] ὅτι τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ κάκεινη συνέγνω. τὸν γὰρ χιτῶνα καὶ τὸν πέλεκυν Ὅμηρος οὐκ οἶδεν. Q

With my accursed wife] because she too is complicit in the conspiracy. Homer does not know the clothing and the axe.

Hecuba Spares Odysseus' Life

In the first episode of the *Hecuba*, the protagonist begs Odysseus to spare the life of her daughter Polyxena, who has been chosen as a victim to be sacrificed on Achilles' tomb. The woman tries to persuade the Greek commander by recalling an episode of the final stages of the war when she saved him. Odysseus had entered Ilium in disguise as a beggar and disfigured by wounds that should have made him unidentifiable; nevertheless he was recognised by Helen, who denounced his identity to Hecuba: the queen accepted Odysseus' supplication and let him leave the city unharmed.

Eur. *Hec.* 239–241 Battezzato

οἶσθ' ἠνίκ' ἦλθες Ἰλίου κατάσκοπος
δυσγλαινία τ' ἄμορφος ὀμμάτων τ' ἄπο
φόνου σταλαγμοὶ σὴν κατέσταζον γένυν;

⁴³See, e.g., Aeschylus: *Ag.* 1382–1383: ἄπειρον ἀμφιβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων / (...), πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν, *passim*; *Ch.* 997–1000: τί νιν προσεῖπω, κὰν τύχω μάλ' εὐστομῶν; / ἄγρευμα θηρός, ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον/δροίτης κατασκῆνωμα; δίκτυον μὲν οὖν, / ἄρκυν τ' ἂν εἴποις καὶ ποδιστήρας πέπλους, *passim*; and Euripides: *El.* 154–155: δολίοις βρόχων / ἔρκεσιν, *Or.* 25: ἀπεῖρω (...) ὑφάσματι.

⁴⁴*Sch. Soph. El.* 442–446, commenting on the horrible mutilation which Clytemnestra carried out on Agamemnon's corpse, states that each author is free to shape the components of the myth as he wishes, provided that he preserves the essential core of the narrative and creates a text which is coherent from a literary point of view; the innovation from the Homeric model prompts here the critic to emphasise the concept of poetic licence: (...) οὐ δεῖ δὲ διαφωνίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπεὶ φησιν ἐκεῖνος: “δειπνίσσας, ὡς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ” (*Od.* 4, 535 = 11, 411). ἤρκει γὰρ τὰ ὅλα συμφωνεῖν τῷ πράγματι· τὰ γὰρ κατὰ μέρος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται πραγματεύεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τὸ πᾶν βλάβη τῆς ὑποθέσεως. “(...) One should not think that there is divergence from Homer because he says: ‘after inviting him to a banquet, as one kills an ox at the manger’. For it was enough if the events in their entirety agree with the matter; as for the details, each (*sc.* poet) has the licence to treat them as he likes, provided he does not do damage to the story at large”. Cf. *Sch. Pind. O.* 4, 31b²: (...) δοκεῖ γὰρ παρ' ἱστορίαν λέγειν· (...) ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πλάττειν τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἃ βούλονται. “(...) he (*sc.* Pindar) seems to contradict traditional myth (...) But poets are allowed to invent whatever they like”.

Do you know when you came to spy on Ilium, disfigured in your appearance by rags, and from your eyes drops of blood dripped down your cheek?

Helen retrospectively narrates this exploit at the royal palace in Sparta in *Od.* 4, 240–264⁴⁵. In this account Odysseus also wears rags, pretends to be wounded and is recognised by the woman, but she does not betray him, hoping for the victory of the Achaeans: the hero easily carries out a massacre of Trojans and returns to the ships; Hecuba remains unaware of the raid and is not even mentioned⁴⁶. The centrality of Helen in the story is supposed to be a creation of the poet of the *Odyssey*: this episode is useful both to celebrate Odysseus' typical abilities and, above all, to clarify from the point of view of the woman that she regretted the adultery before the sack of Ilium. Euripides introduced the novelty that Hecuba had once spared the enemy so that she can in turn ask the Greek commander to save Polyxena⁴⁷.

