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Front Pages

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The *Athens Journal of Philology* (AJP) is an Open Access quarterly double-blind peer reviewed journal and considers papers from all areas of sports and related sciences. Many of the papers in this journal have been presented at the various conferences sponsored by the Languages & Linguistics Unit and the Literature Unit of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER). All papers are subject to ATINER's Publication Ethical Policy and Statement.

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The current issue is the fourth of the twelfth volume of the *Athens Journal of Philology* (AJP), published by the Languages & Linguistics Unit and the Literature Unit of Athens Institute.

Gregory T. Papanikos
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- Submission of Paper: **8 June 2026**

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Tudor Money: Understanding the Language of Coinage in the 16th Century Socio-political Life and Literature

*By Natalya Davidko**

The paper is devoted to Tudor money (coins) as a culturally constructed conceptual category, which shapes historical narrative and can be studied through economic, religious, philosophical and literary discourse. The starting point in this inquiry is the Coin not as a stock economic tool, but as a semiotic sign of dual nature: an intermediary, which as a result of social codification transcends its purely economic nature to provide its perception as a part of a vast figurative system, which communicates through its symbolic iconography novel characterizations as well as profound political and ideological meanings. As a specific element of culture interwoven in the very fabric of the sixteenth century literary language, money establishes a cohesion between developing monetary culture and art and shapes a unique figural style, to a great extent lost on the modern reader. The methodology applied in the current study combines a close reading of representative literary texts with a multidisciplinary approach, which allows of leading a conceptual analysis in several gnoseological perspectives simultaneously, namely, numismatics, semiotics, economics, historicism, symbolic studies, and literary criticism

Keywords: *Tudor coins, conceit, iconography, semiotics, economics, symbolism.*

What thing is then so well belov'd as monie?
It is a speciall comfort to the mind;
More faire then women are, more sweet than honie
Golde is a God, and Siluer is a Saint.
(Barnfield 1605)

Introduction

The period with which this paper is concerned is the Tudor age (1485 – 1603), which is represented by five crowned monarchs and is marked by dramatic changes in all spheres of economic, political, religious, and cultural life. The 16th century (the beginning of the Modern period in the history of England) saw transition from feudalism to a new economic order with petty and large manufacturers, merchants, bankers and usurers, consolidation of absolutism, painful social changes, proliferation of knowledge and education, the Reformation movement inchoate by Martin Luther, and the English Renaissance with its 'iconic' personalities such as Thomas More (1478 –1535), William Shakespeare (1564 –1616), and Francis Bacon (1561- 1626). All of this makes the epoch a unique and most impactful historical period for the development of modern thinking, language and literature. It seems feasible to single out this period as distinct and specific in the evolution of the British coinage, too. I seek to expose the role of coinage as media of communication in political, religious and social life and its role in generating specific 'monetary' discourse in drama and

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poetry, whose role in the figurative construction of literary discourse has been grossly underestimated.

The general goal of the research is to expose the influence of the Tudor coins on Renaissance literature and language. It aims to explore the following aspects: 1) the pictorial design of coins with special attention to how the visual performs the functions of indoctrination; 2) legends chosen by Tudor sovereigns as a reflection of their aspirations; 3) the role of economic factors in shaping the figural style of the 16th century literature; and finally, 4) the contribution of money culture to a new type of discursive practices and the mindset of people.

The material for literary analysis comprises diverse genres typical for the epoch: Shakespeare's history plays which link the literary and the historical; two plays whose plots are explicitly constructed around money – *The Merchant of Venice* by Shakespeare and *The Jew of Malta* by Marlowe; a domestic drama *Arden of Feversham* by Thomas Kyd(?); John Donne's poetry as a sample of metaphysical verse; the 16th century popular Ballads, a product of folk culture reflecting people's attitudes to historical personalities and events; epigrams by John Heywood, and finally, Richard Barnfield's *The Encomium of Lady Pecunia: Or, the Praise of Money* written in a specific genre of the paradoxical laudation.

The analytical methods employed in the current study combine textual analysis with the study of coinage iconography, special attention being paid to its inherent symbolic nature; literary discourses based on coin imagery are scrutinized within the framework of contemporary historical circumstances to see how economic events influence figures of speech based on coin names.

Theoretical Premises

Money is primarily an economic category with an established set of functions performed in the economy. Money has its value, which is determined by some monetary authority (be it King, parliament, the central bank, or – the market): it measures the exchange value of economic entities and communicates it. However, it has been clear throughout pecuniary history that money's signification goes far beyond its purely economic role and encompasses a wide range of cultural content acting as an indispensable vehicle of cognition because of its symbolic character. The developing money culture implied cognitive transfer of pecuniary evaluativity to a broad domain of human perceptions, feelings, and relations and framed "the way we make sense of the world" (Capeloa Gil and Gonçalves da Silva 2015).

The current study has been conducted within a multidisciplinary perspective which unifies numismatics, semiotics, economics, historicism, and literary criticism in one multifaceted network. The methodology enables a researcher to connect specific content of different exploratory fields for studying such a complex phenomenon as money, which cannot be fully apprehended within each field in isolation. As Albert Einstein put it, the methodology "presupposes conceptual analysis in several gnoseological perspectives simultaneously if and when the external conditions require it" (Einstein 1949).

The fruitfulness of this method has been proved by many inquiries into the ontology of money based on the interconnectedness of diverse spheres of its existence. Georg Simmel offers a wide-ranging analysis of the social, psychological and philosophical aspects of money in the economy (Simmel 2004). Deborah Valenze (2006) presents a remarkable discussion of the social role of money in the British history combining economic, social, theological, linguistic and literary evidence. Marc Shell explores how money brings together philosophical thought, aesthetics and language and offers new methods of analyzing literary texts drawing on economic theory, philosophical writings and language (Shell 1983); elsewhere, Shell investigates social and semiotic connections of art, money, and religion in Western history (Shell 1995). Isabel Capeloa Gil and Helen Gonçalves da Silva give an insightful analysis of the manifold ways in which money shapes social relations and affects discursive practices. All these studies are characterized by four salient features: transdisciplinarity, cognitiveness, historicity, and structurally complex meaning. They hypothesize "a stratified view of meaning," whereby a surface structure is superimposed upon a deep one. The 'surface meaning' is situationally and contextually bound, whereas the 'deep meaning' represents an ideation system comprising generative models for cognitive conceptualizations" (Grav 2012).

Historically informed methods of research were recently enriched by *The New Economic Criticism,* a project at the intersection of economics and literary criticism. Worked out in the 1990s, it establishes a close relationship between literature and economics and offers new perspectives for analyzing literary texts drawing on "economic paradigms" as well as on a new type of money tropes (Woodmansee and Osteen 1999; Woodbridge 2003). Fictional characters and their actions are analyzed in economic terms. Thus, such concepts as 'value' or 'nobleness' are treated as market commodities; social interaction and human relations are viewed as exchangeable market values; what used to be regarded as 'faith' or 'loyalty' are treated as barely contractual relations (Grav 2012). Though interesting, the attempt to treat age-old concepts as 'fundamentally economic ideas' and well-known literary characters as *homo economicus* seems pushed a bit too far. However, the knowledge of economic background can help us in understanding and interpreting the figural language of the Tudor age and cast light onto the prevalent 'shared mentality'.

For some time, coins as such were considered the scope of numismatics. In this article, the Coin with its symbolic iconography is regarded as a meaning-saturated gestalt, on which converge politics, ideology, economics, and – imaginative literature. Coins are a familiar feature in sixteenth-century literary works. The importance of the artifact is validated in the language, where the word has acquired the meaning of 'money in general' as in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* "I have as much Coin as will buy the town" (Marlowe 1850) or in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* "[I paid] so far as my coin would stretch; and where it would not, I have used my credit" (Shakespeare 2006).

Tudor Coinage

It ought to be noted that the Tudor kings displayed different attitudes to money matters and the national coinage. Henry VII was the first king who confined his expenses to the limits of his income. His monetary policy had its aim to keep up the high quality of gold and silver coins, prevent counterfeiting and put an end to coins and bullion leaving the realm. Unlike his father, Henry VIII was a spendthrift. "In a few years he dissipated by the prodigal expenses of the youthful monarch, the immense wealth which his father's avarice had accumulated" (Ruding 1930). Henry VIII was the first to "recourse to the most disgraceful means to fill his coffers and stands recorded with infamy as the first of our English sovereigns who debased the sterling fineness of the coins"(ibid., p. 300). This period was called the *Great Debasement*. He left to his children a heavy burden of debt, coinage of inferior quality, and a monetary system in a state of chaos which was in need of serious remedy.

The only son of Henry VIII, Edward VI (1547 – 1553), whose personal contribution to the country's development, according to some historians, has been grossly underestimated, took care of the wretched state of the country's money. Coinage under Edward VI is recognized as one of the most complicated and interesting of the early modern period (Kelleher 2015). His efforts were carried on by Mary I (1553 – 1558), the first ruling Queen of England. In the proclamation of August 20th, 1553, she declared her determination to produce "coynes as well of gold as of silver of the perfect fineness" and of the "standard sterling" (Symonds 1912, p. 180). However, she had no time to complete the reforms; it was done by Elizabeth I (1558 – 1603), who brought the English coinage in the long run back to the pre-debasement standards.

The Tudor coinage is impressive in its plenitude and variety and informs much of drama discourse. In Shakespeare's *Henry IV* (part 1), there is a funny scene of bickering between Falstaff[1] and the Hostess of the tavern, in which they accuse each other of dishonesty. Falstaff accuses the lady of pick pocketing and stealing a precious "ring of his grandfather's worth forty mark", which after all turns out to be a cheap copper thing "some eightpenny matter;" the hostess blames Falstaff for never paying for shirts of "fine linen worth eight shillings an ell[2]" or repaying four and twenty pound she lent, to which he retorts, "Ill not pay a denier!" (Shakespeare 2006). The extract is illustrative of a mixture of native and foreign money names, hard coins and money of account, which made up England's currency in the 16th century.

Gold Coins

A semiotic approach requires that serious attention be paid to minute details of the coin design: "The essence of money resides not so much in its visible or material qualities as in numismatic engravings that are impressed into electrum ingots" (Shell

[1]John Falstaff, the evil companion of Prince Hal, future King Henry V, appears in three plays by W. Shakespeare. He is fat, vain, boastful, and corrupt, but still a lovable personality, very popular with audiences that he conquered with his irresistible humor and lust for life.
[2]A unit of measurement (45 inches).

1995). The importance that was attached to symbolic elements of coins is illustrated by Shakespeare in his play *Henry VIII*, in the scene where Cardinal Wolsey[3] is accused of treason and multiple felonies, among which one of the gravest is "That, out of mere ambition, you have caused Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin" (Shakespeare 2006).

The Sovereign as a Symbol of absolute Royal Power

In 1489, under the pressure of historical circumstances – serious doubts over his legitimacy – HenryVII ordered "to make a new money of gold". It was to excel all the current gold coins at its grandeur. The new ostentatious coin had the purpose of glorifying the new dynasty both at home and abroad. Henry VII believed, as would his grandchildren, that the fineness of metal in the coins current in the realm would promote the prestige of his kingdom.

Figure 1. *Henry VII. Gold Sovereign*

Source: The Royal mint Museum. org.uk/journal/curators-corner/tudor-sovereign//

The new coin featured the King seated facing on the throne with scepter and orb (symbols of power) wearing a closed crown on the obverse and the Tudor rose on the reverse in the center of which there was a shield of the Royal Arms of England and France and a crown with crosses and fleur-de-lis above (Fig. 1). The pattern of an enthroned king with multiple symbols of royal power endured throughout the Tudor reign with variations depending on the immediate historical context. The legend engraved on the first sovereign read, "*But Jesus passing through their midst went His way*" refers to Luke's description of Jesus' return to his native town where he was rejected and nearly killed by the madding mob. His moral power and the strength of his faith awed the crowd, so Jesus quietly left Nazareth and went to Capernaum to preach and teach there. This sentence of Scripture resonates with Henry's own vision of his predestination: he had to fulfill the challenging task of appeasing England amidst baronial riots, abrasive relationships with Scotland and Ireland, plots and conspiracies inside and outside the country and transform it into the richest and most powerful country in Europe. Henry VII's successors left the design practically untouched adding some important symbols and reformulating legends. Thus, Henry VIII's replaced the closed crown with an imperial crown, a symbol of an empire England was becoming under the Tudors. Queen Mary chose for the legend a line from Psalm 118: "*This is the Lord's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes*" (KJV 1611, Psalm 118: 23). The psalm is the *Te Deum* expressing gratitude to God for helping the righteous. A zealous Catholic, Mary considered her foreordination was to restore the

[3]A poor boy from Ipswich, who became cardinal of the Catholic Church, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England.

True Faith and do away with Protestants by "*cutting them down*" and "*burning as thorns,*" which she actually did by the hundreds. However, in the works of the Elizabethan dramatists and poets there is no reference to this gold coin. Soon after minting the first gold sovereigns, Henry issued a skillfully executed new penny transferring on it the design of the sovereign, so that the new monetary unit received the name the "*sovereign penny.*" The coin was short-lived because of the difficulties to reproduce the king's image.

The Pound as Money and a measure of Weight

Since its introduction, the sovereign had been the pound coin and equaled 20 shillings until, in 1594, Elizabeth I issued a different coin for the pound though she still kept the sovereign as a bullion coin and raised its value to 30 shillings. To differentiate between the two coins, she preserved the traditional design for the sovereign, and for the gold pound she chose her own bust profile in a beautifully ornamented dress with a ruff (Fig. 2). The legend read "*Scutum. Fidei. Proteget. Eam.*" [TheShield of Faith. It will Protect Her].

Figure 2. *Elizabeth I. Gold pound*

Source: Museums Victoria

The noun 'pound' has two semantic centers: 'a denomination of money' and a 'fundamental unit of weight'. Though the hard coin for the pound was minted, all the instances of the word usage in the discourses analyzed refer to money of account. The frequently used phrase – a thousand pound – is a cliché denoting 'a very big sum'; linguistically, it is based on partial delexicalization of the word 'thousand,' which loses its exact numerical meaning. I am far from asserting that this phrase was introduced or popularized by More in *Utopia,* where he described a country whose king was bound by a solemn oath "never have in his treasure above a thousand pound of gold or silver," which will be enough to quell rebels and wage "wars against the invasions of his foreign enemies" (More 1930). But the coincidence is striking. In *Richard II*, the inability to obtain a thousand pound for a military campaign against the contender for the throne, determines the fate of the ruling king. It is a favorite expression of Shakespeare's controversial character Falstaff, Prince Hal's leisure companion in both *Henry IV* plays; he repeats it several times under different circumstances: first, as a huge price he never means to pay, "I would give a thousand pound I could run as fast as thou canst" (Shakespeare 2006); second, as an exaggerated sum of his latest pillage, "there be four of us here have ta'en a thousand pound this day morning" (ibid.,p. 249); third, as a sum of subsidy he tries to wring out of Lord Chief Justice for a military expedition he is sent on.

Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*, does not hold the pound in high esteem, "in his age be loath to labour so,/ And for a pound to sweat himself to death" (Marlowe 1850). However, for a hundred thousand pound he agrees to set a trap and massacre the Turks, but gets into this trap himself and dies a terrible death. Pounds function importantly in ballads, for example, in the ballad *The Scottish Field* a bribe is offered by the King of France to the Scotts to invade England while Henry VIII is in France laying siege to the town of Terwyn. He sends a messenger to the "mightie king of Scottes,/ And proffered him a present, of poundes many thousand/ For to wynde to that warre" (Robson 1855).

Pound as a measure of weight eclipses the monetary semantics, especially the "pound-of-flesh story" in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. It is the security demanded on a loan by the moneylender Shylock. The story had been known before the play was staged from ballads and plays by other authors, but Shakespeare imbued the phrase with such intensity of emotions, conflicting values, and worldview clashes that the phrase remained in the language as an idiom with the meaning 'something one is strictly or legally entitled to, but which it is ruthless or inhuman to demand'.

The Noble as a Symbol of National Maritime Policy

The gold *noble* (one third of the sovereign), introduced in 1354 during the reign of Edward III and minted for the last time under Edward IV (1442 –1483), was reinstated by Henry VIII as the *George noble* because the reverse for the first time carried the mounted St. George slaying the dragon, one the most prominent military saints and the patron saint of England (Fig. 3). The revival of the noble falls in well with the new ideology of imperialism. Originally, the coin was designed to commemorate the naval victory of Edward III over the French at Sluys in 1340 and had always been a symbol of maritime valor.

Figure 3. *Henry VIII. George Noble*

Source: Sovereign Rarities.

It is a rare case that the coin was berhymed in a poem by an anonymous author called *The Libelle* [treatise] *of Englyshe Polycye*, one of the first political poems expounding military and commercial advantages of securing command of the sea. The poet described in minute detail the impress on the obverse:

> Within the shypp is shewyd there the sayl
> And oure kynge of royall apparaylle,
> Wyth swerde drawen, bryght, sharp and extente,
> For to chastis enemyes vyolente;
> So shulde he be lorde of the see about
> To kepe enmyes fro wythine and wythoute,

And to be holde thorowgh Cristianyte
Master and lord environ of the see.

(Warner1926)

[Within the ship is shown the sail/ And our king in royal apparel,/ With the sword drawn, bright, sharp and long/ To chastise violent enemies/ So that He should be the lord of the sea/ To keep away enemies within and without/ And to be held throughout the Christian world/ Master and lord environ of the sea].

For the legend, Henry VIII chose the last two lines of the stanza from a hymn by Prudentius, a Roman Christian poet of the 4th century, who wrote hymns for daily use, and even for every hour of the day: "*Crux pellit omne crimen/ fugiunt crucem tenebrae/ tali dicata signo/ mens fluctuare nescit*" [The Cross dispels all darkness,/ All sin before it flies,/ And by that sign protected/ The mind all fear defies.] (Prudentius 1905). Back in the 15th century, the *Rose Noble* had also been called the *Royal*. Mary I reintroduced this name and raised the value to half the sovereign. The semiotics of the coin is fraught with a multitude of political ideas: it symbolizes the power of England exerted on the sea; its preponderance over the once strong enemies; the necessity to maintain naval supremacy in the world; vindication of the new expansionist imperialistic policy etc.

Another property of the coin, which goes under two names, is its capacity of generating intricate puns based on polysemy. Both names denote a person's social rank and a coin, which generates semantic ambiguity that can be interpreted in two different ways. Being sensitive to language intricacies, Shakespeare makes ample use of this phenomenon. In his play *Henry VI* (part 1), a short exchange of utterances between Joan La Pucelle and her father, a shepherd, when she disavows him and insists on her noble descent is an example of conceit, a popular stylistic device of the 16th century, based on the congeries of meanings 'nobleman' and 'gold coin'.

Joan La Pucelle: Peasant, avaunt! [go away!] You have suborn'd [bribed]
this man, Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.
Shepherd: ' Tis true, I gave a noble to the priest the morn that I was wedded
to her mother.

(Shakespeare 2006).

A more elaborate conceit used in *Henry IV* is based on the two words simultaneously and the change in the denomination of the Royal establishing a link between royalty and nobility and the value of the respective coins. King Henry IV's son causes him much trouble as he prefers to waste his time in taverns loafing, boozing and thieving. The king sends a nobleman to bring his son back to the palace.

Hostess: Marry, my lord, there is a nobleman of the court at door would speak with you: he says he comes from your father.
Prince Henry: Give him as much as will make him a royal man, and send him back again to my mother.

(Shakespeare 2006).

In other words, the prince tells the hostess to give the envoy a tip equaling the value of the Royal.

The Angel as a Sacramental Coin

"They have in England/ A coin that bears the figure of an angel/ Stamped in gold, but that's insculp'd upon" (Shakespeare 2006). This description is given by Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice* of the Angel coin. According to the semiotic theory, there are signs of great eminence, the so called sacramental signs, which are at once social and religious, whose sanctification is determined by social acceptance (Maritain 1937). The coin *Angel* meets all the requirements of a sacramental sign.

Figure 4. *Henry VIII. Gold Angel*

Source: coinupdate.com/history

In the Middle Ages, kings were believed to possess "miraculous powers of healing" a disease called 'scrofula' (a kind of tuberculosis, affecting glands of the neck) by simply touching the suffering person (Bloch 2015). In England, monarchs no longer touched a suffering person but instead gave some money; so a coin given to a sick person by the king became as good as the physical touch.

The Angel coin is used frequently in the plays and is the foundation for imagery based on the fusion of the concept of the coin and spiritual celestial beings. In Shakespeare's *King John*, the king is having problems with the Pope, who has excommunicated him for disobedience, so he sends the Bastard, the illegitimate son of Richard, *Coeur-de-lion* (Lionhearted), to England to plunder all the monasteries for gold but presents the expedition as setting free incarcerated angels.

> King John: And ere our coming, see thou shake the bags of hoarding abbots; set at liberty
> Imprison'd angels.
>
> (Shakespeare 2006)

In some cases the pun is more intricate and rather difficult to understand for the modern reader. Thus, in *Henry IV* (part 2), the Chief justice accuses Falstaff of corrupting Prince Hal and leading him astray. This instance of word play becomes clear if we understand the link between two meanings of the phrase 'ill angel': 1) 'evil spirit' and 2) 'bad coin'. The coinage was in dire state; many clipped, thinned, worn, and washed coins were circulating the economy, which resulted in their deficient weight, so coins were to be weighed if one side of the transaction doubted their authenticity. If a coin was too light, it meant that it was either counterfeit or spoilt in one of the ways mentioned above, so it could not be accepted as legal tender. Falstaff pretends that he takes the expression 'ill angel' in the monetary sense, and with his corpulent physique he cannot be considered light, hence he cannot be considered a bad coin, meaning 'evil spirit'.

Chief justice: You follow the young prince up and down like his ill angel [evil spirit].
Falstaff: Not so .... Your ill angel [bad coin] is light, but I hope he that looks upon me will take me without weighing

(Shakespeare 2006).

In the play *Richard II*, Shakespeare combines potential numismatic and metaphysical meanings, conflating the economic idea of payment and God's payment within the canonical theological understanding of reward. Richard has faith in the divinity of royal power as his protection. He, who is fighting a losing battle against Bolingbrook, still believes that God will be on his side because he is an anointed king.

God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
A glorious angel; then if angels fight,
Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right.

(Shakespeare 2006)

The most elaborate and perplexing imagery of the 'angelic' theme is presented in John Donne's Elegie *The Bracelet*. The speaker of the poem lost his mistress's gold bracelet, and the angry woman insists that he melt down gold *Angel* coins for a new piece of jewelry. The poet grieves over "the bitter cost" he has to pay for the lost bijou and develops a many layered metaphysical conceit in which several literary devices – extended metaphor, symbolism, and allusions – are at work.

He mourns "twelve righteous angels", a phrase fraught with double meaning: on the one hand, it is an allusion to celestial beings created by God, on the other, it is a reference to good old coins minted of high carat gold. Further lines may also refer to either plane: "Nor yet by any way have stray'd or gone/ From the first state of their creation" (Donne 1896). It may mean Angels before the Fall and expulsion from heaven and coins before the Great Debasement. This ambiguity continues in the next lines: "Angels, which heaven commanded to provide/ All things to me, and be my faithful guide" (ibid., p. 16), which allows of interpreting the created image as a Guardian Angel or as gold that provides all comforts of life.

The poet draws unexpected parallels between the two concepts. In the literal sense, coins are melted down in the 'furnace' by jewelers, but the prolific use of religious terminology and emotively charged lexical items such as 'sentence', 'sin', 'offences' imbues the context with transcendental symbolism of hell where the biblical fallen angels burn in the fires. The image of Gehenna and eternal punishment is developed further "When in that hell they're burnt and tied in chains" (ibid.,p. 16). The word 'chain' brings us back to a jeweler's workshop where gold is turned into elegant chains, which forms the framework for this passage characterized by the movement of perception back and forth between the metaphysical plane and reality.

The same image of hell and gold melting house combined is employed by Spenser in *The Faerie Queen*:

> Therein an hundred raunges weren pight,
> And hundred fornaces all burning bright;
> By euery fornace many feends did bide,
> Deformed creatures, horrible in sight,
> And euery feend his busie paines applide,
> To melt the golden metall, ready to be tride.
>
> (Spenser 1751)

> [Therein an hundred ranges were fixed, /And hundred furnaces all burning bright By every furnace many fiends did bide,/ Deformed creatures, horrible in sight, And every fiend his busy pains apply'd,/ To melt the golden metal, ready to be try'd.]

In contrast to Donne's exquisitely refined metaphors, Barnfield is more straightforward describing Angels as a Muse inspiring a poet and as hard money he has a perspective to earn for his verses. "Of thee I'le sing, and in thy Praise I'le write; You golden Angels helpe me to indite [write]"(Barnfield 1605). More touching lines are added in 1605 about the passing away of the Queen: she is with heavenly angels now but her image is stamped on gold coins: "But now more Angels then on Earth yet weare Her golden Impresse" (ibid., p. 14).

Though the Angel coin is in essence a sacramental sign, as hard coins they sometimes serve an unworthy cause. Green, a tenant displaced from his land, is hiring two cutthroats to kill Arden of Feversham[4], the landlord, in the play by that title. The villains willingly agree: "How? twenty angels? ... And if thou'lt have thy own father slain, that thou may'st inherit his land, we'll kill him... Ay, thy mother, thy sister, thy brother, or all thy kin" (Kyd 1897).

The Crown as a Symbol of Kingly Power and National Sovereignty

The Crown as a royal headdress is a symbolic reification of the abstract idea of monarchial power, which makes it the most cherished and craved for object of kings, their heirs, and all kinds of pretenders to the throne. In the thematic content of Shakespearean history plays, the crown becomes a literary stock motif. In *Richard II*, the climax of the play is the dramatic scene when Richard is forced to resign his crown. He says, "My crown I am," and tells Henry to hold to the crown, too: "Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize the crown;/ Here cousin:/ On this side my hand, and on that side yours" (Shakespeare 2006).

Thus the symbolic concept of the 'crown' with deep rooted meanings of royal power, sovereignty, burden etc. had been formed by the time Henry VIII took up the reins of power. Because of the scarcity of gold bullion, some foreign coins were permitted to circulate in England[5]. One such coin was the French *écu au soliel* (crown of the Sun). In 1526, it was decided to issue an English coin of the same value.

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[4]In the sixteenth-century domestic tragedy *Arden of Feversham*, Thomas Arden, one of the richest inhabitants of a town, was murdered by a group of conspirators headed by his wife, Alice, and her lover, a tailor named Thomas Mosby. Arden's murder is finally revealed and the guilty parties are sentenced to death.

[5]For a more detailed analysis see Richard Kelleher's "Gold is the strength, the sinnewes of the world" in *British Numismatic Journal* 77.

The name 'Crown' prompted the design for Henry VIII's first English coins. Both obverse and reverse featured the Crown: the former had the Tudor rose topped by a large crown, the latter had a shield surmounted by a crown (Fig. 5).

Figure 5. *Henry VIII. Gold crown*

Source: Wikipedia

The legend read, "*Henry the Eighth a dazzling rose without a thorn*". This is a celebrated cliché from fourteenth-century Church Latin used in poetry versifying English military victories and glorifying English valor and maritime supremacy over the French. "Anglia regna, mundi rosa, flos sine spina./ Mel sine sentina, vicisti bella marina." [Kingdom of England, rose of the world, flower without a thorn,/ honey without sediment, you have won the war at sea] (Carlson 2012).

Literary texts of the time feature both the French crown, or *ecu,* and the English crown in various settings. In *Henry IV* (part 1), Edward Poins, a loyal friend of Prince Hal, a prankster with a heart of gold, when the prince was leading a disorderly life and was no stranger to adventure, abets the Prince in robbing pilgrims going to Canterbury with rich offerings. "We may do it as secure as sleep. If you will go, I will stuff your purses full of crowns; if you will not, tarry at home and be hanged" (Shakespeare 2006). In *Henry IV* (part 2), another friend of Prince Hal, Falstaff, joins the army and becomes a recruiter. Since all his life he has been living on stolen or borrowed money, he sees his chance to make quick money by taking bribes from recruits, who wish to avoid enlisting. Peter Bullcalf, a potential recruit, offers Falstaff a bribe of "Harry [debased shillings] ten shillings in French crowns" (ibid., p. 273).

Warfare constitutes the narrative arc of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The play gives a full picture of war, illuminates motifs of English and French kings and nobility, different attitudes to war of royal military men and ordinary soldiers, showcases war as an opportunity to make money, but above all, extols the role of Henry V in inspiriting his "war-warn ruin'd band" to victory. It seems that the language of war and the language of money are poles apart, all the more we are impressed at the virtuosity with which Shakespeare weaves coin names into the texture of bellicose language. In his inspirational speech, King Henry mocks the gilded epaulettes of French commanders and compares them to clipped coins[6]. As the word 'crown' also means 'the top of one's head,' it may also signify the loss of heads in battle.

[6]Coin clipping refers to the act of cutting off small amounts of precious metal from the edges of coins. Individuals could accumulate enough precious metal to melt down and sell, thus gaining wealth at the expense of the coin's value. The economic impact of coin clipping was disastrous. It led to inflation, as the value of money decreased, and mistrust in the currency system.

King Henry: Indeed, the French may lay twenty French crowns to one they will beat us, for they bear them on their shoulders. But it is no English treason[7] to cut French crowns, and tomorrow the King himself will be a clipper.

(Shakespeare 2006).

