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MISCELLANEA CLASSICA

I REASEARCH APPLICATIONS IN GREEK CLASSICS: THE EXPERIENCE OF UCI

Aristotle's following passage from his *Politics* Book I seems to me to be the oldest extant quotation referring to our modern technology, especially automatisation, robotics and electronic informatics by computing: «If every instrument could accomplish its own work, obeying or anticipating the will of others, like the statues of Daedalus, or of the tripod of Hephaestus, which, says the poet, "of their own accord entered the assembly of the Gods"; if, in like manner, the shuttle would weave and the plectrum touch the lyre without a hand to guide them, chief workmen would not want servants, nor masters slaves»¹.

So, according to Aristotle, robotics, automats and computers are our modern slavery. And when referring to the poet he means, of course, the poet κατ' ἔξοχήν, par excellance, i.e. Homer: In his *Iliad* 18 (XVIII 'Οπλοποία: Armorum fabricatio) 376, we read «ὅφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θείον δυσαίσατ' ἀγῶνα» (=ut ei sponte-sua divinum ingredierentur coetum).

At first, one realizes, this can only have to do with technology, not texts with civilization, not culture, with science, not arts or humanities and, in the ancient Greeks' own words with «κατασκευή βίου» not «παίδεια» and, again in Aristotle's words, «ὅ δέ θίος πρᾶξις, οὐ ποίησίς, ἔστιν», i.e. «life is action and not production»². But fortunately, this is not necessarily so. Thanks to the brilliant pioneer work of David Packard, the TLG Project of UCI, under the direction and guidance of Prof. Theodore Brunner, has for 20 years now been proving that computing may have wonderful applications in classical scholarship and texts, too, by various teaching and/or research methods and for various purposes.

From June 15 to September 4, 1990 I was a visiting Scholar at the UCI, Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, TLG Project as a Fulbright fellow. I used my

1. 1253b33-1254a1, Jowett's translation. Trevor Sanders in his revised edition of Sinclair's translation in «Penguin Books» notes that Hephaestus' statues were fitted with wheels and Daedalus' statues, on tripods, were so lifelike that they were thought to move.

2. *Politics* 1254a7.

visit to familiarize myself with various aspects of computer-assisted research. During this stay at UCI, I was introduced to numerous research-oriented software resources designed to draw upon the TLG's electronic data bank, particularly programs designed to facilitate rapid access to electronic text, e.g. LEX, BROWSE, LOOK UP and TLG (Index-search program). I was also exposed to various other interactive programs based upon the IBYX programming language employed within the context of the TLG's Ibycus hardware environment. I employed some of these programs while pursuing my specific research interests relating to Greek Historiography, especially to Thucydides.

On this occasion it is useful to see the division of TLG Project: a) Prose and, b) Poetry. Prose is subdivided into Religion and Non-Religion texts. The Religion part is subdivided into Pagan and Non-Pagan Religion. Pagan Religion is subdivided into: Literature and Philosophy & Religion Parts with many subdivisions. The Non-Pagan Religion Part is subdivided into three parts: Literature and History, Philosophy and Religion and Ecclesiastica. The Non-Religion Section is subdivided into a) Literature b) History c) Philosophy, Science and Pseudo-Science and Grammar. Before concentrating to the History subdivision, for the sake of completion, let us have a quick look at Poetry. It is subdivided into Hexameter (with many subdivisions) and Non-Hexameter, which is subdivided into Drama (with subdivisions) and Non-Drama. The Non-Drama Part contains: Metrical Forms, Literature, History, Philosophy and Religion (pagan), Philosophy and Religion (non pagan) and Science and Pseudo-Science. As we clearly see History fits into both major divisions of prose and poetry, in other words there is historiography in prosaic and in poetic forms: The subdivisions of History in prose are Jurisprudence, Law, Polyhistory, Biography, Chronography, Geography, History proper, Mythology, Periegesis. In poetry: Biography, Chronography, Geography, History proper and Periegeses.

This was a schematic presentation of Greek Literature in the widest meaning of the word, showing generic tags used for classification of words in both the electronic computerization, i.e. CD ROM, and the printed *Canon of Greek Authors and Works*³.

3. 1994³.

II

ALEXANDRIAN ANTIQUITY IN STRATIS TSIRKAS' TRILOGY*

The «Trilogy» of Stratis Tsirkas, known better as *'Ακυθέρνητες Πολιτεῖες*, *Drifting Cities* in Kay Cicellis' accurate translation into English, is, of course, firstly and mainly a political, historical and biographical, if not autobiographical, work. Far from being an «historical novel» in the strict sense of the term, it certainly contains elements of this «genre», too, in the sense that all three component parts, i.e. *The Club*, *Ariagne* and *The Bat*, are novels, and that they are set against a contemporary historical background of Jerusalem and Alexandreia just after World War II. Given this, one could not expect to trace much of ancient Greek scholarship in these novels. But Tsirkas is Greek, and no Greek author, poet or novelist, can avoid the burden of this literary heritage. He is of course not scholarly minded, as for instance Seferis is, and it is characteristic that in the work of two more of the most eminent post World War II prose-writers, namely Dimitris Hatzis and Andreas Frangias, little scholarship and antiquity is to be found.

Nevertheless, Tsirkas himself admits in *The Diaries of the Trilogy*, p. 38 that «I have to be careful - I am carried away by a «philologitis» (Hoelderlin or the *Song of Songs* for example), μια φιλολογίτιδα in the original, as if it were a disease. «What is needed, he goes on, is much tact, a real mastery of the art of a novel writer. I am not satisfied at all». The usual painful and creative paths of doubt and scepticism of any author about his (or her) own abilities.

