Οι γυναίκες μέσα στον Καθρέφτη: Ο φιλογύνης Δαπόντες (1713-1784) και η μισογυνική παράδοση του Μεσαίωνα

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https://doi.org/10.12681/comparison.10809

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To cite this article:

I have to admit from the very beginning that my presence here, at a round table consisting of specialists in the Greek Enlightenment, makes me feel a bit uncomfortable; I specialize in late medieval / early modern Greek vernacular literature (12th-17th c.) and I claim no specialty in the field of the 18th century. What really brought me here is the fact that I am challenged as a researcher by the works of the most important poetical figure in the century of the Greek Enlightenment, i.e. Kaisarios Dapontes, given that most of the problems concerning his works, their importance and value, but even the various biographical problems of the poet himself have not been yet sufficiently studied. Furthermore, Dapontes' Καθρέπτης Γυναικών (Mirror of Women) stands as a unique example in the homonymous literary sub-genre of ‘Specula feminarum’ (or better ‘dominarum’), as far as Greek literature of the period 12th-18th century is concerned, the only one in fact which meets the strict generic criteria established by Jónsson. In my paper I will discuss the genre, tracing also briefly the history of misogynist writing, and I will conclude by considering Dapontes’ unusual place in this tradition.

Konstantinos Dapontes was born in 1713 on the island of Skopelos. He lived a rather eventful not to say adventurous life. He left Skopelos in 1730 and went to Constantinople and from there to the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to serve as a secretary in the Courts of the Phanariot Princes. He was charged with conspiracy against the Sublime Porte and was imprisoned for twenty months in Constantinople (27.3.1747-27.11.1748). In 1751, after two years of marriage, both his wife and his newborn daughter died. He decided to become a monk. He took orders (26.10.1753) and, renamed Kaisarios, moved to Piperi, a deserted island near Skopelos, for three years and from there he went to another monastery in Skopelos for a few months. After that he moved to Mount Athos, to the Holy Monastery of Xeropotamou, and from there he was sent to Wallachia to collect funds for the monastery. His journey
lasted eight whole years (1757-1765). He returned to the Holy Mountain in September 1765. For the next thirteen years (1765-1778), we find him on Athos where he was mostly occupied with the writing of his own works and the copying of manuscripts. In September 1778 he went back to Skopelos where he stayed until 3.7.1784; during this period he managed to reopen the monastery of Panagia Evangelistria and to partly refurbish both the monastery and its chapels. After that he went back to Xeropotamou where he died a few months later (4.12.1784).

In 1748, Dapontes begins to write, in jail, his Καθρέπτης Γυναικών. I have reason to believe that the work was completed between 1751 (when his wife and daughter died) and 1753 (when he takes orders), or even some time after 1753 when he was already a monk.  

It was published for the first time in 1766 in Leipzig with mistakes about which Dapontes complains on several occasions. It is not certain that a second edition in Venice by Michael Glykes was ever released. The book has never been critically edited in modern times.

To paraphrase what the late G.P. Savvidis once wrote, Dapontes, as his surname significantly shows (Italian, da ponte), was a bridge-man: an imaginary bridge connecting East and West, tradition and modernism, the erudite spirit and the popular feeling. I suppose there is no need to argue here that although most elements of Dapontes' poetry continue the medieval tradition of Greek literature, he also represents, in an almost exemplary way, the spirit and the values of his time. He stands as a representative example of the heraldic emblem of the Enlightenment as defined by Kant: 'Aude sapere'. But not only does he 'dare to know'; he also wants to transmit his knowledge to others. As Voutieridis observed, 'he writes about everything, just like Greeks of his time had begun to want to know about everything, as much as they could.'

In 1766, when his Καθρέπτης Γυναικών is published, he has already been a monk for 13 years. Most of the stories used in the book emanate from the Holy Bible. He was aware of the rich tradition of the Greek Middle Ages to which he had access through the monastery's library. It would be reasonable to suppose that his Mirror of Women—especially if we put it in the context of its medieval predecessors—should be another misogynous text. But it is not at all like that.

One of the assumptions governing our perception of the medieval period is the dominating presence of anti-feminism. In fact, misogyny is practically synonymous with the Middle Ages, although anti-feminine criticism —or rather, prejudice— does not appear then for the first time. Its sources can be traced back to the dawn of Greek culture, in Hesiod's poetry (750 BC), for instance, or in the iambics of Semonides of

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Amorgos (2nd half of the 7th c. BC). On the other hand, the discourse of misogyny leads back into ancient Judaic law and it would not be an exaggeration to say that, *grosso modo*, it constitutes something of a universal cultural constant and certainly a universal textual dominant. As R. Howard Bloch notes: “The discourse of misogyny runs like a vein [...] throughout medieval literature. Reaching back to the Old Testament and to ancient Greece and extending through classical Hellenic, Judaic and Roman traditions all the way to the fifteenth century, it dominates ecclesiastical writings, letters, sermons, theological tracts, and discussions and compilations of canon law; scientific works, as part of biological, gynecological, and medical knowledge; folklore and philosophy.”\(^{17}\)

Examples are also to be found in most of the kinds of secular literature of the Middle Ages, irrespective of whether written in Latin or Modern European languages. Bloch again provides us with a set of examples that could be easily expanded:\(^{18}\) the satires of the High Middle Ages, all the works grouped under the rubric of ‘les genres du réalisme bourgeois’: the comic tale or fabliau (including Middle English and Italian versions), the animal fable, the comic theatre or farce; also debate poems involving the virtues and vices of women and even certain mixed or ‘unclassifiable’ types, among which Jean de Meuris portion of the *Roman de la rose* occupies a primary position, etc. Flowing in such a stream of misogyny, Christine de Pisan complains in her *Cité des dames* in 1405: “I could scarcely find a moral work by any author which didn’t devote some chapter or paragraph to attacking the female sex.”\(^{19}\)

The important thing that R. H. Bloch’s study, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, brought to light is that “even those types which historically have been considered to be the opposite of, or liberating from, the dark age of medieval anti-feminism —the courtly romance, lyric and lay— maintain a complicated relation to the hegemonic negative images of the feminine”.\(^{20}\) In other words, he indicates that the two competing discourses on the feminine —the misogynist and the courtly— are the two different sides of the same coin and they serve the same end by different means: control over women by men, church, society. Of course the subject is a good deal more complicated, since it is ‘the product of a historical process, of material conditions and of a contingent set of circumstances and even personalities, belonging to a specific time and place’.\(^{21}\)

Although his arguments provide an outstanding contribution to the History of Ideas and the History of European Literature I have an objection which is of a generic kind. Bloch mentions: ‘Like allegory itself, to which it is particularly attracted, anti-feminism is both a genre and a topos, [...] — a discourse visible across a broad spectrum of poetic
types.' As I had the opportunity to argue at the 1st European Congress of Modern Greek Studies which took place in Berlin (2-4 October 1998), anti-feminism or misogyny is not a literary genre. I could accept the term ‘topos’, though I find it relatively restrictive for such a phenomenon; I would rather use this term for the exemplum of feminine garrulity for instance, or for the proverbial phrase ‘Fumus et mulier et stillicidia / expellunt hominem de domo propria’ as it first occurs in Walter Mapes’s Golias or ‘[...] droppyng houses, and eek smoke, / and chidyng wyves make men to flee / out of hir owene houses [...]’ as it appears in Geoffrey Chaucer’s Wife of Bath — to use a famous example.