The imagery based on the multi-level word play (coin – royal regalia – head) had been successfully used by Shakespeare a year earlier in the play *Henry IV* (part 1), but had a more ominous edge in the mouth of Hotspur, a rebel and a bloodthirsty warrior, who is so obsessed with honor and the idea of armed conflicts that he would not stop at any possibility of violence. The famous lines "We must have bloody noses and crack'd crowns, And pass them current too" (Shakespeare 2006) may be given a purely economic reading that debased coins and silver coins cracked on the edges because produced with a screw press were to be accepted as legal tender. However, since we know the context – a rebellion and civil war – the reading becomes quite different and relates to wounds and smashed heads: the injured, the maimed, and the killed are the commonplace currency of war. This interpretation is supported by other contexts where soldiers are treated as coins: "not a soldier of this season's stamp should go so general current" (ibid., p. 256).

There are battlefield scenes when Pistol, one of Falstaff's old companions, a great braggart, but actually a coward, who hopes to make money from looting, threatens to mangle French captives unless they pay "crowns, brave [beautiful – N.D.] crowns." Ransom for life became a usual practice. What makes such scenes funny is how the characters struggle with the language barrier trying to communicate with each other.

French Soldier: Gardez ma vie, et je vous donnerai deux cent ecus. [Save my life, and I'll give you two hundred ecu].
Boy: He is a gentleman of a good house and for his ransom he will give you two hundred crowns.
Pistol: Tell him fury shall abate, and I the crowns will take.

(Shakespeare 2006)

The motif of villainy expressed in coin language is recurrent in many literary pieces. Black Will in *Arden of Feversham*, a former soldier, who is free of any scruples to kill a man is characterized by his old pal as a type who "bears so bad a mind/ That for a crown he'll murder any man" (Kyd 1897).

The disdainful attitude to French crowns is manifest in *Henry V*, when it concerns venality and treason. After the Southampton plot is exposed, the King accuses the three conspirators that they were paid by France with "treacherous crowns," an example of synecdochical transfer: people are treacherous → people take crowns → crowns are treacherous. Addressing Lord Cambridge, one of the conspirators, the weight factor is used again to deride the poor quality of French coins and condemn the base motifs of the traitors: "this man/ Hath, for a few light crowns, lightly conspired, to kill us here in Hampton" (Shakespeare 2006). The deep meaning underlying lightness

[7]According to the law *Lèse-majesté* (to do wrong to majesty) it was considered treason to clip or counterfeit English crowns as they bore the monarch's image; French crowns did not come within the purview of the law.

in reference to coins is that they do not contain enough precious metal, by transference to a person it is implied that he is not of fine mettle.

John Donne's scorn for *French crowns* is still more pronounced as he compares debased French coins to the "French disease":

> Were they but Crownes of France, I cared not,
> For, most of these, their naturall Countreys rot
> I think possesseth, they come here to us,
> So pale, so lame, so leane, so ruinous;
>
> (Donne 1896)

Silver Coins

The Shilling as Materialization of Ghost Money

At the end of Henry VII's life, a new hard silver coin was introduced for the unit of account known since the Anglo-Saxon times – the *Shilling.* The coin was named the *Testoon,* (from Italian *testone* 'head') better known among the English as the *Tester*. The coin is remarkable because for the first time a profile portrait of the King bore resemblance to the monarch. The obverse depicted a crowned profile portrait of King Henry VII looking right within inner circle. The reverse carried a square topped shield of arms over a long cross with fleury ends, the legend read, "*I have made God my helper*" (Fig. 6). The *Testoon* was struck in quantity under the reign of Henry VIII. It should be noted that silver coinage struck during the reign of Henry VIII was characterized by its increasing deterioration in intrinsic value, especially during the Great Debasement.

Figure 6. *Henry VII. Testoon*

Source: *Numista* coins

A baser kind of metal was used in minting the coin. For two years the new testoons were minted secretly and stored in the Palace of Westminster because they were shamefully debased. However, in May 1544, the debasement was officially approved by Parliament and the coins found their way into public circulation. There is a funny story related to it. Base metals such as copper were added to the alloy and the thin layer of silver on coins quickly wore off revealing the copper, so the tip of the King's nose on the portrait took on a reddish hue, due to which the nickname of Henry VIII '*Old Coppernose'* sprang up (Fig. 7). It caused much jesting among people and indignation on the part of devoted subjects. William Camden, the author of the history of the British Isles, describes how "Sir John Rainsford meeting Parson Brooke, the principal deviser of the copper coin, threatened him to break his head, for that he had

made his sovereign lord (the most beautiful prince King Henry) with a red and copper nose" (Camden1870).

Figure 7. *Henry VIII. The Testoon*

Source: AMRcoins.

Too much copper in the alloy, which colored the coins in a distinctive reddish hue, was ridiculed in many epigrams: comparison was drawn with shamefulness – debased coins were ashamed of themselves.

> Of Testons
> These testoons look red; how like you the same?
> Tis a token of grace; they blush for shame.
>
> (Heywood 1906).

The same image is applied to counterfeit coins:

> Which with Quick-silver, being flourisht over,
> Seemes to be perfect Silver, to the showe.
> If on a woollen Cloth, thou rub the same,
> Then will it straight beginne to blush, for shame"
>
> (Barnfield 1605).

The practice of adding copper in the alloy inspired the stinging lines in the play *Arden of Feversham*, addressed by Mosby to his mistress accusing her of insincerity: "... till now I knew thee not; And now the rain hath beaten off thy gilt,/Thy worthless copper shows thee counterfeit" (Kyd 1897).

In the reign of Edward VI, the testoons for the first time were called by their native name – shillings! Mary I's marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554 brought about a change in the iconography adding *vis-a-vis* portraits called "doble face" (Fig. 8), which were presented humorously in a jingle: "Still amorous, fond and billing[8]/ Like Philip and Mary upon a shilling" (Hawkins 1841).

Figure 8. *Philip & Mary. Shilling*

Source: Coins of England

[8]Caressing each other like doves with their beaks (bills).

Shakespeare uses both words (shilling and tester) in his plays. When Falstaff dares Hal to rob rich travelers, he taunts him by saying "There's neither honesty, manhood, nor good fellowship in thee, nor thou camest not of the blood royal, if thou darest not stand for ten shillings" (Shakespeare 2006) implicating the value of the *royal* coin and Henry's worthiness as a future King. When he teaches a recruit to manage a caliver,[9] to perk him up he offers a debased shilling, "Hold, there's a tester for thee" (ibid., p. 273).

The Mark as the only Unit of Account

Old calculation habits die hard. With the *pound* and the *shilling* receiving their respective hard coins, there remained only one unit of account – the *Mark*. Bacon mentions it in his description of a loan Henry VII borrowed from the City of London: "... he took a fit occasion to send the lord Treasurer to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest [obsolete 'a loan of money' – N.D.] of six thousand marks: but after many parleys, he could obtain but two thousand pounds" (Bacon1885).

The word 'mark' is recurrent in many plays. In *Henry IV* (part 1), Gadshill, a highway robber, hears that a rich gentleman is carrying a big sum of money and plans to rob him: "there's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold: I heard him tell it to one of his company last night at supper"(Shakespeare 2006). King Henry VIII gives the old lady an hundred marks for the glad news about the birth of his daughter Elizabeth. But she is displeased with the sum because she thinks she is worth more. "An hundred marks! By this light, I'll ha' more. An ordinary groom is for such payment" (ibid., p. 685).

Silver Coins as Facilitators of Trade

The Groat

As trade was expanding and prices due to debasement were rising, the country was in need of new denominations to facilitate exchanges. In *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas, counting his gold, mocks at "The needy groom, that never finger'd groat" (Marlowe1850). When the blackmailers want to deprive Barabas of his riches, his slave threatens "not to leave him worth a grey groat" (ibid., p. 320).

The numismatic language of small coins is used by Shakespeare to describe his characters. In *King John*, Robert Faulconbridge (the Bastard) mockingly compares his half-brother's lean face to the profile on the coin. He is embittered that his brother is a rightful heir to their father's estate: "With half that face would he have all my land/ A half-faced groat five hundred pound a year!" (Shakespeare 2006). 'Half-face' also means 'a miserable look and unpromising countenance'. The coin became easy prey for counterfeiters. By 1548, mass counterfeiting had become a threat to the realm, it was decided to discontinue the coin.

[9]A type of light musket introduced in the 16th century.

The Penny and the Denier/doi

The inconveniences in the economy arising from the lack of small monies began to be severely felt. Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth tried to rectify the situation and gave orders to mint a large variety of small-denomination coins to ease exchanges and promote local economies.

There is no denying the fact that both native and foreign money names enriched the lexis and expressive means of the English language. The importance of the penny for the enrichment of the literary language is hard to overestimate. The small English coin acquired the meaning 'a small and insignificant quantity, a trifle,' which, in its turn, served as the basis for conceptualizing it as an intensifier with the meaning 'very little, next to nothing.' The penny-intensifier is used in *Henry VI* (part 2) by the Duke of Gloucester when he is accused of having taken bribes from French kings: "I never robb'd the soldiers of their pay,/ Nor ever had one penny bribe from France (Shakespeare 2006). In the play *Henry VIII*, Shakespeare masterfully uses the Biblical 'last penny'[10] as an intensifying expression. Fallen into disgrace, Cardinal Wolsey, who has amassed a vast fortune, when it is confiscated by the King, insists, "There take an inventory of all I have,/ To the last penny" (ibid., p. 681). The *Denier*, the oldest French coin often referred to as a 'silver penny,' struck by Richard the Lionhearted (1189-1199) for his French possessions, naturalized in England and enriched the English semiotic system with an abbreviation that still exists today – 'd' denoting a penny. Like their English counterpart, small coins – the denier and the doi – developed the function of intensifiers. Though rarely, these names are used in the language of drama adding foreign flavor to the text. In *The Merchant of Venice*, when concocting his diabolical plan, Shylock agrees to charge Antonio no interest on the loan. He promises to supply his "present wants, and take no doit / Of usance for my moneys" (Shakespeare 2006). In *Henry VI*, Gloucester, the King's uncle and Lord Protector of the realm, who is accused of venality, misappropriation of the Crown's money, and treason, challenges his opponents to furnish evidence against him: "That doit that e'er I wrested from the king,/Or any groat I hoarded to my use,/ Be brought against me at my trial-day!" (ibid., p. 24).

Edward VI was the first monarch to mint the *sixpence* and the *three pence coin*, the first coins that had their denomination in Roman numerals imprinted on the face. Other small silver coins produced in some quantity comprised *halfgroat* (two pence), *three-halfpence, three-farthings, and farthing.*

The obverse of the three-farthings shows a left-facing head of the queen, her hair flowing down her back and a rose behind to distinguish the coin from the penny (Fig. 9). The design of the coin and the then habit of wearing a rose behind the ear prompted Shakespeare a vivid description of a very thin person, "my face so thin/ That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose /Lest men should say 'Look, where three-farthings goes!'" (Shakespeare 2006).

[10]"Truly I tell you, you will not get out until you have paid the last penny" (NIV 1984, Matthew 5:26; Luke 12: 59). In KJV, it was "the uttermost farthing".

Figure 9. *Elizabeth I. Three Farthings*

Source: Wikipedia

The trouble with small coins was that they were not easily distinguishable from each other, which was used by counterfeiters to disguise the lesser coin for a more valuable one: they "washed out the roses/ In three-farthings, to make them pence" (Ruding1840). Another trick was the opposite – to attempt a rose on a groat (four pence), in order to pass it for a sixpence (Hawkins 1841). Falstaff mentions "gilt twopences" – another gimmick of counterfeiters to gild twopences in order to pass them off for half-crowns. Falstaff avails of this practice to turn it to a trope referring to lackluster people who try to look more distinguished or significant than they actually are:

> "...if you do not all show like gilt twopences to me, and I in the clear sky of fame o'ershine you, ... believe not the word of the noble" (Shakespeare 2006).

Other Names for Small Coins

Money stamped with a cross received the popular name 'crosses'. During the debasement, when silver was adulterated, there was a warning to receive them with caution: "But let not Mysers trust to Siluer Crosses,/ Least in the end, their gaines be turnd to losses" (Barnfield 1605). In *Henry IV,* Shakespeare draws parallelism with the well known Sentence of Scripture "And whoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple" (YLT 1862, Luke 14: 27). In *King Henry IV* (part 2), when Lord Chief Justice refuses to give Falstaff money for an expedition, he says: "Not a penny, not a penny; you' re too impatient bear crosses" (ibid., p. 265). The surface meaning of the phrase is that Falstaff parts with money very quickly and easily, but the deeper meaning is that he cannot tolerate a burden or suffering and cannot be entrusted with any responsibility. The same parallelism between the Holy Cross and coins is used by Barnfield to describe young people who forget about God in pursuit of riches and think that money can purchase absolution for sins.

> Who many times, hath not a Crosse to blesse him:
> But how can hee incurre the Heavens Curse,
> That hath so many Crosses in his Purse?
>
> (Barnfield 1605)

Occasionally, penny coins are mentioned by their medieval name of *sterling* implicating its material composition as in *Henry IV*, Lord Chief Justice admonishes Falstaff for not paying his debts: "Pay her the debt you owe her,... with sterling money" (Shakespeare 2006). The high quality of sterling coins produced the meaning 'of full value, true, not counterfeit' which Shakespeare uses in *Richard II* in the

epiphanal scene of abdication: "And if my word be sterling yet in England,/ Let it command a mirror hither straight" (ibid.,p. 223). Here, the king's word is equated to the coin (the ancient Greek pattern when one lexeme (sēmē) meant both 'word' and 'coin') of the highest finesse.

Among the discourses involving small silver coins there is an interesting case of using the name *Silverling*. Marlowe employs this diminutive name to express the Jew's contempt of non-gold coins: "Here have I purs'd their paltry silverlings/ Fie, what a trouble 'tis to count this trash!" (Marlowe 1850). But the name is charged with a more complicated deep meaning. The word occurred in Scripture where the sum of thirty silverlings has become proverbial and emblematic of the most odious betrayal in the history of mankind. "'What are ye willing to give me, and I will deliver him up to you?' and they weighed out to him thirty silverlings" (YLT 1862, Matthew 27:15). Another rare coin name used by Marlowe is '*plate*' derived from 'any flat piece of metal'. "Lodowick: Rat'st thou this Moor but at two hundred plates?" (Marlowe 1850).

Stylistic Devices based on Coin Names: Commodification and Animation

Being a material medium of the abstract concept of value, money extends its measuring capacity to all objects including people and turns them into commodities, evaluating their merits and demerits, social position, and their lives with a price-tag as in the expression a 'Turk of tenpence' frequently used by early writers. Money tropes give birth to a new world of images. The word 'price' in More's writings means 'esteem', e.g. "virtue is had in price and estimation" (More 1930). The earliest case of commodification is known from the Bible where Christ's blood and life are appraised and priced. "Then was fulfilled that spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'And I took the thirty silverlings, the price of him who hath been priced, whom they of the sons of Israel did price'" (YLT 1862, Matthew 27:9).

In Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the King's deplorable condition of being imprisoned, "unkinged", and alone in the "all-hating world" is described in money terms. A groom comes to look at the dethroned king and addresses him by the appropriate title. Richard raises the status of the groom by calling him 'noble' and acknowledges that his own position now is not worth the royal, but is ten groats cheaper (the then difference in the value of the two coins).

> Groom: Hail, royal prince!
> King Richard II Thanks, noble peer; The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.
> (Shakespeare 2006)

Even the Church is not averse to the language of money. Blaming greed and acquisitiveness, the Preacher says:

> "Euerye couetouse manne is an Idolater, settinge that mynd and loue upon ryches, whiche oughte to be geuen vnto God onely. Evreye covetouse man is proude, thynkynge himselfe more worthy a *pound*, than an other man a *penye*" (Lever 1871).

This excerpt from a sermon is an illustration of how proud people think high of themselves and treat disparagingly other people comparing themselves to the *pound sterling* and the rest to the small coin – the *penny.* Money intrudes on the domain of morality; in his essay *Of Goodness,* Bacon admonished against measuring people in money terms: Men should be judged by their "Minds, and not their Trash[11]" (Bacon 1885). In the tragedy *Richard III*, Gloucester, is exasperated that "the nobility is held in contempt" and high positions are granted to people of low origin and doubtful merits: "... many fair promotions/ Are daily given to ennoble those/ That scarce, some two days since, were worth a noble" (Shakespeare 2006).

The opposite is the process of animation (personification), which means conversion from the inanimate to animate category, an attempt to create affinity between money and living beings. Personification takes different forms. For example, Donne represents money as living Nature: "As streames, like veines, run through th'earth's every part, Visit all Countries" (Donne 1896). Elsewhere, he equates coins to martyrs and endows them with human soul: "Unto the fire these Martyrs I betray./ Good soules, (for you give life to everything), / Good Angels, (for good messages you bring)" (ibid., p, 17). In his lamentations, Shylock mentions intermittingly the ducats and his daughter, as if both were his own flesh and blood: "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!" (Shakespeare2006, p. 233). The same device is used by Marlowe: "Barabas: O my girl, My gold, my fortune, my felicity ... O girl! O gold! " (Marlowe 1850).

The names Pennyboy, Sir Penny, Lady Money, Lady Pecunia, Mammon (riches) are an attempt to portray money as personalities and endow them wirh human qualities. Lady Pecunia is a beautiful, capricious, ever-changing Queen of hearts:

> The famous Queene of rich America.
> Goddesse of Gold, great Empresse of the Earth,
> O thou that canst doo all Thinges vnder Heauen:
> That doost conuert the saddest mind to Mirth.
>
> (Barnfield 1605)

Mammon is an ugly, horrendous "God of the world and worldlings" (Spenser 1751), lord of gold and riches. In *Utopia,*More describes Pride of having money as a hell hound, who "crepeth in to mens hartes, and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of liffe" (More 1930). The same concerns are expressed by Shakespeare's Bastard in *King John.* In his famous soliloquy, he denounces a world in which "Commodity [profit, advantage – N.D.] is the bias of the world."

> The world, who of itself is peised well,
> Made to run even upon even ground,
> Till this advantage, this vile-drawing bias,
> This sway of motion, this Commodity,
> Makes it take head from all indifferency,
> From all direction, purpose, course, intent
>
> (Shakeapeare 2006).

[11]Used contemptuously of money.

Conclusion

The Tudor period is historically unique, so is its monetary system in relation to material and nonmaterial culture. Like anything else, the Tudor coinage was undergoing dramatic transformations. Being a semiotic sign communicating via its iconography and legends important ideological and political messages, coins became a vehicle of propaganda for the monarchs regnant, the more so as representational portraits were replaced by recognizable, lifelike images of the sovereigns. Mercantile thinking, economic ideas and money language were reaching into every aspect of cultural, political, religious, and ethical spheres. The liaison of the economic and the spiritual opened up novel venues in the sixteenth century worldview.

Symbolism is present importantly in coins' iconography: it includes royal insignia (orb, throne, crown) and dynastic badges (Tudor rose), which bear profound political meaning of sovereignty and absolutism perpetuated in coin names *sovereign, royal, crown.* Another important symbol is the *Ship*, which promulgated a doctrine of England's naval supremacy. Religious symbols and legends from Scripture intended to bolster the divinity of regal power (the Holy cross, images of saints). In sum, coins embodied national ethos and disseminated ideologemes of the ruling sovereigns.

Coin idiomaticity penetrated the drama and poetry of contemporary English writers producing exuberance of tropes based on novel associations and mercantile thinking. The cognitive basis of a new figural style is economic changes and problems with the coinage (debasement, counterfeiting, clipping, etc.). The deep affinity established between money and human beings entails new modes of characterization, in which monetary measurement replaces moral and religious appraisals and adds nuances to the evaluative dimension of ethics, and aesthetics. Cutting through all cultural domains, money language became instrumental in shaping a new mindset.

A small piece of metal – the Coin – encapsulates the material, the social, and the literary. Echoing Vissarion Belinsky[12], who wrote that Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* was an "encyclopedia of Russian life" we can say that the Tudor coinage is an "encyclopedia of life" of 16th century England.

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Sanga Ilakkiyam (Tamil), Rig Veda (Sanskrit) Old Testament (Hebrew) and Greek Minotaur - Zoophilia or Metonymy

By D Pugazhendhi[*]

The ancient concept found in the classical languages sometimes may have become woozy in the present day due to the time recess. At the same time, the same concept in another ancient classical language may have retained its clarity without losing its meaning even after a long period of time. By examining the classical languages which have similarities in concepts, the confusion found in one classical language may be clarified by another classical language. The studies reveal that in the social concepts based on Herdsman, the classical language Greek has a closer similarity with the classical language Tamil, than with other classical languages such as Hebrew and Sanskrit. The explanation of the concept found in Greek literature about the Minotaur, a cow born to human, can be clarified through the literature of the Tamil language. The Minotaur was a mythical structure which had a bull's head and a human body. According to this myth Pasiphaë, the mother of Minotaur, fell in love with a bull and made love to it and as a result gave birth to a child. The husband of Pasiphaë was Minos. His mother, Europa, was also in love with the bull. But this bull was really Zeus who took the form of a bull, and helped to procreate Minos. This type of human who has sexual love for an animal is found in Greek mythology in the story of the Minotaur. Clinically, this kind of love is called as Zoophilia. 'Love on a cowboy' can be said as 'love on a cow' and is called Metonymy. Thus the myth of the Minotaur is related with Zoophilia or it could be regarded as a Metonymy. Minoan paintings and seals did not picturize the Minotaur, but picturized the bull leaping (the act of somersaulting over a charging bull). Besides, there were a lot of picturization of bulls leaping in many other ancient civilizations. Ancient literature, such as the Hebrew Old Testament and the Sanskrit Rig Veda, mention the Bull Leaping. Tamil civilization also picturized young herder women embracing the man who could tame the mighty bulls. So the love of Pasiphaë and Europa for a bull resulting in the birth of a child means that they fell in love with the bull tamer and gave birth to his child. Thus, this research highlights the real story behind the Minotaur myth.

Keywords: *Bull leaping, Metonymy, Minotaur, Sanga Ilakkiyam, Zoophilia*

Introduction

Classical Languages

Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Tamil are ancient and classical languages. These languages are similar in some respect. It is necessary to study the extensivity of the similarity. If two languages are very similar in a concept, then there is a possibility

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of exploring a concept that is not obvious in one classical language, but in another one. Thus, here the research approach is to compare classical languages.

Plato - Literary Theme and Society

Plato considered some ideas about the stages of development of world society. He has mentioned some relationships between society and literary themes. He said that the great flood of the world created a variety of societies - hilltops, hilly plains, plains, fields and seas (Jones 1924).

εἰκάζει δὲ **Πλάτων** μετὰ τοὺς κατακλυσμοὺς τρία πολιτείας εἴδη συνίστασθαι: πρῶτονμὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ἁπλοῦν τι καὶ ἄγριον, δεδιότων τὰ ὕδατα ἐπιπολάζοντα ἀκμὴνέν τοῖς πεδίοις: δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ὑπωρείαις, θαρρούντων ἤδη κατὰ μικρόν, ἅτε δὴκαὶ τῶν πεδίων ἀρχομένων ἀναψύχεσθαι: τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις. λέγοι δ᾽ ἄν τις καὶτέταρτον καὶ πέμπτον ἴσως καὶ πλείω, ὕστατον δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις, λελυμένου παντὸς τοῦ τοιούτου φόβου. τὸ γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον θαρρεῖνπλησιάζειν τῇ θαλάττῃ πλείους ἂν ὑπογράφοι διαφορὰς πολιτειῶν καὶ ἠθῶν, καθάπερτῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἔτι πως ἐπὶ τὸ ἥμερον τῶν δευτέρων ὑποβεβηκότων.

- Sec.25, Chapter 1, Book XIII,
Vol. VI, STRABO GEOGRAPHY

"**Plato** conjectures, however, that after the time of the floods three kinds of civilisation were formed: the first, that on the mountain-tops, which was simple and wild, when men were in fear of the waters which still deeply covered the plains; the second, that on the foot-hills, when men were now gradually taking courage because the plains were beginning to be relieved of the waters; and the third, that in the plains. One might speak equally of a fourth and fifth, or even more, but last of all that on the sea coast and in the islands, when men had been finally released from all such fear; for the greater or less courage they took in approaching the sea would indicate several different stages of civilisation and manners,…."

- Sec.25, Chapter 1, Book XIII,
Vol. VI, STRABO GEOGRAPHY

Thus, he says that the world community, due to the impact of the flood, first settled on the mountain tops, then at the foot of the mountain, then on the plains, and then gradually in different places. According to these locations, their cultures differed, and therefore their literary concepts also differed. Although this concept, which was predicted by Plato in Greek[1], cannot be found as a distinct principle in other classical languages such as Hebrew and Sanskrit. It can be seen as an ancient literary principle in another classical language, Tamil. Tamil literature is classified as it includes ancient literary subjects as family oriented called 'Agam' and non-family oriented called 'Puram'. The family oriented literary themes called 'Agam', is further classified as follows.

[1]Aristotle also mentioned different types of community such as agricultural community, herdsmen community (Rackham 1944)

μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεωργικὸν πλῆθος [20] βέλτιστος δῆμός ἐστιν ὅπου νομεῖς εἰσι καὶ ζῶσιν ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων: πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει τῇ γεωργίᾳ παραπλησίως,

After the agricultural community the best kind of democracy is where the people are herdsmen and get their living from cattle; for this life has many points of resemblance to agriculture,
Aristot.Pol.6.1319a

Kurinji – Literature related to the people who lived in the mountainous region and their main occupation was collecting the fruits from trees and drying it under the Sun.
Mullai – Literature related to the people who lived near the forest areas and reared the cattle.
Marutham – Literature related to the people who lived dependent on agriculture.
Neithal – The literature of the people who lived in the oceanic region.
Palai - Literature related to the people who lived in the dry region.

Thus, the view related with the relationship between the types of living place and the literary themes mentioned by Plato in Greek are conceptualised in Tamil literature. Further it is noted that the concepts related with love and family is called as 'Agam' in Tamil literature and the pure and Devine love is called as 'ἀγάπη - agapē' in Greek Testament[2] (Westcott 1885).

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[2] καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ **ἀγάπη** τῶν πολλῶν. — and because lawlessness will be increased, the **love (agapē - ἀγάπη)** of many will grow cold (Matthew 24:12)

ἀλλὰ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις, ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ πήγανον καὶ πᾶν λάχανον, καὶ παρέρχεσθε τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν **ἀγάπην** τοῦ θεοῦ: ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ παρεῖναι. — But woe to you Pharisees! For you tithe mint and rue and every kind of garden herb, yet disregard justice and the **love (agapēn - ἀγάπην)** of God. These you should have done, without neglecting the others (Luke 11:42)

ἀλλὰ ἔγνωκα ὑμᾶς ὅτι τὴν **ἀγάπην** τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. — but I know you — I know that you do not have the **love (agapēn - ἀγάπην)** of God in you (John 5:42)

τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἐν **ἀγάπῃ** πνεύματί τε πραΰτητος; — What would you prefer? Shall I come to you with a rod of correction or with **love (agapē - ἀγάπῃ)** in a spirit of gentleness? (1 Corinthians 4:21)

μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς **ἀγάπης** δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις: — For you, brothers, were called to freedom. Only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through **love (agapēs - ἀγάπης)** serve one another. (Galatians 5:13)

καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν **ἀγάπῃ**, — even as he chose us in him before the creation of the world to be holy and blameless before him. In **love (agapē - ἀγάπῃ)** (Ephesians 1:4)

καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι ἵνα ἡ **ἀγάπη** ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει, — And this I pray, that your **love (agapē - ἀγάπη)** may abound more and more, with knowledge and all discernment (Philippians 1:9)

Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τὴν **ἀγάπην** καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων. — I know your works, your **love (agapēn - ἀγάπην)** and faith and service and steadfast endurance, and that your recent works are greater than the first (Revelation 2:19)

Herdsmen in Greek Literature

Plato mentioned that the herdsmen and shepherds lived on the mountains (Lamb 1925) (Plat.Tim. 22d), mountain pens (Fowler 1921) and hills (Bury 1968) (Plat. Laws 3.677B) and escaped from the flood.

(22δ) ….. ὅταν δ᾽ αὖ θεοὶ τὴν γῆν ὕδασιν καθαίροντες κατακλύζωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν διασῴζονται βουκόλοι νομῆς τε, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ’

(22d) ….. And when, on the other hand, the Gods purge the earth with a flood of waters, all the herdsmen and shepherds that are in the mountains are saved.
Plat.Tim. 22d

Ἀθηναῖος
ὡς οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες τὴν φθορὰν σχεδὸν ὄρειοί τινες ἂν εἶεν νομῆς, ἐν κορυφαῖς που σμικρὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασεσωμένα γένους.

Athenian
That the men who then escaped destruction must have been mostly herdsmen of the hills, scanty embers of the human race preserved somewhere on the mountain-tops.
Plat. Laws 3.677B

Plato. Laws 677 B

(174ε)….. σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει τὸ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον.

(174e) …. as the herdsmen live in their mountain pens.
Plat.Theaet. 174e

These references show the peculiar survival of the herdsman community from the flood. Further, this community is also associated with the Greek Gods. (Frazer 1921) (Apollod.3.10.4), (Kovacs 2024) (Eur. Alc.1-10).

[4] Ζεὺς δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ λαβόντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπείαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ βοηθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐκεραύνωσεν αὐτόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς Ἀπόλλων κτείνει Κύκλωπας τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας. Ζεὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε ῥίπτειν αὐτὸν εἰς Τάρταρον, δεηθείσης δὲ Λητοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνδρὶ θητεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Φερὰς πρὸς Ἄδμητον τὸν Φέρητος τούτῳ λατρεύων ἐποίμαινε, καὶ τὰς θηλείας βόας πάσας διδυμοτόκους ἐποίησεν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἀφαρέα μὲν καὶ Λεύκιππον ἐκ Περιήρους γενέσθαι τοῦ Αἰόλου, Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρην, τοῦ δὲ Οἴβαλον, Οἰβάλου δὲ καὶ νηίδος νύμφης Βατείας Τυνδάρεων Ἱπποκόωντα Ἰκάριον.