A scholion criticises this invention as implausible, and not corresponding to the Homeric version or conceived in his manner. The dramatist reworks a traditional episode, of which Homer is implicitly identified as the authoritative guarantor, producing something unconvincing: Hecuba would have had no reason to remain silent if she had seen an enemy wandering in the Trojan camp, while Helen did so appropriately. The statement within the scholion “she regretted the folly sent by Aphrodites” indicates that Helen repented her behaviour and planned to return to the Greeks; this sentence echoes a line from the account of the heroine in the *Odyssey*, which further reveals the comparative nature of the commentary.

Sch. Eur. Hec. 241 Schwartz⁴⁸

ἀπίθανον τὸ πλάσμα καὶ οὐχ Ὀμηρικόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐσίγησεν Ἑκάβη πολέμιον
θεασαμένη κατοπεύοντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Τρῶας πράγματα. ἡ δὲ Ἑλένη εἰκότως ἄτην
γὰρ μετέστενεν Ἀφροδίτης (cf. *Od.* 4, 261–262)⁴⁹ : – M

This invention is unconvincing and not Homeric⁵⁰: for Hecuba would not have kept silent if she had seen an enemy spying upon Trojans' affairs. Helen, instead, (*sc.* did so) reasonably: for she regretted the folly sent by Aphrodites.

⁴⁵On this passage see West (1981, pp. 340–343).

⁴⁶Odysseus' incursion into Ilium figured in the *Little Iliad*. Procl. *Chrest.* 206 (cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 5, 13) (= *Arg.* 1 Bernabé = Davies, pp. 52–53 = *Arg.* West) placed it between the construction of the wooden horse and the theft of the Palladion. In the *Little Iliad*, Odysseus disfigured himself (Procl. *l.c.*) or was wounded by Thoas at his own request (*Sch. Lycophr.* 780 = fr. 7 Bernabé = 8 Davies = 8 West); see also fr. 6 Bernabé = 7 Davies *incert. loc. intra Ep. Cycl.* = 9 West; fr. 10 West. The episode is evoked, as an anachronistic prolepsis, also in [Eur.] *Rh.* 498–507, 710–719. This version is similar to the Homeric one, from which it differs only on few points: it eliminates the egocentric perspective of Helen's account; it omits the meeting between Helen and Odysseus, probably as irrelevant; it does not refer to any wounding on the part of the hero, whereas elaborates on his disguise as a beggar; it insists on the idea that Odysseus presents himself to the enemies as a traitor who is at loggerheads with the Atreides; see Fries (2014, pp. 307–311, 385–389).

⁴⁷See Matthiessen (2008, pp. 286–287), Battezzato (2018, p. 109), who also notes that Eur. *Hec.* 240 is “an adaptation of *Od.* 4.245, where Odysseus ... wears *σπεῖρα κάκ' (α)*”.

⁴⁸On this scholion see Roemer (1906, p. 71), Elsperger (1907–1910, p. 48), Papadopoulou (1998, pp. 213–214, 1999, pp. 207–209), Nünlist (2009, p. 260, n. 11).

⁴⁹*Od.* 4, 261–262: (...) ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἦν Ἀφροδίτη / δῶχ' (...).

The notion of verisimilitude is associated to a component in the construction of the plot and to a demand for consistency in the behaviour of the characters, with respect to the features with which they are portrayed: this is a matter of internal credibility, i.e., a request for textual coherence. This recalls Aristotle's notions of literary work: the poetic mimesis represents what could and would happen either probably or necessarily⁵¹; as regards the characters in particular, these must be appropriate and consistent: in drawing them, as in the arrangement of the incidents, it should always be sought what is inevitable or probable, so as to make it inevitable or probable that such and such a person should say or do such and such a thing⁵².

Dolon's Camouflage and Four-footed Walk

In *Il.* 10 Dolon, preparing to carry out a night raid on the Achaean camp, equips himself with a bow and a spear, and wears a grey wolf skin and a marten cap.

Il. 10, 333–336 West

αὐτίκα δ' ἄμφ' ὄμοισιν ἐβάλλετο καμπύλα τόξα,
ἔσσατο δ' ἔκτοσθεν ῥινὸν πολιοῖο λύκοιο,
κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην, ἔλε δ' ὄξυν ἄκοντα.
βῆ δ' ἰέναι προτὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ· (...) ⁵³.

He immediately threw a curved bow around his shoulders, and there over clothed himself in the skin of a grey wolf, and on his head he set a cap of marten skin, and grasped a sharp javelin. He set out to go toward the ships from the camp.