The term ‘discourse’ is more appropriate, but rhetorically rather than generically descriptive. In order to use a genuine generic term I would turn to Genette, who discovered in his Introduction à l’architexte a ‘point of blindness’ in Aristotle’s Περί Ποιητικῆς. Aristotle, talking about literary genres, mentions: ‘διαφέρουσα δὲ ἀλλήλων τρισίν ἢ γὰρ τῷ ἐν ἑτέροις μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ ἑτέρα ἢ τῷ ἑτέρως καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.’ (they differ in these three: they imitate either by different means or different things or in a different and not the same way.) Genette, re-reading Aristotle, argues that in order to find out a literary work’s genre we need to know what is said, how it is said and by what means. Under this spectrum, he constructs his generic system on three kinds of criteria: thématiques (= ἑτέρα), modales (= ἑτέρως), formelles (= ἐν ἑτέροις). I will not go into details; all I can say is that misogyny, according to a generic system of this kind, is a ‘mode’ and not a genre.

As far as Greek vernacular literature is concerned, I have shown elsewhere that the generic term that should be used to describe the 26 relevant texts suggested as such by specialists is ‘καθρέφτες γυναικῶν’ (= ‘mirrors of women’), with reference of course to the popular medieval genre of Specula. The term —in German ‘Weiberspiegel’— was first used, in the context of Greek literature, in 1905 by Karl Krumbacher in order to describe the late 15th-century Cretan poem Συναξάρι των ευγενικών γυναικών και τιμιότατων αρχοντισσών (Register of Noble Women) —which in fact proved to be two poems: Συναξάρι των ευγενικών γυναικών και τιμιότατων αρχοντισσών (Register of Noble Women) and Επαινος των γυναικών (Praise of Women). It was in 1960 that Gareth Morgan, commenting on these two poems, first claimed that ‘the element that is common to Sachlikis and these poems is misogyny. It is in the misogynous poems of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance that we must look for their sources’. The main supporter of this theory in the 1990s was the late Professor N.M. Panagiotakis, who rejects in practice the term ‘mirrors of women’ and uses the term ‘misogynous texts’ to de-
scribe them generically." My objection is not only that the latter is not a
generic term, as I suggested earlier; it is also a more realistic one: not all
the Greek texts suggested as belonging to the genre are misogynous, at
least not to the same extent.

In fact, the relevant texts must be seen in a wider spectrum
extending from absolute absence of misogynous positions (that is the
case of Θανατικόν της Ρόδου, The Plague of Rhodes, by Emmanuel
Georgilas Limenitis, for instance) to severe and unfair condemnation of
women (the case of Register, Praise of Women and the alphabetical poem
Ἀδάμ τον πρώτον ἄνθρωπον, Adam the First Man). Apart from these
three, the rest of the texts always include galleries of good women (with
the minimum example of the Holy Virgin) or at least a response to the
misogynous commonplaces. There are even texts that surprisingly
defend women such as the Ανθος Χαρίτων (Venice 1529; Greek version
of Fior di Virtù) where the anonymous adaptor/translator writes: "I will
try to seek some poems of those prudent men who said good things
about them [i.e. about women] and after that some poems of those who
said bad things and finally I will put these writings together and I will
give a real solution and they should hold their tongue those who say
bad things." I suppose that such a position could not be easily con-
sidered misogynous.

The term 'mirrors of women' with reference to the medieval literary
genre of Specula is much more flexible. It does not presume the exis-
tence of misogynous references nor does it exclude them. Of course
Krumbacher, who was a great Byzantinologist, was aware of the wide
dissemination of Specula in medieval European literature. In fact, the
mirror-titled books became a literary fashion in the 14th-15th century; a
fashion which survived into the 18th century at least. As Herbert Grabes
showed in his book The Mutable Glass. Mirror-imagery in titles and texts of
the Middle Ages and English Renaissance, "among the metaphorical book-
titles of this period, mirror-titles clearly enjoy special status: they are by
far the most frequent type of book-title in the Middle Ages after Liber
and Summa." What Krumbacher was not aware of, because a more systematic
study of the subject only started in the 1970s, is that the mirror
metaphor in the literature of Specula is a very important element of the
genre and much more complicated than one can assume. Grabes has
studied the different mirror-conventions in literature and art including
the multiplicity of mirrors, the qualities and deficiencies of the mirror,
the image in the mirror, the mirror's influence on the beholder and so
on. And according to E.M. Jönsson, who in his study Le Miroir
investigated the genesis of the genre of Speculum in the 12th century

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(see note 7 above), the presence of the word mirror in the title of the book is the determining factor in classifying the book in the genre.

As far as Greek literature is concerned, almost none of the works that we classify in the genre meets this requirement, but for the sake of convention, it is best to retain this generic term. I said almost none; the only work that fulfills Jönsson’s strict generic condition is Dapontes’ Καθρέπτης Γυναικών.

Dapontes dedicates the book to Eleni Mavrokordatou, the wife of Gregorios Gikas the 3rd (1724-1777). He ends his dedication: “In the women of this book I saw your image as in a mirror; and by comparison I found it made in their image. Therefore it should be in between them and it should appear alongside them in order to remain for ever and ever praised next to them.”

It is obvious from the beginning that the book will praise women instead of condemning them. And this is a real shift from the commonplace of the genre.

As far as the mirror-imagery is concerned Dapontes claims no originality: “And just as we use the mirror for our external embellishment we should use this mirror for our internal embellishment. And just as the looking-glass is made of sand and mercury this one is made of stories and truth. [...] And just as the mirror is to be found in almost every house in order for people to look in it and to increase their beauty and to embellish their ugliness, also this one has to be found everywhere, so that people can read it, in order to correct their malice, to increase their virtue and to delight their hearts. [...]” (see Appendix II) But even when he appears to be very platitudinous he surprises us pleasantly with his witty comments: ‘Women use mirrors the most —but men also embellish themselves.’ (see Appendix II) The charge of embellishment for women derives from John Chrysostom and it is one of the commonplaces that occur very often in anti-feminine criticism. Dapontes instead says that if this is to be considered a sin men are not devoid of it.

I could present to you an exhaustive list of similar examples. However, in view of the fact that the modern reader has very limited access to Dapontes’ work (which practically means that my arguments cannot be tested) and since it is impossible to include an accessible edition of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών in this article, I feel obliged to restrict myself to a single and last example from Dapontes’ prologue which can be found in Appendix II: “After the most merciful God created the sky and the earth and everything that exists on it he took some soil from the earth and created Adam and put him in Paradise. And then he wanted to create Eve in order to create a helper for him. So He created Eve and gave her to Adam as she was worthy of him because she was like him.”
Afterwards he compares Eleni Mavrokordatou with Eve because she is worthy of her husband and a real helper to him. This is probably a unique comparison in Greek literature. He dares to regard Eve as a positive image, before the fall of man. You will probably realize how important this is if I remind you that other texts see in the biblical Eve the Devil himself. And I refer even to texts that have a rather philogynous position like Ἀνθός Χαρίτων; the anonymous adaptor /translator who earlier told us that ‘those who say bad things about women should hold their tongue’ clearly claims that Eve is the personification of bad women and that the Holy Virgin is the personification of good ones.38