[4] But Zeus, fearing that men might acquire the healing art from him and so come to the rescue of each other, smote him with a thunderbolt. Angry on that account, Apollo slew the Cyclopes who had fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus. But Zeus would have hurled him to Tartarus; however, at the intercession of Latona he ordered him to serve as a thrall to a man for a year. So he (Apollo) went to Admetus, son of Pheres, at Pherae, and **served him as a herdsman**, and caused all the cows to drop twins.
Apollod.3.10.4

Ἀπόλλων
Ὦ δώματ᾽ Ἀδμήτει᾽, ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ θῆσσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι θεός περ ὤν. Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτὰς παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν αἴτιος

Apollo
House of Admetus! In you I brought myself to taste the bread of menial servitude, god though I am. Zeus was the cause: he killed

Ἀσκληπιόν, στέρνοισιν ἐμβαλὼν φλόγα:
(5) οὗ δὴ χολωθεὶς τέκτονας Δίου πυρὸς
κτείνω Κύκλωπας: καί με θητεύειν πατὴρ
θνητῷ παρ᾽ ἀνδρὶ τῶνδ᾽ ἄποιν᾽ ἠνάγκασεν.
ἐλθὼν δὲ γαῖαν τήνδ᾽ ἐβουφόρβουν ξένῳ,
καὶ τόνδ᾽ ἔσῳζον οἶκον ἐς τόδ᾽ ἡμέρας.
(10)

my son Asclepius, striking him in the chest with the lightning-bolt, (5) and in anger at this I slew the Cyclopes who forged Zeus's fire. As my punishment for this Zeus compelled me to be a serf in the house of a mortal. I came to this land and served as herdsman to my host, and I have kept this house safe from harm to this hour. (10)
Eur. Alc.1-10.

Thus, the Greek God Apollo, when punished by Zeus, becomes a herdsman. In the same way, in Tamil literature the God (Nalayira Divya Prabandham Kaṇṇaṇ) is associated with herdsman (Pugazhendhi 2023). The Hebrew Old Testament[3] had also mentioned many herdsmen related with divine grace.

Herdsmen in Hebrew Old Testament

Genesis 4:2 states, "Now Abel was a keeper of sheep", Abel, the son of Adam and Eve is a herdsman. The patriarchs of Israel, including Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were all herdsmen. Their wealth and status were often measured by the size of their flocks and herds. Genesis 13:2. Before leading the Israelites out of Egypt, Moses spent forty years as a shepherd in the land of Midian. This period as a herdsman prepared him for his future role as the shepherd of God's people. Perhaps the most famous herdsman in the Bible is David, who was a shepherd before he became king of Israel. The prophet Amos was also a herdsman. Thus, all the herdsmen featured in the Old Testament are blessed with divine grace.

Herdsmen in Sanskrit Rig Veda

Sanskrit Rig Veda also mention about herdsmen (Griffith 1896).

(8) The freed kine eat the barley of the pious. 1 saw them as they wandered with the herdsman.
The calling of the pious rang around them. What portion will these kine afford their owner?

[3]There are many references to India in the Hebrew Old Testament.
Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus this is Ahasuerus who reigned from **India (הֹדּוּ - Hoddu, ho'-doo)** even upto Ethiopia over a hundred and seven and twenty provinces (Esther 1:1) Then were the king's scribes called at that time in the third month that is the month Sivan on the three and twentieth day thereof and it was written according to all that Mordecai commanded unto the Jews, to the lieutenants, the deputies and rulers of the provinces who are from **India (הֹדּוּ - Hoddu, hōd-dū)** upto Ethiopia a hundred twenty and seven provinces upto every province according to the writing thereof and upto every people after their language and to the Jews according to their writing and according to their language (Esther 8:9). So it is clear that the ancient Hebrew people were well aware of India. It is important to note here that the Old Testament refers to India as ' הֹדּוּ - Hoddu, hōd-dū'. It also connects India with Ethiopia in its south. In this way it seems that the Hebrew people knew India in reference to 'Madurai', a city in South India known as 'Koodal' means 'assemble'. Researchers say that the city is known for its pearls and that the ancient Greeks and Romans had trade relations with this city since prehistoric times.

Hymn 27, Mandala 10, The Rig Veda.

(12) Even as the herdsman driveth home his cattle, I urge my songs to him the strong swift Hero
May he, the glorious, lay upon his body the singer's hymns, as stars bedeck the heaven.

Hymn 49. Viśvedevas,
Book 6, The Rig Veda.

In the Sanskrit Rig Veda, it is said that God protects people just as a herdsman protects cattle (Griffith 1896)

(3) What is that Indra like, what is his aspect whose envoy, Saramā, from afar thou comest?
Let him approach, and we will show him friendship: he shall be made the herdsman of our cattle.

Hymn 108, Book 10, Rig-Veda

(3) Let them return to us again: under this herdsman let them feed.
Do thou, O Agni, keep them here, and let the wealth we have remain.
1 call upon their herdsman, him who knoweth well their coming nigh,
Their parting and their home-return, and watcheth their approach and rest.
Yea, let the herdsman, too, return, who marketh well their driving-forth;
Marketh their wandering away, their turning back and coming home.
(6) Home-leader, lead them home to us; Indra, restore to us our kine:
We will rejoice in them alive.

Hymn 19, Mandala 10, The Rig Veda

Thus, references to herdsmen are found in ancient classical literature composed in classical languages such as Greek, Hebrew, Tamil, and Sanskrit. In Greek literature, the Herdsmen community is depicted as a tribe that survived the Great Flood and was associated with the Greek God Apollo. In the Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam it is shown that Gods were also present in the Herdsmen clan. In the Hebrew Old Testament the Herdsmen community is shown to have received the blessing of God. In the Sanskrit Rig Veda it is only said that the God will protect the people as a herdsman protects the flock. Thus the Herdsmen community is associated with The God in various echelons in the ancient literature composed in four classical languages. Apart from this, it is needed to research the close relationship between the ancient literature of these classical languages with other subjects related to this Herdsmen community.

Herdsmen Community and Musical Pipe – Greek Literature

Plato whispered that according to the nature of the land, the culture and literary composition will be determined. Thus Greek literature shows that the musical pipe is the stuff of the herdsmen (Homer 1920) (Hom.Il.18.525), (Coleridge 1891) (Eur. IA.1085), (Murray 1924) (Hom.Il.18. 525), (Murray 1913) (Eur. Rh.553-555).

δέγμενοι ὀππότε μῆλα ἰδοίατο καὶ ἕλικας βοῦς.
(525) οἳ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, δύω δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἕποντο νομῆες
τερπόμενοι σύριγξι: δόλον δ᾽ οὔ τι προνόησαν.

(525) And these came presently, and two **herdsmen** followed with them **playing upon pipes;** and of the guile wist they not at all.
Hom.Il.18.525.

(1085) οὐ σύριγγι τραφεῖσαν οὐδ᾽
ἐν ῥοιβδήσεσι βουκόλων,

(1085) though you were never reared among the **piping and whistling of herdsmen**,
Eur. IA.1085.

(525) οἳ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, δύω δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἕποντο νομῆες
τερπόμενοι σύριγξι: δόλον δ᾽ οὔ τι προνόησαν.

(525) And these came presently, **and two herdsmen followed with them playing upon pipes;** and of the guile wist they not at all.
Hom.Il.18. 525.

— ἤδη δὲ νέμουσι κατ᾽ Ἴδαν
ποίμνια: νυκτιβρόμου
σύριγγος ἰὰν κατακούω.
— θέλγει δ᾽ ὄμματος ἕδραν
555ὕπνος:

And on Ida the **shepherds** are waking
Their flocks for the upland. I hear
The skirl of a **pipe** very distant.
Eur. Rh.553-555.

This musical pipe is associated not only with the herdsmen but also with the Greek God Apollo (Kovacs 1994).

Χορός
ὦ πολυξείνου καὶ ἐλευθέρου ἀνδρὸς ἀεί ποτ᾽ οἶκος,
(570) σέ τοι καὶ ὁ Πύθιος εὐλύρας Ἀπόλλων
ἠξίωσε ναίειν,
ἔτλα δὲ σοῖσι μηλονόμας
ἐν νομοῖς γενέσθαι,
(575) δοχμιᾶν διὰ κλειτύων
βοσκήμασι σοῖσι συρίζων
ποιμνίτας ὑμεναίους.

Chorus
O house of an ever hospitable and generous man, (570) even Pythian Apollo of the lovely lyre deigned to dwell in you and submitted to become a shepherd in your pastures, (575) playing on his pipe mating-songs for your herds on the slanting hillsides.
Eur. Alc.568-575.

Although musical pipes are associated with herdsmen in Greek classical literature, the Greek God Apollo is credited with this musical instrument (Frazer 1921)

ἀκούσας δὲ τῆς λύρας ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀντιδίδωσι τὰς βόας. Ἑρμῆς δὲ ταύτας νέμων σύριγγα πάλιν πηξάμενος ἐσύριζεν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ ταύτην βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, τὴν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἣν ἐκέκτητο βουκολῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς σύριγγος ἤθελε καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐπελθεῖν: καὶ δοὺς διδάσκεται τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κήρυκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν

Howbeit, when Apollo heard the lyre, he gave the kine in exchange for it. And while Hermes pastured them, he again made himself a shepherd's pipe and piped on it.8 And wishing to get the pipe also, Apollo offered to give him the golden wand which he owned while he herded cattle.9 But Hermes wished both to get the wand for the pipe and to acquire the art of divination. So he gave the pipe and learned the

ὑποχθονίων τίθησι.

art of divining by pebbles.10 And Zeus appointed him herald to himself and to the infernal gods.
Apollod.3.10.2.

Thus the instrument is indicated to have been found by Hermes and presented to the God Apollo. However, as the musical pipe is associated with Apollo, just as it is associated with the herdsmen and Apollo is also associated with the herdsmen. The relationship between Hermes and the Herdsman community will be explored in a later part of this article.

Musical Pipe – Hebrew Old Testament

The musical pipe is also mentioned in several places of the Hebrew Old Testament. (Bible Society 1903) (Rainbow Missions 1901)

> (11) Woe to those who rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; Who stay late into the night, until wine inflames them! (12) The harp, lyre, tambourine, and **flute**, with wine, are at their feasts; But they don't regard the work of Yahweh, Neither have they considered the operation of his hands.
>
> Isaiah 5.11&12
>
> My harp also is turned to mourning and my **flute** into the voice of them that weep
>
> Job 30:31
>
> Praise him with the timbrel and dance praise him with stringed instruments and **flutes**.
>
> Psalm 150:4
>
> They take the timbrel and harp and rejoice at the sound of the **flute**
>
> Job 21:12
>
> Therefore mine heart shall sound for Moab like **pipes** and mine heart shall sound like **pipes** for the men of Kirheres because the riches that he hath gotten are perished
>
> Jeremiah 48:36
>
> Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept and gladness of heart as when one goeth with a **pipe** to come into the mountain of the LORD to the mighty One of Israel
>
> Isaiah 30:29
>
> And the harp and the viol the tabret and **pipe** and wine are in their feasts but they regard not the work of the LORD neither consider the operation of his hands.
>
> Isaiah 5:12
>
> And all the people came up after him and the people **piped** with **pipes** and rejoiced with great joy so that the earth rent with the sound of them
>
> 1 Kings 1:40
>
> In the same way, this musical pipe is also related with hill in the Hebrew Old Testament (Bible Society 1903) (Rainbow Missions 1901) as in the Greek literature.
> After that thou shalt **come to the hill** of God where is the garrison of the Philistines and it shall come to pass when thou art come thither to the city that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery and a tabret and a **pipe** and a harp before them and they shall prophesy.
>
> 1 Samuel 10:5

In this way, there are references to the musical pipe in many places in the Hebrew Old Testament. However, it is worth noting here that in the Greek literature, this musical instrument is associated with the herdsman, and it is not like that in the Hebrew Old Testament. However, although Jubal the Herdsman is associated with the musical pipe in the Hebrew Old Testament (Bible Society 1903) (Rainbow Missions 1901).

> And his brother's name was **Jubal** he was the father of all such **as handle the harp and flute**
>
> Genesis 4:21

This must be considered as an individual skill of Jubal even though he is a herdsman and cannot be taken as a symbol of the Herdsman race as a whole. Because except Jubal, all the other herdsmen such as Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and Amos are not related to musical pipes in the Hebrew Old Testament. Apart from this, this herdsman's pipe does not appear in the Hebrew Old Testament in the places where the cattle are present. (Bible Society 1903) (Rainbow Missions 1901).

> And the unicorns shall come down with them and the bullocks with the bulls and their land shall be soaked with blood and their dust made fat with fatness
>
> Isaiah 34:7
>
> Save me from the lion's mouth for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns
>
> Psalm 22:21
>
> Will the unicorn be willing to serve thee or abide by thy crib
>
> Job 39:9
>
> His glory is like the firstling of his bullock and his horns are like the horns of unicorns with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim and they are the thousands of Manasseh
>
> Deuteronomy 33:17

Thus, the musical pipe is not associated with herdsman in the Hebrew Old Testament as it is associated in the Greek literature. A similar situation is found also in the Sanskrit Rig Veda.

Musical Pipe – Sanskrit Rig Veda

The musical pipe is also mentioned in some places of the Sanskrit Rig Veda (Griffith 1896).

> 7. Here is the seat where Yama dwells, that which is called the Home of Gods:
> Here minstrels blow the **flute** (nāḷīrayaṃ) for him here he is glorified with songs.
>
> Hymn 135, Book 10, Rig-Veda.

Thus, there are very few references to the musical pipe in the Sanskrit Rig Veda. Moreover, it is indicated that this musical instrument is with God. It is noteworthy that the references to the herdsmen are mentioned in the Rig Veda -

Hymn 27, Mandala 10; Hymn 49. Book 6; Hymn 108, Book 10; Hymn 19, Mandala 10, presented in this article under the topic 'Herdsmen in Sanskrit' do not relate the musical pipe with herdsmen. But in one place the cattle is related with song.

> 8 When at the dawning of this mighty Goddess, Aṅgirases all sang forth with the cattle, —
> Their spring is in the loftiest place of meeting, —Saramā found the kine by Order's pathway.
>
> Hymn 45, Book 5, Rig-Veda.

Herdsmen Community and Musical Pipe – Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam

There are many references to the musical pipe in Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

> and perfect bells hung on proud cows
> chimed clearly, the sounds mixing with
> the music from **flutes of cattle herders**
> carrying hooks, and sounding delicately
> in this evening with no grace.
>
> Natrinai 69, Sēkampoothanār, Mullai Thinai
> Sanga Ilakkiyam

Thus, the musical pipe which is mentioned in Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam (Tamil Virtual University 1995) is associated with Herdsman as it is found in Greek literature.

> which are like flawless marbles, and listen
> to the flute music of the untrained
> **cattle herders** with many herds who play
> sweet music on their small **bamboo flutes**.
>
> Akanānūru 399, Eyinanthai Makan Ilankeeranār
> Sanga Ilakkiyam.

Furthermore, Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam also mentions that this musical instrument is often played by herdsmen in the evening (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

> I will be patient, if the music, of the
> uneducated **cattle herders** carrying rods,
> played on small **flutes** with strong tips
> daily in the painful **evenings**, do not
> cause me sorrow.
>
> Akanānūru 74, Mathurai Kavuniyan Poothathanār,
> Mullai Thinai, Sanga Ilakkiyam.

Thus, while the ancient literatures of the Greek, Hebrew, Tamil, and Sanskrit languages have similarities in associating the herdsman community with God, the

ancient literatures of Greek and Tamil have similarities in relating musical pipes to these herdsmen rather than the Hebrew and Sanskrit literatures. Further, Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam also mentions that this musical instrument is often played by herdsmen in the evening. Thus, herdsman, musical pipe and evening are associated in Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam. It is also possible to explore this connection in Greek literature.

Herdsmen, Musical Pipe and Evening - Greek Literature

It was noted earlier in this article that the Greek God Apollo is associated with the pipe and the herdsman. And Hermes was identified as the one who gave Apollo the musical pipe. It was indicated there that the connection between this Hermes and the Herdsman would be explored later. Here, there is a reference to this Hermes (Evelyn-White 1914).

Εἰς Πᾶνα
ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα,
αἰγιπόδην, δικέρωτα, φιλόκροτον, ὅστ᾽ ἀνὰ πίση
δενδρήεντ᾽ ἄμυδις φοιτᾷ χορογηθέσι νύμφαις,
αἵ τε κατ᾽ αἰγίλιπος πέτρης στείβουσι κάρηνα
(5) Πᾶν᾽ ἀνακεκλόμεναι, νόμιον θεόν, ἀγλαέθειρον,
αὐχμήενθ᾽, ὃς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε
καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων καὶ πετρήεντα κάρηνα.
……
ὀξέα δερκόμενος: τότε δ᾽ ἕσπερος ἔκλαγεν οἶον
(15) ἄγρης ἐξανιών, δονάκων ὕπο μοῦσαν ἀθύρων
νήδυμον:

To Pan
(1) Muse, tell me about **Pan, the dear son of Hermes, with his goat's feet and two horns —a lover of merry noise.** Through wooded glades he wanders with dancing nymphs who foot it on some sheer cliff's edge, (5) calling upon Pan, the shepherd-god, long-haired, unkempt…….
Only at **evening**, (15) as he returns from the chase, he sounds his note, playing sweet and low on his **pipes** of reed:

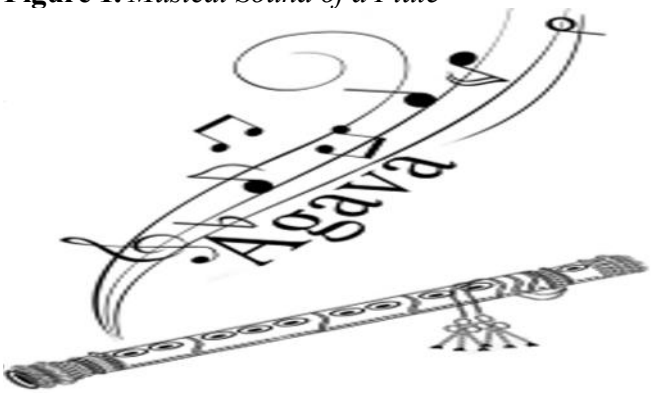
Hymn 19 to Pan

In this way, Hermes, who gave the musical pipe to Apollo, also appears to have been associated with the Herdsmen community. In addition to this, the above reference relates musical instruments with the evening in Greek literature. In this way, it is clear that Greek and Tamil literature are much closer to the literary themes associated with the Herdsmen community, than the ancient literatures of Hebrew and Sanskrit. Some more themes also made this conclusion strong.

Sound of the Musical Pipe

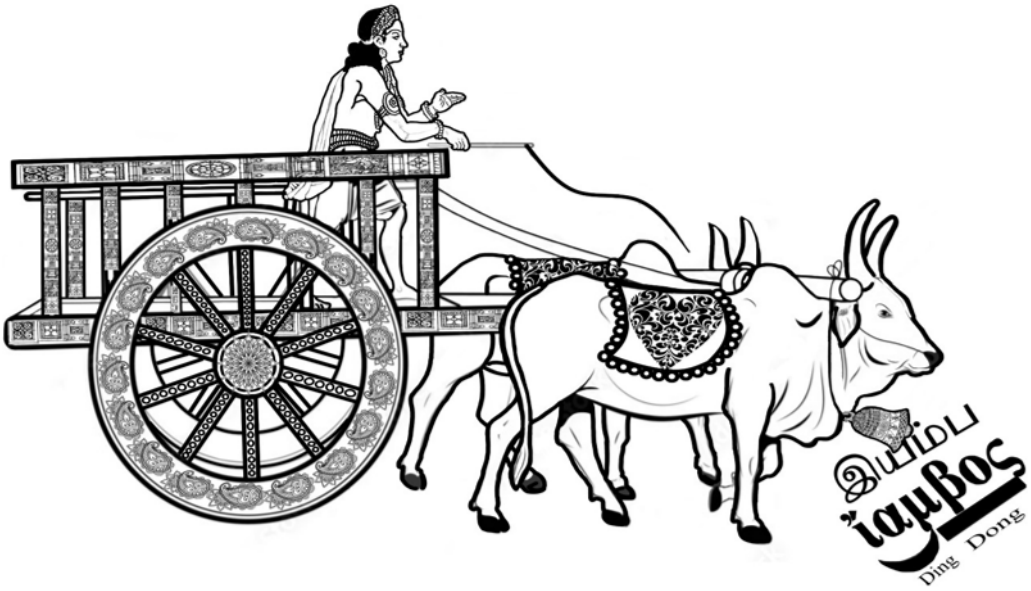
The sound of a herdsman’s flute is called by a separate name in Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam (Tamil Virtual University 1995). It is picturized in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Musical Sound of a Flute*



The sound of a herdsman's flute is called as 'agava' in Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam. But the ringing of the bell tied around the neck of the animal is marked as 'Iambic' (Tamil Virtual University 1995). It is picturized in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Iambic*



It is said to have been named so because the sound of the bell is like 'ding-dong', which means 'short sound-long sound'. This meter structure is also known by the same name in Greek prosody (Fyfe 1932).

τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸ Ὁμήρου οὐδενὸς ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ποίημα, εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι πολλούς, ἀπὸ δὲ Ὁμήρου ἀρξαμένοις (30) ἔστιν, οἷον ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργίτης καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸ ἁρμόττον καὶ τὸ ἰαμβεῖον ἦλθε **μέτρον**_διὸ καὶ **ἰαμβεῖον** καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ **μέτρῳ** τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ μὲν ἡρωικῶν οἱ δὲ **ἰάμβων**

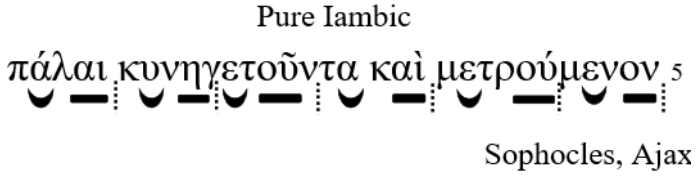
Before Homer we cannot indeed name any such poem, though there were probably many satirical poets, but starting from Homer, there is, for instance, his Margites and other similar poems. For these the **iambic metre** was fittingly introduced and that is why it is still called **iambic**, because it was the **metre** in which they lampooned each other. Of the ancients some wrote

ποιηταί. ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος

heroic verse and some **iambic**.
Aristot. Poet.1448b

A lot of Greek literature is composed in this poetic form. It is picturized in Figure 3.

Figure 3. *Poetical Form of Iambic*



Thus, Greek literature and Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam have a close relationship between herdsmen, musical pipe, evening pipe music, the sound of the cattle bell structure - 'iambic'. Thus, in this wedge, many more parallels are found between these two languages (Greek and Tamil) than in other classical languages (Hebrew and Sanskrit).

Fluteman and Garland - Greek Literature

In Greek and Tamil literature, garlands are associated with the herdsman, just as the musical pipe and the evening are associated (Buckley 1850).

(685) αἳ δ᾽ ἐν δρυὸς φύλλοισι πρὸς πέδῳ κάρα
εἰκῇ βαλοῦσαι σωφρόνως, οὐχ ὡς σὺ φῂς
ὠνωμένας κρατῆρι καὶ λωτοῦ ψόφῳ
θηρᾶν καθ᾽ ὕλην Κύπριν ἠρημωμένας.

ἡ σὴ δὲ μήτηρ ὠλόλυξεν ἐν μέσαις
(690) σταθεῖσα βάκχαις, ἐξ ὕπνου κινεῖν δέμας,
μυκήμαθ᾽ ὡς ἤκουσε κεροφόρων βοῶν.
αἳ δ᾽ ἀποβαλοῦσαι θαλερὸν ὀμμάτων ὕπνον
ἀνῆξαν ὀρθαί, θαῦμ᾽ ἰδεῖν εὐκοσμίας,
νέαι παλαιαὶ παρθένοι τ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἄζυγες.
(695) καὶ πρῶτα μὲν καθεῖσαν εἰς ὤμους κόμας
νεβρίδας τ᾽ ἀνεστείλανθ᾽ ὅσαισιν ἀμμάτων
σύνδεσμ᾽ ἐλέλυτο, καὶ καταστίκτους δορὰς
ὄφεσι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.
αἳ δ᾽ ἀγκάλαισι δορκάδ᾽ ἢ σκύμνους λύκων
(700) ἀγρίους ἔχουσαι λευκὸν ἐδίδοσαν γάλα,
ὅσαις νεοτόκοις μαστὸς ἦν σπαργῶν ἔτι
βρέφη λιποῦσαις: ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἔθεντο κισσίνους
στεφάνους δρυός τε μίλακός τ᾽ ἀνθεσφόρου.
θύρσον δέ τις λαβοῦσ᾽ ἔπαισεν ἐς πέτραν,

(685) others laying their heads at random on the oak leaves, modestly, not as you say drunk with the goblet and the sound of the flute, hunting out Aphrodite through the woods in solitude.
Your mother raised a cry, (690) standing up in the midst of the Bacchae, to wake their bodies from sleep, **when she heard the lowing of the horned cattle**. And they, casting off refreshing sleep from their eyes, sprang upright, a marvel of orderliness to behold, old, young, and still unmarried virgins. (695) First they let their hair loose over their shoulders, and secured their fawn-skins, as many of them as had released the fastenings of their knots, girding the dappled hides with serpents licking their jaws. And some, holding in their arms a gazelle or wild (700) wolf-pup, gave them white milk, as many as had abandoned their new-born infants and had their breasts still swollen. **They put on garlands of ivy, and oak, and flowering yew.** One took her thyrsos and struck it against a rock,
Eur. Ba.685-704.

Μίνως δέ, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου, θύων ἐν Πάρῳ ταῖς χάρισι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔρριψε καὶ τὸν αὐλὸν κατέσχε, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐπετέλεσεν: ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο χωρὶς αὐλῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἐν Πάρῳ θύουσι ταῖς χάρισι. [8]

But when the tidings of his death were brought to Minos, as he was sacrificing to the Graces in Paros, **he threw away the garland from his head and stopped the music of the flute**, but nevertheless completed the sacrifice; hence down to this day they sacrifice to the Graces in Paros without **flutes and garlands**.[8].
Apollod.3.15.7.
(Frazer 1921)

This reference shows that, the custom of the flute bearers wearing garlands in Greek literature.

Fluteman and Garland - Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam

The tradition of wearing garlands by the Herdsmen is seen in the Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

> **Cattle herders** with forked sticks, adorned
> with many bent clusters of striped, white
> **glory lilies**, walk toward town with their
> cow herds that were caught in the day's
> rain, their **garlands** drenched with water.
>
> Akanānūru 264, Umparkattu Ilankannanār,
> Mullai Thinai, Sanga Ilakkiyam.

In this way, according to Plato's classification of society, the literary concepts of Tamil are much closer to Greek than Hebrew and Sanskrit. The literature of Greek and Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam have a lot of resemblance to themes related to herdsman society, such as herdsmen playing the flute, in the evening and wearing garlands than in Hebrew and Sanskrit as in Table 1.

Table 1. *Greek Hebrew, Sanskrit and Tamil - Comparison*

S.No.	Themes	Greek	Hebrew	Sanskrit	Tamil
1.	**Division of communities and Literary Themes**	Plato's division of communities and Literary Themes			Division of Literary Themes according to the communities of the Land
2.	**Love**	agapē - ἀγάπη			Agam
3.	**Herdsmen Community Connected with Divinity**	Greek God Apollo Connected with Herdsmen Community	Herdsmen Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Moses David and Jacob are Connected with Divine Grace	God can safeguard the People as the Herdsman safeguard his cattle	Tamil God Kaṉṉaṉ borne in Herdsmen Community
4.	**Herdsmen Community and Pipe or Flute**	Herdsmen Community and Pipe			Herdsmen Community and Pipe
5.	**Herdsmen Pipe and Evening**	Herdsmen Pipe and Evening			Herdsmen Pipe and Evening
6.	**Sound of the Pipe or Cattle Bell - Iamb**	Meter of the Poem - Iamb			Sound of Cattle Bell - Iamb
7.	**Herdsmen Community and Garland**	Herdsmen Community and Garland			Herdsmen Community and Garland

Thus there are many resemblances seen between Greek and Tamil than Hebrew and Sanskrit on the themes related with Herdsmen Community.

Therefore, if there are any mystifying notions related to this community in the literature of Greek, they may be a fortuitous to be explained by the literature of Tamil. One such perception is connected with the Minotaur.

There are many characters in mythology and in the literature of many cultures. Some are historical characters and others are literary. Sometimes some abnormal monsters or super natural characters are also present in these myths or literatures. There might be some truth behind these abnormal or super-natural characters and finding out these truths from literature helps to understand them easily and properly. In this way the myth of the Minotaur has some mystery.

The Minotaur

According to Porada, the Minotaur in Greek mythology is a Demon and not a Monster (Porada 1987)[4]. This word is derived from the Ancient Greek Μῑνώταυρος, a compound of the name Μίνως (Minos) and the noun ταῦρος "bull", translated as "the Bull of Minos". It is picturized in Figure 4.

