

OLUJA KOD GIRSKIH STIJENA I SMRT AJANTA MALOG

A STORM ON THE GYRAEAN ROCKS AND THE DEATH OF AJAX THE LESSER

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KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*Ajant Mali-Oilejev-
Lokranin, Girske stijene,
Akra Gyreon, Andros,
Tenos, Mykonos, prag
Onog svijeta*

Mit nam kaže da je Ajant Mali (ili Oilejev ili Lokranin) poginuo u oluji na Girskim stijenama. Još od antike se pokušavalo locirati te stijene: od Eubeje i rta Kafereja, preko Andra i Tena, do Mikona. Njihovo mjesto nije bilo točno poznato više zbog toga što pripadaju mitološkoj, a ne stvarnoj geografiji, nego što bi bilo s vremenom zaboravljeno. Isto je tako i Ajant Mali porijeklom „biće s praga“, jedan od onih likova koji su označavali prijelaz iz ovoga u Onaj svijet, koji je kasnije došao u junačke epove kao „povijesni“ heroj koji se borio pod Trojom, poznat po bogohuljenju i zločinima zbog kojih su ga bogovi kaznili poslavši na njega oluju kad se vraćao iz Troje.

KEY WORDS:

*Ajax the Lesser – son
of Oileus – Locrian,
Gyraean Rocks, Akra
Gyreon, Andros, Tēnos,
Mykonos, threshold into
the otherworld*

Myth has it that Ajax the Lesser (son of Oileus and also known as Locrian) was killed in a storm on the Gyraean Rocks. Scholars have been trying to locate the rocks ever since Classical Antiquity: from Euboea and Cape Caphareus across Andros and Tēnos all the way to Mykonos. Their location has remained unknown not so much because it was part of a mythical rather than real geography but rather because with time it has faded into oblivion. Ajax the Lesser was a “threshold creature”, one of the figures that symbolises the crossing from this world into the otherworld, who later entered heroic epics as a “historical” hero who fought at Troy, known for his desecration and crimes for which the gods punished him by sending a storm against him as he returned from Troy.

Pisac Filostrat krajem 2. i početkom 3. st. sastavio je spis *Slike* (*Eikones, Imagines*) gdje opisuje galeriju slika pored Napulja koju je posjetio. Djelo izaziva veliko zanimanje kao izvor za poznavanje ekfrazе tijekom Druge sofistike, ali i kao izvor za mitološka promišljanja.¹ Filostrat, s jedne strane, opisuje do detalja likovno djelo, a s druge uvodi elemente iz književnosti i mitologije koji bi gledateljima (pretpostavlja se učenicima) morali rastumačiti ono što vide na slici i staviti je u kulturni i književni okvir; drugim riječima: dati joj primjereno moralno, religijsko i estetsko značenje.²

U drugoj knjizi opisana je soba sa slikama koje sve prikazuju teme vezane za more i boga Posejdona.³ Trinaesta slika druge knjige *Eikones* zove se Γυραῖ – Girske stijene. U tekstu (2. 13. 1) Filostrat ih zove i Γυραῖ πέτραι – doslovno „Girske stijene“. Opis je vrlo dojmljiv i tu čitamo o uzburkanom moru u oluji, iz tog mora koje ključa izdiže se stijena i na njoj heroj koji užarenim očima gleda prema moru; bori se s valovima koji ga žele otrgnuti od stijene. Brod Lokrana, udaren munjom, gori sav u plamenu i vatra izgleda kao jedra. Heroj se spasio na Girskim stijenama u Egejskom zaljevu, ali tada izgovara žestoke riječi protiv bogova. Na to se Posejdon uspravi, strašan, olujan, kosa mu vitla na vjetru i trozupcem udari stijenu na kojoj se spasio Ajant – jer to je bio Ajant Mali – i odvali je, a Ajant se udavi u moru.⁴

Glavni je lik ove slike i priče Ajant zvani Mali, Oilejev ili Lokranin, koji je u grčkoj mitologiji ostao zapamćen kao simbol svega što je bogohulno, umišljeno i svetogrdno. Ajant je Mali otjelovljenje grčke riječi *hybris* i sažetak svega zla što su ga Grci počinili na-

At the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, the writer Philostratus, in his work *Images* (*Eikones, Imagines*), provides a description of paintings in a Neapolitan gallery that he had visited. The work aroused a strong interest in the study of ekphrasis in the Second Sophistic but also in reflections on mythology.¹ On the one hand, Philostratus provides a detailed description of a visual artwork, while on the other he introduces elements from literature and mythology which explain to viewers (presumably students) what they could see in the painting, providing it with a cultural and literary setting, i.e. an appropriate moral, religious and aesthetic meaning.²