Apart from this, the general impression that one has after reading Dapontes’ book is that, although he moralizes a lot, he dares to regard both men and women as human beings. They are both subject to their social roles but this does not indicate, by any means, an a priori depreciation of women. Dapontes’ standards apply for both men and women; therefore, a person can be praised or condemned according to his/her qualities or vices irrespective of whether that person is a man or a woman. We have long departed from the period where a woman would be held responsible for all evil just because of her sex...39

In comparison with the previous misogynous tradition, Dapontes could indisputably be considered a philogynist. But not only is he philogynous, he is also aware of it and he admits it: “Had there ever been another philogynist, / the way I see it, you became the greatest one. / But, have courage, don’t be afraid; this philogyny / is a virtuous work, because it is a narration.”40 This passage is taken from another work of Dapontes dedicated to women, the Φανάρι Γυναικῶν. This work was most probably completed in 1776,41 ten years after the Leipzig edition of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών, and it was never published — although Dapontes wished it to be.42 Throughout the text, which includes one hundred and fifty three stories of women,43 this time more secular ones, Kaisarios converses with his alter ego, Konstantinos. This practice, or ‘narrative technique’ if you prefer, which also occurs in Καθρέπτης Γυναικών,44 is revealing of the conflict that Dapontes was experiencing for the biggest part of his life; two different worlds, two contradictory ideologies, two antagonistic potential ways of being are constantly fighting inside him: the secular and the ascetic. The passage mentioned above is not irrelevant; his strange remark ‘this philogyny is a virtuous work, because it is a narration’ can also be read as ‘there is another kind of philogyny, which is not a virtuous work, because it is... real life’, as I would be tempted to complete the sentence. This kind of ‘philogyny’ is also known to him; it is called ‘womanizing’ or, to put it in his own words, ‘the-lymania’.45 Dapontes’ weakness for women is well known;46 how much...
this contributed to the formation of his philogynous positions would be the subject of another, undoubtedly more psychoanalytical, approach.

Before concluding, I would like to say that, even though I had to restrict myself to a very few but hopefully significant examples, I believe that it has been made clear to the reader that the philogynous positions expressed in Dapontes’ Καθρέπτης Γυναικών present a real shift from the misogynous commonplaces that are often quoted in other texts of the same genre. Of course, the book’s objective is moral; therefore, one should expect to find in it the same conventional views of women’s social identities, ‘which [...] are confined to their sexual roles’.47 ‘Honorable’ women are stereotyped in Dapontes’ book too; “Gentleness, compassion, and maternal love are among the innate virtues of the female sex. [...] Women make children; hence they are responsible for the early upbringing of their offspring, including religious instruction and training in manners. Moreover, since women are confined to the home and given charge over domestic arrangements, they are also responsible for household management and maintenance and for overseeing the servants. Obedience and chastity make them first dutiful daughters, then loyal wives.”48 Dapontes may dare to compare Eleni Mavrokordatou with the biblical Eve, but the rest of his comparisons (see Appendix II) in general recyle these same old stereotypes of ‘honorable’ women.

However, every now and then, one finds more original and daring ideas that are far from reproducing the image of the confined housewife: “Wouldn’t you leave, were it possible, the Principality with great pleasure and go with all possible dispatch like a thirsty doe to the Holy Sepulchre and to the Holy Mountain, to pay due honor to those Holy Lands and to give an account of (να ιστορήσεις) the royal monasteries and the hermitages and the heirlooms and holy relics that can be found there?”. (see Appendix II) As we see, in this passage Dapontes relates women to two very interesting activities: the pilgrimage and the composition of literary ‘proskynetaria’ (‘pilgrim books’). Inevitably one wonders whether all this is just a conventional hypothesis or whether he actually refers to common practices of his time. Of course, we know that noble and educated women from the Principalities, Constantinople, and elsewhere, were involved in social and literary activities in the same way as their counterparts in Western Europe (and especially in France) were: they would organize salons where the local intellectuals and members of the upper class would converse with foreign diplomats,49 and they would translate books of literature, history, etc., from major European languages.50 But did they actually make the crucial step from translation to original literary composition? That we do not know.

Even though this issue will have to remain open for the time being,
it brings me closer to an aspect that should have been important for my research; so far I have tried to localize Dapontes’ position towards women, as expressed mainly in his *Καθρέπτης Γυναικών*, within its literary and, more particularly, generic context, and that is with regard to its past. But what about its present? Is the philogynous Dapontes an exception or does he actually share and reproduce the commonplaces of his own era? And what exactly are these commonplaces? What is the image of the Woman within the context of the literature of the Greek Enlightenment? A researcher who will try to give an answer to these questions will find in his way two insurmountable obstacles: the first and most important one is that a large number of texts of the Greek 18th century, which could be used for such a study, lack critical editions; in their present state, in old editions and dusty manuscripts, they remain to a large extent inaccessible; the second obstacle is the lack of relevant bibliography, with most evident the lack of a monograph on women’s position and representation in 18th-century Greek literature. Therefore, given the present state of Greek Enlightenment studies, a researcher who attempted to place an 18th-century literary work in its contemporary context, would have two options: either to generalize and repeat the same threadbare views that can be found in almost every reference book, or to remain silent. I chose the latter as the more honest solution. Of course, a third option is valid: to get hold of the texts and start preparing their critical editions; but this was far beyond the purposes of either a paper presented at a conference or an article published in a scholarly journal. Undoubtedly, things have to improve and I am confident that they will: the lively interest in women’s studies that exists nowadays worldwide allows me at least to be optimistic for the future.
Dapontes’ *Mirror of Women*, as we know, was published for the first, and probably last, time in 1766 in Leipzig. But when was it actually written? The text is a compilation of stories that emanate from the Holy Bible and it seems that they were not all written at the same time. We know that the first story of the book, the ‘Sacrifice of Jephtha’, was written during Dapontes’ imprisonment in Constantinople and completed by its end (27.11.1748): “Ετελειώθη εν Χριστώ, Χριστού χρόνους χίλιους, / οκτώ και τεσσαράκοντα, επί επτακόσιους, / μήνα κατά Νοέμβριον, εν τη των Εισοδίων, / της παλαιάς μου φυλακής εξόδου των αιτίων.” (see Sawidis 1993, 138-571 = Dapontes 1766, I, 98)

However, the rest of the stories were written some time later and, in different parts of the book, we can find chronological data that can lead to a more specific later dating. For example, in the following passage, with reference to events that happened in July 1746 (see Sawidis 1995, 273-290 = Dapontes 1766, II, 290): “Τριάντα ο Ιούλιος είχε και είχα πάγει / μήνες δεκατέσσαρας εις το Μπαχτσέ Σεράγι. /Έτος από γεννήσεως Χριστού χρόνους χίλιους / και έξι και τεσσαράκοντα με τους επτακόσιους”), Dapontes comments: ‘πράγματα οπου έγιναν προ χρόνων δυό-τρίων / να τα ειπώ πως έγιναν προ χρόνων τρισχιλίων.’ (see Sawidis 1995, 282-296 = Dapontes 1766, II, 296)