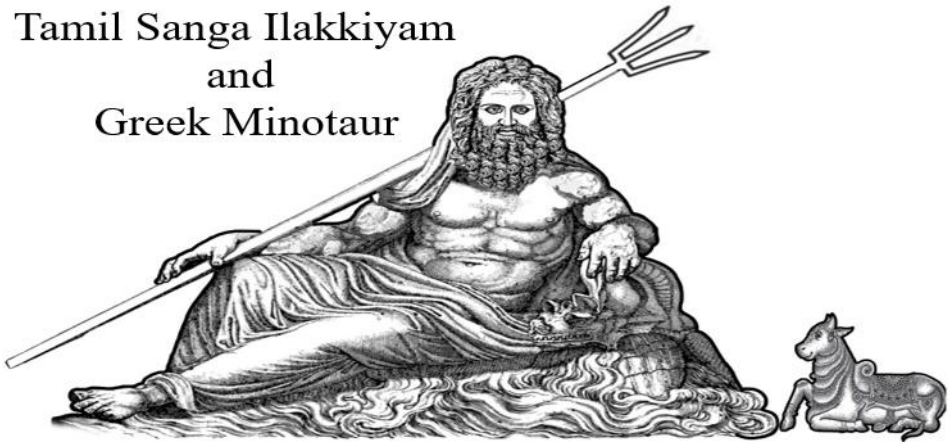
Figure 4. *Minotaur*

Birth of Minotaur

Minos and Pasiphaë belonged to the island of Crete. After the ascent of Minos on the throne of the island of Crete, Minos competed with his brothers as ruler. He prayed to Poseidon to send him a snow-white bull as a sign of the God's favour. Poseidon with his bull is picturised in Figure 5, for further comparison with the Figure 25.

[4]Those human/animal hybrids that walk upright on two legs are referred to as "Demons", while those that walk on four and seem more animal-like are called "Monsters" – a distinction in terminology that is unique to this area

Figure 5. *Poseidon with His Bull*



Minos wanted to sacrifice the bull to honour Poseidon, but due to the beauty of the bull, he decided not to sacrifice that bull but to sacrifice another one. To punish Minos, Poseidon made Minos' wife Pasiphaë fall in love with the bull. As a result she bore the Minotaur (See Figure 6).

Figure 6. *Pasiphae with her Baby Minotaur*

This is mentioned by Apollodorus in his work Library as we can see below.

(3)Ἀστερίου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Μίνως βασιλεύειν θέλων Κρήτης ἐκωλύετο. φήσας δὲ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφέναι, τοῦ πιστευθῆναι χάριν ἔφη, ὅ τι ἂν εὔξηται, γενέσθαι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύων ηὔξατο ταῦρον ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν, καταθύσειν

(3)Asterius dying childless, Minos wished to reign over Crete, but his claim was opposed. So he alleged that he had received the kingdom from the gods, and in proof of it he said that whatever he prayed for would be done. And in sacrificing to Poseidon he

ὑποσχόμενος τὸν φανέντα. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος ταῦρον ἀνέντος αὐτῷ διαπρεπῆ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τὸν δὲ ταῦρον εἰς τὰ βουκόλια πέμψας ἔθυσεν ἕτερον. θαλασσοκρατήσας δὲ πρῶτος πασῶν τῶν νήσων σχεδὸν ἐπῆρξεν. (4) ὀργισθεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν ὅτι μὴ κατέθυσε τὸν ταῦρον, τοῦτον μὲν ἐξηγρίωσε, Πασιφάην δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ ταύρου συνεργὸν λαμβάνει Δαίδαλον, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, πεφευγὼς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ φόνῳ. οὗτος ξυλίνην βοῦν ἐπὶ τροχῶν κατασκευάσας, καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν καὶ κοιλάνας ἔνδοθεν, ἐκδείρας τε βοῦν τὴν δορὰν περιέρραψε, καὶ θεὶς ἐν ᾧπερ εἴθιστο ὁ ταῦρος λειμῶνι βόσκεσθαι, τὴν Πασιφάην ἐνεβίβασεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ ταῦρος ὡς ἀληθινῇ βοῒ συνῆλθεν. ἡ δὲ Ἀστέριον ἐγέννησε τὸν κληθέντα Μινώταυρον. οὗτος εἶχε ταύρου πρόσωπον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀνδρός:
Apollod. 3.1.3-4. (Frazer 1921)

prayed that a bull might appear from the depths, promising to sacrifice it when it appeared. Poseidon did send him up a fine bull, and Minos obtained the kingdom, but he sent the bull to the herds and sacrificed another. (Being the first to obtain the dominion of the sea, he extended his rule over almost all the islands.)(4) But angry at him for not sacrificing the bull, Poseidon made the animal savage and contrived that Pasiphae should conceive a passion for it. In her love for the bull she found an accomplice in Daedalus, an architect, who had been banished from Athens for murder. He constructed a wooden cow on wheels, took it, hollowed it out in the inside, sewed it up in the hide of a cow which he had skinned, and set it in the meadow in which the bull used to graze. Then he introduced Pasiphae into it; and the bull came and coupled with it, as if it were a real cow. And she gave birth to Asterius, who was called the Minotaur. He had the face of a bull, but the rest of him was human.

Here Pasiphaë fell in love with the bull and gave birth to the Minotaur which had the face of a bull. According to Gantz the existence of this myth can be attributed either to Poseidon's punishment of Minos' or of Aphrodite (Gantz 1996)[5]. Even though it is related to a God here, it is also related with a monster in Greek mythology (Gilmore 2003)[6]. Any way the abnormal human sexual love for an animal is mentioned in this account.

Abnormal Love

In clinical psychology abnormal love is described as complex. Some of these complexes are derived from Greek literature as for example the Oedipus complex (Yan Liu2011)[7] (Freud 1924) (Stiver1986)[8]and the Electra complex (Muhammad

[5]Minotaur's very existence is attributed either to Poseidon's punishment for Minos' snub (by not sacrificing his favourite bull) or to Aphrodite's reprimand of Pasiphae for neglecting her rites.

[6]That the difference between monster and hero is not that great at all, and that both are frequently assigned similar attributes – fearlessness, stamina, supernatural power – and that they behave in similar ways.

[7]Greek mythology--Oedipus King is about the story of Oedipus killed his father and marry his mother, which is the prototype of the Oedipus complex in psychology.

[8]Around three to four years of age,a little boy's attachment to his mother becomesgenitally centered, and he soon sees his father as arival for his mother's love. In the service of his wish toreplace his father, he has fantasies of taking hisfather's penis, wishing him dead, and murdering him.He also fears retaliation in the form of castration by hisfather, a notion so terrifying that he gives up hisloving attachment to his mother, represses his sexualfeelings toward her, and identifies with the aggressor,his father, with the hope that in this way he willultimately possess the mother exclusively. Theparental, that is, father-aggressor, prohibition againsthis sexual wishes toward his mother is incorporatedinternally to form his super-ego. The boy then

Shoaib2014)[9]. In clinical psychology, sexual desire of a human being for an animal is called Zoophilia (Peretti 1983)[10]. So in clinical psychology, Pasiphaë's love for the bull can be attributed to the complex of Zoophilia. In the same way, the mother-in-law of Pasiphaë, the grandmother of the Minotaur is also somewhat related with the bull. Her name is Europa and she is picturized with the bull in Figure 7.

Figure 7. *Europa and Bull*

Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam and Greek Minotaur

movesforward in his development as a male through identification with his father — which also meansmoving away from his mother and into latency withfurther repression of his sexual wishes.

[9]Electra complex takes its name from the Greek myth of Electra as dealt with by Greek tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides in their plays with some differences. In the Greek myth, Electra plans to avenge herself on her mother and her paramour for the murder of her father, and finally leads her brother Orestes to kill their mother and her lover. Therefore, Electra is the representative of a complex characterized by a love for the father and/or brother (father-figure), and a hatred of the mother. C.G. Jung, in 1913, coined the term 'Electra Complex' as a female counterpart to Freud's term 'Oedipus Complex'. Jill Scott, in his book Electra after Freud: Myth and Culture, points out that Electra Complex "refers to the phenomenon of little girl's attraction to her fatherand hostility toward her mother, whom she now sees as her rival. The girl's desire to possess her father is linked to her desire to possess the penis, and the Electra complex is often described as penis envy.

[10]Zoophilia is a paraphilia characterized by recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviour involving animals. The range of sexual behaviour with animals includes not just coitus, but a whole range of other sexual activities, including fellatio, cunnilingus, masturbation of animals and anal intercourse.

Europa

Europa was the daughter of Phoenix and was loved by Zeus. So he turned himself into a tame bull; mounted her on his back and carried her through the sea to Crete. There Zeus had sexual intercourse with her. This is mentioned by Apollodorus in his work Library.

τινὲς δὲ Εὐρώπην οὐκ Ἀγήνορος ἀλλὰ Φοίνικος λέγουσι. ταύτης Ζεὺς ἐρασθείς, †ῥόδου ἀποπλέων, ταῦρος χειροήθης γενόμενος, ἐπιβιβασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκόμισεν εἰς Κρήτην.ἡ δέ, ἐκεῖ συνευνασθέντος αὐτῇ Διός, ἐγέννησε **Μίνωα** Σαρπηδόνα Ῥαδάμανθυν:
Apollod. 3.1.1. (Frazer 1921)

But some say that Europa was a daughter not of Agenor but of Phoenix. Zeus loved her, and turning himself into a tame bull, he mounted her on his back and conveyed her through the sea to Crete. There Zeus bedded with her, and she bore **Minos**, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys.

Here it is not clear whether Zeus had sex with Europa in the form of a bull or in human form. If Zeus was in the form of bull when he had sex with Europa, then Europa is also afflicted with Zoophilia. Anyway in this myth, the bull is connected to love. As a result of this love, she bore Minos, who is the husband of Pasiphaë and the father of the Minotaur. In another incident the ox is related with love in the same family.

Glaucus

Glaucus is the son of Minos and Pasiphaë[11]. He is presented as a bull for the mark of love.

[Εὐρυνόμη Νίσου θυγάτηρ Παν]διονίδαο,
[τὴν πᾶσαν τέχνην ἐδιδ]άξατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
[μήδεα ἰδμοσύνην τ' ἐπί· οἱδ]ε[2] γαρ ἴσα θεοῖσι.
[θεσπεσίη δ' ὀδμὴ παρὰ εἵ]ματος ἀργυφεοῖο
[ὄρνυτο κινυμένης· βλεφάρων] δ' ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο.
[τῆς δ' ἄρ Γλαῦκος Ἀθηναί]ης πειρήσατο βουλαῖς,
βοῦς ἐλάσα[ς· ἀλλ' οὔ τι Διό]ς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
ἔγνω· ὁ μ[ὲν δώροις διζ]ήμενος ἦλθε γυναῖκα
βουλῇ Ἀθ[ηναίης· ὁ δ' ἄναξ] νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺ[ς
ἀθανάτων [ἀνένευε κ]αρήατι μήποτ' ὀπά[ρους[3]
Fragment 7, Berlin Papyri, No. 7497; Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 421: 3, Hesiod Catalogues of Women (Evelyn-White 1914)

Eurynome is the daughter of Nisus, the son of Pandion. Pallas Athene taught all her art, wit and wisdom to her, for she was as wise as the gods. A marvelous scent of rose from her silvern raiment as she moved, and beauty wafted from her eyes. Glaucus sought to win her by Athena's advising, and he drove oxes for her. But he did not know at all the intent of Zeus who holds the aegis. So Glaucus came seeking her as a wife and brought gifts; but cloud-driving Zeus, king of the deathless gods, bent his head in oath that the . . "

[11]Hyginus, Fabulae 136, Polyidus: When Glaucus, son of Minos and Pasiphae, was playing ball, he fell into a jar full of honey.

Here Glaucus, the son of Minos and the brother of Minotaur has offered oxen as he seeks the love of Eurynome whom he wants as his wife. Thus here the ox is related with marriage. In another way the bull head Minotaur also had an important place in the love of Theseus and Ariadne.

Minotaur and the Love of Theseus and Ariadne

The Bull is a herbivorous animal. But the Minotaur is pictorized as carnivorous. So according to the myth Minos asked Athens to send seven youths and the same number of damsels for the Minotaur as we can see in the passage below:

ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦν τοῦτο, ἐχρῶντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς Μίνωι διδόναι δίκας ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς αἱροῖτο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς Μίνωα ἐπέτρεπον αἰτεῖν δίκας. Μίνως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς κόρους ἑπτὰ καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς ὅπλων πέμπειν τῷ **Μινωταύρῳ** βοράν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἐν λαβυρίνθῳ καθειργμένος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν εἰσελθόντα ἀδύνατον ἦν ἐξιέναι: πολυπλόκοις γὰρ καμπαῖς τὴν ἀγνοουμένην ἔξοδον ἀπέκλειε.
Apollod. 3.15.8. (Frazer1921)

But when this was of no avail, they inquired of the oracle how they could be delivered; and the god answered them that they should give Minos whatever satisfaction he might choose. So they sent to Minos and left it to him to claim satisfaction. Minos ordered them to send seven youths and the same number of damsels without weapons to be fodder for the Minotaur. Now the Minotaur was confined in a labyrinth, in which he who entered could not find his way out; for many a winding turn shut off the secret outward way.

Here the question that arises is why Minos ordered seven youths and the same number of damsels to be sent to the labyrinth and not older men and women and vice versa. This had to be fodder for the Minotaur. And this was also for every nine years. It is not clear why the Minotaur only had to eat every nine years. What was the food for the Minotaur during the intervening years. However, these episodic feeding of the Minotaur led to the love of Theseus and Ariadne.

Theseus and Ariadne

Theseus is the son of Aegeus, who is a Pandion. Theseus went to Crete to slay the Minotaur. In Crete, Ariadne the sister of the Minotaur loved Theseus and helped him to win Minotaur.

[8] ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Κρήτην, Ἀριάδνη θυγάτηρ Μίνωος ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν συμπράσσειν ἐπαγγέλλεται,ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃ γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ἕξειν ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὅρκοις Θησέως δεῖται Δαιδάλου μηνῦσαι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου

[8] And when he came to Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, being amorously disposed to him, offered to help him if he would agree to carry her away to Athens and have her to wife. Theseus having agreed on oath to do so, she besought Daedalus to

τὴν ἔξοδον. [9] ὑποθεμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, λίνον εἰσιόντι Θησεῖ δίδωσι: τοῦτο ἐξάψας Θησεὺς τῆς θύρας ἐφελκόμενος εἰσῆει. καταλαβὼν δὲ Μινώταυρον ἐν ἐσχάτῳ μέρει τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παίων πυγμαῖς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐφελκόμενος δὲ τὸ λίνον πάλιν ἐξῆει. καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς μετὰ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τῶν παίδων εἰς Νάξον ἀφικνεῖται.
(Apollod E1. 1. 8-9) (Frazer 1921)

disclose the way out of the labyrinth. [9] And at his suggestion she gave Theseus a clue when he went in; Theseus fastened it to the door, and, drawing it after him, entered in. And having found the Minotaur in the last part of the labyrinth, he killed him by smiting him with his fists; and drawing the clue after him made his way out again. And by night he arrived with Ariadne and the children at Naxos.

Here Theseus fought with the Minotaur. The fighting of Theseus with the Minotaur is picturized in Figure 8.

Figure 8. *Theseus with Minotaur*

Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam and Greek Minotaur

At the end Theseus killed the Minotaur with the help of Ariadne who loved him. Thus the bull-headed Minotaur played a role in the love of Theseus and Ariadne. Similarly, the love of Pasiphaë, the love of Europa, the mother-in-law of Pasiphaë, the love of Ariadne, the daughter of Pasiphaë and the love of Eurynome (the third wife of Zeus), who were directly or indirectly associated with Crete were also linked with a bull. But, Pasiphaë gave birth to the Minotaur. Scholars have tried to clarify the mystery of the Minotaur. Some researchers have related the Minotaur with fertility (Cook 1894)[12], with power (Porada 1987)[13], with Egyptian

[12]The bull was closely associated with fertility, as such it was associated with Demeter, Dionysos and Zeus.

[13]But theirs is a hieroglyphic representation and according to Fischer their very elegance is "proof against them being monstrous". Fischer also points out that these depictions possess an inner logic absent in hybrid monster: In representations of the king, various aspects of his power are displayed by placing the head of the king - a constant feature - on the bodies of various animals like the falcon,

religion[14], with the Mesopotamia culture (Goodnick Westenholz 2004)[15] and with the association of enemies and deities (Childs 2003)[16].The archaeological resources of Crete lead to some more views on this topic as we shall show below.

The Bull in Crete

There are many paintings and seals available in the archaeological sites of Crete. In these paintings, figures of men and women, animals, birds, fishes, plants and flowers are present. We note that no figure of the Minotaur appears in the paintings or in the seals. But as noted by Younger there are paintings and seals (Younger 1976)[17] in the archaeological sources of Crete, that are associated with the bull. However, they are mainly linked with the sport of bull leaping (Argyrios Gerakis[2007])[18], (Groenewegen-Frankfort1951)[19]. There is a belief, however, that the painting of the Minonian bull leaping is related with power (Marinatos 2005)[20]. This leads us to ask the question if there is a connection between the Minonian bull leaping and the bull leaping of other ancient civilizations

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snake or lion. This basic arrangement remains regular, but there is variation in degree of human / animal proportions which implies shape-shifting. This, according to Fischer, is entirely appropriate in depicting a king who of all people stands on the edge of divinity as the link between man and god. In the same way it must not be assumed that the elements of composition necessarily carry a standard significance. The serpent for instance does not always represent that which is dangerous: in Iran and Bactria serpents were used to signify life death but also because the wave-like motion of their bodies was associated with life-giving water.

[14]Theriocephaly - to beings which have an animal head attached to an anthropomorphic or human body as the animal-headed forms of gods depicted in ancient Egyptian religion (such as Ra, Sobek, Anubis).

[15]As early as the beginning of 3000 BCE the bull-man of Mesopotamia was portrayed with the same general Composition.

[16]In the literature of the area, the bull-man's dual nature as both enemy and associate of deities is frequently called to the fore.

[17]But a human in a similar leaping pose made of ivory, another expensive imported material, was found in the Knossos palace.

[18]Bulls appear in Minoan and Etruscan paintings, as well as in oriental art. Bulls have a special place in Minoan culture, with religious and spiritual significance. This is evidenced from the fresco painting of Bull-Leaping (ca. 1500 BCE), and the Greek myth of the half-bull Minotaur. Bulls possibly signify strength and virility. Most importantly, bulls serve to challenge man, and by challenging bulls man can re-affirm his control over nature.

In this sense, Minoan bull leaping is akin to the Spanish bullfights and North American Rodeo.

[19]Groenewegen-Frankfort saw depictions of bull-leaping and other Minoan activities as "serious play" in which graceful movement was central, negating any need to sacrifice the bull. She made the point that bulls are depicted in a variety of postures in Minoan art, making it likely that bull leaping is depicted accurately.

[20]He interprets bull-leaping as part of a royal iconography of power, where the bull, representing the king's enemy, is always defeated by the lion or king.

Bull Leaping

The action of taming the wild bull is called Bull leaping. There are many pictorial or painting references in ancient civilization depicting this, like the Hittite bull leaping (Figures 9 &10), the Haematite bull leaping (Figures 11&12), the Banawali bull leaping (Figures 13& 14), the Indus Valley Mohenjo Daro bull leaping (Figures 15&16) and those of Egypt (Figures 17 &18), regarding this action of bull leaping. In some of them the images are not clearly visible because of their fragile and antique nature. So, these references along with their highlighted pictures are displayed below in Figures 9 –18.

Figure 9. *Hittite Bull Leaping*

Figure 10. *Hittite Bull Leaping - Highlighted*

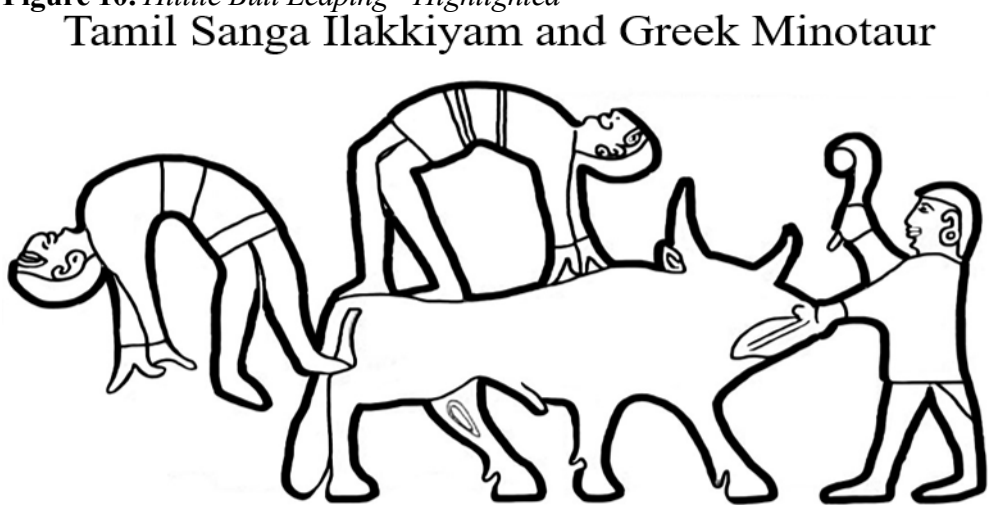


Figure 11. *Haematite Bull Leaping*

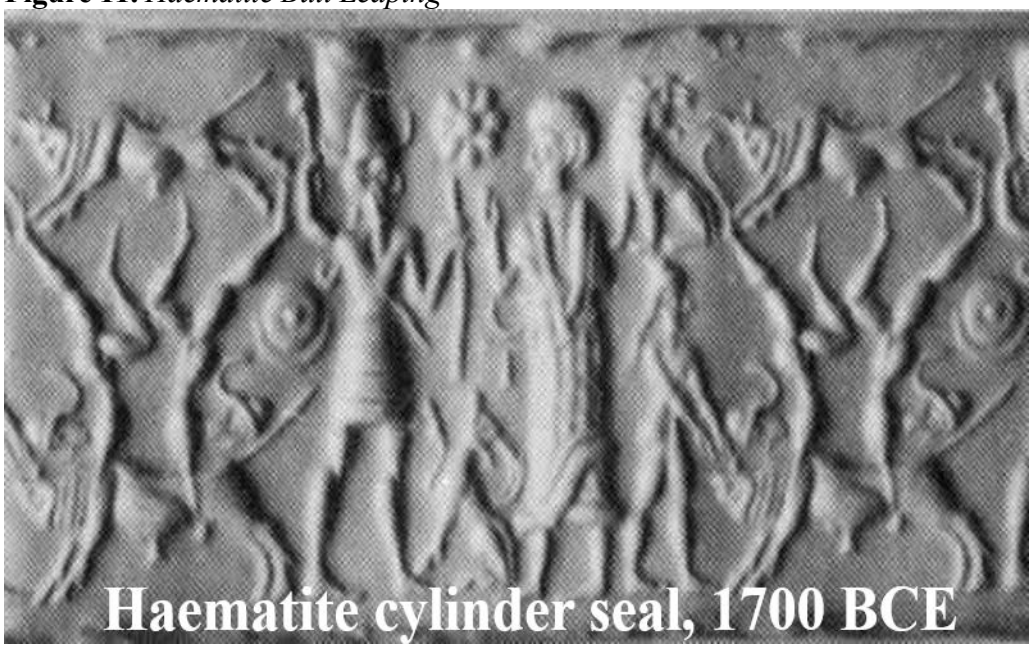


Figure 12. *Haematite Bull Leaping - Highlighted*

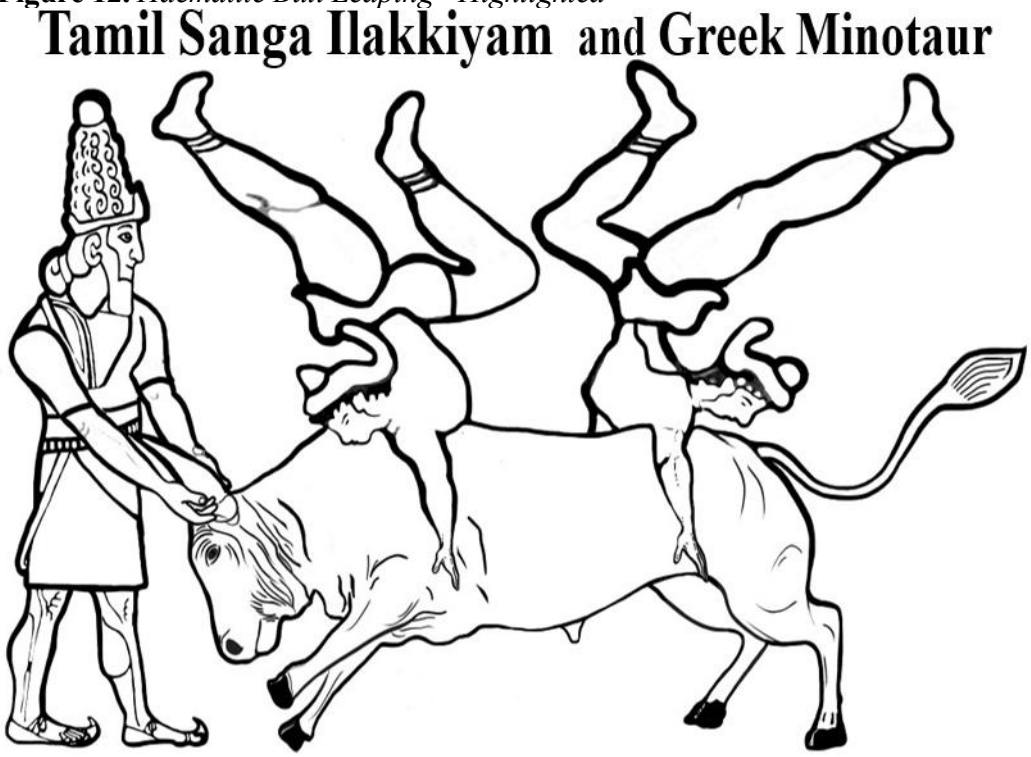


Figure 13. *Banawali Bull Leaping*

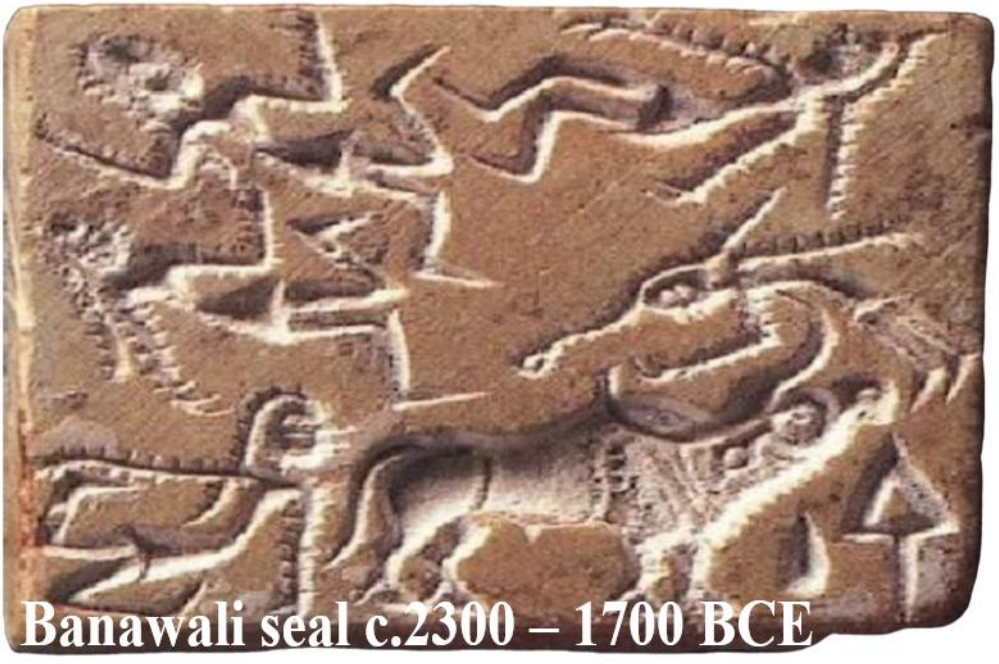


Figure 14. *Banawali Bull Leaping - Highlighted*

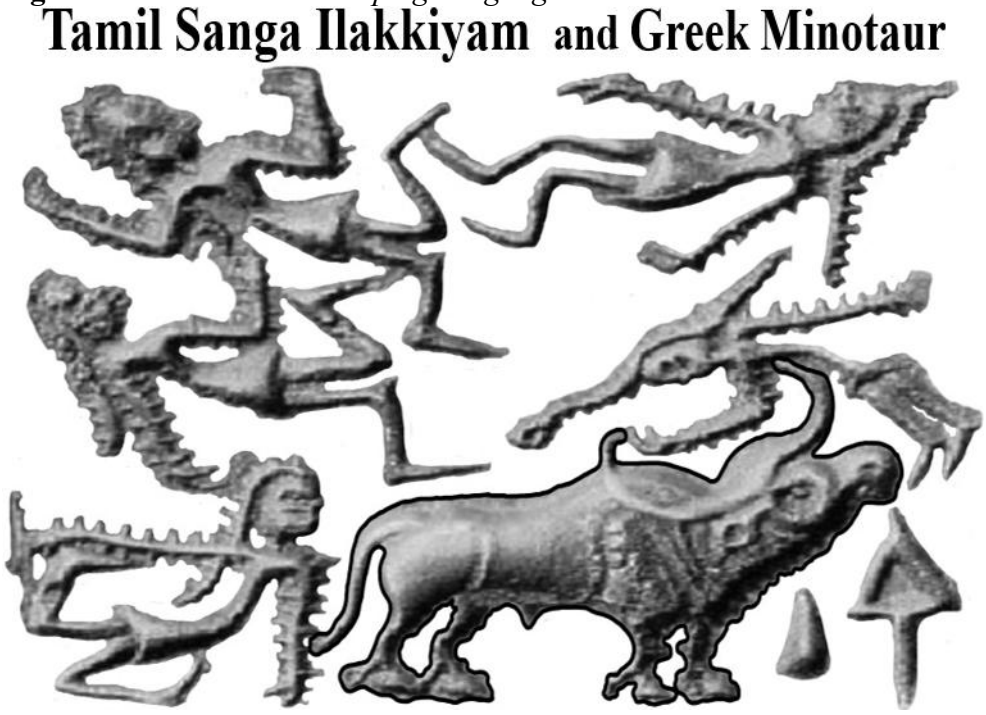


Figure 15. *Mohenjo Daro Bull Leaping*

Figure 16. *Mohenjo Daro Bull Leaping - Highlighted*

Figure 17. *Egypt Bull Leaping*

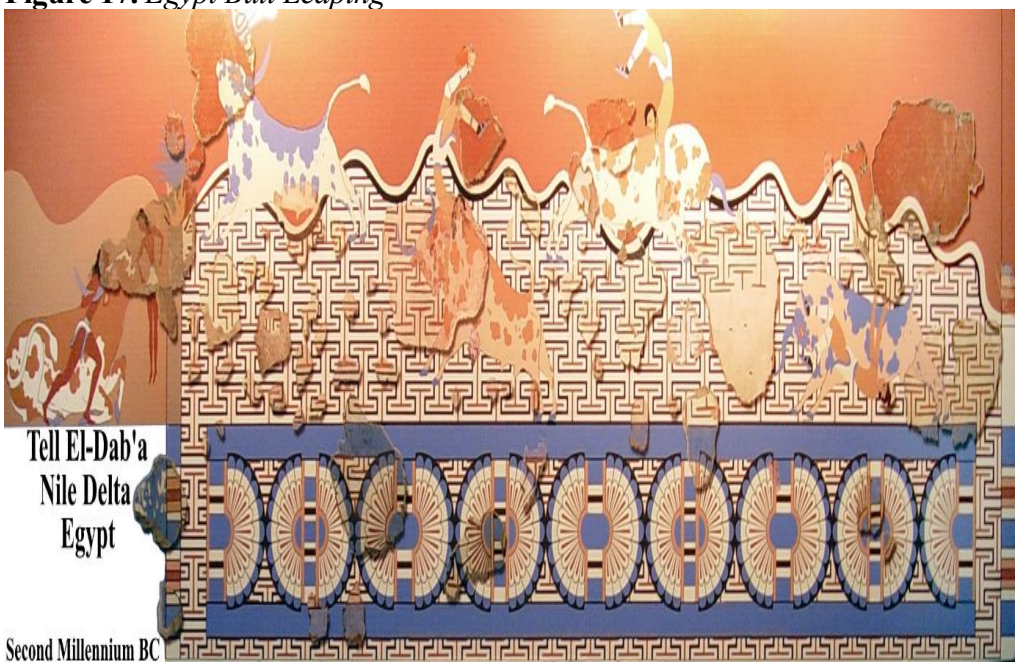


Figure 18. *Egypt Bull Leaping - Highlighted*

These references highlight the famous bull leaping in ancient civilization. Among these bull leaping references Egyptian bull leaping paintings closely resemble those of the Crete Minoan bull leaping painting seen in Figures 19 & 20.