Apart from this expressed confession, Tsirkas' work itself reveals his notable tendency to turn to ancient Greek authors for profit and ornament. This is obvious in the mottos of all three novels, as well as in an epigram of Book 3 (*The Bat*) and in the numerous quotations, references and allusions to ancient Greek, Alexandrian, antiquity throughout his work, especially in Book 3.

We shall now briefly focus our attention first on the ancient mottos, second on the scattered ancient references and third on the pastiche-like epigram of *The Bat*.

A standard feature of Tsirkas' mottos technique in the *Drifting Cities* is that he prefixes two mottos in each novel, one of which is in all cases George Seferis'. The other one is (a) in *The Club*, a passage from the *Psalms* (137, 5-6), (b) in *Ariagne*, a passage from Herodotus' Book II, 148, and (c) in *The Bat*, a quotation of Fr. Engels from a letter to J. Bloch.

* For technical reasons, all notes in this article are included in the text.

(a) More specifically, as far as Greek scholarly tradition is concerned, the motto in *The Club* reads:

«Τό χέρι μου νά ξεχαστεῖ ποτές μου ἃν σέ ξεχάσω
 Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ γλώσσα στό λαρύγγι μου ἃς κολλήσει
 "Αν δέ θά σέ στοχάζομαι κι ἃν δέ θά σέ θυμιέμαι
 Καὶ μές στήν τρέλα τῆς χαρᾶς»

in Josef Eliya's modern Greek translation of the Hellenistic original of the Septuagint in the Alexandrian «coene» (or vulgata) language, which is:

«Ἐάν ἐπιλάθωμαί σου, Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἐπιλησθείη ἡ
 δεξιά μου, κολληθείη ἡ γλώσσα μου τῷ λάρυγγί μου,
 ἔάν μή σου μνησθῶ, ἔάν μή προανατάξωμαι
 τήν Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εύφροσύνης μου»,

and in the English rendering of the Trinitarian Bible Society, i.e. the official translation, which Kay Cicellis follows:

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand
 forget her cunning.
 If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave
 to the roof of my mouth;
 If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

Herodotus' passage refers to the Egyptian labyrinth which is used by Tsirkas as a symbol of complexity in feelings and situations. And we know also from *The Diaries of Trilogy* (p. 53) that Tsirkas had previously planned to use this as the title of his second volume instead of *Ariagne*.

This Herodotian passage in the English translation of Aubrey de Salincourt (Penguin Classics), which Kay Cicellis adopted, reads: «...the baffling and intricate passages from room to room and from court to court were an endless wonder to me, as we passed from courtyard into rooms, from rooms into galleries, from galleries into more rooms, and thence into yet more courtyards» (Herodotus' Book II, 148).

So far so good with the mottos. Let us now come to see how Tsirkas embodies ancient elements into his «Trilogy». In *The Club* we have some casual and vague thoughts and notions rather than concrete references. When, for instance, he says (p. 38, 22 in Cicellis' translation): «he is the most genuine Greek I have ever met, he has an instinctive sense of measure, he has the tragic sense of life», with the former part he is certainly alluding to the classical maxim «μέτρον ἄριστον», «measure is the best» or «μηδέν ἄγαν», «nothing in excess», and similar classical teachings of moderation. And with the latter part he is hinting at the Greek drama, especially tragedy, as having to do particularly with the pessimistic attitudes of some thoughtful Greeks. The «contrapunto» to this is Hoelderlin's «denn alles is gut», which the leading hero Manos, *alias* Caloyannis, *alias* Simonides, i.e. the alter ego or the shadow-self of the

author, quotes in a moment of utter euphoria together with his additional remark. «The beauty of man does not die; it will be lost only when life itself disappears from the globe».

In chapter 4 of *The Club* he is preoccupied with the *Song of Songs*, as we saw he confessed in *The Diaries of Trilogy*. The *Song of Songs* of the Old Testament and Hoelderlin, are the reasons of the «philologitis» self-critique: «The wind has fallen, which is unusual. Every now and then the rusty old fox whispers something («ssssilly bitch, sssssilly bitch») and is quiet again. I've in mind to pick up the Bible Hadjivassilis lent me (The Holy Scriptures, translated from the sacred archetypes by the British Biblical Society), move over to the skylight, and leaf through the *Song of Songs* to find the passage about the little fox». The passage which he was looking for — and never tells us if he ever found it — consists of three lines (*Song II*, 15) and reads «Πιάσατε ήμιν ἀλώπεκας/μικρούς ἀφανίζοντας ἀμπελῶνας/καὶ οἱ ἀμπελοὶ ήμῶν κυπρίζουσιν», which in the official English rendering reads: «Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines for our wines have tender grapes».

In volume or Book 2, *Ariagne*, Tsirkas is playing with symbol-motives. The Labyrinth — the Maeander — the Minotaur — the Acropolis of Athens. The Labyrinth is the standard and omnipresent concept of the whole volume; he almost gave it the title of Labyrinth instead of *Ariagne*, as we saw above. Besides, the use of the name of Ariagne, Mrs Saridis, «Mother of Michalis», a Greek woman in Alexandreia as the title of the volume makes it a speaking name (έκφραστικό όνομα), i.e. denoting a concrete meaning and as the mythical Ariadne is linked with the Cretan labyrinth and Minotaur, so is the real Ariagne associated with the Labyrinth of the situation in Tsirkas' Alexandreia with his baffling and intricate passages. This symbol becomes later identical to the Maeander and both end up to symbolize the complex subconscious (p. 182/320) «Isn't it strange, I thought, what devious ways the subconscious follows? Just give a psychoanalyst enough material, and he could built you a fancy palace that would put Xanadu to shame».