Although this reference is still very vague, other excerpts from the book confirm that Dapontes continued writing not only after November 1748, but also after January 1751. More specifically, in one of his usual digressions, Dapontes decides to describe two dreams that he had: “Ετει απο γεννήσεως Χριστού χρόνους χίλιους, / οκτώ και τεσσαράκοντα με τους επτακόσιους, / Κυριακή ξημέρων ένδεκα Δεκεμβρίου” (see Dapontes 1766, II, 404) he had his first dream, and the second one when he was “[…] εις το Πατριαρχείο χρόνους εις τους χίλιους, / και ένα και πεντήκοντα με τους επτακόσιους, / Σάββατο ξημερώνοντας Ερμείου του αγίου, / απάνω εις τας δεκατρείς του Ιανουαρίου.” (see Dapontes 1766, II, 404)

This last date provides us with a secure, but rather ‘high’, terminus post quem for the completion of the work. However, I would like to note the following: in the book’s last story, ‘Ιστορία των τριών παίδων’, Dapontes describes the vanity of human life and sings monasticism’s praises, while at the same time he shows repentance for his previous dissolute life and states his decision to turn over a new leaf and to follow the path of God. (see Dapontes 1766, II, 428-429; especially 428): “Χαριτωμένη μου εσύ, προς τον μονογενή σου, / εσύ γίνοι μεστίρα δία τον δουλευτή σου. / Και τάξι ο ταπεινός, υπόσχεσιν σου κάνω, / από
της σήμερον κι εμπρός όσον που ν’ αποθάνω, / να φυλαχθώ όσο μπο­
ρώ, για να μην αμαρτήσω / και τον Υιόν σου και Θεόν πάλιν τον πα­
ρογίσω” and a bit further down, 428[31-34]: “Και έτσι μ’ εξαγόρασες [ο Lord], οπού ‘μονο πουλημένος / ατός μου στον διάβολον και κατα­
σκλαβιομένος. / Και μ’ έβγαλες και μ’ έκαμες ουχί σκλάβον δικόν Σου, / αλλ’ αδελφόν, αλλά υιόν, αλλά ομόθρον Σου.” In addition he states his decision to become a monk: “έκαμα να παρατηθώ απόφασιν του κόσμου· / ο νους μου πλέον έστερξεν, έκλιν’ ο λογισμός μου” and further down, 443[32-34]: “Ως πότε να σασε βαστώ και να σας υπομένω; / Ως πότε με του λόγου σας να είμαι και να μένω; / Φύγε τον κόσμον, ταπεινέ, και σύρε να μονάσεις, / μήπως σαν άλλους περισσούς αύρω κι εσύ φωνάξεις: / Ω, πώς εμέ τον δύστην ηπάτησας, ω κόσμε;.” (see Dapontes 1766, II, 425[8])

Furthermore, there is a passage that allows us, I believe, to take the present tense used in it as referring to both the time of the narration and the time of the composition of the work: “Νά τις τον έκαμε κακόν τον κόσμον και αχρείον, / τον κόσμον τον ευγενικόν, καθό κτήριον θείον. / Νά διατί τον φεύγομεν εγώ κι εσύ, Χαρίτων. / Αλλέως τοις ποίησε χαρίτων; “ (see Dapontes 1766, II, 431[5-8]) If this is the case, then we can assume that the work’s completion took place some time between October 1751 (when his wife died; see Kehagioglou 1986, 46) and July 1753 (when he left Constantinople to go to Piperi; see Kehagioglou 1986, 47), because this is the period during which Dapontes takes the decision to become a monk.

Within this broad period, I would consider the year 1753 as the most possible date for the work’s completion, because, according to Dapontes’ personal testimony, this is the year when he actually made up his mind: “Εις τους πενήντα δε και τρεις, ελθών στον εαυτόν μου, / στάθηκα κι εστοχάσθηκα τα πλήθη των κακών μου. / [I omit 4 lines] Και το του κόσμου μάταιον ιδών και λογαριάσας, / και τα του κόσμου πράγματα, καλά, κακά χορτάςας, / και κόσμον και εγκόσμια με δίκαι­
ον μισήςας, / από τον κόσμον έφυγα, έρημον αγαπήσας.” (see Savvidis 1995, 69[1-2, 7-10]) He might have finished it some time before or after he took orders (26.10.1753) in Piperi, or probably during the first months of his ‘lonely conduct’ (μονοχωρική διαγωγή), when he compiles the market part of the primary material that he later brings together and publishes in his books: “Και κάνω ολομόναχος κοντά δυόμισυ χρόνους, / πλην όχι με τους πρέποντας μοναχικής τους πόνους, / ξηγώντας και συνθέτοντας λόγους και ιστορίας / και ύμνους και εγκώμια, και διά στιχουργίας, / ως εις τους τόμους φαίνονται, υπέρ τους δέκα όντας, / στάθηκα κι εστοχάσθηκα τα πλήθη των κακών μου. / [I omit 2 lines] Ζώντας κατά αλήςειαν με άκραν ησυχίαν, / εκείνο οπού ήθελα, και με αμεριμνίαν, / και
γράφοντας και σκάφτοντας· ζωή τη αλήθεια, / ως λέγουν, χαρισάμενη, και μία βασιλεία.” (see Savvidis 1995, 70-42, 46-71-49) This period lasts from, probably, April or May 1754 (“Έμεινα μήνας ἐξ-επτά αντάμα με τους ἄλλους, / ώς δέκα όντας αδελφούς, μικρούς τε και μεγάλους.” (see Savvidis 1995, 70-43); hence, if we take into account the fact that he took orders on 26.10.1753, ‘six or seven months’ later is either April or May 1754) up to 6.11.1756, when, after a quarrel with his Father Superior, he is obliged to leave Piperi and move to Skopelos (“Εις τους πεντήκοντα και ἔξι, τῇ ἑκτῇ Νοεμβρίου, / εμπήκοα εἰς τὴν Σκόπελον, ελέει του Κυρίου”; see Savvidis 1995, 78-27-280). Thus, November 1756 is the terminus ante quem I would accept for the composition of the text.

Of course, the dedication to Eleni Mavrokordatou (see Appendix II) that accompanies the 1766 Leipzig edition is dated 1.3.1763, and that could be the lowest terminus ante quem for the book. But I believe that only the dedication and, perhaps, the prologue were actually written in 1763, when he sent the book for publication; most probably, Dapontes did make a selection of the material that would be included in the edition, without composing anything new in addition. Given the literary style of Dapontes, which is well known from all his works, it is most unlikely that he added something in 1763 without any reference to more recent events; very unlikely, indeed, that he would leave the whole course of events from, say, 1753 up to 1763 without a single comment, without a single autobiographical ‘digression’.

Thus, to conclude, I believe that Dapontes’ Καθρέπτης Γυναικῶν was completed between 1753 and 1756, most probably in 1753 or 1754.

APPENDIX II: DEDICATION AND PROLOGUE

<Aφιέρωσις>
Τη εκλαμπροτάτη και ευσεβέστατη κυρία κυρία Ελένη Μαυροκορδάτου, επιφανέστατη δόμνη του υψηλοτάτου αυθέντου πάσης Μολδοβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Γρηγορίου Ιωάννου, εν Χριστώ τω Θεώ ευ πράττειν.