A few things become clear when we compare these paintings. One of them is related to the bull itself and the other concerns the people depicted in these artefacts. As explained by Andrew Shapland, the leaping of these bulls itself shows the wilderness of its characters (Andrew Shapland2013)[21]. It is hard to know whether this wilderness is neither trained nor untrained. Untrained wilderness means that they have just been brought to the field. Trained wilderness means that they have already been trained for the field or for the purpose of sports. Anyway bull leaping is seen as the union of bull and human skill (Hawkes 1968)[22].

One can also see differences among the people interacting with the bull. Some are leaping, while others are standing before the bull. It should be noted that there is a difference between these people. Especially in Figure 9 & 10, 11 & 12, 16 & 17 and 17 & 18 the persons are standing before the horn of the bull. There are also colour variations among them. These also occur with the Minoan bull leaping paintings.

Minoan Bull Leaping

Minoan bull leaping painting has one bull and three people. Two persons are fair in colour and one person is dark in colour. One of the fair coloured person is holding the horn of the bull and the dark coloured person is jumping and leaping over the bull.

[21]The Dab'a frescos, among other depictions, also show leaps going dangerously wrong for the human. This can be seen as showing the bull's agency in the practice.

[22]He notes that it is a perfectly successful union of human skill and spring with taurine strength.

Figure 19. *Minoan Bull Leaping*

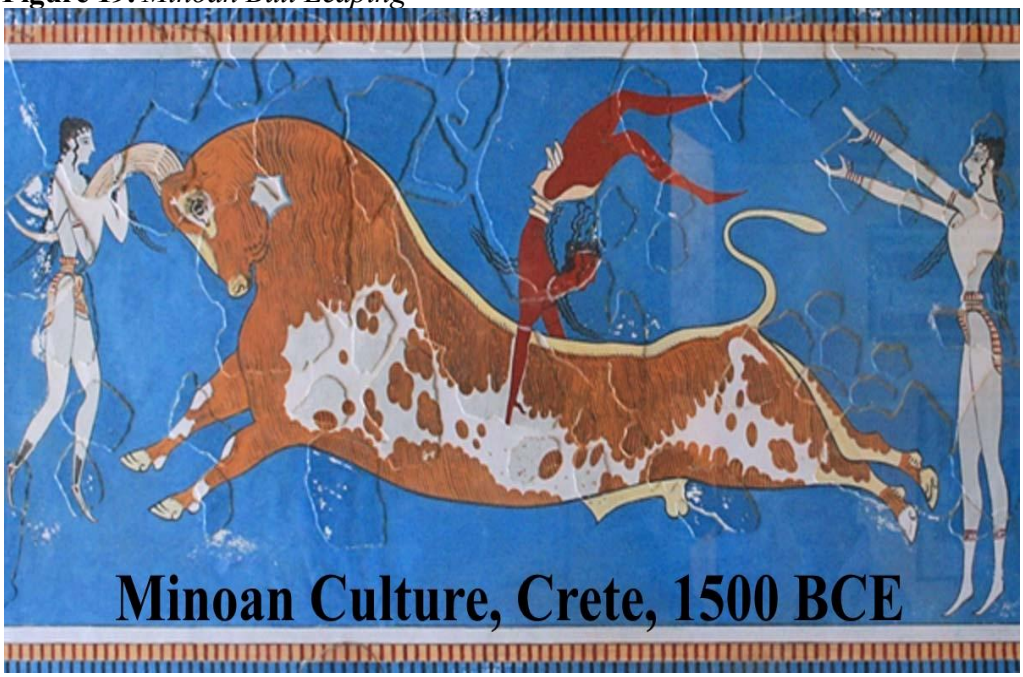
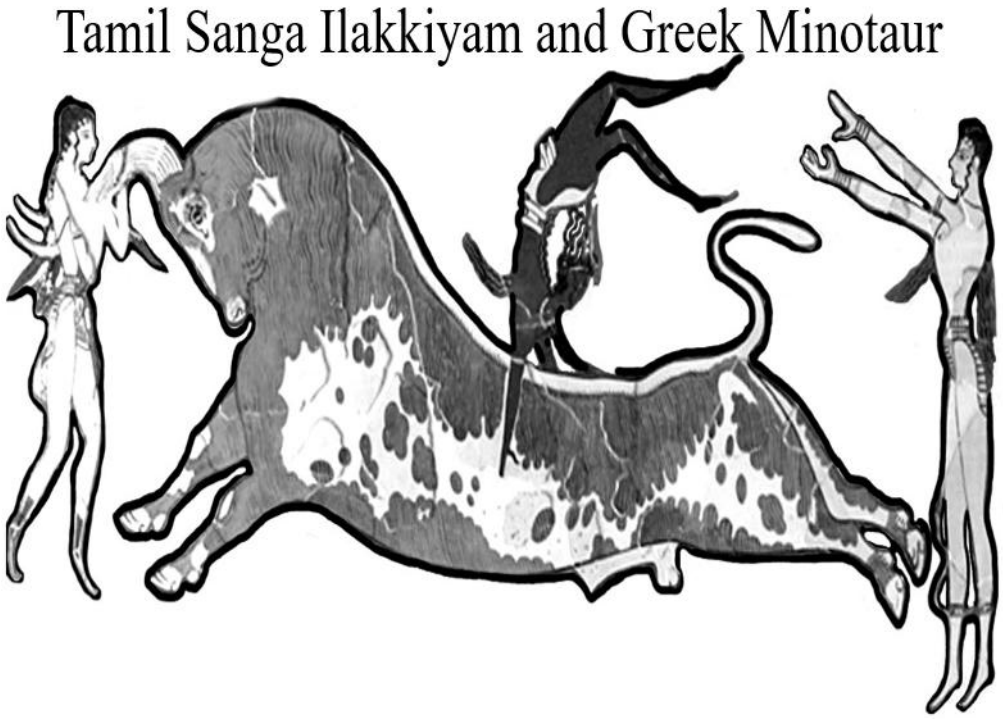


Figure 20. *Minoan Bull Leaping - Highlighted*



Colour and the Minoan Bull Leaping Painting

The colour variations (Evans 1935)[23] is depicted among the persons in the Minonian bull leaping paintings. According to some experts, this is related with gender (Doumas 1999)[24] or with different age or with status (Damiani Indeli cato 1988) (Marinatos 1989) (Marinatos 1994)[25].

Types of People in the Minoan Bull Leaping Painting

There are three people present in the Minoan bull leaping painting. In this it is believed that the bull leaper and the person standing before the horn are the same person (Evans1930)[26]. But the pictures from Figure 6 to17 including the Minoan paintings clearly show that the person standing before the horn is different from the bull leaper. The courage it takes to stand before the horn of the wild bull itself clearly shows they are the trainers or the owners of these bulls (Zeuner1963)[27].

Minoan Bull Leaping and Religion

According to numerous experts, the Minoan bull leaping is also related with religion (Castleden 1990) (Hawkes 1968)[28](Evans1921)[29]. Some are related to the Solar Goddess (Bietak2007)[30]and some are related with the worship of bulls.

Thus there is no figure of the Minotaur in Minoan Crete, but there are bull leaping paintings in many ancient civilizations. So the mystery of the Minotaur might be associated with bull leaping. Some scholars relate this Minotaur with

[23]Evans also stated his belief that bothboys and girls took part in bull-leaping, an assumption based on the fact that leapers in frescos have two different skin colors. The problem of otherwise differentiating the figures by anatomy or costume (including a cod-piece) led Evans to envisage a ritual transvestism, reinforcing, as he saw it, the religious connotations of bull-leaping.

[24]Genders are distinguished by darker colors for men, and lighter colors for women. Blue indicates the shaven heads of young persons, a conventional rendering of the grayish appearance of shaven hair.

[25]it is more likely that the color differences refer to another distinction, such as different age or status.

[26]He suggested that the leaper would grab the horns of the bull, who would then toss the leaper onto his back. This has been the cause of skepticism since bulls cannot be expected to behave in this way, although this is often based on analogies with modern rodeo bulls or corridabulls.

[27]particularly that Cretan bulls were not necessarily as ferocious as is oftenassumed. But in addition to seeing these Neopalatial images as conveying information about the affordances of bulls, it can also be suggested that their naturalistic depiction and culturally significant details helped to establish a connection with a specific animal practice.

[28]Other authors have sought to tie bull-leaping with the worship of bulls, but there is no agreement on details of interpretation.

[29] Evans started his monumental account of his discoveries at Knossos, The Palace of Minos, by noting the connections between the bull-leaping scenes he had found there and myths about the Minotaur. He sought to reclaim these myths from the later Greeks, who had turned Knossos from "the peaceful abode of priest-kings" to "an ogre's den". ……. Evans's interpretation of bull-leaping as a religious performance on the grounds that palaces were religious centers.

[30]We may conclude that the bull games are dedicated and constitute an offering to the Minoan solar goddess.

eastern myth and the Greeks hybrid it (Shear 1923)[31](Goodnick 2004)[32]. It shows that it is hard to search its root in Greek.

Therefore, it is necessary to search whether there is any literary evidence related to this in other ancient literatures of the world.

Old Testament

The *Old Testament*, written in Hebrew, is one of the world's oldest literature. This has a small reference to Bull Leaping (UCLA Library 1903) as we see in the following passage:

> "For by thee I have run through a troop by my God have I leaped over a wall."
>
> 2 Samuel 22:30

Here the translation 'wall' probably represents the Bull. Similarly, the *Rig Veda*, composed in Sanskrit language, also contains references to Bull Leaping.

Rig Veda

A small reference to the taming of the beast is found in the ancient literature, called the ***Rig Veda*** (Griffith 1896) as we can see in the following passage:

> "One of the two hath Soma, seen within it; the Herdsman with the bone shows forth the other.
> He, fain to fight the Bull whose horns were sharpened, stood fettered in the demon's ample region."
>
> Line 10, Hymn XLVIII,
> Book 10, *Rig-Veda*.

The Bull Leaping mentioned in this passage is depicted as taking place not on that land, but on alien soil. However, these references do not clarify the obscurity of the Greek Minotaur. Therefore, we shall continue our research by looking at occurrences of the bull in Tamil, which is one of the world's ancient languages like Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Greek.

More than that Theseus who is associated with Minotaur is also related with India.

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[31]So, as with many of the hybrid monsters of ancient Greece, the Minotaur also had its roots firmly in the East. Shear contends that narrative aspects as well as the iconographical tradition associated with the Theseus-myth was transferred from Asia Minor to the Mediterranean via Lydia. In support of this theory he calls on the composition of the Minotaur which closely resembles the Mesopotamian bull-man configuration in literature and art

[32]On a linguistic level this is illustrated neatly by the suhurmašû, a hybrid creature of the Ancient Near East. It is believed that the word suhurmašû originally referred to the common seal, but a literal interpretation of the composite Sumerian name (suhur: carp, maš: goat) resulted in depictions of a hybrid monster with both goat and fish attributes.

Μήδεια δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κἀκεῖ γαμηθεῖσα Αἰγεῖ παῖδα γεννᾷ Μῆδον. ἐπιβουλεύουσα δὲ ὕστερον Θησεῖ φυγὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκβάλλεται. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος μὲν πολλῶν κρατήσας βαρβάρων[33] τὴν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν χώραν ἅπασαν Μηδίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐπὶ **Ἰνδοὺς** ἀπέθανε:

Apollod. 1.9.28.
(Frazer1921)

Medea came to Athens, and being there married to Aegeus bore him a son Medus. Afterwards, however, plotting against Theseus, she was driven a fugitive from Athens with her son. But he conquered many barbarians and called the whole country under him Media, and marching against the **Indians** he met his death.

Tamil and Greek

Tamil is one of the classical languages of India. There are many references in ancient Tamil literature called *Sanga Ilakkiyam* to the relationship of Tamil with the Greeks. These relations are related to trade (Pugazhendhi 2020a) (Pugazhendhi 2020c) (Pugazhendhi 2021d) (Pugazhendhi 2022 a), exchange of literary forms (Pugazhendhi 2020b) literary themes (Pugazhendhi 2021b) (Pugazhendhi 2024), literary myths (Pugazhendhi 2021a) (Pugazhendhi 2021c) (Pugazhendhi 2022b) (Pugazhendhi 2023) and so on. So, it is possible that there are references to Theseus or the Minotaur in the ancient Tamil literature called ***Sanga Ilakkiyam***. Here it is to be noted that Aegeus and Theseus belong to Pandion family, as we can see in the following passage:

[33]15 tataḥ sāgarakukṣisthān mlecchān paramadāruṇān pahlavān ***barbarāṃś*** caiva tān sarvān anayad vaśam
Chapter 29, Book 2,
The Mahabharata (Sanskrit)

And the son of Pandu then reduced to subjection the fierce Mlechchas residing on the sea coast, as also the ***wild tribes*** of the Palhavas, the Kiratas, the Yavanas, and the Sakas.
Section 31,
(Kisari Mohan Ganguli 1896)

40 uttarā pathajanmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api
yauna kāmbojagāndhārāḥ kirātā ***barbaraiḥ*** saha
41 ete pāpakṛtas tāta caranti pṛthivīm imām
śvakākabalagṛdhrāṇāṃ sadharmāṇo narādhipa
Chapter 200, Book 12,
The Mahabharata (Sanskrit)

Those that are born in the northern region, I shall also mention. They are Yamas, Kamvojas, Gandharas, Kiratas and ***Barbaras***. All of them, O sire, are sinful, and move on this Earth, characterised by practices similar to those of Chandalas and ravens and vultures.
Section 207,
(Kisari Mohan Ganguli 1896)

kAna mullaik kaya vAy alari
pArppana makaLir cAraR puRattu aNiya,
5 kal cuTar cErum katir mAy mAlai,

Natrinai 321, Mathurai Alakkar Gnālār Makanār Mallanār
Sanga Ilakkiyam (Tamil)
(Tamil Virtual University 1995a)

Forest jasmine flowers that
Parpana women on the mountain
slopes wear have blossomed.

αὐτὴ δὲ γαῖαν εἶμι τὴν Ἐρεχθέως,
Αἰγεῖ συνοικήσουσα τῷ Πανδίονος.
σὺ δ', ὥσπερ εἰκός, κατθανῇ κακὸς κακῶς,
Ἀργοῦς κάρα σὸν λειψάνῳ πεπληγμένος,
πικρὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἐμῶν γάμων ἰδών.
Kovacs (1994)

As for myself, I shall go to the land of Erechtheus to live with Aegeus, son of Pandion. But you, as is fitting, shall die the miserable death of a coward, struck on the head by a piece of the Argo, having seen the bitter result of your marriage to me.

1384 – 1388,
Medea, Euripides

Tamil Sanga Ilakkiyam

The Tamil *Sanga Ilakkiyam* is a collection of ancient Tamil literary works which date back as far as 1000 BC. It has a work called '*Kalithokai*' which mentions Pandion as we see in the passage below:

> Since the ocean's abundant waves roared in and
> seized his land, without slacking, the **Pāndion**
> king of unfading fame went on a military
> campaign and took the lands from the Chēra and
> Chōla countries, made them submit to him,
> …….
> May the **Pāndion** king owning drums that roar like thunder
> bring the world under his command!
>
> Kalithokai 104, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
> (Tamil Virtual University 1995)

This document does not state clearly that this Pāndion is the same as the Greek Theseus Pandion (Πανδίον). But there is a same reference about a bull.

Bull and Arena

The herds men arranged the bulls in the arena. They send the bulls with joy.

> The herder clan arose out of an ancient
> clan of great fame. All the herders join together,
> and with great joy, send their bulls into the arena…
>
> Kalithokai 104, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
> (Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Here the bulls are on several types.

Colour of The Bulls

The bulls which are lined up in the arena are of different colours.

a **faultless white** one like milk-hued Balathēvan **with**
a flag touching the sky, a bright palmyra icon,
an able, **black bull** like dark Thirumāl with Thirumakal
on his chest, successful in battles, and who has a gold discus,
a **hostile tawny colored** one, resembling the
three-eyed **Sivan** with a crescent moon on his radiant hair, and
a **red one with rage** the color of Murukan with martial
prowess who stirred the vast ocean and killed Sooran in the form of a mango tree.
Some of them are militant and others are not. They
are of many kinds and shapes. They appear like
many clouds that are together.

Kalithokai 104, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Thus the colours of the bulls were faultless white, black, hostile tawny and red with rage. These bulls were lined up on the ground. The reason for this lining up also is mentioned in the reference.

Bull Leaping

The bulls are of different colours are lined up in the arena. The reason for this lining up is also mentioned in the reference.

Look here my friend! Look at this man! Being the son
of cow herders, he sits on a bull with spots, and rides,
appearing like a boat that moves in shallow water. My
heart trembles on seeing him appear like enraged **Sivan**
who attacked with the edge of his feet and split the chest
of **Kootruvan riding a buffalo**, and took his precious life.
Look here my friend! Look at this man! Being the son
of goat herders, he holds on firmly to the beautiful white
side of a strong bull with many tiny spots, appearing like
a dark spot on the moon.

Kalithokai 103, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

This reference picturizes the bull leaping. In this bull leaping refers not only to cow herders, but also to goat herders who participated. For this purpose only the bulls were lined up in the arena. Here there is a reference to Sivan and Kootruvan riding a buffalo. This will be discussed later in this article. This bull leaping is not an easy chore.

Bull Leaping and Life

Bull Leaping is an event. It needs courage. Sometimes even the courageous people are killed by the bulls as is described in the following passages:

A young herder leaps at a bull's horns without
fearing the looks on its dull eyes, the color of caddis
flies. Look! **It gores and kills him, and lifts his mangled**
body on its horns, appearing like the vengeful attack
…….
Look at the young herder who is attacked and
stabbed by a black bull with a wide flame-like swirl
pattern on its forehead, his intestines hanging out of
his mutilated body,

Kalithokai 101, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Look at that red colored bull which gores again and again,
those who try to nab it and nab it, killing them. It appears
like **Kootruvan** who takes away life in a rage when weak.

Kalithokai 105, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Here the courageous bull leapers were killed by the bulls. It is to be noted that these murderous bulls are of different colours. It shows that there is no connection between the character and the colour of the bull (Evans 1930)[34]. Here there is also reference to ***Kootruvan***. It will be discussed in later part of this article. Due to the tough fighting of the bulls these are called with an adjective.

Murderous Bulls

The bulls in the bull leaping kills the bull leaper. So these bulls are called as murderous bulls.

Let us embrace and cover their wounds!
O friend! Let's embrace with our warm breasts and
cover the wounds of our lovers, caused by **murderous bulls**!
O friend! Won't our arms be adorned with buttermilk drops
that splatter when churning butter, mixed with blood on
embracing our wounded men who seized **murderous bulls?**

Kalithokai 106, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Here the bulls are called murderous bulls. Bull leapers were killed not for food but for sports. Thus the bulls which are herbivorous killed the bull leapers like a carnivorous bull. There may be some reason behind this life-lasting game.

[34]The Knossos Taureador frescos, the most famous depictions of bull-leaping, also potentially reveal something about the affordances of the depicted bulls through their markings. Whereas wild bulls (aurochs) are known to have been predominantly black, the piebald markings seen in the frescos are almost uniquely found in domesticated animals of various species.

Bull Leaping and Marriage

The bull leapers had eagerly participated in bull leaping even when there is a chance of dying. It shows that this bull leaping was linked to courage. We should also question whether this bull leaping activity is only related with courage or Are there some more things at play here. Let us examine the passage below:

> Who is this young woman who has
> entered my life with her body, happily
> playing with her friends of delicate words
> wearing thick garments, garlands and
> ornaments woven with many flowers, cool
> fragrant pidavam flowers, thalavam flowers
> from spreading creepers, and colorful large
> thōndri blossoms that have grown after the
> rapid rains from the wide dark skies?
> Hero's Friend**:**
> O! O! She is the one for whom it has been
> announced constantly with drums and words for
> everyone to hear, that other than the man who
> captures the warring, handsome bull, none can
> touch her dark, pretty body.
> Hero:
> Tell them I will capture the bull.
>
> Kalithokai 102, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
> (Tamil Virtual University 1995)

This reference shows the bond between the bull leaping and marriage. When the girl child was born, along with that child a bull was also reared in the herdmen community. If any man wants to marry that woman he should certainly tame that bull. Otherwise, no herder women would marry him. It is mentioned in the following passage:

> **Young herder women will not embrace the man who fears**
> **the killer horns of bulls, even in their next birth.** Other
> than men who seize murderous bulls without fear, it is rare
> for those who have fear in their hearts to attain them.
> **It is not possible to unite with the herder women for men**
> **who fear the horns of bulls and not consider their lives as**
> wind.
>
> Kalithokai 103, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
> (Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Here it is said that even in the next birth herder women would not marry the man who had the fear of bull leaping. It ensures the bond between the bull leaping and marriage in the herder community. The defeated person may die and the victorious person would marry the herder women. It is mentioned in the reference below:

There, the man who lies on the neck of the white bull **will get the pretty young woman** with sharp teeth,
the man who seizes the sharp-horned, black bull without fearing its rage will receive **sleep with the pretty young woman** with combed hair, wearing bright jewels,
the man who subdues the murderous bull with colored eyes **will get the young woman** with pretty eyes and looks of a bewildered deer, and the man who captures the very strong red bull with fierce rage **will receive** sleep on the delicate, bamboo-like arms of the young woman wearing earrings with stripes.

Kalithokai 104, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Thus the winner could get the young herder woman. The women of this community proposed their love only to the brave men who were capable of taming the wild bulls (Pugazhendhi 2021e). Thus this reference points out the relation between bull leaping and the love proposal or marriage. And this proposal is picturized in Figure 21.

Figure 21. *Bull Leaping and Marriage*

So there was a tradition in which bull leaping was mandatory for the proposal of marriage. Here it was not related with religion but with social events. It might be possible that this type of linkage between bull leaping and marriage was present in many ancient civilization where there are pictures of bull leaping. In the same way, ancient Tamil literature also picturized the ancient tradition.

Here it should be noted that the references to Pandion in Tamil literature also mentioned the possibility of death attached to bull leaping which was one of the unrelentless custom in a society related with cattle rearing on which that society

depend (Harald Brüssow2009)[35]. In the archaeology of Crete, we find no picture of Minotaur, but Minoan bull leaping painting is present. So it is also possible by mistake to relate this Minoan bull leaping to the Minotaur.

Personification

The portrayal of non-living things or animals as humans is called personification, which is one of the many figures of speech. This type of personification is common in mythology (Strauss 1955)[36]. The bull in the Minoan bull leaping painting might be personified as the Minotaur. The murderous nature of these bulls in the sport of bull leaping might be thought that Minotaur would eat young men and women. Young men and women who were for marriage (Marinatos 1989)[37]linked with bull leaping might be thought that they were eaten by Minotaur. So, Theseus fought with Minotaur and won the love of Ariadne, who is the sister of Minotaur, this means that Theseus took part in the Minoan bull leaping and won the love of Ariadne, who was grown up along with the bull which was for bull leaping and as the bull is like a brother for her. So the love of Ariadne was not an incidental one but preordained. Here it is also to be noted that there is no evidence of sacrifices after the bull leaping (Younger1995)[38]. So Minotaur is nothing but the personification of the murderous bulls. Thus the bull in Figure 21 is personified as Minotaur in Figure 22.

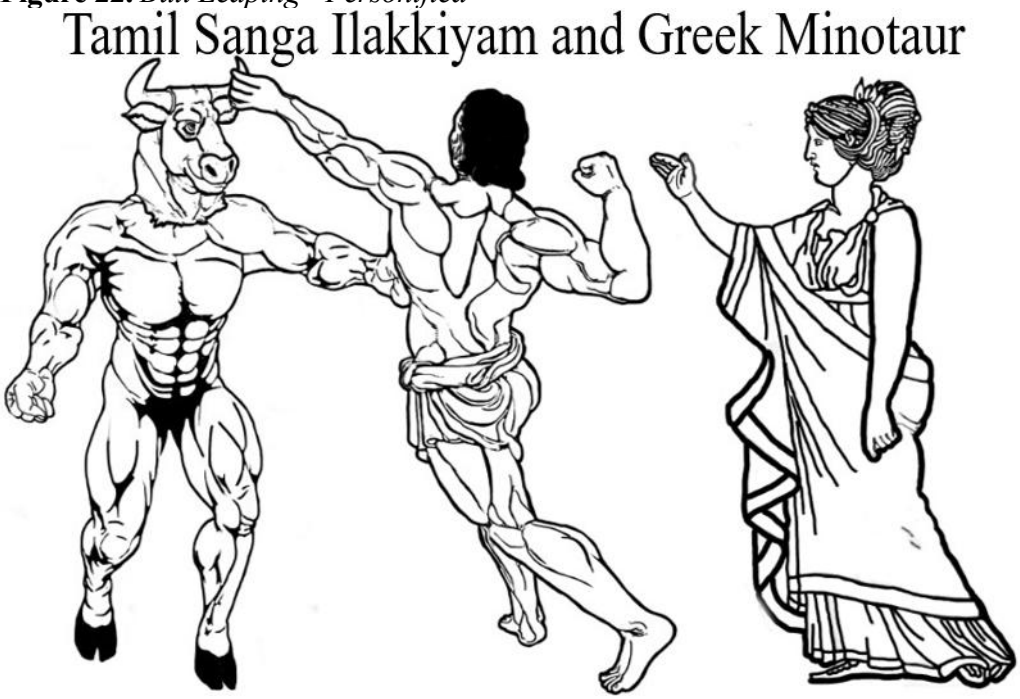
[35]The domestication of cattle, sheep and goats is a key event in human history whose impact cannot be over stated. In fact the term Neolithic Revolution was aptly coined for a process, which started about 11 000 years ago.

[36]Mythological figures are considered as personified abstractions, divinized heroes or decayed gods.

[37]The participants of the bull-sports are always depicted as young and athletic and the social function of the sport was undoubtedly as an expression of youthful vigor and daring in acts involving physical challenge and dominance over animal power.

[38]Younger has updated the corpus of known depictions, piecing together a sequence of activities, including bull capture, grappling/wrestling, leaping, and sacrifice. Although there is no evidence that sacrifice followed bull-leaping.

Figure 22. *Bull Leaping - Personified*



The mystry behind the birth of Minotaur need to be clarified.