The Minotaur motive, on the other hand (pp. 185ff/322ff), becomes the symbol of human cruelty and exploitation, as the opposite element of Labyrinth. The Minotaur species contains people like Little Man (τό 'Ανθρωπάκι) in relation to Photeros' wife and Manos himself: «We classify under Minotaurs all those who have no consideration for others, no respect for human beings. No, it is not a matter of consciousness, although it must be said that in our angelic world there exists no evil that does not originate from the System. Yet there would have been Minotaurs even in El Dorado. It is an egocentricity, a blindness, a disease of the self. Their entrails, bloated with black, bitter blood, lie at the heart of the

universe. The pink flash of the bull's penis. They exploit the weakness, the needs, the prayers of others; they trample on them. They eat men alive».

Book 3 of the «Trilogy» (*The Bat*) is richer in ancient Greek references, explicit or implicit, ideas, figures, phrases, verses etc. — apart from the inscription to which we shall shortly return. The author's Alexandreian experience is now stronger. He wasn't very familiar with Alexandreia, he admits, and yet this was where his mother was born, where his father had married her (p. 14/431) «And now, he says, here I was in Alexandreia for the third time, hiding once again, and once again in autumn and at night time. Then I'd have to hear the sound of street names, and let my imagination rove drunkenly from the world of Herodotus and Plutarch to the present-day world of money-lenders and cotton merchants». He picks up Herodotus and Plutarch, because he was well-read and fully aware of the two authors' familiarity with Egypt and Hellenistic Alexandreia, respectively. He also knows Starbo's Cape Lochias and identifies it with Cape Silsileh (τό ἀκρωτήρι τῆς Σιλσίλα, p. 31/443), which the Geographer mentions as Λοχίας ἄκρα, when referring to Alexandreia. But it was Paraschos who observed this, not Manos.

When Tsirkas wants to be more scholarly precise with ancient Greek material, he doesn't ascribe it to the protagonist, i.e. Manos, but to other persons, sometimes to non-Greeks. When Brooks, for instance, says: «As we were saying, my morning inspection is meant as a kind of invocation. As you surely remember from Homer, the punctual Old Man rises at high noon among waters rippling in the breeze, always at the same place, opposite Pharos», the author comments «Well, he certainly seemed to know his Homer. «Over there, in those domed caves», Brooks goes on, freezing his hand to point in the distance. «Something like a thousand years will pass before Sostratos comes from Cnidus and fills them up with boulders to built his Lighthouse... In those same caves, Menelaus has been keeping watch since dawn with three of his companions in Troy. They lie hidden in the sand, wrapped in sealskins especially prepared for them by Eidothea — a paragon of a daughter! What could possibly have attracted her to Menelaus, I'd like to know — the horns on his brow or the adulteress he dragged back with him from Troy?» (p. 43/451). Also when Tsirkas wants to talk about classical scholars, like Gilbert Murray, his translations of Euripides into English and T.S.Eliot's devastating criticism of them, he represents Ron as raising the issue, obviously because he does not find it probable and appropriate ("εἰκός καὶ προσῆκον") to ascribe such delicate matters to Manos, an engaged revolutionary, in spite of his self-confessed literary and artistic tendencies and his ambition to become an author when he returns home. «Ron had once told her (Nan, i.e. Lady Nancy) that the fight between Proteus and Menelaus was a

variation on the myth of Thetis and Peleus. Like Proteus, the sea-goddess Thetis fought fiercely, speechlessly, in a cave off the Thessalian coast, changing herself into fire and water, and then into a lion, a snake, a giant squid. Yet Peleus was not defeated; He held her captive in his arms, never relenting his grip, even when she spat her squid's ink into his face. Finally he subdued her, and they joined in a divine embrace» (p. 43/451). And then Tsirkas adds: «And look, how strange: this vague intimation, this association which had remained unsaid, which had perhaps not even existed in Ron's mind, was now taking shape and substance as a result of this sly old man's babbling. The architecture of memory, the crystallizations of the mind, the workings of poetry...Nothing would ever obliterate this poetry, even though Ron was dead, even though Nan herself might die tomorrow or the day after. Thetis' resistance, the transformations of Proteus, Helen's boredom in Egypt, Ron and Nan in front of the old mirror in the café, engraving their names on the gilt frame with a pin, the sea gently rocking the gulls — all this echoed in the light like the strings of a single guitar, mingling legends and memories, past and present, into a new incorruptible sensation, forever safe from time.

«Another thing I don't understand is Homer's intense loathing for the smell of seals: heavy, poisonous, he calls it; a stench of death, and so forth. These southerners have very delicate noses, it seems».

Nan was amused, and laughed. So the reconciliation took place without further formality.

«Oh, yes dear», cried Brooks, turning his head toward her, «we shall no longer be fooled by any Menelaus. Many more than eight transformations lie in store for him».