⁵⁰In the scholiastic corpus to Euripides the noun πλάσμα recurs in *Sch. Eur. An.* 734 to defend the tragedian against the charge of including in his work an anachronistic reference to a historical event of his own time: ἢ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν φίλη: ἔνιοί φασιν <τὸν ποιητὴν> παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους αἰνίττεσθαι τὰ Πελοποννησιακά. οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δὲ κατασκευοφαντεῖν τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἀλλὰ φάσκειν πλάσματι κεχρησθαι. “[A city] which was previously friendly: some claim that the poet anachronistically alludes to the Peloponnesian war. However, it is unnecessary to criticise Euripides captiously, but rather to say that he has made use of a fiction”. On the meaning of πλάσμα in tragic scholia see Papadopoulou (1999).

⁵¹Arist. *Poet.* 1451a 36–38 (cf. b 8–10) (with Gallavotti 1974, pp. 144–145): (...) οὐ τὸ τὰ γινόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν γένοιτο καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1460a 26–27, 1461b 11–12, which state that what is convincing though impossible should be preferred to what is possible and unconvincing. See Nünlist (2015, pp. 742–743 s.v. *Plausibility (or Probability)*).

⁵²Arist. *Poet.* 1454a 33–36: χρὴ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν ὁμοίως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων συστάσει, αἰεὶ ζητεῖν ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὸ εἰκὸς, ὥστε τὸν τοιοῦτον τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰκὸς, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰκὸς. Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1454a 26–28 (with Gallavotti 1974, pp. 153–154). See Nünlist (2015, p. 712 s.v. *Appropriateness (or Propriety)*), pp. 716–717 s.v. *Characterisation*, pp. 721–722 s.v. *Consistency*).

⁵³See also *Il.* 10, 458–459. Hainsworth (1993, p. 188) defines this episode “a truncated arming and departure scene”. In the arming scenes of the *Iliad* the standard order of the weapons is: 1) greaves, 2) corslet, 3) sword, 4) shield, 5) helmet, 6) spear; see Kirk (1985, pp. 313–314). Dolon takes no greaves, neither corslet, nor sword or shield.

The author of the *Rhesus* describes Dolon wearing a wolf skin and a helmet made from its skull: going beyond the epic model, he images that the hero will move on all fours and imitate the gait of the animal⁵⁴.

[Eur.] *Rh.* 208-215 Fries

λύκειον ἀμφὶ νῶτ' ἐνάψομαι δορὰν
καὶ χάσμα θηρὸς ἀμφ' ἐμῷ θήσω κάρα,
βάσιν τε χερσὶ προσθίαν καθαρμόσας
καὶ κῶλα κώλοισ τετράπουν μιμήσομαι
λύκου κέλευθον πολεμίοις δυσεύρετον,
τάφροις πελάζων καὶ νεῶν προβλήμασιν.
ὅταν δ' ἔρημον χῶρον ἐμβαίνω ποδί,
δίβαμος εἶμι· τῆδε σύγκειται δόλος.

I will fasten a wolf-skin on my back, and put the gaping jaws of the beast on my head, then fitting its anterior feet to my hands and its posterior feet to my legs I will go on all fours in imitation of a wolf's gait difficult for the enemies to find, as I approach the moat and the shelters of the ships. When I reach deserted place, I will walk on two legs: the deceit is established in this way.

A scholion finds it incredible that Dolon moves on his hands and feet like a wolf, and adds that Homer represents the hero clothed in the skin of the animal not because he walks on all fours or to suggest such a gesture - indeed crawling on all fours is not mentioned in the *Iliad*. The terms of the relationship between the epic and tragic texts are not made explicit, but this association implies either a generic comparison or a derivation of the latter from the former.

Sch. [Eur.] *Rh.* 210 Merro⁵⁵

βάσιν τε χερσὶ: ἀπίθανον τετραποδίζειν αὐτὸν ὡς τοὺς λύκους· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὅμηρος διὰ τοῦτο τὴν λυκὴν αὐτῷ περιτίθησιν. V

[Fitting its anterior] feet to my hands: it is incredible that he walks on all fours like the wolves; and Homer puts the wolf skin on him not for that reason.