Metonymy

In the birth of Minotaur it is said that Pasiphaë fell in love with the bull and gave birth to Minotaur. But according to bull leaping which is linked to marriage, the woman loved only the bull leaper. In the language and literature, the expression 'the woman loved the bull leaper' can be transcribed as 'the woman loved the bull'. This is a metonymy, which is a figure of speech consisting of the use of the name of one thing for that of another but with which it is closely connected (Warren Beatrice 2006)[39]. There are many patterns (Nerlich1999:363-364) (Lipka 1988:360-361)[40] in this metonymy. So Pasiphaë falling in love with the bull is not a clinical complex of Zoophilia like the Oedipus complex or the Electra complex but is related to a metonymy. In the same way Zeus turned into a

[39]consider some examples ofreferential metonymy:
(11) I will put you on the governor's report. (your behaviour)
(12) I have been reading the man for ages, but had never seen him in the flesh. (referring to Chomsky)
(13) Maria is a divine voice. (person with a divine voice)
As the examples above demonstrate, referential metonymy tends to violate truth conditions: one cannot literally include a person in a report or read aman; nor can a woman be a voice or tables complain. Propositional metonymy, on the other hand, tends to be literally true since the validity of the consequent (implicitly conveyed notion) depends on the validity of the antecedent (explicit expression).

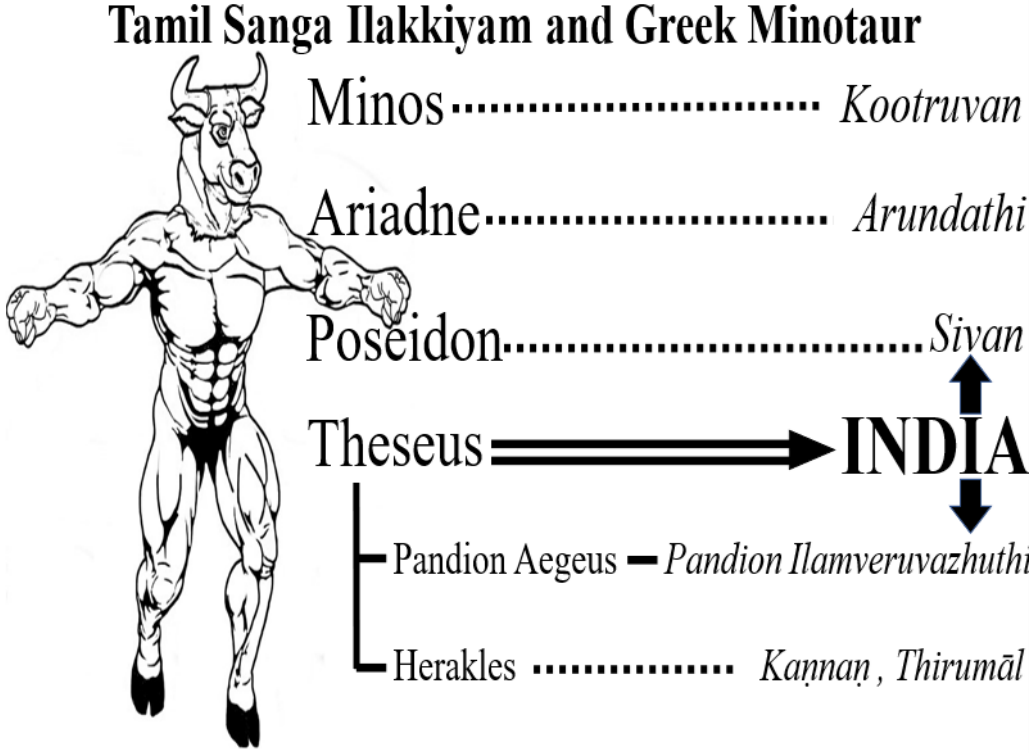
[40]Patterns such as part for whole, whole for part, garment for person, container for contents, place for institution, producer for product, instrument for result, matter for artefact.

bull for the love of Europa might be that Zeus leaped on the bull and won the love of Europa. Also, when Glaucus sought to win the love of Eurynome by giving oxen might be to mean that he was ready for bull leaping to marry her.

Theseus Indian War and the Myths

It is said that Theseus took a war on India. It might be influenced in the myths of India. The parallels are shown in the Figure 23.

Figure 23. *Minotaur – Greek and Tamil*



Ariadne

In the myth of Minotaur -Ariadne, sister of Minotaur and daughter of Minos has helped Theseus in the defeat of Minotaur. It is said that she has loved Theseus. The situation for the start of love was not clearly discernible. The Tamil reference highlights that the bull leaping itself seems to be the main cause of this love. After this love and the victory over Minotaur, Theseus and Ariadne left Crete. Meanwhile Theseus left Ariadne. The love of the Ariadne is respected and placed her in the heavenly constellations as a crown of stars.

δή ποτε καὶ Θησῆα κακῶν ὑπελύσατ' ἀέθλων παρθενικὴ Μινωὶς ἐυφρονέουσ' Ἀριάδνη, ἥν ῥά τε Πασιφάη κούρη τέκεν Ἠελίοιο.	In the past, the maiden Ariadne, daughter of Minos, was, with kindly intent, rescued Theseus from grim

ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν καὶ νηός, ἐπεὶ χόλον εὖνασε Μίνως,
σὺν τῷ ἐφεζομένη πάτρην λίπε: τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσῳ δέ οἱ αἰθέρι τέκμαρ
ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τόν τε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδνης,
πάννυχος οὐρανίοισιν ἑλίσσεται εἰδώλοισιν.

contests -- the maiden whom Pasiphae daughter of Helios bare. But she, when Minos had lulled his wrath to rest, went aboard the ship with him and left her fatherland; and her even the immortal gods loved, and, as a sign in mid-sky, a crown of stars, which men call Ariadne's crown, rolls along all night among the heavenly constellations.
3.997-1004, Argonautica

Thus Ariadne who has a remarkable chastity is honoured by giving the place in the constellation as shown in the Figure 24.

Figure 24. *Ariadne - Constellation*

This type of respect given to chastity by giving a remarkable place in the stars is also seen in the Tamil mythology.

Tamil mythology mentions about a woman called Arundathi. She is a symbol of chastity and she has a place in the constellation.

The mother of my son,
wearing jewels of sapphire
the size of tiny coconuts,
her chastity like that of
Arundathi in the celestial
world above the dark sky,
will receive guests very gladly,
if the enraged king's difficult
battle business ends.

Ainkurunūru 442, Pēyanār, Sanga Ilakkiam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

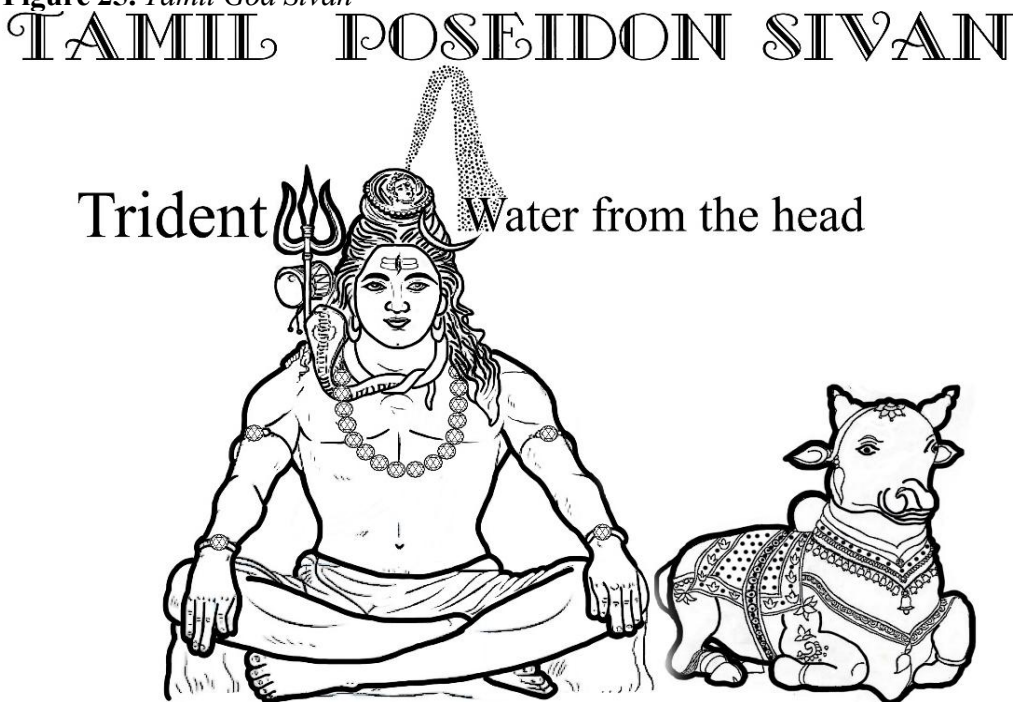
Thus Greek Ariadne and Tamil Arundathi have a place as a star owing to their chastity. It can be observed that the names Ariadne and Arundathi also have some phonetic similarity. Here it is noted that Theseus who is the husband of Greek

Ariadne is related with Pandion and the Tamil Arundathi is also related with that of the Tamil literature of Pandion (Pugazhendhi 2021e).

Poseidon

Poseidon is one of the main occurrences in the myth of Minotaur. The curse of the Poseidon is the cause of the birth of Minotaur. Poseidon is related with sea and had trident in his hand as shown in the Figure 5. It is also searched in the Tamil literature. The Tamil reference Kalithokai 104 of Sanga Ilakkiyam mentioned three-eyed Sivan and Kalithokai 103 of Sanga Ilakkiyam mentioned about Sivan who split the chest of Kootruvan riding a buffalo. This Tamil God Sivan as shown in Figure 25 has parallel with Figure 5.

Figure 25. *Tamil God Sivan*

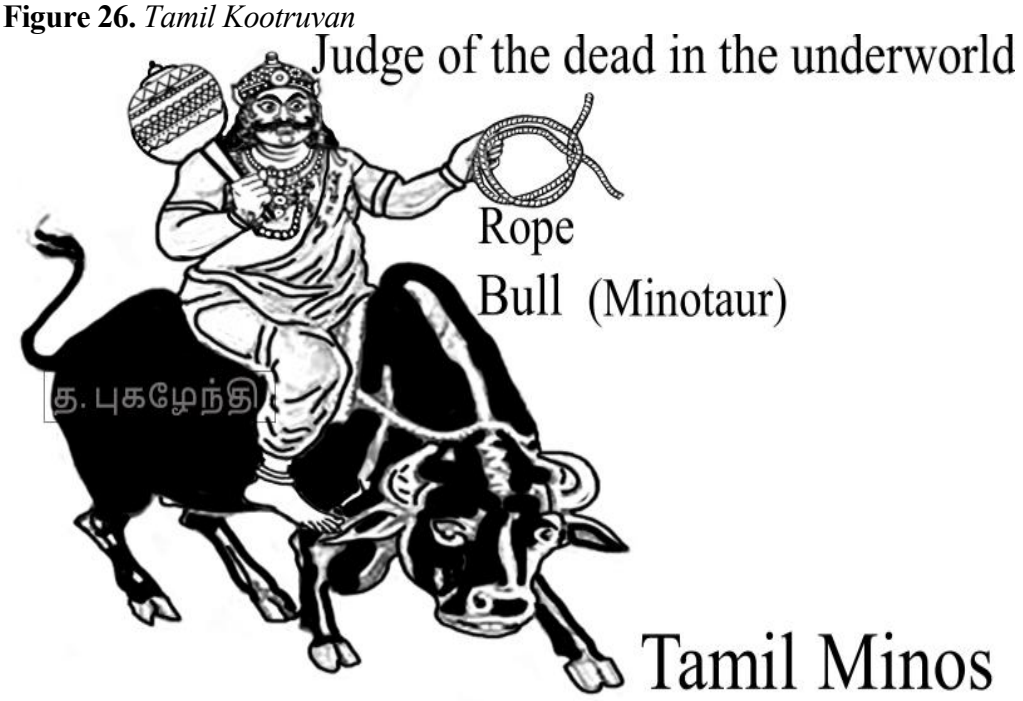


Here Tamil God Sivan also has Trident as that of Greek Poseidon. Poseidon is related with sea and Sivan related with fountain on his head. He also has a bull with him. Thus both Greek Poseidon and Tamil Sivan have parallels. In the reference Kalithokai 103 of Sanga Ilakkiyam it is said that he has defeated Kootruvan who was riding a buffalo.

Minos

Minos is the father of Minotaur. He is the God of Death and judge of the underworld in the Greek myth. He has parallel with Tamil Kootruvan who is also the God of the Death and judge of the underworld as that of Greek Minos (Pugazhendhi 2021e). He is pictorised in Tamil myth as in Figure 26.

Figure 26. *Tamil Kootruvan*



Pandion and Suicide in the Sea

Aegeus is son of Pandion in Greek. He lost his life by suicide in the sea when his son Theseus returned from Minotaur, misunderstood that his son was defeated. In Tamil also there is a king called Pandion Ilamveruvazhuthi who committed suicide in the sea. He also wrote a song in Tamil related with life and fame.

> This world exists because of men who, even if they were
> to get the nectar of Indiran, will not drink it alone
> knowing that it is sweet, men with no hatred, without
> laziness, afraid of what others fear, will give
> up their lives for fame, but will not accept fame if it
> comes with dishonor, even if they were to gain the world,
> men who have no regrets, and with noble virtues,
> who exert their power, not for themselves but for others!
>
> Puranānūru 182, Kadalul Māyntha Ilamveruvazhuthi,
> Sanga Ilakkiyam, (Tamil Virtual University 1995)

Thus the Greek characters which are related with the myth of Minotaur are also seen parallels with Tamil as in Table 2.

Table 2. *Greek and Tamil Characters Related with the Myth of Minotaur*

Greek	**Tamil**
Poseidon	Sivan
Minos	Kootruvan
Pasiphaë love with bull	Women love with bull leaper
Minotaur	Bull (personification)
Ariadne	Arundathi
Theseus	Husband of Arundathi Son of Pandion
Pandion Aegeus	Pandion Ilamveruvazhuthi

Thus the war of Theseus in India made these parallels in Tamil. These parallels are seen not only with the persons related with Minotaur, but also with the friends of them.

Theseus and Heracles

Theseus is the friend of Heracles

Θησεύς	Theseus
παῦσαι: δίδου δὲ χεῖρ᾽ ὑπηρέτῃ φίλῳ.	Peace! give your hand to a **friend** and helper.
Ἡρακλῆς	Heracles
ἀλλ᾽ αἷμα μὴ σοῖς ἐξομόρξωμαι πέπλοις.	No, let me not wipe off the blood upon your robe.
Θησεύς	Theseus
1400ἔκμασσε, φείδου μηδέν: οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.	[1400] Wipe it off and spare not; I will not refuse you.
Ἡρακλῆς	Heracles
παίδων στερηθεὶς παῖδ᾽ ὅπως ἔχω σ᾽ ἐμόν.	Bereft of my own sons, I find you as a **son to me**.
Θησεύς	Theseus
δίδου δέρῃ σὴν χεῖρ᾽, ὁδηγήσω δ᾽ ἐγώ.	Throw your arm about my neck; I will be your guide.
Ἡρακλῆς	Heracles
ζεῦγός γε φίλιον: ἄτερος δὲ δυστυχής. ὦ πρέσβυ, τοιόνδ᾽ ἄνδρα χρὴ κτᾶσθαι φίλον. (Gilbert Murray1913)	A pair of **friends** indeed, but one a man of sorrows. Ah! aged father, this is the kind of man to make a friend. (Coleridge1938)

This Heracles is related with biting the breast of Hera and caused heavy pain, fought with a snake and horse, broke the horn of Achelous and married Deianira. Parallels with these are also seen in Tamil.

Tamil God Kaṇṇaṇ

In Tamil, God Kannan or Thirumāl is mentioned in the bull leaping.

Look at the young black bull that stabs that man
horribly, resembling the blue-colored **Kaṇṇaṇ**

Kalithokai 104, Sanga Ilakkiyam,
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

He was also related with bull leaping linked with marriage (Kausalya 2018).

983. The dark cloud-coloured God
who fought with seven humped bulls and killed them
to marry Nappinnai with beautiful fish eyes

4. Thiruvadariyāchiramam ,
Periya Thirumozhi,
Thirumangai Azhvar.

In this way the war of Theseus on India made parallels within Greek and Tamil in the persons related with Minotaur.

Conclusion

Although Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Tamil are classical languages, Greek and Tamil have closer similarities than other classical languages in the Herdsmen concepts of the flute and garland. In this way, the Tamil concept serves to clarify the obscure Greek concept of Minotaur in relation to the Herdsmen society. Greek literature also mentions that Minotaur has a bull head and a human body and that men and women were sacrificed to it. It is said that Pasiphaë, the mother of Minotaur, fell in love with the bull and gave birth to the Minotaur. The husband of Pasiphaë is Minos. His mother Europa had fallen in love with the bull, who was Zeus in the form of bull and she had given birth to Minos. The pictures available in Crete shows about bull leaping. Theseus is mainly related with this myth. He belongs to the family of Pandion. Theseus warred against India. The inhabitants of Crete, the Cretans also visited the lands on the coast of the Erythraean Sea. Like the Cretan picture Tamil literature also picturises bull leaping with the mentioning of the Pandion king. Bull leaping was an unrelentless factor in the marriage system of a society which is related with cattle. Tamil civilization picturized young herder women who would embrace the man who could seize the murderous bulls. Due to these characters, the bulls presented in the bull leaping are referred to as murderous bulls. Thus, these bulls might be personified as Minotaur. So, Minos ordered seven youths and the same number of damsels without weapons to be sent as fodder for the Minotaur would mean that for bull leaping and marriage. So, the love of Pasiphaë and Europa for a bull which then produced the birth of a child means that, they loved the bull seizer and became pregnant by him. In this context the ‘Love on a bull-boy’ can be seen as ‘love on a bull’ in a Metonymic sense.

Thus, the pictorial references available in the ancient civilization talk about how the bull leaping was carried out. Tamil literary sources picturized how and why the bull leaping was conducted. In this way the Tamil reference throws light on the mystery of the Greek Minotaur. More than that the Greek characters Poseidon, Minos, Minotaur, Ariadne, Theseus and Aegeus who are related with the myth of Minotaur are also seen in Tamil due to the war of Theseus with India.

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Georgian Literature at the Crossroads: Cultural Dialogue – Alternative for Georgian Post-Totalitarian Reality

*By Tamar Paichadze**

The integration of culture into the Euro-Atlantic cultural space is an important challenge in the process of new historical regulation. This issue is especially relevant for the post-period of the ex-totalitarian country. At this stage, new genres, themes and images are emerging in art and literature. Hence, the modern cultural process is in deliberate search for new forms of expression. It is looking for forms that will allow culture to adapt to the existing reality. The word "Europe" does not of course mean a leveled space, a united cultural or even political monolith. Europe has many strong co-perceptions of common history, mutual intersections, although there is quite a clear perception of different peoples and their lifestyles. The discussion about the Europeanness or non-Europeanness of Georgian culture began in the 1990s. The determinant of the degree of integration became compatibility with the main principles of liberal democracy, dialogicity in urban space, openness to the opinion and position of others and at the same time overcoming one's own "nostria": individual - face to face with encounter. A person, an individual, is the main figure and his feelings, pain, or problem are the main motivation of every cultural discourse. Thus, Georgian culture is at a crossroads. The process of cultural exchange from a colonial framework to an open, free creative process is still in its present process with its multifaceted manifestations.

Keywords: *Cultural Dialogue, Intercultural Communication, Epoch, Georgian Literature, Cultural-historic orientation*

Introduction

The integration of culture into the Euro-Atlantic cultural space is a real important challenge to the process of new historical regulation. This issue is especially relevant for the post-period of the ex-totalitarian country. At this stage, new genres, themes and images are emerging in art and literature. Hence, cultural process towards European modernity is in the deliberate search of new forms of expression. It looks for forms that will allow culture to adapt to the existing reality.

Added to this is the fact that the Georgian literary process of the last century is becoming increasingly interesting to the modern world - as regards method and subject matter. This challenge is due to the fact that for the European literary audience, Georgian culture has become a kind of "discovery or illuminated niche" in recent decades in exchange for the vacuum that is called the lack of information.

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Reality, Approaches and Trends Analytical-methodological Position

The world audience gradually realized the reality that Georgian literature in the history of world culture is distinguished not only by the early Christian, Renaissance or transitional to the Western (Renaissance and its subsequent periods) artistic - creative stages, but also by a significant recent period and, most importantly, during this period of cultural movement, the hegemon was always literature. This process of so-called "filling" naturally led to questions: in what was the artificiality and ideologisation of literature manifested, where was the line drawn between real and "dictated" creative processes and, finally, what role and significance does Georgian writing of this period have in the general cultural process and the history of its development.

Europe has many strong shared perceptions of common history and mutual intersections. There are many events in the history of Europe which affected not just one specific country, although there is quite a clear perception of different peoples, their lifestyles and traditional value systems.

The word “Europe” does not, of course, mean a leveled space, a united cultural or even political monolith, which would be one from Scandinavia to the Pyrenees. Europe is a union of diversity so if there is something in common: it is the very strong co-perception of history; in the history of world civilization there are a lot of points of intersection in the history of Europe; when the events underway affected not just one specific country, but Europe as a whole. We can also recall such historic events that caused mental shifts in the population of Europe, not just on the level of specific ethnic groups, but at the level of the whole continent; on the other hand, there is a quite clear perception of diverse people and their lifestyles.

The discussion about Georgian culture whether being European, or non-European started from the second half of the last century; Degree of integration became decisive: compatibility with general principles of liberal democracy, dialog ability in urban environment, openness to other opinions and positions and at the same time overcoming own “Nostria”: an individual facing an individual. A person, an individual, is the main figure, and his or her feelings, dreams and suffering, pain, or problem are the main motivation of every cultural discourse.

Therefore, the intercultural scientific-analytical space and public opinion in general demand the perception of cultural processes in a common historical and cognitive space, for which it is necessary to develop and eventually establish an appropriate methodology for teaching culture (thought literature).

It is logical to ask: is Georgian culture ready for integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic cultural space? When talking about Georgia, two issues are most important to consider:

1. To what extent does our culture correspond to the general principles of liberal democracy?
2. To what extent is it possible to integrate our cultural-mental zone with European countries, taking into account its historical and cultural peculiarities?

There is an opinion in society, that Georgian culture has a very strong spirit of being European and different political approach is necessary. Additionally, there is also a so-called "Georgian dominant culture", which leads us to a question: what is current Georgian dominant culture? - During the Soviet Era, in the reality of the colonial regime, social realism was dominant; governmental policy in the cultural environment (till the end of last century) looked like a "mechanical orange", while the mechanical orange is an absurd term. A nation is not an orange that can be transformed mechanically; it is a living organism.

Georgian culture is a Christian culture. Religious moment is very significant and it largely defines the Georgian culture. Orthodox religions as the dominant branch of in Georgia has more ambition and requirements to actively participate in the life of a country. Church and State authority space is wider here than in Catholic areas. Additionally, the Georgian nation has a unique and well-formed image of aesthetes, which has always been detected in Georgian culture, although from time to time it being suppressed by political aggression from different totalitarian regimes: (Mongol, Persian-Iranian, Russian…)

In Georgia, just as in all other post-totalitarian countries, the liberal-democratic thinking processes developed in the opposite direction: the so-called violent model was dominant, which was against the essence of Western civilization, when we first gain a country and then a country forms a new culture. A certain reflection of dominant culture is the direct result of the above-mentioned; against this oppression, which resulted in a pseudo and fictional imagination of Georgian mentality and tolerance. Totalitarian consciousness prohibited fictional shows, mystical and sacral problematic, and the so-called "immaterial themes" in each field of the arts.[1] Those fields gained the "green light" and perspectives of ideological realization during the last decade. Such a "violent model" is absolutely opposite to western civilization, its natural model of formation and development, where there is culture first, which we call western (Protestant culture) and one of the incarnations of which is its social aspect (capitalism); i.e. there first is culture and then a country is built based on it.

In this case, the integration of our society into the existing civilized world was determined precisely by the historical memory of the culture, traditional attitudes and mentality. First, it was tolerance and the ability to be part of a dialogue (although there were certain contradictions here too)

Totalitarian policy has also affected the intercultural dialogue and information availability: translation of foreign literature was limited; till the last moment, there was no information in the Georgian language about many world-recognized writers and many Georgian writers living in emigration, as the totalitarian regime did not accept their life and creative image. The given process did not develop just in XX century; due to its historical fate, for centuries Georgia was at first under eastern and later under Slav influence…

[1]The abstract of this paper has been published in the Proceedings of the XXIII Congress of the ICLA "Re-Imagining Literatures of the World: Global and Local, Mainstreams and Margins" Georgian literature at the crossroads: cultural challenges from colonial reality to Europeanization | Collected Papers of the XXIII Congress of the ICLA (openjournals.ge)

Although, for example at the beginning of the XX century, there were trends in Georgian literature concerted with Western trends. Translating western literature started at the end of the 19th century, although the process was not consistent. Due to inconsistency the given processes included trends of "carnavalization", although, it is apparent "carnavalization" was not the aim of the creators of the trends. "Carnavalization" – the art of turning dogmas, clichés and official ideology upside down, appeared in Georgian art space due to European artifacts. "Carnavalic" modus and culture created the new literary forms; world-renowned, fabulous parody literature parody spirit and such aesthetic experience was gradually translated at social and cultural discourse language.

Unfortunately, in the wake of totalitarian history, Georgia had completely different historical-political problems and was not always ready for cultural transformation. However, if we look at the stages of development of Georgian culture, there were flashes of the so-called democratic aesthetics, liberal and democratic texts; from this time artistic discourses appeared more and more frequently in the Georgian cultural space.

In the given dynamics also worth considering the religious moment; religious nationalism– "I am an Orthodox believer – I am a Georgian" – is of course the reality that has to be considered, although due to the above-mentioned historical tolerance, the given reality is absolutely based on democratic and free choice principle – "this is my choice and not an obligation…" It is well known that dialogue and an individual is very important for European culture. In the process of dialogue, a dominant culture should not absorb an individual, who belongs to some subculture.

Unfortunately, this was the period when Georgia had completely different historical problems and was not ready for it. Although, if we look at the stages of development of Georgian culture, there have been facts of appearance of the so-called democratic aesthetics; liberal and democratic texts, artistic discussions appeared in Georgian cultural space from time to time. (For example, David Guramishvili, who was completely different from the then Georgian poets with his mysticism, attempts of deep poetic analysis.)

At the boundary of XVII-XIX centuries, after the Russian political protectorate the processes developed according to the following scheme: European romanticism found its place through Russia to Europe and in Georgia; one of the most celebrated characters of that era is poet Nikoloz Baratashvili and his democratic aesthetics. During the second half of the 19th century appeared the "60-ians" with their liberal-national ideology and new opinions, which provided an even more comprehensive image of the process of culture history development. This gives a more complete look at the process of development of cultural history.

Georgian modernism of 1910-1920s was the greatest "explosion" of democratic aesthetics; Georgians showed that they are able to share the trends and aesthetics forming in Europe. This is called "peripheral modernism" and "peripheral avant-gardism", but everything that came to Tbilisi at that time from Russia and directly from Europe was excellently read by the then new generation writers; they formed a Georgian symbolist group; they managed and creatively processed an enormous volume of information from European modernist schools and followed the trends

well. (Losev 1999, p. 168). Great artworks have been created in painting also, but unfortunately, the artists, who created the Tbilisi avant-garde and Georgian modernism was destroyed by "red terror" in the 1930s and it all ended.

Thus, on the one hand, Georgian culture did not completely share the aesthetic school of democracy. which was being formed in Europe, in independent cities and in conditions of a dialogue and due to political dictates, only received minor/short experience.

Despite the destruction of that generation, the revival again started in the 1960s of the last century. The new generation with specifics of analytics and critics appeared in literature, cinematography and theatre fields. Despite the cultural isolation and ideological oppression, democracy and liberalism still appeared in Georgia at the level of aesthetics at that time. The Georgian culture of the 60s shows the moments of not only modernism, but also of post-modernism, aesthetic mentality of the nation managed to regenerate, and "democratic esthetics" showed itself. Naturally, translating that into social, economic and political language was impossible in Soviet standard (conditions). The process continued in 1990s, especially in literature. Change of language of prose and poetry, re-reading of classics, parody came as a result of the above-mentioned innovations.

These processes have been especially apparent in Georgian culture from new century, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 which is reasoned by three main factors: I-freedom from totalitarian regime; II-tradition of integration of Georgian culture with European processes (at the boundary of XIX-XX centuries); III-critical-analytical and esthetic-democratic innovations in Georgian literature, cinematography and TV-space – new genres in new art reality.

The given discourse shows that there is some potential in Europeans and Georgians, although this is not the end and the reality is still far from systemized processes. "Translations" in methodological and analytical discourse language are not being done. The processes are somewhat amorphous and uncertain.

Methodological and Narrative Peculiarities

The primacy of the liberal-democratic aesthetic moment of assimilation of information often converges in the given issues, in view of learning both metrological and historical values. The significance of stimulating and developing those elements has historically been realized by Georgian society

As for whether Georgian educational science is ready to introduce these cultural dialogues and this direction of teaching, the answer is unanimous: it wants it, but this process, it is still being formed, and not so much because of different opinions, but because of the lack of a new methodological policy and program structure, as well as the political imbalance and position of mutual isolation with related cultures (Abkhazian or Ossetian culture).

There are similarities and differences between Georgian and Western culture period; for example, it is the clearest in issues such as religion and family. Still, in whole, Georgian culture is not isolated and by its regional variations, it is part of European culture and civilization. At the same time, it is distinguished by being

pragmatic, maybe at the level of ideas and declarations and sometimes at an emotional level when other values are more systematized due to historical-traditional values, such as the gender equality.