Sometimes Tsirkas refers to ancient Greek poetry, through other modern poets. In chapter 14 of *The Bat* we read: «Nancy was sleeping on her stomach, without a pillow. I stretched out my hand and lifted her black, shiny hair. Varnalis once wrote: «Your hair, fragrant as celery...» (Σέλινα τά μαλλιά σου μυρωμένα...) (p. 302/623) and the author wonders about Kostas Varnalis: «Did such moments of sensuous intensity ever come upon the old poet now, in the hell of the German occupation?»? The moment is highly erotic. Manos looks at Nancy's back and hair while she is waiting for him and remembers of Varnalis' sonet «Orestes»: «Σέλινα τά μαλλιά σου μυρωμένα, λύσε τα νά φανεῖς ώς είσαι ώραϊος...». And Tsirkas compares Nancy's beautiful hair with Orestes' beautiful hair and, almost ashamed of the comparison, he wonders in free Alexandreia if such moments of sensuous intensity ever come upon the old poet (i.e. Kostas Varnalis) now, in the hell of the German occupation.

Tsirkas likes Seferis very much. This is obvious both in the mottos of his three novels of the *Trilogy* and in various places in *The Bat*, especially

when referring to Alexandreia. The phrase «...in distant Alexandreia, on Proteus' seashore» (p. 332/643) recalls Seferis' «Proteus seashore» («Τ' ἀκροθαλάσσι τοῦ Πρωτέα» verse 24 of George Seferis' «Helen» of *Logbook III*, published in 1955, namely ten years before *The Bat*). This again goes back to Euripides' *Helen*, after Stesichorus' tradition of Helen, who in his famous «Palinode» places Helen at Egypt and not Troy. She is here the victim, not the perpetrator as in Homer's tradition of Helen's saga, and it is this version of the myth that Euripides and Seferis (and Tsirkas one could add) follow, not Homer's. Proteus was an Egyptian marine god, servant of Neptune, who when consulted by Menelaus on the island of Pharos (in front of later's Alexandreia) reveals the future (Homer's *Odyssey* IV 349-570). And it is this version of the myth that Peter Brooks had in mind when speaking of the old sailor and Seferis' «on Proteus' seashore» [and on the shore of a Delta (=The Nile) l. 37].

Following his favourite method Tsirkas ascribes not to Manos but, this time, to the picturesque Alexander the Elder the description of glorious Alexandreia (p. 376/672): «...the trail of Alexander the Great... the octagonal tower of Aboukir, a faithful reproduction — though on a miniature scale — of the famous Pharos, one of the Seven Wonders of the World... the chosen people, contaminated by the leprosy of Dimitrov... and so on and so forth. We told him to stop giving us that rubbish and confess what he was really after, who had sent him, and the names of his contacts. But he stuck to the same old story. Garelas got up: «Call Abdulmedjid», he said. In a few minutes there appeared our old acquaintance, Callinicos Papacallinikos from Diyarbakir. He saluted, straight as a lamppost, grim, somber. Suddenly he recognized me and gave me a vague smile. I recalled the days of the march to the Euphrates, the humor and the patience of this good friend from the immolated Hellenism of Asia Minor. Once again we had to cross a desert, and a much harsher one this time, but Abdulmedjid's presence filled me with an inexplicable optimism. «Take him away!», ordered Garelas. The immolated Hellenism of Asia minor (Οἱ παριφές τοῦ Ἀσιάτη Ἐλληνισμοῦ) is Asia Minor.

But from the antiquity's point of view, the most interesting part of *The Bat*, and in fact of the whole «Trilogy», is the epigram of chapter II. Peter Brooks will hold the classical burden this time, too (p. 50f/457f):

«It was an epitaph. She then tried reading the poem itself, very carefully, leaving aside the words that were in modern, demotic Greek. The trouble was, there were very many of them. Then there were some words which must have been foreign and which Richards had transcribed into Greek. Was it a kind of game? What did the epitaph say exactly? What was the message he was sending them from his grave? She

emptied her glass in one gulp, returned the notebook to Peter, and begged him to help her. The only lines she had been able to understand, she said, were the ones from Homer. Gilbert Murray often liked to quote them; he thought very highly of them, and he was right. Strange to see Oxford and Cambridge reconciled at last over a grave...

«It is an amalgam, Lady—»

She lifted a forbidding finger: «Just Nan».

«Forgive me, but I find it rather difficult not to call you that... It is an amalgam — a coctail, if you like — which Richards himself would have considered entirely worthless artistically. Its only importance is that of a human document. What is remarkable about this poem is that within seven lines, the poor man managed to compress all these space. In these lines I, for one, can hear the voices of Eliot, Arrian, Euripides, Stendhal, Julius Caesar, Rilke, Francois Villon, Baudelaire, Homer, Shakespeare, Omar Khayyam. And Meleager, of course, or perhaps Crinagoras».

«Peter, stop tormenting me!»

So word by word they translated the poem together

TOMB OF ROBERT THE SENSUALIST

(translation by Edmund Keeley)

He reached Thapsacus on the Euphrates and collapsed:
 Calchas and camp follower of a British legion,
 For the fun of it raising the legion's morale, its capacity to endure,
 But also satisfying his dogged inner compulsion. The cranes
 Fly crying over the ocean's waves, bringing
 Murder and death to Pygmy men,
 Murder and death, el dounia, sound and fury (p. 51/456).

Nan bent over her empty glass. She wept soundlessly, large tears trickling from her eyes. «It's awful» she said. «Don't you see Peter? He died without hope. That word «dounia» — it's not from Omar Khayyam. He got it from an Arab in Cairo. This Arab was consumed with unrequited love; he took to his bed and simply didn't want to live any longer. «El dounia khalass», the world is at an end, he kept saying. Robbie wrote me about it in his last letter. And look, put this phrase side by side with Homer's vast vision of the world, and Shakespeare's vision of the sound and the fury. Oh, how he must have suffered...»