The annotation disapproves the representation of the camouflage because crawling on all fours turns out not to be credible, absolutely or in the literary

⁵⁴The scene adheres to the pattern of the Homeric description, but focuses on the wolf helmet and skin, suggesting the association between Dolon and the animal; the usual weapons would spoil his stratagem. The chorus provides a lyric repetition of the four-footed walk: τετράπουν/μῦμον ἔχων ἐπιγαίου/θηρός; (255–257). There are attic vase-paintings of the early fifth century BCE which portray Dolon thus fully attired, and one even crawling on all fours (Paris, Louvre CA 1802 [circa 480–460 BCE], *LIMC* III.1 s.v. Dolon B 2 (p. 661), III.2 (p. 525)). Hence, this was not a invention on our poet's part. Dolon's mimicry might be a genuine early variant of the myth, whose relationship with *Il.* 10 is difficult to define; *Rhesus* happens to be the only extant poetic source of this version. It is uncertain whether Dolon acted out the movements while describing his disguise and walking; two surviving cases of dramatic entry on all fours are the terrified Pythia at Aesch. *Eum.* 34–38 and the blinded Polymestor at Eur. *Hec.* 1056–1059: with the latter the *Rhesus* shows verbal echos. See Bond (1996, pp. 259–260), Fries (2014, pp. 191–197, 200, 213).

⁵⁵On this scholion see Merro (2008, p. 175).

fiction or, perhaps, as regards in particular the stage performance⁵⁶. If the scholion considers the *Iliad* to be here the model of the *Rhesus*, then it criticises the tragedian for excessively expanding on the wolf skin detail of the epic narrative, producing something unconvincing as the crawling walk; besides, it should be taken into account that this innovation could have been seen as the consequence of an over-interpretation of the Iliadic passage on the part of the dramatist, whose reception was also contested as defective from a literary point of view. In summary, the ancient grammarian might have thought that the author of the *Rhesus* elaborated too much on a detail of the Homeric text or misunderstood it, to the point of creating a bad poetic product.

The Children of Hecuba

In *Il.* 24 Priam reaches Achilles' tent to ransom the corpse of Hector. He addresses a plea based on the association between himself and Peleus, two old fathers without the protection of any son. The comparison, however, does not produce an equation, but shows that Priam is more unfortunate: he has lost all his sons during the war and is now forced to beg the enemy who killed the best defender of Ilium; on the contrary, Peleus still rejoices knowing that his only heir is still alive, and hopes for his return. The king explains that of his fifty children nineteen were born from a single womb, i.e., Hecuba, and the rest from other women in the house.

Il. 24, 493–497 West

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πανάποτμος, ἐπεὶ τέκον υἷας ἀρίστους
Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, τῶν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι λελεῖσθαι.
πεντήκοντά μοι ἦσαν, ὅτ' ἦλυθον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν·
ἐννεακαίδεκα μὲν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες.

But I am totally unfortunate, since I begot excellent sons in the broad land of Troy, yet of them I avow that not one is left. Fifty I had, when the sons of the Achaeans came; nineteen were born to me from one and the same womb, and the rest from women in the palace.

In *Il.* 6, 243–250 Homer states that inside the Trojan palace there were fifty nuptial chambers of the sons of the king and, on the opposite side in a courtyard on the upper floor, twelve of his daughters⁵⁷. A total of twenty-two children of Priam are mentioned within the poem: five are born from Hecuba, two from Laothoe and

⁵⁶Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1460a 11–18: the marvellous, which causes pleasure, should be portrayed in tragedy, but epic affords greater scope for the inexplicable, that is the chief element in what is marvellous, because we do not actually see the persons of the story. Beyond a certain point the marvellous becomes incredible and, therefore, loses its effect; in particular the inexplicable risks being ridiculous in drama.

⁵⁷See Kirk (1990, pp. 192–194).

one from Kastianeira, while the mother of the others remains unknown⁵⁸. The number and identity of the children of Priam and their mothers were variable in antiquity, which therefore became a matter of debate⁵⁹: e.g., Apollodorus (3, 12, 5) reported fifty children, and according to his catalogue Hecuba gave birth to fourteen, of whom ten sons and four daughters; Simonides (559 Campbell = 272 Poltera = 559 *PMG*) and Theocritus (15, 139) attributed specifically to the queen twenty children. The number fifty recurs in both Euripides' *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*: in the first tragedy Priam is indicated as the father of the children⁶⁰; in the second *Hecuba*, while mourning the imminent sacrifice of Polyxena and her own fate, laments the loss in a way that makes her appear to be mother of them all, i.e., not specifying whether Priam fathered children with other women⁶¹.