In this respect, Georgian culture has a precise mental position for instance gender equality policy has followed our nation historically, It is reflected in cultural and, literary traditions. For example, the early medieval classical Georgian literature artwork – Shota Rustaveli's poem "Vepkhistkaosani" (The Night in Tiger's Skin), the subjective-fictional structure of which is based on general equality idea; there are a lot of other such examples in Georgian culture. Despite this general mainstream is hard to be understood by Georgian society, which in some way is the expression of pragmatism.

That is the basis for clearing up and the process of perception: isolation from the rest of the society, or cultural dialogue by considering all the diversities that are not only in the world but in Georgian too. Of course, Georgian culture were always based on cultural diversity, dialogue and if it was not for the history of colonial life in the last century, there would be no problems and questions about estrangement from Europe.

The following questions appear to be logical also: What is the main feature of Georgian mentality, for it to participate in the process of common cultural perception, for it to feel that it has independence? Meaning, what do Georgians believe to be the marker of being Georgian? What does Georgian spirit mean to people? And how does it appear in culture?

In this dynamic, as noted, the religious moment must be taken into account, religious nationalism - "I am Orthodox - I am Georgian" - is, of course, a current reality today, although it is based on the legacy of historical tolerance, on the principle of absolutely democratic and free choice, that is, this is my choice and does not imply obligation... It is known that dialogue and the individual are very important for European culture. In this dialogue, the dominant culture should not absorb the individual or subcultures.

The Historical Path of the Europeanization Process in Georgian Literature

Reality and Choice .

"The history of Georgian literature, together with the diversity of genres, methodologies, romantic and creative forms, is also the history of cultural-historical orientation. Here we must note that historically, during the process of cultural development, the hegemon in Georgia was always literature and writing. Historiographic and oriental research recognize the clear influence of early Christian philosophy on the Caucasian (Georgian) literature processes of the 5th – 9th centuries. Such culturological orientation was the result of influence from the Middle East cultural-historical region". (Paichadze 2016)

What does the rethinking of historical space imply according to the scheme of "cultural-historical regions"?

To understand this process, it is important to analyze the term itself "cultural-historical region," which may be defined not only by geographical location, but also by cultural, qualitative, and historical characteristics. Such a region may include various national ethno-groups, even if they do not share the same geographic space.

For a cultural-historical region, the primary parameter of identity is the time of the development of writing as regards theme and form. Accordingly, we can consider the constituent groups of a cultural-historical region:

1) Byzantine, Greek;
2) Syrian-Assyrian – (centers: Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem Christian centers, Rome, Alexandria);
3) Coptic (Egypt);
4) Ethiopian;
5) Georgian;
6) Armenian;
7) Slavic, Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian.

Georgia, it seems, has its own unique niche in terms of cultural-historical origins. It should also be noted that, historically, literature and writing have always been the dominant forces on the path of cultural development in Georgia.

The pre-Christian Stage

Acceptance of Christianity was the most significant inspiration for Georgian culture. Although, here appears the contradiction that related to cultural choice, but had an important political and historic significance and result: recognition of Christianity as of state religion, freed Georgia from the colonial influence of eastern countries. Although created the risk of Byzantine imperative protectorate (Khaukchishvili 1973). Due to this, a very important decision was made in the process of cultural-historic orientation choice: dogmatically Georgian Christian literature affiliated with Constantinople, but canonically and hierarchically it related to Syria, which, as a weak country at that moment, was not able to politically influence Georgia. (Paichadze 2016)

The issue of sharing Christian culture is connected to the task of overcoming so-called "trilingualism," which stems from the theory of the "three sacred languages." This is a Christian theory of civilizational development, according to which literature was to develop in three languages, representing three cultures, because at Christ's crucifixion, the inscription "King of the Jews" was written in three languages: Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

This theory posed both orientalist and dogmatic challenges. Given the existing historical and political realities, the areas where Greek and Latin were spread were much broader than that of ancient Hebrew, whose role within the trilingual model was more symbolic—it was the original language of the Bible.

Through the translation of the Bible, a country (or nation) could overcome the theory of trilingualism and be recognized as part of the Eastern cultural-historical region (Blake 1932).

Thus, the determining factor for overcoming trilingualism and being included in a cultural region was the source language and the timing of the Bible translation.

The complete Georgian version of the Bible is dated to the 4th–5th centuries, and it should be noted that this occurred much earlier than in the European Christian space, where the process of Bible translation continued for centuries, from that time until the late Middle Ages.

After overcoming the trilingualism doctrine, Georgia entered a period of not only Christian but also broader cultural development—especially in the field of literature. Alongside Christian and ecclesiastical literature, chivalric epics also developed—both original literary works and translated texts. In parallel with religious writings, secular and adventure-themed stories emerged.

Renaissance and post-Renaissance Period

The Renaissance and post-Renaissance stages in the history of Georgian culture coincide with the early middle Ages. During this period, the influence of Eastern cultural orientation expanded further within the Georgian sphere, and literature became increasingly based on Eastern creative methods. However, this shift no longer aligned strictly with Christian worldview parameters—it became more alternative and comprehensive in scope and expressed formal and thematic influences of non-Christian (mainly Muslim) literature (Siradze 2008). In this regard, the most iconic and artistically refined example of Georgian culture is Shota Rustaveli's 12th-century poem *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. The poem is rooted—both in plot, ideas, form, and artistic language—in national-historical and mental symbols and literary codes. From the very beginning, the author identifies a non-Georgian (Persian) space as the source of the plot, and the action of the poem unfolds not only outside a Christian geographic space (Arabia, India, China, Persia), but also repeatedly aligns ideologically and formally with early medieval Eastern literary works such as "Visramiani", "Abdulmesiah", "Dilargetiani", "Amirandarejaniani", among others.

These facts primarily confirm the method of "alienation" recognized in Georgian literature of the time, which was used to de-identify the creative work, its plot, and national identity (Siradze 2008). This kind of artistic and formal orientation toward non-Christian Eastern culture not only became a defining feature of early medieval Georgian literary life but also continued for several subsequent centuries.

The reason for this prolonged influence lies partly in the historical-political reality of Georgia during that time. From the 13th to the 16th centuries, due to the Mongol political and economic domination, Georgia experienced a stage of cultural decline that lasted for over three centuries.

The prolongation of the given tendency was also reasoned by the historical reality in the Georgian state. Mongolian political and economic dictatorship took place in Georgia during the XIII-XVI centuries, which resulted in its complete statehood and economic devaluation. The given period is called the so-called decline times and its results also affected the development of culture and literature.

At the next stage after the Mongolian dominance, during the XVII-XVIII centuries, during the revival era of Georgian statehood, cultural development resumed and literature processes continued their course from the point of suspension, following the oriental cultural traditions… (Kekelidze 1981). This happened while oriental culture

was not culturally dominant and the amplitude of influence was weakened even on the geographic eastern environment itself.

The First Stage of the New Cultural Orientation

This period in Georgian culture spans the 17th–18th centuries and is associated with the restoration of Georgian statehood. Cultural life was revived, yet literary development resumed from the point and content it had been interrupted—continuing within the Eastern cultural format and this was at a time when Eastern culture was no longer the cultural dominant and the amplitude of its influence weakened even in the geographically Eastern environment itself

Right from this period, the end of the XVIII century was detected the certain oriental cut-in and an attempt to shift the cultural field in Georgian literature from the east to western culture. The given process was led by those Georgian writers who have been affiliated with western countries biographically, have gotten acquainted with local cultural and creative areas. There were not many such Georgian writers and the most important to be mentioned are Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani and David Guramishvili and their literary heritage (Paichadze 2018).

In literature, a new creative atmosphere gradually began to take shape, which was also reflected in historical events. This was the aspiration of a part of Georgian society toward Catholic Europe—a movement that stemmed from a protest against the pro-Persian orientation. Over time, this tendency began to influence the cultural and literary agenda as well.

Concrete expressions of this position appeared in the literary discourses of specific writers, such as Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and Davit Guramishvili. These tendencies were not yet widespread or universal at the time, but they were highly significant and promising, as they can be seen as a kind of prologue to a new cultural orientation.

In other words, it was the reconstruction of European-style thinking and neoclassical culture in Georgia, as well as an intellectual reference point for a new kind of oriental thinking. It marked the early beginnings of a new creative narrative that, in later epochs, found fuller expression and became a defining force in the conceptual and strategic significance of both literary and national paradigms.

The First Expressions of European Orientation

The European Beam, which followed the new methodology introduced in Georgian literature, was the logical continuation of the aforementioned tendencies. Here we mean the XIX century romantic school, which had several followers and was most actively revealed in poetic tropology (Paichadze 2016).

The inspiration for the Georgian Romantic narrative was, naturally, rooted in the European discourse, but at the same time, it was also deeply connected to the national classical literary tradition.

The most refined representative of the Georgian Romantic school is considered to be the poet Nikoloz Baratashvili, widely regarded as the most refined representative of the Georgian Romantic school, died at a young age in a region far from his homeland, where he was virtually unknown as a writer. Consequently, his work and literary legacy

were only partially recognized by the society of his time and had limited immediate resonance.

As it is known, romanticism is believed to be the period preceding modernism. Certain culturological research studies also use the term "neoromanticism" for symbolism. Here we see its historic and approach affiliation with the traditions of European romantic schools. Still, the given attitude was different in the Caucasus culture: In Georgia, the distance between romanticism and modernism is up to a century and the affiliation must be searched for somewhere at the level of historic memory. Georgian modernism (which is the event of the early XX century) does not find support in romantic literature worldviews and considering the given fact, it can be said that the given literature process was quite impulsive and did not leave much in the Georgian cultural cognition (Paichadze 2016).

The process of Europeanization was somewhat revived at the end of the 19th century, when the so-called "generation of the 1860s" emerged in literature, followed by the "last Mohican" of this literary generation—the writer Vazha-Pshavela.

Despite their emphasis on a national-social narrative, these writers made a new artistic and methodological choice toward European intangible values. This was reflected in innovations in literary theory, reinterpretations of literary figures and ideas, and an embrace of a broader cultural and intellectual space (Bradbury 1978).

However, this process of renewal in historical memory failed to become the foundation for establishing a new cultural orientation.

Oriental Reset and a New Stage of European Orientation

In the early 20th century, Georgian culture-literature again faced the toughest reality; However, what appeared was the clear creative crisis, which was expressed by the replacement of literary values by pseudo and "cheap" literature. The given process was to some extent reasoned by politics and history.

The given process was the result of the mental-philosophic clash between Marxist and Nietzschean worldviews, which was the basis for extreme oppositions in the then Russian and Caucasian mentality (Paichadze 2016).

It can be assumed that this crisis became a kind of motivation and challenge for new creative explorations, with young Georgian modernists at the forefront of this process.

This marked the beginning of a distinct and irreversible process of Europeanization in Georgian culture. Modernist philosophy introduced new artistic forms into literature, especially in poetry, where it led to significant narrative innovations.

These included a meditative perception of objects and events, the depiction of the lyrical hero's inner world, the art of symbolic-paradigmatic perception, and the awareness of the irrational world and the human role within it.

This chapter of literary history was initiated by Georgian symbolists such as Galaktion Tabidze, Paolo Iashvili, Valerian Gaprindashvili, and others. They found a deep affinity with European modernist worldviews, as well as with the creators and artistic symbols of these schools (Magarotto et al. 1982).

The theoretical analysis of modernism in Georgia clearly demonstrated that it can be perceived as an artistic-creative method—that is, a literature of method—which served as a kind of interpretation of the European context.

Modernism encountered a fertile ground in Georgian literature; it was shaped by a long-standing tradition of literary mentality and artistic thinking. It manifested itself Georgian theoretical approaches as an interpretation of transcendentalism, the cultivation of spiritual dissonance, and dualistic philosophy, as well as in a mytho-modernist worldview regarding the external world.

Thus, the stage of modernist worldview in Georgian literature was a classic and factual example of intercultural sharing, which began in the 10-ians of the last century and lasted until the thirties.

This unprecedented "adventure" of modernism in the history of literature (arts) had even further extraordinary finale – it was intentionally pushed towards the end and was forced to be closed; the main hero of the given process was the colonial state and its totalitarian ideology, one of the main methods of which was the policy of "violence over texts" (Paichadze 2018).

Conclusions

The content analysis of the aforementioned literature discourses logically takes us to the issue of the installation and systematization of western literature-worldview orientation in the Georgian creative context. The timing and degree of its spread in Georgia was determined by historical reality.

This experience made the aspiration toward European cultural orientation, the sharing of new creative experiences, and integration into global cultural processes irreversible in Georgian literature.

The adaptation of Georgian culture according to current estimation is one of the foundations of its viability with reality, which is a challenge to the European and in general to democratic society and its culture, as the path to Europe is largely determined by culture, which, in turn, is a set of norms and regulations that finds their basis during the process of establishing a new methodological approach, analysis and evaluation.

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Georgian Modernizm of the Twentieth Century: Contextualizing Connections to Western Intellectual Traditions

By Tamar Sharabidze[*] & Anna Dolidze[±]

At the beginning of the 20th century, under the influence of literary fashion, the literary movement of modernism first spread in Georgia and then became established. Decadent literary groups emerged on the literary scene. Most notably among them was the literary corporation of the "Blue Horns," whose first journal, Blue Horns*, was published on February 28, 1916. This group declared a struggle against both classical and contemporary Georgian realism and utilitarianism, particularly targeting revolutionary-democratic literature. The Blue Horns saw modernism as the path to lead Georgian literature out of its "banality." Georgian Symbolism had many branches: Impressionist, Dadaist, Expressionist, and even Futurist. All of these streams were united under the "Blue Horns" school. For 15 years, Georgian Symbolists consistently upheld the ideals of Symbolism, opposing realism and utilitarianism in art and literature. This principled stance is clearly expressed in their manifestos, critical essays, and poems. From 1925, a certain turning point began to emerge in the work of members of this literary corporation. The reason lies in the fact that in 1921, Georgia was occupied by Russia and became a socialist country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. In the early years of Soviet rule, decadent literary groups continued to exist, but the leadership of public life was in the hands of the working class, and this fundamental social factor determined the path of development for Georgian literature during that period. Modernist schools first came under pressure and were later completely eradicated by a decree of the Communist Party. Despite this, Georgian modernism continued to exist "underground," and this fact has only become known in the 21st century. The work of writer Lado Kotetishvili became accessible to Georgian readers only a few years ago. At the time, his writings could not be published, as every one of his works actively opposed Bolshevik ideology.*

Keywords: *Literary fashion, Georgian modernism, modernist schools, history, "underground" modernism.*

Introduction

The literary fashion plays a significant role in development and distribution of this or that artistic style. In certain period, an artistic style developed on certain social ground very often "unconsciously" begins to distribute with the way of imitation and only after this there is begun its theoretical design, somewhat its systematization. So it was the Romanism, which for the first was created unconsciously in the XIX century

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Georgian literature and later became the dominant direction of the I half literature of the XIX century.

Literary fashion played a significant role in Georgia especially in the beginning of XX century, when decadent-literary groups appeared. First of all it should be mentioned literary corporation of the Blue Horns group which published its first magazine on February 28, 1916. This group has declared the fight to Georgian classic and modern realism and utilitarism, especially to revolutionary-democratic writing. The way to take the Georgian writing out of banality the Blue Horns group saw in modernism.

It is well known that decadentism in literature was born from imperialistic epoch. Since 90th of the XIX century capitalism begins to develop in Georgia and of course it is followed by capitalistic life style. Two or three months were enough to see Paris fashion in the streets of Tbilisi. Georgia was chasing Petersburg and Paris fashion both in life style and cultural relations. Georgian leading society considered this new course of Europeanism as the way to save the country.

According to European writing models the search of a new way of Georgian writing was begun by the end of the XIX century. Translated works of Edgar Poe, Hauptman, Materlink and others appeared in the newspaper "Kvali" and magazine "Moambe". Russian and foreign symbolists were read with great interest in Georgia, their names and authority were used in measurement and evaluation of the works of Georgian writers.

Even in the works of realistic writers appeared principles and forms of the modernistic school which was expressed in the word as imperfect means of expression, in expression of high and mystery sense with silence. Artistic justification of this idea is Chola Lomtatidze's "Silence" which obviously shows Materlonk's influence. The influence of modernistic writing on Georgian literature in 10th years of the XX century was evidently. This is influence is showed in Leo Kiacheli and Niko Lortkipanidze's short stories of that time, in Aleksandre Abasheli and Galaktion Tabidze's poetry. That period was characterized not only with translation of Edgar Poe, Materlink, Bodler, Malarme and others works but they also were imitating their ideas and forms.

Methodological and Narrative Peculiarities

The most devoted school of modernism in Georgia was the school of the Blue Horns group. Their aim was to separate Georgian writing from realism, leading revolutionary struggle and to reject the service of people like Russian and European modernism. They were proving: writing is diminished by the theory - art for people. Art does not serve anyone, it serves only writing. Isolation of writing from public and political life – that's the aim of writing. Esthetics of the Blue Horns group was grounded by subjective idealism. They thought this real reality was fabricated and there was an unreal form of the country behind it. The aim of writing is detection of "everlasting reality" and methods of realism are useless for understanding the next world. The only way to realize the absolute is not description of events and facts with words but to foresee with intuition, to use symbols. They thought that "beautiful is simple and primitive and ugly is difficult and symbolic, ugly is dynamic and beautiful is static" (Gafrindashvili 2011). Ugly made writers closer to irrational.

Georgian symbolism had a lot of movements: impressionistic, Dadaistic, expressionistic and even phuturistic. All these movements were united by the Blue Horns school.

Georgian symbolists were protecting symbolism for 15 years; they struggle against realism and utilitarism in art and writing. This principle position is clearly expressed in their manifests. These years may be called as years of their artistic maturity.

The End of the Historical Discourse

The Final Stage of Georgian Modernism

Since 1925 something transformation began in artistic works of the members of that corporation. The point is that 1921 is the year of Sovietization of Georgia. Georgia became a socialistic country with proletariat dictatorship in it. Socialism has totally changed Georgian public life. 1921-1925 years in Georgian literature were characterized with very severe situation. There was an ideological struggle on literary front. In early years of the soviet government decadent groups continued their existence, but our public life was in the hand of proletariat and this major public factor defined the way of development of Georgian literature. It ensured successful development of the Soviet literature which was followed with pressure on modernistic schools and later their total destruction. The major topic of those years was the life of proletariat and development of the Soviet literature. Despite of this in yearly years of the (1921-1925) antirealist schools continued to exist but from 1925 pressure over that was expressed in the following slogan – "Back to the Land". In this year Communistic Party of the Soviet Union accepted the well-known resolution "applying party politics in artistic literature". This was followed with the first Georgian Writers Congress in 1926; they began to consolidate certain literary groups and schools by force, years of merge with the soviet reality which was expressed in "deliverance from past methods" for the Blue Horns group (Valerian Gafrindashvili). They welcomed "New Georgia". It should be noted that the literary tendencies that modernism established did not disappear without a trace even in the Soviet period. The "Blue Horns" group supported the revolution from the very beginning of the Soviet Government and now on national and Soviet grounds they were protecting the theory and practice of symbolism; They gave the Georgian nature to symbolism and on behalf of poetry they were fighting against "lingual naturalism and utilitarizm" in writing. They were still recognizing the French symbolists as their predecessors such as Baudelaire, Verlen, Mallarme and Rimbaud; They argued that symbolism was the highest form realism.

The Influence of Modernism on the Next Stage of Georgian Literature

"Return to the Earth"

For raising the poetic form of Georgian poetry the Blue Horns Group's effort was very productive. They have widened the bounds of Georgian poetry by searching new verse forms and methods; they developed the technique of Georgian poetry. For the fist they wrote real sonnets, terza rima, triolet. They used alliteration and assonance newly.

Since that period there began their duplication. It became difficult to unify topics such as Soviet Georgia, national ground and mysticism. And finally mysticism in their poetry has reduced gradually and ended with "back to the land" which was called "returning to the roots of Georgian patriotic writing" by the Soviet critics and poetry during the time of their artistic maturity were considered as poetry restricted with modernistic schemes. "Back to the land" was celebrated with publication of the first soviet analogy called "Poets of Revolution". The brochure was published rapidly in October 1921 dictated with requirements of revolutionary Georgia. The analogy was the collection of poetry of revolutionary thinker and "back to the land" poets of different time and nationality. It combined the poetry "Worker Bokuladze" written by the romantic poet Grigol Orbeliani, extract from the poem "Kartlis Deda" written by the realist poet Ilia Chavchavadze (written on national freedom motives) which had been called "Ode to Freedom" by editors, "Petersburg" written by the member of the Black Horns group Titsian Tabidze, "To Russian Friends" written by Adam Mitskevich (friendship of Russian and foreign people was underlined there) and etc. The analogy was opened with Eugène Pottier's "Internationalism" which was followed by Rouget de Lisle's "The Song of Marseille". Thematic of the collection is clear but for better expression we pursue the extract from Mastev's prose miniature "At the Gate of the Factory" which had been printed in the same brochure:

> *"I haven't seen you a year, I am shuddered and running to you black pipes, buildings, towers! / I am ready to have a conversation with you, to rise my hands up and praise you my iron friends!... / I go to the factory as to the party. . . / The air is moaning with inspiration. The spirit of the factory has transfixed the crowd, the heart is moving with iron tremble... / The crowd is coming with a new row, with iron steps. / Hands are burning, it's difficult to be without work, and they cannot be patient without a hammer, without work. The stream of energy should be empted. / Go ahead, go ahead! / _ Quickly, more often! / _ Cut, saw! / _ To waterfalls! We are their lever, breath and idea…"* (Mastev1921).

The idea as well as artistic value of the miniature is clear. It is the example of socialistic fashion. The creators of the brochure were the best representatives of Georgian poetry – the Blue Horns group poets – Titsian Tabidze and Giorgi Leonidze. It is something like a paradox but it is a reality caused by facts.

In October 1917 in the first years of revolution there was created a strong corporation in Georgia – "The Union of Georgian Writers" which has an idea on national issues different from the Soviet Government. The member of this union was Konstantine Gamsakhurdia newly returned from Europe who was protecting "the literary position of modernism" in Georgian literature. So called Social-Democratic School was closer to that union. Very soon these literary groups – "Old Union", the

group of the "Khomaldi" and Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's "Ilioni Group" were united under the name of "Academic Association".

The "Khomaldi" and the "Ilioni" were expressing the national belief of "the Academic Association" most typically. They were against "old symbolism" and agitation motives of proletariat writing. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia could settle European modernism, Nietzsche's mysticism, irrational language realizing the blessings of the world and "Georgian fighting patriotism". Konstantine Gamsakhurdia was writing that today even there are a lot of cultures in the world the only true way is taken by the western culture. We can read in the first issue of the magazine dedicated to Nietzsche:

> *"You made us feel that the reality is a dream…*
> *Oh, it is so difficult to meet the night on the middle of the road"* (Gamsakhurdia 2011).

Nietzsche's mysticism and Georgian mythology became the ground of Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's early stories and novel "The Smile of Dionysus".

It should be noted that later, in 1936 (during a rather significant period of Soviet repression), Konstantine Gamsakhurdia criticized and revised his position, because socialism did not spare intelligentsia, especially poets, and especially those who did not follow the line of proletarian writing.

In 1937 the great Georgian prose writer Mikheil Javakhishvili was arrested and killed. 1937 was the last year for Titsian Tabidze. He was taken and killed. Those who refused to cooperate with the Soviet government should expect the same. The first was the well-known decree "applying the literary politics of the party in artistic literature" (1925) followed by the resolution "applying formation of literary-artistic organizations" in 1932. After the last one all literary groups were cancelled. There remained the only line of writing - the Great Soviet Writing. Symbolism and modernism introduced by literary fashion in Georgia and adapted organically to Georgian ground by talented Georgian writers which opened the way to the west make the Georgian writing urbanistic, has been buried by socialism. And at least Georgian culture has preserved the works be aware by Georgian people despite of prohibitions in socialistic period. These XX century achievements supported those processes which helped Georgian people to have connection with western thought.

Review of the Literature on the Subject

Critical discourse on Georgian modernism has existed since the early 20th century. However, under the Soviet socialist regime, modernism was widely condemned in literary publications as a reactionary or undesirable movement. It was not until the 21st century that a form of literary criticism emerged in Georgia that was free from ideological constraints. In recent years, several comprehensive studies on Georgian modernism have been published, among which the following are particularly noteworthy: 1. Bregadze, K. (2018), *"Modernisty and Modernism"*, Institute of Literature Publishing House, Tbilisi; 2. Paichadze, T. (2018), *"Modernism and Georgian Literature: Text as Culture"*, Tbilisi State University Publishing House, Tbilisi.

In the 2020s of the 21st century, another modernist writer was discovered in Georgia — Lado Kotetishvili — who, due to Soviet repression, was unable to publish his works during his lifetime. Only in recent years the Georgian readers gained access to his literary texts. As a result, there exists only a handful of introductory essays on his work, which accompany two collections of his writings. These essays are: 1. Chkheidze, Z. (2018), *"Lado Kotetishvili — The Unknown Soul of 20th-Century Georgian Literature"*, in *Lado Kotetishvili, Tales of the lappers* , Intellect Publishing, Tbilisi; 2. Tsereteli, L. (2018), *"The Writer and Fate"*, in *Lado Kotetishvili, Tales of the leppers,* Intellect Publishing, Tbilisi; 3. Chkheidze, Z. (2021), *Foreword*, in *Lado Kotetishvili, The Lineage of Gveliandari*, Mtsignobari Publishing, Tbilisi; 4. Khopheria, G. (2021), *"The Literature That Was Not Allowed to Speak"*, in *Lado Kotetishvili, The Lineage of Gveliandari*, Mtsignobari Publishing, Tbilisi.

The author of this paper, Tamar Sharabidze, is currently researching Lado Kotetishvili's work. She has referred to his literary activity as "underground modernism."

Underground Modernism

The Work of Lado Kotetishvili

In the history of 21st-century Georgian literature, a peculiar phenomenon emerged that can be described as "underground modernism." Despite the well-known 1925 decree by the Communist Party, modernist literature continued to be created in Georgia; however, it was never published, and thus remained unknown to Georgian readers.

One of the finest Georgian writers of the 20th century—who will soon rightfully earn a place among the nation's literary classics—was only discovered in the 21st century, just a few years ago. His body of work has not yet been fully published. A circle of the writer's acquaintances is still reading his manuscripts, preparing them for publication.

Lado Kotetishvili, whose works were created in the 1930s and are primarily modernist in style, reportedly asked his wife before his death never to publish his writings. His wife and children honored this wish, but eventually, it was the next generation—his grandchildren—who decided that publishing his work was essential to preserving his memory. The response from literary critics exceeded the family's expectations. Kotetishvili's work is expected to attract many scholars in the future and will undoubtedly earn him a place in textbooks on the history of modern Georgian literature, thanks to his distinctive style and worldview.

As previously mentioned, Kotetishvili's writings belong to the modernist literary tradition. However, this alone was not the main reason behind his desire to keep his works unpublished. In all of his writings—whether subtly or openly—Kotetishvili protested against Bolshevik ideology. His characters are often fantastical or fairy-tale figures, yet this did not prevent him from using them to portray real political figures of his time, or more often, their generalized symbolic representations.

"The Lineage of Gveliandari"

In one of Lado Kotetishvili's most unusually plotted short story, *"The Lineage of Gveliandari,"* a fantastical world unfolds before the reader's eyes—populated by ogres, dragons, dinosaurs, "gonosaurs," tusked mammoths, serpents, witches, sorcerers, elves, *ochos*, and other such embodiments of evil forces. One is left both astonished and bewildered by the vivid and detailed portrayal of such a grand, large-scale scene filled with concentrated savagery. This overwhelming dynamic is even reflected in the story's subtitle: *"Dena Devuri"* (*Ogre Power* or *Monster Surge*, depending on interpretation).

The time depicted in the story is prehistoric, pre-worldly, beyond-time, since Earth has not yet begun its regular rotation around its axis, and humanity has not yet been born. More precisely, humans emerge at a certain stage of a powerful, titanic current. Before that, even earlier, Earth begins to spin on its axis, and with this motion, time becomes fixed — the characters gradually begin to age.

The writer's time, however, is the year 1927, the early 20th century, the period following the Sovietization of Georgia, when a dictatorship begins to take root in the country — one ruled by evil forces as monstrous as dinosaurs with their overlords — the herdsman giants.

In contemporary literary studies, scholars actively apply the methodological concept known in literary theory as Husserl's "phenomenological criticism." This approach excludes historical context, the author, and the circumstances surrounding the creation of the work—that is, the comparative-historical method—because this allows a clearer focus on the essential aspects of the text in which the author's consciousness is realized.

In the specific case of analyzing "*The Lineage of Gveliandari*" phenomenological criticism helps us avoid interpreting the narrative solely in terms of the situation in Georgia at the time. Instead, it enables us to reflect more broadly on the nature of evil—its constant flow, its multiplication and fertilization, its approach to an end, even its temporary death, and the anticipation of a time when it will once again emerge in a different form.

In Lado Kotetishvili's stories, the question of the role of art always emerges. As a writer living in the Soviet Union, he clearly perceives that in the boundless world of evil depicted in the story, art itself is strange and partially allied with evil. Here, even the sound of reeds being crushed by dinosaurs is perceived as music.

The story of the artist — a strange parable set in the desert landscapes along the banks of Mesopotamia — hints at many things for the reader; including the idea that even a land made fertile by the reeds of Mesopotamia remains a desert under the rule of evil. In this world, the small human — the artist — must tame serpents, and he succeeds in doing so through art. However, in the end, the "great ones" forgive him nothing, and the artist's fate is sealed with a "great scream of death"; The artist is a small person in a country where nothing is small, where "bodies larger than death" move, and where "desires stronger than death" reign. That is why the secret of art dies, and the right to reveal it is denied and passed down from generation to generation. Serpents guard it with serpentine wisdom.