«On the other hand, if you juxtapose «camp follower» with the «dogged inner compulsion»...»

«I have done that already — I can see it all. In other words, he turned himself into a mobile brothel for soldiers, making the ordeal of the march more bearable for them, yet at the same time prophesying the most horrible ending of our Empire. It's amazing, the explosive power words

can acquire when they are threaded together by a real craftsman! He was degraded in his own eyes, he abandoned his body to the worst outrages, while his spirit cried with the cranes high above the sea, high above the little human creatures entangled in their pretty quarrels, high above death.

The epigram consists of seven lines only, out of which only three are in homeric Greek (almost three). Only two of them are in homeric hexameter. The rest are in modern Greek, mixed up with ancient Greek proper names and the key notion of «El dounia khalass» in a Graeco-arab salad. We have to do with a typical literary pastiche, «a pasticcio» («μακαρονικόν ποίημα»). Lines five and six are entirely heroic and quoted *verbatim* from Homer's *Ilias* II, 5-6. The best literary commentary has already been done by the author, who according to his beloved tactics attributes it to the «savant» of the novel, not to Manos, i.e. to himself. He does not allow himself to appear so well-read.

III

STRUCTURAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN GREECE AND CHINA IN ANTIQUITY

My paper consist of three parts:

- I. Similarities in the Art
- II. Similarities in Philosophy and Education
- III. The Literary Evidence

Striking similarities in art, thought and education between the Chinese and the Greek peoples in ancient times have been traced and various explanations for them have been reservedly suggested:

I. First in the art of prehistoric times: Marcel Brion in his three volume work under the title «Evolution and Decline of the Peoples» stresses the amazing similarity in the decoration of the Chinese and Minoan neolithic ceramic. «Should we perhaps suppose, he wonders, that in a certain period cultural interchange between Greece and China has taken place, which enabled the transfer of decorative motives from the Mediterranean Sea to the Yellow River? Or perhaps that the non-Mongolian paleolithic people simultaneously impregnated Asia and the Aegean? We can neither reject any hypothesis for the introduction of civilisation to China by the West, or at least by Eurasia, nor be sure that there was no communication between the people of Yang-Chao and the island of Minos. It seems, however, more apparent that this aesthetic decoration of ceramic was first born, as it happened in the Aegean, by the transition from the basket weaving to vase making, exactly the way it happened in America». The most impressive archaeological evidence, however, is the existence in China of bull-games (*ταυροπαιδιά* or *ταυροκαθάψια*) exactly as those of Minoan Crete.

II. Second in philosophy and education of Classical times. Things in this sphere are much more notable and exciting. In the less remote past, namely during the historic times that coincide with the Classical period of both countries, we can clearly see the traits of similarity in the thought and paedagogics of the two peoples.

The French historian, Paul-Louis Cauchoud (1879-1959), has stated that «to bring the two halves of humanity face to face will be the great work of this century»¹. And humanity is best expressed by philosophy and

1. *teste* Theresa Mitsopoulou, *Hellas China: One Culture*, Part I «The Other Santorini», Athens 1991, 11.

education. We do not try here to underestimate the value of icon evidence, and it is maintained that it was the Chinese who first said that «one picture is worth one thousand words», but sometimes the reverse may also be valid, i.e. «one word is worth one thousand pictures».

The classical period of Greece covers approximately two centuries, the fifth and fourth B.C., while the corresponding Chinese historical period extends roughly between the birth of Confucius, 551 B.C., and the unification of China in 222 B.C. It is during this period that in both countries philosophy and education reached their peak. During this time in both countries great philosophers appeared, new educational systems were employed, new teaching techniques were invented and important theories of paedagogy and more generally of culture and paideia were first introduced. It was the time when the Athenian philosophical Schools of Academy (Plato under the fundamental influence of Socrates), Lycaeum (Lykeion, Aristotle) and the School of Isocrates flourished, while at the same time in China the so-called one hundred (in the sense of «many») schools of philosophy appeared which are usually classified into six, namely: a) Lu School (Confucianism), b) Mo School (Moism), c) Tao (Taoism), d) Fa (Faism), e) Ming School and f) Ying Yang School. These schools are first mentioned by the ancient Chinese historian Zi Ma Tan (3rd to 2nd century B.C.) in his work «The Principal Ideas of the Six Schools», and to these schools belong all the great philosophers of that time, namely Confucius, Mo Ji, Menkius, Juang Ji, Sun Ji, Lao Ji and Han Fei Ji.

The most influential common features between ancient Greek and ancient Chinese philosophical and paedagogic teaching are: a) The anthropocentric viewpoint. In both systems man as a whole was the central issue. b) Priority of ethics. In both systems the orthodoxy of the dominant ideology allowed morality to have the upper hand over any sort of knowledge and education, either intellectual or artistic. c) Dominance of general humanistic philosophy and education over specialization and technology. In both systems «paideia» intended to the formation of an integral human being, man as a whole, and not to the creation and preparation of specialists and professionals. Even medicine was more of a «philosophy» than a practical job, a «métier» or a science.

On the other hand, the two main differences between the two systems are: a) the emphasis which Greek thought placed on body-culture through athleticism and dance and b) the importance of mathematics which the Greek intellect attributed to education: both these factors were somehow neglected by the Chinese system in comparison to the Greek.