Eur. *Hec.* 419–421 Battezzato

Εκ.: οἴμοι· τί δράσω; ποῖ τελευτήσω βίον;

Πο.: δούλη θανοῦμαι, πατρός οὗς' ἐλευθέρου.

Εκ.: ἡμεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντά γ' ἄμμοροι τέκνων.

He.: Alas, what shall I do? Where shall I end my life?

Po.: I will die as a slave, I who am daughter of a free-born father.

He.: I am bereft of fifty children.

Since this affirmation creates a supposed divergence from Homer, a scholion resorts to different solutions to solve the problem.

Sch. Eur. *Hec.* 421 Schwartz⁶²

αὔξουσα τὸ πάθος φησί· τῷ γὰρ μόνους παῖδας ἐγέννησεν. Ὅμηρος· “ἐννεακαίδεκα μὲν μοι ἱῆς ἐκ γηδύος ἦσαν” (*Il.* 24, 496). ἢ ὅτι συμπεριλαμβάνει τοὺς νόθους διὰ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. σύλληψις δὲ λέγεται ὁ τρόπος· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐγέννησεν, ὁ δὲ Πρίαμος ἐξ ἄλλων γυναικῶν : – M

She says this to increase the suffering: for she gave birth to nineteen children only. Homer: “nineteen were born to me from one and the same womb”. Or because she includes the illegitimate ones due to her disposition towards her husband⁶³. The trope is called syllepsis: she did not beget them, but Priam from other women.

The scholion considers the Homeric version as the correct one. In the first section it reports, via a phraseology which assumes the point of view of the heroine,

⁵⁸Besides Hector and Paris, the other sons of Hecuba are Antiphos (*Il.* 11, 101–104), Deiphobos (*Il.* 22, 233–234), and Polites (*Il.* 13, 533–534). The sons of Laothoe are Lukaon and Poludoros (*Il.* 21, 84–96); the son of Kastianeira is Gorguthion (*Il.* 8, 302–305); cf. Richardson (1993, pp. 325–326).

⁵⁹On the number of Priam's children in ancient sources see Fowler (2013, pp. 527–528).

⁶⁰Eur. *Tr.* 135–136: τὸν πεντήκοντ' ἀροτῆρα τέκνων / Πρίαμον.

⁶¹Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 361: τὴν Ἑκτορός τε χιτέρων πολλῶν κάσιν (sc. Πολυξένην); 620–621: ὃ πλεῖστ' ἔχων μάλιστα τ', εὐτεκνότετε / Πρίαμε, γεραία θ' ἦδ' ἐγὼ μήτηρ τέκνων (sc. Ἑκάβη); 821: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄντες παῖδες οὐκέτ' εἰσὶ μοι (sc. Ἑκάβη); see Battezzato (2018, pp. 123, 129, 155, 182).

⁶²On this scholion see Roemer (1906, pp. 39–40), Elsperger (1907–1910, pp. 100–101), Grisolia (1992, p. 56), Papadopoulou (1998, pp. 206–207).

⁶³The expected construction of διάθεσις in the meaning of '(good) disposition toward someone' is with πρὸς and accusative - the only example in Euripides' scholiastic corpus is in *Sch. Hec.* 886; cf. for this translation Papadopoulou (1998, p. 207). In Eur. *An.* 222–227, Andromache states that she nursed the children that Hector fathered with other women, so as to show him no bitterness.