The second Book describes a room with paintings depicting themes associated with the sea and the god Poseidon.³ The thirteenth painting of the second book of *Eikones* is called Γυραῖ or The Gyraean Rocks. In his text (2. 13. 1), Philostratus also calls them Γυραῖ πέτραι – literally “The Gyraean Rocks”. The description is very impressive, and we read about the storm-swept sea, the rocks rising out of the boiling water, and on the rocks a hero glaring fiercely towards the sea. He struggles with the waves which are trying to drag him off the rocks. The ship of the Locrian, struck by lightning, bursts into flame, and the fire looks like a sail. The hero reaches the Gyraean in the Aegean Gulf, but he then utters disdainful words against the gods. At this point, Poseidon sets out, terrible, tempestuous, his hair blown by the wind, and raises his trident against the rock that supports Ajax – for it is Ajax the Lesser – and smites it, and Ajax drowns in the sea.⁴

The main character of this painting and story is Ajax, who was known as the Lesser, son of Oileus, and also as Locrian. In Greek mythol-

¹ Izdanja kojima smo se služili su A. FAIRBANKS, 1931 (grčki original i engleski prijevod) i L. ABBONDANZA, 2008 (grčki original i talijanski prijevod).

² L. ABBONDANZA, 2008, 26 i d.

³ K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 1941, 25; S. M. BEALL, 1993.

⁴ A. FAIRBANKS, 1931, 181; L. ABBONDANZA, 2008, 215 i d.

¹ The editions we used were A. FAIRBANKS, 1931 (Greek original and English translation) and L. ABBONDANZA, 2008 (Greek original and Italian translation).

² L. ABBONDANZA, 2008, 26ff.

³ K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 1941, 25; S. M. BEALL, 1993.

⁴ A. FAIRBANKS, 1931, 181; L. ABBONDANZA, 2008, 215ff.

kon propasti Troje.⁵ No na kraju Ajant nije kažnjen zbog svojih svetogrđnih djela nego zbog arogantnih riječi upućenih bogovima nakon što su ga ipak spasili iz mora.⁶

Iz antike su nam poznate još neke izgubljenije slike kojima je tema bila sudbina Ajanta Malog. Tako nam Pauzanija kaže da je Polignot u Delfima, na fresci *Nekije* u Leshi Knidana, naslikao Ajanta kao brodolomca, i veli (10. 31): „Tom Ajantu je boja kože kao u brodolomca kojemu se na koži još uvijek drži sol“.⁷ Znamo za još jednu sliku, djelo slikara Apolodora iz Atene koji je radio krajem 5. st. pr. Kr., koja se u vrijeme Plinija Starijeg još mogla vidjeti u Pergamu i prikazivala je Ajanta udarenog munjom. Još od 19. st. spekuliralo se nije li ta Apolodorova slika ona koju je opisao Filostrat, što bi značilo da je od Plinijeva vremena do prijelaza 2. na 3. st. dospjela iz Pergama do južne Italije.⁸

Sam naslov opisane slike „Girske stijene“ naglašava ono što je najvažnije u priči – mjesto gdje je nastradao Ajant Mali. Drugi prizor koji je posebno naglašen dramatičan je opis broda u plamenu u olujnoj noći. U spisu *Slike* Filostrat ne ide dalje u religijska i mitološka tumačenja, ali obrazovani je čitatelj (a i posjetitelj nekadašnje galerije slika) mogao shvatiti da ovdje ništa nije slučajno. Mi to danas znamo kad uspoređujemo druge izvore o sudbini Ajanta Malog. Toga je morao biti svjestan i sam Filostrat jer u svom drugom djelu, *Heroïku*, opet govori o Ajantu i kultu koji mu je bio posvećen (31. 1 – 32. 2).⁹ U tom tekstu pisac nastoji opovrgnuti predrasude o Ajantu, pa veli i to da priče

ogy, he is remembered as a symbol of anything blasphemous, arrogant and desecrating. Ajax the Lesser is the epitome of the Greek word *hybris* and the embodiment of all the evil done by the Greeks after the fall of Troy.⁵ However, at the end, Ajax is not punished for his desecrating acts but for the arrogant words directed at the gods after they have saved him from the sea.⁶

There were certain other known paintings from Classical Antiquity illustrating the destiny of Ajax the Lesser that have been lost. Thus, Pausanias provides an account of Polygnotus painting Ajax as a shipwrecked sailor on the *Nekyia* fresco in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, saying (10. 31): “The color of the latter Ajax is like that of a shipwrecked sailor with the brine still rough on the surface of his skin”.⁷ Another picture is also known, the work of the painter Apollodorus from Athens, who was active near the end of the 5th century BC, which could still be seen in Pergamon at the time of Pliny the Elder, and which depicted Ajax struck by lightning. As early as the 19th century, it was speculated that the painting by Apollodorus was the one described by Philostratus, which would mean that it came from Pergamon to southern Italy between Pliny’s era and the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁸

The title of the painting “The Gyraean Rocks” points to a critical part of the story, i.e. the place of the death of Ajax the Lesser. Another scene which has received a lot of attention is the dramatic account of the ship in flames on a stormy night. In his *Images*, Philostratus goes into no further religious or mythological interpretations, but a more educated reader (as well as anyone who had visited the gallery) would

⁵ P. G. MASON, 1959, 82.