And yet, art is vital even for them, for "to this day they shed their skins to the rhythm of that music and dance. Without it, every serpent would suffocate inside its own skin" (Kotetishvili 2021).

Perhaps that is why the writer sentenced his own work to remain unpublished, passing down the right to keep it hidden from generation to generation—he feared that the "great ones" would not forgive him, and indeed, they would not.

In the story, the world of the giants is ultimately defeated — but not by a force of good. Rather, two evil forces destroy each other. Yet the giants, turned to stone and already dead, still await their time; they believe their age will come again — an age of titanic currents and madness.

Against this background, the story raises an even more universal question than the cyclical return of evil throughout time. It is the question of humanity's eternal waiting — a theme that forms the story's extraordinary finale, intensifying the sense of eternity. In terms of content, *The Race of the Serpent* depicts a non-Biblical story of creation — an inhuman (titanic) and, naturally, imperfect under-heaven that confronts the entire universe with its evil. Within this hostile environment, the human being (who appears several times in the story) has lost its human nature — and is described as "the most dangerous and intelligent animal" — and is as doomed to destruction as the titanic current itself. The writer aspires toward abstraction, which he achieves not by employing myth, but by creating a fantastical, mythological world — by engaging in myth-making, where the character lives *within* the myth. He also employs dream-construction, which differs from the usual literary device of dream-use. Rather than simply using dreams, he organizes them literarily — revealing the "falsehood of the seen," the "emergence from the dream," and a process through which the character comes to self-realization via the dream.[54]

Kotetishvili primarily employs the technique of fantastical grotesque, which is based on turning the narrative into a kind of fable and on extreme exaggeration. However, this exaggeration corresponds to the reality of his time, and in this way, a contrast between reality and fantasy is created. The reality is that a titanic force is destroying the country; the fantasy is the artistic embodiment of this fact through the image of a titanic force.

The boundaries between the real and the fantastical are blurred, since the writer's unconscious (expressed through myth) and conscious (rooted in reality) simultaneously operate within the language of the story, effectively depicting both worlds.

In this regard, Lado Kotetishvili's story can be classified as expressionist, a style that found its voice in Georgian literature through the novellas of Konstantine Gamsakhurdia and the novels of Grigol Robakidze.

It is also worth noting that Kotetishvili's artistic style is thoroughly thought out, systematically developed, and fully formed.

[54]The technique of dream-construction first appears in Georgian literature in the works of Vazha-Pshavela (Aluda's dream). It is also used by Konstantine Gamsakhurdia in *The Smile of Dionysus* (the moment of transition from wakefulness into a dream — "double sleep") and by Grigol Robakidze in his novels (the Dreaming with eyes open

Boundless Winds

Lado Kotetishvili's novel *The Boundless Winds* bears a striking resemblance to *The Race of the Serpents*, despite differing in both theme and genre. The first is a short story; the second, a novel. The short story deals with the exploration of the inner essence of great power and dictatorship, cloaked in mythological imagery, while the novel explores the intersection of two lineages — their character traits, temperaments, traditions, and ultimately their incompatibility. The roots of this incompatibility lie in myth and folklore, but in reality, reflect the fundamental differences between two nations — the great and the small, the Russian and the Georgian.

The short story and the novel are similar in their spatial (grand, large-scale) and temporal (primordial time) dimensions.

The novel is written in a modernist style, primarily expressed through the process of myth-making. For the author, the foundations for creating myth are found in Georgia's ancient history, Georgian literature, ethnography, oral traditions, and, more broadly, the Georgian natural world. Through these, the writer produces a whirlwind of newly created myths.

In analyzing the novel, intertextuality becomes apparent — specifically, its relationship with a text from another era: *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. The author paraphrases parts of Rustaveli's text while also altering specific passages. The 20th-century French critic and philosopher Roland Barthes described this phenomenon as the continued existence of "old" texts within a new "fabric," a concept later adopted as a defining feature of postmodernism. In our view, this characteristic can be considered a general feature of literature as a whole.

Although the writer consciously uses Rustaveli's plot — which is firmly embedded in the reader's cultural memory — and reinterprets it, presenting it in a new form, unlike postmodernists, Lado Kotetishvili does not strip the borrowed text of its original meaning or assign it a new one.

Another postmodernist element also appears in the novel's text: the principle of *double coding*, which refers to the presence of two layers of artistic signs and cultural codes — one aimed at a mass audience, and the other at an elite readership.

The codes of the first layer are easily grasped by the reader — for example, the story of Tare and Dare is recognized as a paraphrase of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. The second layer of codes, however, is based both on contemporaneity and on historical-cultural experience. The author holds his own attitude toward the codes he creates, and the reader's attitude may or may not align with this, depending on their erudition and intellectual capacity. For some readers, the deeper meanings may remain entirely elusive.

Art, by its nature, is always a model of double — and at times triple or even more — coding. In this case, the author, Lado Kotetishvili, does not aim to solve a historical mystery within the "old" text — *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* (a task even scholars have failed to accomplish), for "thoughts of the past are a desert — impassable and boundless" (Kotetishvili 2021).

The writer's desire, in general, is to draw the reader's attention toward traditional human values — a pursuit that unites the "old" and the "new" and is most prominently characteristic of Expressionism among the literary movements of the 20th century.

Another important aspect that drew our attention is the function of dreams in this literary text. In the fairy-tale novel, the dream serves as a means of prophecy. Sorcerers or witches who have been bitten by serpents see dreams during moments of trance, in which divine will or prophecy is revealed to them. In dreams, a realization of wisdom occurs — a wisdom that is not accessible to the mind in the real world and can only be comprehended in the realm of unreality. This interpretation of dreams emerges in modernist texts, and in Georgian literature can be found in the artistic works of Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Grigol Robakidze, and Demna Shengelaia.

And since the dream is an unreality, one must "immerse" in it. This "immersion" is a mystical process that can happen both in sleep and in wakefulness. Queen Zizi is so deeply affected by Zeshta's tale that she sighs, falls silent, becomes still, and gradually begins to sink into an "extraordinarily sweet and passionate dream" (Kotetishvili 2021). This is a relaxation of the mind and a voluntary transition into an unreal world.

The entire novel — and especially its ending — truly represents a "shoreless" pursuit of abstraction, which is another characteristic feature of Expressionism.

„Gveltucha" Snake lipped

As already noted, Lado Kotetishvili's works belong to the modernist literary movement, but the writer is also fully capable of conveying his ideas through a realist lens and choosing an artistic style that best suits his message. In some of his stories, none of the characteristic features of modernism are present, which demonstrates that the author has the ability to write in multiple styles simultaneously and operate within different literary movements, depending on how he wishes to express his ideas. Nevertheless, in all of his works, he retains his distinct, individual style, which is primarily reflected in his artistic vocabulary and his consistent approach to life's essential questions. Lado Kotetishvili did not shift to a realist style because "liquidation operations" were conducted against modernist literature in Georgia (which began before the Stalinist repressions), and many modernist groups declared self-dissolution. Rather, he continued creating modernist literature in parallel. This occurred during the very same years. It is also worth noting that despite the aforementioned liquidation, modernism remained underground in Georgia and, unlike in Europe, was never fully discontinued— Lado Kotetishvili being its representative.

The theme of *Gveltucha* (Snake-lipped) is the infiltration of Bolshevik ideology into the country. The narrative unfolds in a Georgian border region, yet readers generalize its implications to all of Georgia. At the core of the drama is the split within the individual—the triumph of an ideology cloaked in the guise of "brotherhood and equality," which morally destroys the person, turning him into a murderer, a traitor, and a loyal slave.

One important circumstance should also be taken into account: Lado Kotetishvili never published his works. Of course, he wrote with an imagined reader in mind, but not for the broad audience of his time. That is why he never disguises himself in any of his writings and feels no need for an "(artificial) return to the people."

The story "Gveltucha" is especially significant because it was written just a few years after the Sovietization of Georgia—the very subject of the story—and was not

intended for publication. Therefore, the events described are in full alignment with reality and reflect the writer's authentic perspective on it.

In a Georgian border region, in the mountain village of Khevi, Gveltucha is a leader among his peers, yet he is unable to make sense of the new era. The local population has mixed opinions about the arrival of the "Bolshevik-Russians": the majority see them as enemies, while a minority view them as kin, since they belong to the lower social class—the proletariat. Adding to the confusion is the belief that "among those Russians, there are quite a few Georgians mixed in" (ibid.).

Gveltucha is driven by a desire to uncover the truth—he wants to capture a "Bolshevik-Russian" and find out what kind of faith they follow. The naive highlander's plan and its execution are immediate. Through his conversation with the captive, Gveltucha becomes convinced that "the Russians have adopted a new faith," but he remains skeptical about the prisoner's claims—about equality, brotherhood, and love being established throughout the country—because he has both heard of and witnessed "the violence of the Cossack Russians" (Kotetishvili 2021). His friend Matia is outraged by the Russian's words—he curses the Russians' godlessness, their desire to conquer other lands, and their treacherous nature. Gveltucha, however, listens to both of them and realizes that Matia is not lying, but "somewhere deep in his heart, a troubling thought stirs" (Kotetishvili 2021). This thought is the anticipation of a new life—one that Georgians may not yet understand or appreciate, still seeing the Russians as enemies, while in truth, they might be coming to care for Georgia and to bring brotherhood. In a moment of impulsive rage, typical of the mountain people, Gveltucha kills his friend and heads toward the Russian camp with the captured Russian. At that moment, he is convinced of the righteousness of his actions.

Lado Kotetishvili portrays the pain of a divided soul. Gveltucha's heart breaks as he parts from his homeland—he knows well that he will be branded a traitor, cursed by his people. Yet he firmly believes that, in order to save the country, a new path must be taken—and that new path is "Bolshevik-Russianness." This is the primitive thinking of an uneducated man who, in his own way, is deeply concerned about his country's fate.

The Russian prisoner obediently follows Gveltucha, but once they cross the border, their roles reverse: the former captive now proudly leads the ordinary Georgian, who has no choice but to obey the commander's orders in the Russian army and fight against his own country. Gveltucha genuinely admires the Russians. In the commander's speech, he sees "comradely kindness and love"; he is struck by the commander's "compassion and calm manner," and by the fact that someone would travel such a great distance just to help oppressed peoples. He thinks to himself that perhaps Georgians are unaware of the Russians' true intentions—or, if they do know, they no longer believe in them. Gveltucha, on the other hand, is ready to do whatever the commander asks of him.

In a certain sense, the reader feels sympathy for Gveltucha—and this sympathy arises solely from his naivety and unwavering conviction. However, the same reader is also troubled by the thought of how Gveltucha could bring himself to kill his friend—and if it was done in a moment of passion, why does he not experience deep remorse? How can he be willing to fight against his own people, even if some of his fellow countrymen are guilty or misguided? How is it possible to believe that an entire nation

thinks the same way, except for a few exceptions—and that these few are the ones who are right?

Gveltucha does not understand politics, and that in itself is not a fault—but he also fails to grasp a basic truth: that the blood of even one person, especially that of a sworn brother, is not worth sacrificing for political goals or the ideology of a single class.

As time passes, Gveltucha's already burdened heart and body grow heavier with unease. The moment arrives when the renegade, alongside his new unit, must fight against the Khevsurs—his own people. Yet battle has its own laws, and it won't end "until one of the warring sides is completely wiped out." At this point, the remnants of his conscience, buried deep within, begin to stir, and Gveltucha—now fighting against his fellow Georgians—starts to hope for the Khevsurs', that is, the Georgians' victory. Two forces confront each other: one holds an advantage in numbers; the other—in love for its homeland. Even recognizing this difference should have been enough for Gveltucha not to take the Russian side. The first clash ends in defeat for the Russians. And yet, Gveltucha continues to fight, now searching for another way to enter Georgian territory.

This path, too, turns out to be blocked. As Gveltucha turns back, he sees that the Russians are not troubled by defeat at all — "because they clearly feel their own strength and righteousness" (Kotetishvili 2021). Yet the reader does not feel this righteousness; rather, they come to understand that the ideology arriving under the guise of equality and brotherhood is a tool for controlling the masses. These people become victims of dictatorship, though they themselves do not perceive it.

The author also presents the opposing force: a group of Khevsurs passionately defending their homeland, who now celebrate their victory. The writer expresses the joy of both people and nature with a characteristically realist sensitivity. The reader is left with a sense of regret that Gveltucha—naive, yet burdened by the blood of his own people—does not share in the joy. Still divided within, he is troubled and saddened as he continues to follow the Russian cavalry, tormented by the thought of why the supposedly noble cause of the "Bolshevik-Russians" is being defeated. As time passes, he becomes ever more convinced of "the goodness of the Russians and their cause" (Kotetishvili 2021).

Some time later, the situation changes — the *bari* (i.e. the Georgian command) decides not to resist the Russians any longer. The story does not explain why this decision was made. In 1928, when the story was written, every Georgian still clearly remembered what had happened. Georgia had been defeated in the 1921 Russo-Georgian war, and guarding the border by the mountain people had lost its meaning.

Nevertheless, the writer does not lose hope, which is clearly seen in Khevi dwellers — the warrior people with "roots planted deep in the earth." The victorious Gveltuche, who had switched sides "for a good cause," is now severed from his native land. Returning to his ancestral village and home with the enemy's army, "even the dogs did not accept him." His old father unsheathes the ancestral sword to kill the traitorous son, but his hand trembles and he "falls to the ground like a felled oak." Even at this climactic moment, the writer cannot deviate from a realistic perception and cannot allow even the death of a traitorous son by the hand of his father.

Gveltuche's unconscious yet unwavering faith is truly astonishing. He believes in his own righteousness, in his loyalty to his country, and even more so, in his innocence regarding the friend whom he killed for the sake of some unknown Russian. It is precisely this delusion that constitutes the drama the writer aims to convey. There were people like Gveltuche then, and even more of them emerged later. However, those who upheld true values still remained — and we see this through the example of Gveltuche's own family.

Life settled into its usual course… "The 'good cause' soon filled the entire country up to the throat" (ibid). These words clearly reveal the writer's attitude toward Bolshevism. Gveltuche was pleased that the Khevi people silently accepted the innovations introduced by this 'good cause.' They accepted them, but something strange was happening — "a quiet resentment was slowly settling in everyone's heart and was gnawing away at Khevi dwellers' patience from within" (ibid). Gveltucha's heart was slowly cracking as well, because "everything old, which had been so dearly and immaculately preserved, was gradually breaking down in Khevi" (ibid)… "The people could not digest the sudden surge of the new life all at once" (ibid). We believe that by conveying these details, the story *Gveltucha* directly parallels and connects to Kotetishvili's earlier story *The Lineage of Gveliandari*, in which the legendary patience of giants finally breaks, because the dragon can no longer digest the vast quantity of swallowed dinosaurs, gonosaurs, and tusked mammoths. The writer clearly sees that ultimately, the people too will be unable to digest the immense evil brought by the new power, which had been branded as a 'good cause' — and in this, he sees a glimmer of hope for salvation.

Many doubts had begun to accumulate in Gveltucha's mind as well — doubts that poisoned and embittered him. In such a state, he had "dimmed," the light had gone out of his eyes. It was clear that his patience, too, was running out, and something was bound to happen — something he would no longer be able to 'digest.'

This happened during a religious festival, Khatoba. The khevisberi (the religious elder) was interrupted in prayer by people who had come from the city — they said they needed to hold a rally. Gveltucha stood at the front to listen to the educated speakers. One of the young men from the city boldly declared that neither God nor angels existed; that it was all an outdated custom that needed to be eradicated.

The people stood like a rock, but still listened to the orator. The khevisberi listened too. And in Gveltucha's heart, something extraordinary was happening: "Could this really be the 'good cause' — to insult faith and God, to denounce custom, to profane the holy banner…"

Here Gveltucha noticed that nothing had been said about the flag. His last hope was tied precisely to that flag, as if blasphemy against God and tradition was nothing compared to the desecration of the flag. As if a drowning man grasping at a straw — for him, the flag was that straw. But as soon as the orator reached out to take down the flag, Gveltucha's rifle roared, and he took the orator's life. At this climactic moment, however, the author remarks anyway that "this did not help the cause — the flag fell to the ground..." (ibid.). Symbolically, Lado Kotetishvili suggests that Georgia, too, could not be saved. The Bolsheviks brought it down just as the flag in the story, despite Gveltucha's attempt to protect it.

And the reader expects a finale — where the traitor with an awakened conscience forgets his enmity toward his own people and sacrifices himself to save the flag — but the writer remains true to the realistic style adopted in the story. He portrays the Georgian Bolshevik highlander, in whose mind ideological pressure could not entirely suppress the awakening national and traditional spirit, as a loyal servant of the ideology to the very end — a typical Soviet person:

> "Gveltucha leapt like a rabid beast, grabbed the flag, raised it high, and shouted with wild determination: 'People, Russification is good, the things brought by Russification are good... It wasn't the Russians who spoke ill of our flag. Hey! Hey! They're good people — the things brought by Russification are good...' A moment later, he broke into bitter, almost maniacal laughter..." (Kotetishvili 2021).

The story ends in tragedy. The tragedy lies in the fact that an ordinary person — a hardworking man and a patriot — was unable to experience catharsis and remained a divided individual, just like the majority of people living in the Soviet Union. Clearly, if this story had been published at the time, the author would have been arrested, tortured, and even sentenced to death in the totalitarian state. That is why, in order to preserve his life — as others chose to "return to the soil" — Kotetishvili chose, of his own will, to bury his own literary work.

"The Devil in Galiphe"

Lado Kotetishvili's short story *"The Devil in Riding Breeches"* is one of his finest works, dealing with the internal division and eventual destruction of a person. It is a story about how one's faith in God, in the homeland, and in oneself collapses — how the citizen is destroyed within, ultimately leading him to suicide.

From the very beginning, the story raises the question of the fate of the artist. The author poses an important question: *What should a man do in a totalitarian state if he knows he "can write" and feels the urge to write?* Should he write down his chaotic thoughts, or should he poetically describe a rainy autumn evening, as many others do? A true writer cannot write about something he despises to be nice. And yet, many do. But their writing — that should be a literary work — is no longer a true literature. In the process of the devaluation of objects, "nature itself is turned into a mere object. Man, also, gradually becomes objectified, and thus, in the new country, everything loses its purpose..." (Kotetishvili 2021). As a result, in the story, if the word "gallop" appears, "horses" must inevitably appear as well; if something is written about "flying," then an airplane must also be shown. "It's as if one cannot let a man remain at home and have him gallop or fly" (Kotetishvili 2021).

These thoughts of the writer-character reject the tendencies of realist literature — more than that, they reject the principles of socialist realism, with its emphasis on writing about the people and construction of the new society, a construction the writer himself does not believe in.

Therefore, instead of describing the beauty of nature, he begins writing directly about a man named Zenoni, "but due to frequent use, the last letter of the name wore off, and the name was shortened to Zeno" (ibid.).

Could the author be suggesting that the true values of the past have worn away with the new era — to the extent that even human names unintentionally reflect that erosion? He may, possibly.

Zeno feels like a man internally split, broken down into cells. He reads a book about the new victories achieved under the leadership of the great Lenin, yet a dog-like grin never leaves his face. He understands everything he reads — "the great union of socialist republics, the workers and peasants, the Communist Party, even the Central Committee" — but he cannot grasp the most important thing: *"Where are these new victories for the millions of people?"* (Kotetishvili 2021).

Could it be that Zeno's inability to understand stems from his petty-bourgeois spirit — that is, his upbringing? Work offers him no salvation, and he finds relief only in intoxication. Yet even in that intoxication, the fragmented man cannot find wholeness. His mind becomes entangled, his will dulled, and upon sobering up, he falls apart again.

It is in this state that the devil befriends him — not the one everyone imagines, "red, with red eyes, horns, a black dog, something terrifying and fierce."

"No, this was a new kind of devil," writes the author, "harmless, small, wearing riding breeches, a leather jacket, and carrying a very large briefcase. I can't remember whether he had a tail — probably he did, tucked somewhere into his trousers" (Kotetishvili 2021).

Through the devil's appearance, the author portrays a typical Soviet bureaucrat — especially with the leather jacket and the large briefcase. The author warns everyone that this devil was sent by no one and could not be bribed by anyone. *"This was the one trait that forever distinguished the devil from man"* (ibid.).

These words reveal that Zeno's condition is the result of an internal struggle; he finds it difficult to believe in the "new life," despite having once been a revolutionary himself. Now, he finds himself engaged in a critique and discussion of post-revolutionary life with his new "interlocutor."

The author portrays the suffering and torment of a man who has lost God — his spiritual condition. This kind of suffering is experienced by people coming off drugs, when *"the high fades and the poisoning begins"*: shaking, convulsions, heart palpitations, inhuman stinging, pain, and so on. Illusions disappear, and nightmares begin. Zeno, through great inner struggle, rejected God, *"but when he moved to the next, slightly lower peak — the one where love for the homeland rested, wrapped in a certain heroic glory — there, he stopped"* (Kotetishvili 2021). What had the revolution brought to his homeland? In Zeno's mind, the life of old Georgia plays out like film reels: the fight for land and soil, construction, and rebuilding — although in some places the footage cuts to darkness, it soon resumes again.

"Zeno's Every joint, every cell of his body and brain" hurts. He is dazed by the weight of countless thoughts and gradually begins to sink into himself, into his conscience. The grand battle, waged within the small territory of his room, reaches its climax with the appearance of the devil in riding breeches.

Zeno's great struggles with himself give rise to a new faith within him, establish a new stance, and integrate him into a new life. This "new" faith restores his old appearance—the dog-like grin disappears from his face. It is as if a bridge is being

built between his old and new life. The transition was difficult, but, as a "wise man," Zeno managed it.

"On one side remained the old Georgia, with its fortresses and towers, its churches, its old faith—cold, silent. On the other side, there was the new Georgia, with its factories and plants, its ruined churches, its new faith—hot, restless, illuminated, very well lit" (through the miracle of the new era—Zahesi) (Kotetishvili 2021).

Zeno crossed into this new Georgia with firm belief—to work and fight for his people. He abandoned two positions, as if no further inner struggle would arise. But the author warns us that "here, his calculations were slightly off" (Kotetishvili 2021).

Zeno came to believe in the new Georgia, and this faith was evident in every aspect of his life. He changed his house, his room, his bed—even his washbasin. He dressed nicely and neatly: a suit, a white shirt; he put on a tie and white gloves; he also held a rather large briefcase in his hand. Even the cells of his body, which had previously resisted him, now fell into order. Every object regained its meaning, and "he even lost the man in himself." Zeno took on a very significant mission. He aimed to carry out a cultural revolution for his people—one that involved instilling in them the understanding that property must be collective, that everyone owned the wealth, and no one owned it individually.

The main goal was to enrich the state and, ensure thus everyone to became equally rich. But the people had been raised differently—on the principles of private ownership. If someone could not acquire property, they believed that "someone else was enjoying the profit instead." This so-called cultural revolution had to happen in the consciousness of the people; it implied educating the masses according to the principle of collectivity.

This principle should have been acceptable to those who owned nothing, but this is where the main misunderstanding occurred— "these people with nothing, once they acquired even a little, would immediately develop an appetite for personal wealth" (Kotetishvili 2021).

Zeno cannot endure the falseness of the new life and ends his own life committing suicide. His inner struggles are, of course, driven by conscience, but his thinking has become permanently disordered—like thoughts that rise from the feet to the brain—so even conscience can no longer save him. He sincerely acknowledges his dreadful mistake, which he does not see as a betrayal of God or country, but rather as a failure to be of use to the "new" world, with no path left to return to the old one.

Lado Kotetishvili insightfully analyzes how "Red ideology" poisoned a person's mind so thoroughly that instead of leading to genuine repentance, it made him add sin upon sin and ultimately to take his own life. "Even that miserable devil was turned to stone by the horror of what he saw. He was so bewildered that he didn't even carry the damned soul to hell, because he couldn't imagine greater torment than what had already happened… and so, he vanished empty-handed from the room" (Kotetishvili 2021).

The title of the story is *"The Devil in Galiphe"*, which immediately captures the reader's attention, especially for those already familiar with the theme of the devil tempting humans. The image of the devil dressed in Galiphe trousers should not be difficult to decipher either. He is a modern devil—one who seemingly doesn't get in your way, sits quietly in a corner of the table looking pitiful and hunched, yet

constantly whispers to you, advises you, talks to you, and in the end, carries out his work by taking your damned soul to hell.

In the story, the devil is a direct representation of Soviet ideology, which keeps repeating the same ideas until you submit, with the persuasive claim that a person must not lag behind the new era, and that old Georgia is a mere fairy tale—it no longer exists.

The influence of Soviet ideology is also reflected through vivid metaphorical epithets in the story, such as *"the pepper-colored house"*, where a person experiences suffering, and *"red joy"*, which refers to the enforced expression of happiness by the masses—because the revolution has triumphed and everyone is expected to rejoice, and so on.

It is clear that the foundation of the story lies in idealistic philosophy. The entire inner essence of the narrative stands in opposition to the loss of human spirituality and the process of turning the human into an "object"—descending from the mountains toward the earth, in the direction pointed by the downward-stretched hand of the iron man—Lenin. For the author, the "cold and voiceless" past is more acceptable than the present, illuminated by the Zahes hydroelectric power station and boiling like the lava of revolution. For him, the subject—the individual—takes precedence over the mass that has been turned into an object. The mass surpasses the individual only in numbers and exercises violence against him. The individual is defenseless in this world, a splinter floating on water, destined to eventually be cast aside or dry up, a grenade prepared for explosion whose detonation will change nothing. The only temporary escape from the earthly world for the individual is intoxication, which offers partial relief—because once sobered, the person falls into even more dreadful suffering. Dreams or semi-dreams signify a descent into the self, an awakening of the subconscious, of truth and conscience—a dialogue with one's inner world, with one's conscience. However, the awakening of conscience brings no resolution in a poisoned, inhuman world (one that has turned into an apocalyptic beast), where a person not only loses their sense of self but also perishes physically.

As already mentioned, in this work as well, Lado Kotetishvili raises the issue of art, considering truth as its foundation—though this truth is artistic in nature, and it is not necessary, for example, for a horse to be visible while it is "galloping." This truth reflects the state of the author, the character, and the country as a whole. When this condition is critical and dire, speaking of the aesthetic impact of nature becomes irrelevant. Therefore, in his creative approach, Lado Kotetishvili rejects Impressionism and leans toward Expressionism. Symbolist tendencies are not foreign to him either, though he uses them only within certain limits.

Although intellectual truth becomes inaccessible to his character—who relies on instinct in specific situations (such as when Zeno hurries toward the Monastery of the Cross)—this correct action is momentary and ultimately serves a renewed obscuring of knowledge, reason, and conscience. This reflects the reality the author seeks to portray using a blend of stylistic tendencies.

From a formal perspective, the text also subtly reveals some postmodern tendencies—fragmentation of the text, texts within the text, interruptions, the use of ellipses or abrupt endings, and then starting anew. While such a model is also used in

modernism to convey the complexity of reality, in this particular work, the author employs it to create contrast.

"The Devil in Galiphe" reflects the author's contemporary reality without any disguise, as Lado Kotetishvili never intended to publish it. Everyone understood what the consequences of that would have been. That is why the unfiltered depiction and analysis of reality from the perspective of a contemporary is of utmost importance.

Although the writer is deeply familiar with Soviet ideology, fully aware of its mechanisms of influence and the helplessness of the individual in resisting it, he is still tormented by the question: how morally right is the thinking individual (the intellectual) in relation to his own conscience—one who understands and analyzes everything, yet still ends up serving that ideology?

The author also shows us clearly that such intellectuals often suffer from a kind of mental paralysis—they "begin thinking from their feet"—and in their distorted consciousness, the true tragedy is not that one has renounced God or their homeland, but that they have failed to become useful to the "new Soviet Georgia." And yet these people are still intellectuals, still guided by conscience to the very end.

We believe that it is precisely in this that the author sees the greatest tragedy of his time. This framing of the issue is entirely new for Georgian literature.

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Based on the analyzed works, it can be stated with certainty that Lado Kotetishvili is a master of language. His writings enrich and expand Georgian literature and Georgian modernism, adding diversity to its thematic scope. Lado Kotetishvili's body of work will undoubtedly earn a rightful and honorable place among the classics of Georgian literature.

Conclusions

In Soviet scholarly literature, discussions of Georgian modernism were only possible from a single, limited perspective. Its existence could not be denied, so it was acknowledged with the claim that talented Georgian writers had made a mistake—by imitating European literature, they had taken a misguided path, rejected tradition and the past, and strayed from the proper course of Georgian literary development. It was later said that these writers recognized their error and "returned to the ground," meaning they reverted to the realist style of representation.

Soviet criticism regarded the modernist works of that period as a misstep. Serious discussion of Georgian modernism is only possible today through the Georgian press of the early 20th century, which preserved the manifestos, critical essays, and poems of Georgian modernists.

The establishment of modernist tendencies in Georgia began as early as the late 19th century, as evidenced by materials published in the newspaper *Kvali* and the journal *Moambe*. By the early 20th century, modernism had formed as the dominant literary movement. Its manifestos were reflected in journals such as *Meotsnebe 1*).

Later, during the Soviet era and after the suppression of modernism, the "literary stance of modernization" was still upheld by journals like *Khomaldi* and *Ilioni*.

Another important point is that even after the final "liquidation" of modernist literature in Georgia—an effort that began even before Stalinist repressions—and after many modernist groups declared self-dissolution, modernism did not entirely disappear. It went underground in Georgia, and unlike European modernism, it did not come to a complete halt. One of its representatives was Lado Kotetishvili. His work preserved Georgian literature's connection to Western intellectual traditions in the underground cultural space of the Soviet Union—traditions that official socialism had effectively declared dead.

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