that Hecuba says to have fifty children to increase the suffering: the ancient commentator acknowledges the novelty introduced by Euripides but, instead of expressing a negative assessment, illustrates it as a strategy to enhance the emotional impact of the scene; this device is perceived as a careful and conscious artistic operation, which therefore deserves to be investigated⁶⁴. According to the explanation, Euripides represents Hecuba as claiming to have a greater number of children in the dramaturgical fiction: hence, the deviation from the model is only apparent, because it is the consequence of an artificial statement of a character on the stage; this seems to exclude that in the perspective of the ancient exegete the dramatist intended to take an objective position on the number of Hecuba's children. This scenario depicts a relationship between Homer and Euripides where the mythological alteration aims to a specific poetic effect. In the second section, the *interpretamentum* alternatively suggests that the queen includes among her children those born from other women. Finally, it refers to the syllepsis, a rhetorical figure whereby an expression/predicate semantically belonging to one subject is attributed to two or more: here Hecuba would equate herself with her husband in respect to the number of the children he overall generated; this number would thus appear exaggerated, but not invented. It should be taken into account that Euripides makes Hecuba express herself with the *pluralis maiestatis* ἡμεῖς (“we”): the ancient critic might have thought that it was indeed a plural, and for this reason talked about the syllepsis; Polyxena's reference to her father at the end of the preceding verse might have favoured this interpretation⁶⁵. Whereas the solution appealing to the amplification of the suffering concerns the emotional effect, the explanation by means of the syllepsis pertains to the rhetorical mechanism through which such an amplification takes place.

The scholia to *Il.* 24 relative to Priam's plea bring out concepts of literary criticism worthy of comparison. *Sch. ex. Il.* 24, 490 observes that the contrast between the condition of Priam and the one of Peleus increases the pity, because, while the first lost fifty sons, the second has only one but still alive. Similarly to the tragic scholion, an association is established between the detail of the deceased sons and the poetic capability to produce a more intense feeling on the part of or towards the person who suffered the loss: this effect is achieved in the *Hecuba* by the exceptionality of the number in absolute terms, and in the *Iliad* by both this feature and the contrast that it produces between the circumstances of the characters.

Sch. ex. Il. 24, 490 Erbse

⁶⁴The opposite of deliberate deviation is invention without reason or improvisation: cf. *Sch. Eur. Hec.* 3: (...) πολλάκις δὲ ὁ Εὐριπίδης αὐτοσχεδιάζει ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις, ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐνίοτε ἐναντία λέγειν. “(...) Euripides often extemporises in genealogies, so that occasionally he even says things at odds with himself”. Extemporaneous creation is perceived as an extreme and unsuccessful form of alteration of the standard narrative: from a literary point of view, it implies lack of reason, neglect in composition, in manipulation and in exposition of the material, hence risk of incoherence.

⁶⁵For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that Diggle (1982, pp. 315–318, 1984, p. 358), followed by Kovacs (1995, pp. 434–437), transposed verses 415–416 between 420 and 421. The sequence 420–421, transmitted by the manuscripts, has latterly been restored by Matthiessen (2008, pp. 140, 307–308) and Battezzato (2018, pp. 45, 129); cf. the review of Diggle (1984) by Mastrorarde (1988, p. 157).

σέθεν ζῶοντος: ἠύξησε τὸν ἔλεον, εἶγε ὁ μὲν τὸν ἕνα ἔχει, ὁ δὲ τῶν πενήκοντα ἀφήρηται. b(BCE³E⁴) T
 [While he hears of] you as yet alive: he (*sc.* the poet) increased the pity: if at least the one (i.e., Peleus) has one (*sc.* son), the other (i.e., Priam), on the contrary, has been deprived of fifty.

Sch. ex. Il. 24, 496b points out that it is credible that a woman gives birth to nineteen children⁶⁶, whereas it would not be credible if she had fifty, as Bacchylides' Theanus. Homer's clarification on the number of Hecuba's children is thus conceived as a realistic feature of the description, because it could be plausible also outside the literary fiction.

Sch. ex. Il. 24, 496b Erbse
 ἐννεακαίδεκα: πιθανὸν μίαν τεκεῖν ἐννεακαίδεκα, οὐχ ὡς Βακχυλίδης (*sc. dith. 15*) πενήκοντα τῆς Θεανοῦς ὑπογράφει παῖδας. T
 Nineteen: it is credible that a single woman bore nineteen children, not as Bacchylides who indicates fifty children of Theanus⁶⁷.