Αφού εποίησεν ο πανάγαθος Θεός τον ουρανόν και την γην και πάντα τα εν αυτοίς, χρον λαβών από της γης / (f. 2ν) ἐπέλασε τον Αδάμ και ἔθετο αὐτόν εν τῷ παραδείσῳ. Θέλοντας δὲ νὰ πλάσει και την Εὐαν, εἶπε, 'ποιήσωμεν αυτῷ βοηθόν κατ' αὐτὸν', και οὕτως ἐπέλασε και την Εὐαν, καὶ ἐδώκεν αὐτήν τῷ Αδάμ, ως αξίαν αὐτῷ, καθό ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ. Και αφοῦ δὲ αξίωσεν ο ύψιστος Θεός καὶ ανέβασε τον ευσεβέστατον αὐθέντην εἰς τὸν πατρικὸν αὐτοῦ θρόνον, ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικῶν αὐτοῦ κόλ-

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πων λαβών και έβαλεν αυτόν εν τῇ θεοφυλήτῳ ζωθενίᾳ τῆς Μολδο-
βλαχίας, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αυτῷ καὶ δόμινην ομοίην αὐτῷ, τὴν υμετέ-
ραν ἐδώκεν εὐκαμπτότητα, ὡς αἴζει καὶ πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ, ομοίῳ τὸ ὑμεῖς
τὸν ρώμειν προσφόρασας καὶ τῷ αἴζει τὸν αἴζειν αὐτῶν, ως τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ
διάθημα. Ὄθεν ὁν / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε υμεῖς, ὁ νυμφίος εἰς τῇ
νύμφῃ, οὕτως εὐφράνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφράνθησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν. Ταῦ-
τ᾽ ὁ πάλαι χρόνῳ τὴν θεοφυλήτη τοῦ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς Μολδο-
βλαχίας, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αὐτῷ καὶ δόμινην ομοίην αὐτῷ, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
διάθημα. Όθεν ὁν / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε υμεῖς, ο νυμφίος εἰς τῇ
νύμφῃ, οὕτως εὐφράνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφράνθησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν. Ταῦ-
τ᾽ ὁ πάλαι χρόνῳ τὴν θεοφυλήτη τοῦ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς Μολδο-
βλαχίας, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αὐτῷ καὶ δόμινην ομοίην αὐτῷ, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
διάθημα. Όθεν ὁν / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε υμεῖς, ο νυμφίος εἰς τῇ
νύμφῃ, οὕτως εὐφράνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφράνθησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν. Ταῦ-
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βλαχίας, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αὐτῷ καὶ δόμινην ομοίην αὐτῷ, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
διάθημα. Όθεν ὁν / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε υμεῖς, ο νυμφίος εἰς τῇ
νύμφῃ, οὕτως εὐφράνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφράνθησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν. Ταῦ-
τ᾽ ὁ πάλαι χρόνῳ τὴν θεοφυλήτη τοῦ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς Μολδο-
βλαχίας, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αὐτῷ καὶ δόμινην ομοίην αὐτῷ, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
διάθημα. Όθεν ὁν / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε υμεῖς, ο νυμφίος εἰς τῇ
νύμφῃ, οὕτως εὐφράνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφράνθησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν. Ταῦ-
τ᾽ ὁ πάλαι χρόνῳ τὴν θεοφυλήτη τοῦ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς Μολδο-
βλαχίας, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αὐτῷ καὶ δόμινην ομοίην αὐτῷ, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
διάθημα. Όθεν ὁν / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε υμεῖς, ο νυμφίος εἰς τῇ

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διά να τα αναδείξεις ζώσας εικόνας της μητρικής αρετής και εκμαγεία της πατρικής των δόξης τε και λαμπρότητος; Και αν τέλος πάντων / (f. 5) η φιλόσοφος εκείνη βασάλισσα αφείσα το βασάλιον ήλθεν εις τον Σολομώντα, διά να ακούσει την σοφίαν αυτού και να ιστορήσει την δόξαν του, η εκλαμπρότητα σου δεν ήθελες αφήσει, αν ήτον δυνατόν, την αυθεντεύει, και ήθελες υπάγει μετά όρας σπουδής ως έλαιος διψώσα εις τον Άγιον Τάφον και εις το Άγιον Όρος, διά να προσκυνήσεις τους ογγους εκείνους τόπους και να ιστορήσεις τα εν αυτοίς βασιλικά μνονατήματα και ασκητήρια και χειμία και ἀγία λείψανα; Διά ταύτα πάντα, ευκλεεστάτη πασών γυναικῶν προσφέρω πάντα πασών γυναικῶν, διά την σημερικήν αυτήν την εικόνα και παραβάλλων αυτήν την ηύρα κατ’ εικόνα αυτών και ομοίωσιν. Όθεν έπρεπε να είσαι εν μέσω αυτών και να φαίνεται ομοία μετ’ αυτών και να συμπαραμένειες επαινούμενη αεί μετ’ αυτών. Πρόσδεξαι τοίνυν παρακαλώ μετά χαράς την εικόνα μου ταύτην. Υπόδεξαι το ευγενές τούτο θέατρον, τον πάντιμον τούτον χορόν προϋπάντησε, είσελθε εις τον πάνταρπνον τούτον παράδεισον. Αρον τους οφθαλμούς σου, ευτυχέστατη κυρία, και ιδέ εις το θεαυγές τούτο κατοπτρον και κατοπτρίζου συνεχώς και βλέπε χαρμονικώς όχι διά να καλλωπίζεσαι, ότι είσαι με το κάλλος της / (f. 6) ταπεινώσεως· όχι διά να στολίζεσαι, ότι είσαι με την στολήν της σωφροσύνης, ούτε διά να ωραίεσαι, ότι είσαι με την της προσευχής ωραιότητα, ούτε διά να λαμπρύνεσαι, ότι είσαι με την λαμπρότητα της ελεημοσύνης· όπως διά να ευφραίνεσαι βλέπουσα μέσα εις αυτό και την σημερικήν αυτήν και να χαίρεσαι συγχορεύουσα και να ευφραίνεσαι συνεχώς και να ευχαριστείς συνεχώς και η εκλαμπρότητα σου και να επιμελείσαι να έχεις, αν όχι τα πρωτεία, όμως ουδέ τα δευτερεύα των ενδόξων αυτών γυναικῶν, δοξάζουσα και αινούσα τον παντοδύναμον Θεόν, εξ ού πάσας δόσις αγαθή και πάντα δόξα τόσον τον υπερύμνητον και υπερένδοξον όνομα του Πατρός και του Υιού και του / (f. 6ν) Αγίου Πνεύματος, ὅτι Αυτώ πρέπει πάσας δόξας της υμετέρας εκλαμπρότητος, Ευχέτης διάπυρος, Καισάριος Δαπόντες. / (f. 7) Της υμετέρας εκλαμπρότητος
Ευχέτης διάπυρος,
Καισάριος Δαπόντες. / (f. 7)

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Τοις αναγινώσκουσι το παρόν αγαπητοίς αδελφοίς εν Κυρίω χαίρειν.