III. Third and last is the written evidence in classical scholarship and

ancient history. I honestly do not know if there are ancient Chinese references to Greek, but the reverse, namely ancient Greek references to China and its people, occurs-not frequently or to a great extent, but they do exist. The first Greek author who writes about China is the Knidian (Asia Minor) historian Ktesias of the 4th century B.C. in a treatise entitled «On the Marvels of the Universe» («Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ θαυμάτων»)². He names the people of China Σῆρες (from σήρ= silk, i.e. «the people of the silk»), misplaces them in Aethiopeia and confuses them with Indians (hence his error that the Chinese people «were of huge physique»=« μέγιστοι σφόδρα εἶναι τά σώματα»).

Some modern scholars maintain that the earliest Greek author to mention China and the Chinese is Herodotus. G. Hermann, for instance, unconvincingly declares that when Herodotus writes 'Αργιππαῖοι (IV. 23) or 'Υπερθόρεοι (IV. 13, 32-6), he means the Chinese. The same applies to Xenophon *Cyrop.* VIII 1, 40, and Procopius *Pers.* I 20; *Vandal.* II 6. Hermann³ is equally wrong when, ignoring Ktesias, he writes that Nearchos, the admiral of Alexander the Great, is the first Greek who specifically speaks about China («σηρικά δέρματα», apud Strab. XV. 693)⁴.

The best collection of literatry evidence about ancient China is that of G. Coedès⁵. In this we learn that after Ktesias almost all Greek and Latin authors, when referring to China and the Chinese, employ the terms Σῆρες (Seres) (hence Σηρική, Σηρικόν, or, much later, «Σῖναι» (Sinai) or, from the 7th century A.D., «Σηρῶοι». It is noteworthy that in all cases from Ktesias up to Eustathios, Bishop of Thessalonica, Macedonia (12th century A.D.), when Greek authors mention China or the Chinese, they use the terms Σῆρες or Σῖναι and the corresponding adjectives as proper place-names.

However, the earliest recorded official contact between China and the West is not with Greeks but, at a rather late stage, with Romans. It was «a visit to the Han court in A.D. 166 by men who said they were emissaries of «Andun, King of Da Qin», believed to be the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. A Chinese chronicler said the Romans brought gifts of ivory, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shells. The same author remarks that the Chinese name for Rome's territories in Western Asia Da Qin (Great King), suggests that Rome was seen as a comparable power and also that «Roman merchants and perhaps Greeks as well probably mixed with

2. F. Jacoby, s.v. *Ktesias*, *RE* XI 2 and *F.Gr.Hist.*, Dritter Teil, C, 688.

3. *RE* sv. *Seres*, *RE* A II, 2.

4. *ibid.*

5. *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême - Orient*, Paris 1910, *passim*.

Chinese in the Parthian markets»⁶.

Apart from Ktesias and Eustathios of Thessalonika, the earliest and the latest Greek authors who clearly referred to China, many others did so, including Strabon, Nearchos, Chariton, the Anonymous of the *Periplus of Erythra Thalassa* (= *Circumnavigation of the Red Sea*), Ptolemaios, Marinios, Hesychios, Marcianos, Theophylactos, The Anonymous of Ravenna, Theophanes, Photios, the Scholiast of Lucianos, and Nicephoros Blemydes.

Conclusion: Coincidence? interchange, communication and influence? This is a major issue always open to research. The only certain fact remains that the ancient Chinese played a leading part in civilization and culture of Far-East exactly as the Greeks in the West. And that, while almost all great ancient peoples have vanished from the earth, China and Greece are still alive and leading the way in many respects. An eminent modern Greek author, Nikos Kazantzakis in his itinerary of Far-East calls China the «tortoise of nations». The tortoise goes slowly but it keeps going indefinitely. One could call Greece «the horse of nations». It is also still going but without galloping and, contrary to China, with almost nothing of the glory of the past.

6. Jack L. Dull Time - Life History of the World 400 BC- AD 200 (Empires Ascendants), pp. 150-2.

IV

THE IMPACT OF CLASSICAL GREEK THOUGHT ON THE
AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

Edward McWall Burns, in his brilliant article «The Philosophy of History of the Founding Fathers» notes that «it may be doubted that any group of statesmen anywhere in the world was more conscious of the lessons of antiquity and more determined to profit from them»¹.

Indeed, this group, of which it was successfully suggested that «perhaps never before or since in history has so able and intelligent a group been assembled»², in its original fifty-five members included at least thirty-one lawyers, of whom twenty-four were college graduates: nine from Princeton, three from Yale, two from Harvard, two from the College of Philadelphia, four from William and Mary, and one each from Columbia, Edinburgh, Oxford, and Glasgow.

The men most active in the shaping of the American Constitution (Philadelphia, 1787) were also those most educated: Alexander Hamilton graduated from Columbia College, James Madison from Princeton, Rufus King from Harvard, etc.³. And the same, more or less, applies to other famous American leaders of that time, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, James Logan, Samuel Adams, Francis Hopkinson, Hugh Henry Brachenridge, and others⁴.

But, as Howard Mumford Jones put it, because of the decline of knowledge of the classics, today the notion that the classical past has exerted an important influence on the culture of the United States seems to many absurd⁵.

Many stands of political theory and practice—English, Continental (European), early American and, above all, classical, especially Greek—were woven into the complex fabric of the American Constitution. With regard to the classical influences, the ancestry of the Constitution in the thought of Plato, Aristotle, Polybius and Roman theorists, especially Cicero, and in the constitutions and history of the Greek cities as well as Rome and Carthage, is too authentic to require repeated legitimation any longer⁶. Though the American appeal to natural law has its roots in

1. *The Historian* 16 (1954), 142-168, esp. 142.