The ability to generate emotions is a topic in ancient reflections on literature⁶⁸. The scholia to Homer and Euripides appeal to different notions in relation to the variety of context and content of the passages analysed. In the *Iliad*, the number of children is a substantial component of Priam's plea: the antithesis between his unfortunate condition and the one of Peleus is perceived as a strategy to enhance the pity⁶⁹. Ancient scholars often praised Homer's capacity to portray intense emotions, inducing affection and sympathy towards the characters, and to create vivid and powerful scenes: the link between him and tragedy is particularly evident when feelings characteristic of this genre are evoked⁷⁰, according to Aristotle's definition of tragedy as a work which produces, through pity and fear, the catharsis of this kind of sufferings⁷¹. In the *Hecuba*, the information on the

⁶⁶The scholia to the *Iliad* recognise πιθανότης as an aspect of Homer's style in general, which is especially shown in the way the poet gives realistic and circumstantial details of places or characters; see Richardson (1980, p. 278), cf. Nünlist (2015, pp. 735–736 *s.v. Mimesis*, p. 741 *s.v. Persuasiveness (pithanotês)*, pp. 747–748 *s.v. Realism, Lifelike*).

⁶⁷The ode narrates the embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to Troy to demand a diplomatic return of Helen and her possessions. In the chronology of the myth this episode belonged to the events of the *Cypria* (*Arg. Bernabé = Davies*, p. 32 = *Arg. West*); it was known to the poet of the *Iliad* (3, 203–224; 11, 138–142). Theanus, priestess of Athena and wife of Antenor, is mentioned at the beginning of the text, which is unfortunately mutilated by some verses: here it should have referred to the fifty sons of the woman. Dithyrambic chorus consisted of fifty singers, and it is possible that the children of Antenor and Theanus formed the chorus here; if this were the case, this fact would explain their number; cf. Maehler (2004, 157 ff).

⁶⁸Nünlist (2015, pp. 723–724 *s.v. Emotions*).

⁶⁹The scholia to the *Iliad* admire the grandeur and the elevation of certain Homeric passages: the notion of αὐξήσις plays a relevant role here and can apply to a large variety of poetic devices; see Richardson (1980, pp. 275–276).

⁷⁰Richardson (1980, pp. 274–275; cf. pp. 270–271). The scholia to the *Iliad* make numerous and varied references to the tragic genre while analysing the Homeric poem: on this exegetical approach see Pagani (2018).

⁷¹Arist. *Poet.* 1449b 24–28 (with Gallavotti 1974, pp. 136–139): ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἔχουσης, ἡδυσμένω λόγῳ χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις,

number of children gains relevance in relation to the misfortune of the queen: the deviation from the model is conceived as a means of increasing her suffering, which has an impact on the dramatic moment; πάθος is one of the distinctive qualities of tragedy and the ability to arouse it was often highlighted by ancient critics⁷². The recognition of this literary purpose may conceal an appreciation of the artistic device on the part of the ancient commentator, who does actually not find any risk of poetic failure or improbability in the use of a high number.

Conclusion

There follows a comprehensive and organic summary of the findings of this investigation.

Ancient scholars adopted different critical approaches to elucidate Euripides' mythological innovations and variations with respect to Homer. *Sch. Eur. Hec.* 1279 depicts Euripides as a reader of Homer: the dramatist regards the epic text as a model and aims to emulate it, but fails to understand its wording correctly and reproduces it uncritically. The ancient commentator de facto equates the tragedian with a sort of exegete⁷³, and ascribes to him a lack of understanding of which his own text is the result and testimony: Euripides' work is thus conceived as the locus of an implicit literary exegesis, where the deviation from the model is the consequence of an erroneous interpretation. The other examples bring out concepts of literary criticism and use them as criteria for evaluating the texts: mythological innovations cause poetic effects which make the literary product bad or good. *Sch.*

δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἑλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν.

⁷²Garzya (1989, pp. 3–4) and Grisolia (1992, pp. 55–56) comment on a selection of tragic scholia dealing with πάθος; for a collection of scholia on πάθος in tragedy see Trendelenburg (1867, pp. 123–128). The noun πάθος means first 'that which happens (to a person or thing)', then an unpleasant experience, viewed either subjectively as an emotion or objectively as a misfortune. Arist. *Poet.* 1452b 9–13 defines it as one of the three elements of a tragic plot: δύο μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου μέρη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ περιπέτεια καὶ ἀναγνώρισις, τρίτον δὲ πάθος. τούτων δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν καὶ ἀναγνώρισις εἴρηται, πάθος δὲ ἐστὶ πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, οἷον οἱ τε ἐν τῷ φανερωθῆ θάνατοι καὶ αἱ περιωδυνίαι καὶ τρώσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