Καλόν ήτον και λίαν καλόν, αδελφοί, να εβιάζαμεν να κάμομεν με το μέσον της αρετής τον εαυτόν μας άξιον να βλέπομεν τον Θεόν και να συνομιλούμεν με τον Θεόν και να διδασκόμεθα από τον Θεόν, ού ένεκα και επλάσθημεν, καθώς ο Μωυσής, ο Αβραάμ και ο Νώε και άλλοι του-ούτοι τον παλαιόν εκείνον καιρόν. Επειδή όμως τούτο το τόσον μέγα και αρχαίον καλόν το υστερήθημεν διά την αμέλειαν και αποξενώσαμεν από λόγου μας διά την κακίαν μας, καλόν ήτον καν να βιάζομεν να κά­μομεν με το μέσον της προκοπής τον εαυτόν μας άξιον να καταλαμβά­νομεν τα λόγια των Αγίων Γραφών και τας ιστορίας των παλαιών, καθώς ο / (f. 7ν) Χρυσόστομος, ο Γρηγόριος, ο Βασίλειος και άλλοι παρόμοιοι θεόπνευστοι άγιοι. Επειδή όμως και τούτο το υστερήθημεν οι ταλάιπω­ροι και εξεχάσαμεν και τελείως εισέβαλαν την πατροπαράδοσον και ευ­γενεστάτην εκείνην γλώσσαν των Ελλήνων και χρειαζόμεθα τώρα διδα­σκάλους και εξηγητάς, καν ας βιάζομεν του λόγου μας και ας επιμελού­μεθα να αναγινώσκομεν τα βιβλία οπού εις την τωρινήν απλήν μας υστερόν μετέφρασαν και μετέφεραν διά την αγάπην σας, αδελφοί, διά την ωφέλειαν σας, αγαπητοί, και διά μίαν της ψυχής τρυφήν και ανά­παυσαν ύστερον από τους βιοτικούς θορύβους τε και περισπασμούς. Και τας εσύνθεσα όλες διά στίχων διά πλέον γλυκύτητα. Ονόμασα δέ την ιστορικήν ταύτην και ποικίλην μου πραγματείαν εις δύο βιβλία διηρημέ­

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βάζουν οι πάντες, να διορθώνουσι την κακίαν τους, να αυξάνουσι την άρετήν τους και να ευφράνουσι την καρδίαν τους, βλέποντες προσέτι και πολιτικά τις νεοφανείς υποθέσεις, εκκλησιαστικές νουχείας, ευ- αγγελικές ιστοριώς και ύμνους της Παναγίας και άνευ του Κυρίου ημών. Δέξασθε ουν, παρακαλώ πάντας ταπεινώς, δεχθείτε πάντας τα νεοφανή και επωφελή ταύτα βιβλία περιχαρώς και αναγινώσκετε προσεχώς και ζείτε θεοφιλώς και πολιτεύεσθε ευσεβώς, ίνα ευτυχέσθε διηνεκώς και δοξάσθε διανύστε άμην.

Notes

1 I would like to thank Professor Anna Tabaki (University of Athens) for her kind invitation to this round table and Ariti S.A., especially its director, Mr. John Kyrkos, for their generous sponsorship which made possible my participation in the Dublin conference. I am also grateful to Dr. Nicholas Dombros (University of Thessaloniki) and his wife Georgia Iggilizi who first came up with the idea of sponsoring me and supported it with all their heart. Last but not least I would like to thank my supervisor at the University of Cambridge, Dr. David Holton, who read my paper and made many useful suggestions and corrections.

2 I feel obliged to comment here that in most of the European languages one would (still...) use the term ‘scientist’ both to present and to define people who are involved in humanistic studies. In the English-speaking world, despite its political correctness—which comes along with the famous ‘New Order’ and the modern face of capitalism, especially in the States—we are denied this title and we become ‘researchers’. The argument used to defend this choice is that it is just a matter of terminology and it does not express by any means a depreciation for the ‘Humanities’. The acceptance of such an argument presumes the acceptance of the thesis that ‘language is innocent’. As far as I am concerned, such an argument is not acceptable; if it is just a matter of terminology, then this terminology can easily be proved incorrect, since it does not define things properly nor does it describe them accurately: people who are involved in the so-called ‘Sciences’ (i.e. the exact or hard sciences) are correctly called ‘scientists’ when they simply study or teach ‘Sciences’ and again correctly called ‘researchers’ only if they are involved in real scientific research. Why then should the ‘Humanities’ be restricted to only one term? I am afraid it is because we are not dealing with just a matter of terminology but clearly...
with a matter of ideology: the deprecia-
tion and devaluation of the ‘Humanities’ in the modern world
can be easily demonstrated and we all experience it daily: reduced
budgets, restricted new positions, eliminated social role. Linguistic de-
preciation probably comes after all this but we should at least defend
ourselves by retaining the ‘hon­norific’ title of scientist. In this
paper, for the sake of convention, I retained the term ‘researcher’ but I
hope it is obvious that I strenuously oppose its logic.

3 In the last 20 years, two editions of Κήπος Χαρίτων have been pub-
lished (see Savvidis 1995 and An­gelou 1997) which unfortunately did
not contribute as much as one would expect to the solution of the
various problems connected with Dapontes’ works and life. Therefore,
the articles published by Keha­gioglou and Kadas in the 1980s still
remain important (see Kehagioglou
1986 and Kadas 1988). All these
books and articles were not included
in the Bibliography of Greek Enlight­en­ment (see Apostolopoulos, Frangi-
skos, et al. 1998). I see no obvious
reason for this exclusion and I
suggest that they should be added in
a future second edition of the Bi­
блиография.

4 See Dapontes 1766.

5 Defined as a sub-genre according to th­ematic criteria (see Kaplanis 1999
and a more detailed analysis in Ka­planis 1998). For a select bibliogra­phy on literary genres see Ka­planis 1999, 299, n. 23; for a critical bibliogra­phy on literary genres in Greek see Angelatos 1997.

6 At least with regard to this period (12th-18th c.). There is another poet-
ical work entitled Τοαλέτο ἵτοι Γυ­
ναικών Καθρέπτης / Αληθής και ὁχ ἑξύτης (a copy of which can be
found in the Biblioteca Academiei Romàне [from here on: BAR], ms.
gr. 589) that is most probably from
the early 19th century, and there
might even be more works from
1800 onwards, but I have not ex­­panded my research into the 19th
and 20th centuries.

7 See Jónsson 1995. According to his
analysis, the presence of the word ‘mirror’ in the title of a medieval
literary work (usually ‘suit d’un subst­antif au génitif ou (un peu plus
tard) d’un adjectif’; Jónsson 1995, 159) is by itself the most important
generic element that can allow us to
classify the work in the specific
literary genre. And, as he notes, that
is because “l’étude... a également
montré que le mot miroir n’est pas
seulement le véhicule d’une meta­phore qui s’appuie sur un modèle
complexe et désigne un ‘livre-mi­roir’, mais devient également, dans
la première moitié du XIIè siècle, le
lieu de jonction entre une structure
philosophique et des formes d’éla­boration littéraire, qui organisent le
contenu de l’œuvre en fonction
d’une vision particulière du monde
ou de la destinée humaine. Il paraît
donc tout à fait légitime d’utiliser ce
mot comme un fil conducteur pour
explorer le développement du genre,
les relations des ‘miroirs’ postérieurs
avec les deux premières œuvres, et
le rapport entre le modèle, la méta­phore et le contenu dans les diffé­rentes ‘miroirs’.” (see Jónsson 1995,
211-212)

8 The data presented here are mainly
For a more systematic presentation of all the data concerning the dating of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών see Appendix I.