2. L.A. Ames and H.C. Montgomery, «The Influence of Rome on the American Constitution», *The Classical Journal*, 30 (1934), 19-27, esp. 20.

3. John Rexine, «Classical Political Theory and the United States Constitution», *passim*.

4. M. Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, Detroit, 1984, 299f.

5. «*Of Strange New World*», *American Culture: The Formative Years*, New York, 1952, 228.

6. Cf. M. Reinhold, *op. cit.*, 301 and 320.

antiquity (Aristotle, Cicero and Stoicism), Americans were indebted for this not so much through direct knowledge of the classical sources as from the English heritage of law and government, especially through Milton, Coke, Algernon Sidney, John Locke and the continental jurists De Vattel, Pufendorf, and Burlamaqui⁷.

But, although the Founding Fathers were not scholars but practical politicians, they were knowledgeable enough about the constitutions of the Greek states, as well as of that of Rome and of Carthage, and were especially interested in cyclical theories of government and the notion of the «μικτή πολιτεία» (=mixed constitution). John Adams declared in 1772 that «the best governments of the world have been mixed. The Republics of Greece, Rome and Carthage were all mixed Governments», and John Corbin that «the theory of our Constitution derives from Aristotle, and was put into successful practice in ancient Rome, in eighteenth century England, and in our state constitutions before it was given its most perfect embodiment by the Convention of 1787»⁸.

The principle e.g. of «equality of all citizens before the law» known as *ισονομία* (isonomy), with whose introduction into the American governmental system, Cleisthenes, the founder of democracy in classical Athens, is originally credited, is echoed in the famous Funeral Speech of Pericles in Thucydides' *History*: «If we look into the laws», he says, «they afford equal justice to all in their private differences», and again below: «but all this case in our private relations does not make us lawless citizens. Against this fear is our chief safeguard, teaching us to obey the magistrates and the laws»⁹.

Plato, too, emphasizes the rule of law: «It is really necessary for men to make themselves laws and to live according to laws, or else to differ not at all from the most savage of beasts»¹⁰. And Aristotle stresses that «rightly constituted laws should be the final sovereign» and that «law should be sovereign on every issue, and the magistrates and the citizen body should only decide about details»¹¹.

7. Edward S. Corwin, *The «Higher Law», Background of American Constitutional Law*, Ithaca, 1955, 149 ff and 365 ff.

8. Richard Mott Grummere, «The Classical Ancestry of the United States Constitution», *American Quarterly* 14 (1962), 3-18, esp. 6.

9. *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II, 6 in Chatzepanagoul's incomparable translation in Modern Greek: «Όλοι οι πολίτες είναι οιοι απέναντι των νόμων σε ό,τι αφορά τα προσωπικά τους συμφέροντα» and «ενώ όμως αποφεύγουμε να γινόμαστε ενοχλητικοί στους άλλους σε ό,τι αφορά την προσωπική ζωή, πειθαρχούμε στις διαταγές των αρχόντων της πολιτείας και στους νόμους της πόλεως από σεβασμό».

10. *Laws* IX 847e.

11. *Politics*. Cf. Rexine, *op. cit.*, 323.

But why did the Founding Fathers prefer the mixed constitution, i.e. the mixture of democracy and oligarchy, the middle between freedom and order? Simply, because this is the preference also of the great Greek political theorists of Classical Greece.

In Thucydides e.g. we find, apart from a superb praise to the Athenian Democracy, the critique of the excesses and irrationality which the 'Εκκλησία του Δήμου, the Assembly, was subject to after Pericles' death. Athenian democracy in the hands of Pericles' successors degenerates into mob rule and demagoguery. And this explains, partly, Plato's and Aristotle's antipathy to democracy. But the same philosophers and political theorists were also aware of the abuses, which prevailed under oligarchy and tyranny. As a consequence, to safeguard against the dominance of any one social class and the oppression of another, the ideal of a mixed constitution was developed. And it was this ideal in Greek political theory that reached its highest peak in the works of Plato and Aristotle, and was further refined by the political writings of Polybius from Megalopolis and Cicero in Rome¹².

But the paramount political model for the Founding Fathers of a constitution structured to retard political decay and assure at the same time freedom and stability was the constitution of Rome of the end of the third—early second centuries B.C.—as analyzed by the Greek historian Polybius in book VI, the vaunted prototype of a commonwealth since the Renaissance, the favorite source for classical republicanism in *the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*¹³. And John Adams was fully aware that the blessings of the Roman constitution did not long survive Polybius' analysis and proceeded to assess the weaknesses of the Roman government, attributing the fall of the Republic — with the advantages of hindsight — to imperfect, «ineffectual balance» and prescribing stronger negative votes, separated powers and checks and countercheques. As it turned out, indeed, rather than a melting pot of a mixed system, the Constitution of the United States of America was a document of numerous compromises, based on the principles of a broadly pluralistic balance and separation of powers, despite the confidence placed by the Founding Fathers in the Polybius' mixed constitution of Rome¹⁴.