⁷³The tendency to equate the commented author with an exegete seems to openly occur when the scholia describe the reception of an earlier work by later authors with verbs like ἀκούω or ἐκδέχομαι, which refer to the activities of textual criticism and interpretation of the ancient scholars; this meaning on occasion applies also to ἀναγιγνώσκω, which otherwise refers to the generic act of reading. This phenomenon is clearly attested in the relationship between Homer and Hesiod: see Vergados (2017), Gennari Santori (2018), Schironi (2018, pp. 695–703), Vergados (2020, pp. 289–316), Gennari Santori (2021a, esp. pp. 19, 77–80, 109–110 nn. 384–385, 260–262, 487–489; 2021b, pp. 225–226 n. 39); e.g., *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 2, 527–531: τινὲς τῶν νεωτέρων (cf. Hes. fr. 235, 1) ἀνέγνωσαν (with scholarly meaning); *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 12, 22a: ἀνέγνω Ἡσίοδος (without scholarly meaning); *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 14, 119a: καὶ ὁ Ἡσίοδος (fr. 228 M.-W.) δὲ οὕτως ἀκήκοεν; *Sch. Hrd. Il.* 16, 548a: καὶ Ἡσίοδος (*Sc.* 7) οὕτως ἐξεδέξατο. In accordance with this perspective, ancient scholars sometimes explained a lesson of supposed Homeric derivation or imitation by arguing that the commented author came across a certain lesson of the epic text: this author would have had at his disposal a copy of the poems transmitting the variant he adopted or held as a reference: e.g., *Sch. Hrd. Od.* 4, 1 j (see Rengakos (1993, p. 29), Montanari (1995, pp. 53–57)); *Sch. Pind. O.* 7, 42b (see Phillips 2016, pp. 183–185).

Eur. *Hec.* 241 and *Sch.* [Eur.] *Rh.* 210 criticise the dramatist for creating something unconvincing or unbelievable: the notion of verisimilitude applies, in the first case, to a request of internal consistency in the behaviour of a character, who is supposed to be represented according to defined features; it corresponds, in the second case, to a demand for plausibility in the movements and gestures of a character, whose description is expected to be credible, that is, avoiding any excess of the inexplicable or the marvellous. *Sch.* [Eur.] *Rh.* 210 might imply that the literary failure also results from an over-elaboration and/or misinterpretation of a detail of the Homeric text: this calls for reflection on the fact that the two interpretative methodologies under investigation were not necessarily opposing but potentially coexisting, and their boundaries should not be regarded as always distinct but at times blurred. *Sch.* Eur. *Hec.* 421 recognises the novelty introduced by Euripides as a strategy to enhance the suffering of a character and the emotional impact of the scene; it also offers a possible explanation of the rhetorical mechanism used to achieve this effect. The ancient exegete is interested in the dramatic art of the author: he perceives the innovation as a deliberate and meditated operation and, therefore, possibly praises it. The adjective ἀπίθανος (“incredible”, “unconvincing”), the adverb εἰκότως (“appropriately”, “reasonably”), and the noun πάθος (“misfortune”, “suffering”), here associated with the concept of the αὔξησις (“amplification”), are recurring terms in ancient literary criticism. In particular, the urge to search for credibility and verisimilitude as essential components to the creation of the poetic work finally reflects an Aristotelian conception of literature, finding correspondence in the categories enucleated by the philosopher within his *Poetics*⁷⁴.

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⁷⁴The central role played by Peripatetic inspirations and methods in the birth and development of Hellenistic philology is now a well recognised feature, see e.g., Montana (2017) and Montana (2020, pp. 148–154), with bibliography and critical discussion of the topic. It is worth remembering that the very idea of a contiguity between Homer and the dramatic genres reached a detailed and systematic elaboration, and a concrete application in terms of analysis and research, with Aristotle. On the one hand, according to the philosopher epic and tragedy shared the same forms, as well as most of their constituent elements (*Poet.* 1459b 7–12), and Homer was the first to indicate the structures of both tragedy (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and comedy (*Margites*) (*Poet.* 1448b 34–1449a 2); on the other hand, the practice of comparing epic and tragedy underpins the *Poetics* itself, whose closure is dedicated precisely to a comparison between these two genres, to the advantage of the latter (*Poet.* 1461b 26–1462b 15); cf. Pagani (2018, pp. 67–69).

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