See for instance the text of 'Ειδήσεις that accompanied all Dapontes' books, as published in Savvidis' edition of Η Θυσία του Ιεφθάκε και Ιστορία Σωσάννης (see Savvidis 1993, 184): "Και επειδή το βιβλίον μου, Καθρέπτης γυναικών ονομαζόμενον, οπού τώρα νεωτέρο, εις τους χίλιους επτακόσιους εξήνταεξά, ετυπώθη εις Λιψίαν, ο αντιγραφεύς, ή ο του τύπου διορθωτής, ενδέπεδον αυτό ο ανανεώθησις, το διέφθειρε, το ασχήμισε, καθώς η δοκοφροσύνη, ανάθεμα την, τον υπαγόρευσε." For the changes that the editor Thomas Mandakassis made and for a corrected copy of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών by Dapontes see Lambros 1905.

In the Xeropotamou manuscript no. 344, which includes autograph notes of Dapontes that have been published by Sotiris Kadas, we read: 'Δεκεμβρίου τρίτη έστειλα εις Βενετίαν, εις τον σιορ Μηχαήλ Γλυκή τυπογράφον τον Καθρέπτην των Γυναικών / το βιβλίον μου οπού προέυθυνα καθώς η δοκοφροσύνη, ανάθεμα την, τον υπαγόρευσε." For the changes that the editor Thomas Mandakassis made and for a corrected copy of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών by Dapontes see Lambros 1905.

9 For a more systematic presentation of all the data concerning the dating of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών see Appendix I.

10 See for instance the text of 'Ειδήσεις that accompanied all Dapontes' books, as published in Savvidis' edition of Η Θυσία του Ιεφθάκε και Ιστορία Σωσάννης (see Savvidis 1993, 184): "Και επειδή το βιβλίον μου, Καθρέπτης γυναικών ονομαζόμενον, οπού τώρα νεωτέρο, εις τους χίλιους επτακόσιους εξήνταεξά, ετυπώθη εις Λιψίαν, ο αντιγραφεύς, ή ο του τύπου διορθωτής, ενδέπεδον αυτό ο ανανεώθησις, το διέφθειρε, το ασχήμισε, της πατρικής ουσίας και χάριτος το εγύμνωσε, και άλλα εξ άλλου το έκαμεν, άλλα βάνοντας, άλλα εβγάλοντας, καθώς η δοκοφροσύνη, ανάθεμα την, τον υπαγόρευσε." For the changes that the editor Thomas Mandakassis made and for a corrected copy of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών by Dapontes see Lambros 1905.

11 In the Xeropotamou manuscript no. 344, which includes autograph notes of Dapontes that have been published by Sotiris Kadas, we read: 'Δεκεμβρίου τρίτη έστειλα εις Βενετίαν, εις τον σιορ Μηχαήλ Γλυκή τυπογράφον τον Καθρέπτην των Γυναικών / το βιβλίον μου οπού προέυθυνα καθώς η δοκοφροσύνη, ανάθεμα την, τον υπαγόρευσε." For the changes that the editor Thomas Mandakassis made and for a corrected copy of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών by Dapontes see Lambros 1905.

12 Only its first two chapters were critically edited by Savvidis and separately published under the title H Θυσία του Ιεφθάκε και Ιστορία Σωσάννης (see Savvidis 1993).

13 See Savvidis 1991, 60: "γέφυρα νοητή ανάμεσα σε Ανατολή και Δύση, Άρκτο και Μεσημβρία, σε κοσμογονική πολυπραγμοσύνη και πνευματική αφιέρωση, σε φώτιση και διαφώτιση, λογιοσύνη και λαϊκότα, παράδοση και νεοτερισμό, και σε 'ψυχικήν ωφέλειαν και χαράν της καρδίας', καταμεσής στον λεγόμενο αιώνα του Διαφωτισμού μας."

14 Dapontes himself claims that he comes from a Venetian Dapont family in his unpublished Φανάρι Γυναικών. I copy here the text from BAR ms. gr. 1545 (a Dapontes autograph): "Και τον διδάσκαλόν σου δέ τον εν Βουκουρεστίω / Γεωργίον εγνώρισα εν τω Μοναστηρίω / Μάλιστα τον πατέρα σου πολλά με αγαπούσεν, / έλεγες 'τι μ' εγέννησεν, ως τόσο με πονούσεν. / Άξιος ο πατέρας σου ήτον ο μακαρίτης / εκείνος, ναι, ο Στέφανος Δαπόντες Σκοπελίτης. / Μ' έλεγε δέ και ότι πως εις την της Φλωρεντίας / Σύνοδον / εκ του γένους του ων τις εκ Βενετίας / καθώς και άλλοι αρχόντες απ' άλλας αυθεντίας, / Γαλλίας, Ισπανίας τε και άλλας εξουσίας. / Μ' είπε δέ και ότι πως εις την της Φλωρεντίας / Σύνοδον / εκ του γένους του ων τις εκ Βενετίας / καθώς και άλλοι αρχόντες απ' άλλας αυθεντίας, / Γαλλίας, Ισπανίας τε και άλλας εξουσίας. / [8 lines omitted] Με είπε δέ και ότι πως εις την της Φλωρεντίας / Σύνοδον / εκ του γένους του ων τις εκ Βενετίας / καθώς και άλλοι αρχόντες απ' άλλας αυθεντίας, / Γαλλίας, Ισπανίας τε και άλλας εξουσίας. / [8 lines omitted] Με είπε δέ και ότι πως εις την της Φλωρεντίας / Σύνοδον / εκ του γένους του ων τις εκ Βενετίας / καθώς και άλλοι αρχόντες απ' άλλας αυθεντίας, / Γαλλίας, Ισπανίας τε και άλλας εξουσίας. / [8 lines omitted]
σμένον / εκείθεν σιτηρέσιον, εγγράφως ορισμένον." (see BAR ms. gr. 1545, f. 211v)

15 Probably the first scholar who noticed this was Voutieridis as early as 1933 (see Voutieridis 1934, 241-242).

16 See Voutieridis 1933, 242: ‘[…] o Δαπόντες αντιπροσωπεύει όσο λίγο το πνεύμα της εποχής του. Γράφει για όλα, όπως οι συγκαίρινοι του Έλληνες είχαν αρχίσει να θέλουν να τα μαθαίνουνε όλα, όσο μπορούσανε.’


18 See his thorough study on medieval misogyny (Bloch 1991); for an anthology of medieval misogynous texts translated into English see Blamires, et al. 1992.

19 See Brown-Grant 1999, 6.

20 See Bloch 1991, 8.

21 See Bloch 1991, 11.


23 See Kaplanis 1999; especially 301, 304-306.

24 For the form and the use of this proverbial phrase, which also occurs in medieval Greek vernacular literature, see Morgan 1960, 226. The passage from Goliath cited here is also drawn from the same source.

25 Wife of Bath’s Prologue, III. 278-280.

26 Aristotle, Poetics, I. 3, 6-9.

27 Genette explains the difference: “La différence de statut entre genres et modes est essentiellement là: les genres sont des catégories proprement littéraires, les modes sont des catégories qui relèvent de la linguistique, ou plus exactement de ce que l’on appelle aujourd’hui la pragmatique” (Genette 1979, 68-69) and more specifically further down: “épique, par exemple, ne surplombe épopée, roman, nouvelle, conte, etc., que si on l’entend comme mode (= narratif); si on l’entend comme genre (= épopée) et qu’on lui donne, comme fait Hegel, un contenu thématique spécifique, alors il ne contient plus le romanesque, le fantastique, etc., il se retrouve au même niveau.” (Genette 1979, 72)


29 See Krumbacher 1905. The term translated in Greek as ‘καθρέφτης γυναικών’ was first used by Linos Politis in a study about Apokopos (see Politis 1953) and not by Kehagioglou as I claimed in Kaplanis 1999, 296 (however, Kehagioglou was indeed the first to use the term in its demotic form ‘καθρέφτης’).