It was the Constitutional Convention of 1787, at the various state ratifying conventions, and in the pamphlet literature and political tracts spun off in great numbers to influence the structure of the new government, that the appeal to classical politican theory and practice

12. Rexine, 325.

13. M. Reinhold, *op. cit.*, 101.

14. *ibid.*

reached its peak. The same John Adams, in Europe at the time as American representative, in writing his *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the U.S.A.* (1787-88) ransacked ancient sources and modern works for classical constitutions and leagues¹⁵. Many of the delegates to the Convention in Philadelphia did their classical homework diligently, especially Madison, Hamilton and James Wilson. William Pierce, delegate from Georgia, said of Madison, for example, that he «ran through the whole Scheme of the Government — pointed out the beauties and defects of ancient Republicans; compared their situation with ours wherever it appeared to bear any analogy»¹⁶. It is clear that the precedents, analogies, and lessons Madison and others quarried from antiquity were not mere window dressing or «pedantry in politics», but solemn exercises in comparative political institutions and history. The records of the Federal Convention, and the *Federalist* papers, written by Madison, Hamilton and John Jan (notably nos. 6, 9, 18, 38, 63, 70) are dotted with classical parallel and lessons. It is discernible that some of these were extracted from translations of Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Polybius, Strabo, Plutarch nad of Latin authors¹⁷.

Great attention was directed at the time of the Convention to the theoretical and practical aspects of federalism, and in this connection the debates and polemical literature analyzed the achievements and failures especially of ancient Greek leagues. Of all classical political models ancient Greek federalism was the most extensively studied, because there were no precedents in the English experience or in colonial America¹⁸.

The best informed about Greek Leagues (συμπολιτεῖαι, ὁμοσπονδίαι) were Adams, Madison and James Wilson, yet their knowledge was limited; for the most part they repeated similar information on Greek leagues found in secondary Works¹⁹.

The confederation most frequently cited by the Founding Fathers was the Amphictionic Council, because it was the one most commonly instanced in handbooks and histories. For example, in the frequently used work of Abbé Mably on Greek institutions they found the Amphictionic Council elevated to «une république fédérative», and «les états généraux

15. *Works*, vols IV-VI.

16. *Records of the Federal Convention*, vol. I, 110.

17. M. Reinhold, *op. cit.*, 102.

18. C (cf.) Walter H. Bennet, *American Theories of Federalism*, Alabama, 1964, 54, 68f.

19. See e.g. Madison's sources on Greek leagues in *Letters and 37 Other Writings of James Madison*, Philadelphia, 1865, vol. I, 293-8 («Notes on Ancient and Modern Confederacies Preparatory to the Federal Convention of 1787»).

de la Grèce»²⁰. James Wilson's vacillation is instructive. In 1770-91, in support of the U.S. Constitution, he lectured that the Amphictionic Council was «the Congress of the United States of Greece»; that «the general intention and invariable aim of all its modellers and directors was to form a complete representation of all Greece»; and that «the establishment of the Amphictions should be admired, as a great masterpiece in human politics»²¹.

20. *Observations sur l'histoire de la Grèce*, Paris, 1766, 9f.

21. «Of Man as a Member of a Confederation», Wilson, *Works*, vol. I. 247f.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ανδρέας Παναγόπουλος, MISCELLANEA CLASSICA

Στα τέσσερα παραπάνω μέρη αυτού του ποικίλου, ως προς το περιεχόμενο, δημοσιεύματος επιχειρείται:

Στο I να γνωστοποιηθούν στο ευρύτερο αρχαιογνωστικό κοινό οι δυνατότητες ερευνητικών εφαρμογών, που προσφέρει το Πρόγραμμα "TLG" (Θησαυρός της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας) στο πανεπιστήμιο U.C.I (University of California, Irvine). Το κείμενο ανεγνώσθη στο πανεπιστήμιο της Bologna το θέρος του 1992, στο Συνέδριο για την πληροφορική στις Ανθρωπιστικές επιστήμες.

Στο II να εξετασθούν κριτικά οι αναφορές του Στρατή Τσίρκα στην Αλεξανδρινή αρχαιότητα στην Τριλογία του "Ακυθέρνητες Πολιτείες" (Λέσχη, Αριάγνη, Νυχτερίδα). Το κείμενο πρωτοπαρουσιάστηκε στο Β' Διεθνές Συνέδριο για τον Καβάφη και τον Τσίρκα (Κάιρο, Αλεξάνδρεια, φθινόπωρο του 1992).

Στο III να εντοπισθούν οι δομικές ομοιότητες μεταξύ Ελλάδας και Κίνας στην αρχαιότητα, αφού αποδειγμένα δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για σαφείς επιδράσεις από επικοινωνία. Ο πρώτος Έλληνας συγγραφέας που αναφέρεται στην Κίνα είναι ο Κνίδιος Ιστορικός Κτησίας. Το κείμενο διαβάστηκε στο Α' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Αρχαίων Πολιτισμών στο πανεπιστήμιο Nankai της Κίνας, το φθινόπωρο του 1993.

Στο IV να επισημανθούν οι οφειλές των "Ιδρυτών Πατέρων" του Αμερικανικού Έθνους στους αρχαίους Ελληνες και Λατίνους συγγραφείς, στη διαμόρφωση του Συντάγματος κατά την Επανάσταση του 1787. Από τους Έλληνες συγγραφείς αξιοποιήθηκαν περισσότερο ο Πλάτων, ο Αριστοτέλης και ο Πλούταρχος και από τους Λατίνους ο Κικέρων. Πολλά από τα δάνεια αυτά στοιχεία τα ξαναπήραν πίσω ως "μεταδάνεια" (ή "αντιδάνεια") οι Έλληνες στη διαμόρφωση των πρώτων Συνταγμάτων μετά την Επανάσταση του 1821. Το κείμενο ανεγνώσθη στο Rutgers University του New Jersey την άνοιξη του 1986.