30 See Morgan 1960, 223-224.


32 For more details see Kaplanis 1999, 300.

33 For more details see Kaplanis 1999, 302. In the select bibliography of that article one should add Vassiliou’s study on Apokopos, where the function of the mirror of women which is included in Bergadis’ book is discussed in detail (see Vassiliou 1993; especially 149-159).

34 See Άνθ. χαρ., column 12: “πρώτον να γυρεύσω τινά ποιήματα των φρονίμων οπού είπαν καλόν δι’ αυτές και τότε εκείνων που είπαν κακόν δι’ αυτές και το τέλος να θέσω γλώσσες αντάμα και να δώσω αληθινήν λύσιν, και να κόψων τες γλώσσες αυτές.”


36 See Grabes 1982.

37 For the whole text of Dapontes’ dedication and prologue to Καθρέφτης Γυναικών see Appendix II.

38 See Άνθ. χαρ., column 14: “Και η
Examples can be found in many texts of the period 12th-18th century. I quote here only one, which is typical of the absolute social condemnation of women: "Ψέγουσι πάντες οι σοφοί τας πονηράς γυναίκας / πως έχουν τέχνην το κακόν, εργόχειρ το έργον, / εγώ δέ λέγω τας καλάς και τας κακάς αντάμα, / διότι ουδέν ευρίσκεται άψογος ουδέμια." (see Kakoulidi 1964, 112) Cf. the section entitled 'Σημειώσετε πως δίχως γυναικός τίποτες δεν γίνεται' in Diakrousis' Κρητικός Πόλεμος (see Xerouhakis 1908, 67-69).

The term is mentioned in Φανάρι Γυναικών: "Ησαύ πρωτότοκος υιός διά θηλυμανίαν / χάνει και πρωτότοκα, χάνει και ευλογίαν. / Δι' αυτήν έχασα κι εγώ πλούτον και αρχοντίαν, / εκέρδισα δέ φυλακήν εις εικοσιμηνίαν." (see BAR, ms. gr. 1545, f. 302-303)

Apart from the notorious passage from Κήπος Χαρίτων 9, 161-165 ("Οι τράπεζες των λαϊκών, πλουσίων και πενήτων, / εις κάθε τόπον και καιρόν οι γυναίκες των αυτές, μαζί και οι γυναίκες των αυτές, μαζί και οι θυγατέρες, / γυναίκες, θυγατέρες μου όλες μου τες ημέρες. / Μίαν γυναίκαν έχασα, και ήβρα 'κατοστάδες"; see Savvidis 1995, 122-123), I quote here another excerpt from Φα-
νάρι Γυναικών ("Κατηγοράται δυνατά εκείνη η Αιγύπτια / ότι πολλή τον Ιωσήφ εβίασεν εν βία. / Πόσες φορές εβίασα εγώ τις εδικές μου, / και ξένες μύλυσα εγώ και τις γειτόνισσές μου; / Εκείνη εβίασεν κι εβίασεν η μαύρη / διά το κάλλος το πολύ, οπου 'χε τύχει νά βρει. / Εμένα δε και γύρωσα ανώς με βίασε, / βέβαια με εκείδια, δεν είναι να με χάσει. / Εκείνη και δεν ήκουσε ποτέ το 'μη μοιχεύσεις', / εγώ δε καθημερινά, 'αλλ' ούτε να πορνεύσεις'. / Η κάλαση, λοιπόν, αυτής είναι ελαφρότερα / από την εδικήν μου, και, και συγγνωμονεστέρα." (see BAR ms. gr. 1545, f. 310v)

48 See Desaive 1997, 265.
49 See Angelou's very interesting study on Madame Tyaniti (1994).
50 See Angelou 1994, 375.
51 In the Index of the Bibliography of Greek Enlightenment (see Apostolopoulos, Frangiskos, et al. 1998) the entry 'woman' includes only three references —unfortunately, Angelou's very useful article (see note 49 above) is not among them.
52 Kitromilides' very interesting, but not literary-orientated, study on 'Womanhood' (see Kitromilides 1983) is the single 'swallow' that, as we very well know, 'does not make a summer...'

References

I use the author-date system with one exception: that of Άνθος Χαρίτων, for which the abbreviation Άνθ. χαρ. is used in the notes, because its author is anonymous and the text has not yet been critically edited. Classical texts are not included in these references; I have used their standard editions.

Άνθ. χαρ. Άνθος των Χαρίτων (Venice: Giovan-Antonio da Sabio & Fratelli, 1529).

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Dapontes, K. 1766. Καθρέφτης Γυναικών. Βιβλίον [...], εν ω φαίνονται γραφικά αι εν τη Παλαιά Γραφή περιεχόμεναι σποράδην ιστορίαι και καλών γυναικών [...], 2 vols., Leipzig: Breitkopf (?).


Kehagioglou, G. 1986. ‘Ανέκδοτα στοιχεία για τον Καισάριο Δαπόντε από το χειρόγραφο Βυτίνας αριθ. 1’, Ο Ερανιστής, 18, 35-56.


Ο Καισάριος Δαπόντες υπήρξε η σημαντικότερη ελληνική ποιητική μορφή του 18ου αιώνα. Το έργο του, που αγαπήθηκε ιδιαίτερα στην εποχή του, είναι σήμερα παραμελημένο· σύγχρονες κριτικές εκδόσεις, κατά κανόνα, δεν έχει γνωρίσει, ενώ ποικίλα προβλήματα της δαποντικής εργοβιογραφίας παραμένουν ανερεύνητα και ανεπίλυτα. Το άρθρο συνοψίζει τα πορίσματα της μέχρι του στοιχείο έρευνας για το δημιουργό και εστιάζει την προσοχή του στον Καθρέπτη Γυναικών (Λιψία, 1766). Το έργο εξετάζεται στο γενολογικό πλαίσιο του ομώνυμου και ανθηρού στον όψιμο Μεσαίωνα λογοτεχνικού είδους, καθώς και σε σχέση με τη λογοτροπική παράδοση του μισογυνισμού. Συζητείται η εικόνα της γυναίκας έτσι όπως αναδεικνύεται μέσα από τον Καθρέπτη, καθώς και η θέση του έργου μέσα στην προηγούμενη λογοτεχνική παράδοση. Για άλλη μία φορά επιβεβαιώνεται ότι ο Δαπόντες είναι «άνθρωπος-γέφυρα»: παρά τις πολλές οφειλές του στη μεσαιωνική παράδοση, πάνω στα οποία βασίζεται, καταφέρνει πάντα να απομακρύνεται από αυτήν ή, καλύτερα, να την ανανεώνει, κοιμώντας παράλληλα το νέο πνεύμα της εποχής του. Το άρθρο συνοδεύεται από δύο επίμετρα: στο πρώτο επιχειρείται χρονολόγηση της συγγραφής του Καθρέπτη Γυναικών και στο δεύτερο εκδίδεται η «Αφιέρωση» και το «Προοίμιο» του έργου, πάνω στα οποία, ελλείψει συνολικής κριτικής έκδοσης, βασίζεται κυρίως η επιχειρηματικότητα του άρθρου.

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