⁶ A. FAIRBANKS, 1931, 181; A. MANIERI, 1999, 118-119.

⁷ Pauzanija, *Vodič po Heladi*, preveo i komentarom popratio Uroš Pasini, Split, Logos, 1989.

⁸ Plin. *NH.* 35. 60: *Ajax fulmine incensus qui Pergami spectatur hodie*. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 134; O. TOUCHÉFEU, 1981, 349.

⁹ Izdanja kojima smo se služili su L. DE LANNOY, 1977 (grčki tekst) i J. K. BERENSON MACLEAN, E. BRADSHAW AITKEN, 2003 (engleski prijevod).

⁵ P. G. MASON, 1959, 82.

⁶ A. FAIRBANKS, 1931, 181; A. MANIERI, 1999, 118-119.

⁷ Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. Translated by Jones, W. H. S. and Omerod, H. A. Loeb Classical Library Volumes. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1918. (<https://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias10B.html#3>).

⁸ Plin. *NH.* 35.60: *Ajax fulmine incensus qui Pergami spectatur hodie*. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 134; O. TOUCHÉFEU, 1981, 349.

lažu kad kažu da je u noći osvojenja Troje zlostavljao i silovao Kasandru, već ga je Agamemnon optužio da je svojim svetogrđem uvrijedio Atenu jer se s njim posvadio oko podjele plijena. Ovdje se kaže da je ploveći prema Tenu i Andru poginuo na Girskoj stijeni (u *Slikama* samo se kaže „u Egejskom zaljevu“). Ono što je posebno istaknuto je priča da kad su vijesti o njegovoj pogibiji na moru stigle do Ahejaca, oni su se okrenuli prema moru i zazivali su ga. Tada je Ajant dobio posmrtnu žrtve kakve nikad prije i nikad poslije nisu dane nekom smrtniku. Kad su nagomilali drvo kao za pogrebnu lomaču, stavili su ga na lokranski brod koji je nosio Ajanta, žrtvovali su crne životinje, opremili su brod crnim jedrima i pred zoru su zapalili brod. Ponesen osekom brod je krenuo prema otvorenom moru i otplovio je prije nego se diglo sunce i na pučini je izgorio sa svime što je nosio za Ajanta. Naravno, prvo što ćemo se zapitati: odakle u ovom opisu Ajant, kad je on nestao u moru kod Girskih stijena. Očito je riječ o vrsti kenotafa.

Nije li prizor zapaljenog broda u *Slikama* zapravo aluzija na pogrebne počasti Ajanta Malog, ali i na stvarni ritual Lokrana? Slikar je, pretpostavljamo, trebao znati za ritual, a Filostrat je sigurno znao jer ga opisuje u *Heroiku*. Iz izvora znamo da su Lokrani prakticirali godišnju žrtvu zapaljenog broda za Ajanta i do danas nema točnog objašnjenja niti za ritual niti za priču koju donosi Filostrat.

Ono što možemo prvo reći je to da je Filostratova priča u *Heroiku* zapravo *aition* za ritual Lokrana. U čast svog nacionalnog heroja Lokrani su svake godine opremali brod s crnim jedrima i bez kormila, na nj su stavljali crne žrtve i onda, kad bi vjetar zapuhao prema moru, zapalili bi ga i pustili da otplovi (Tzetzes ad Lycophr. *Alex.* 365-368 – dodaje da su Tesalci imali sličan ritual u počast Ahileju).¹⁰ Nigdje u grčkim izvorima

have realised that nothing here had been left to chance. In the present day, this is clear to us as soon as we compare other sources on the destiny of Ajax the Lesser. Philostratus himself was obviously aware of this, as in his other work, *Heroicus*, he again talks about Ajax and the cult dedicated to him (31. 1 – 32. 2).⁹ In this text, the writer seeks to refute the prejudices against Ajax by saying that stories claiming that on the night of the conquest of Troy Ajax had abused and raped Cassandra were false, but that Agamemnon had accused Ajax of having committed sacrilege against Athena during a quarrel between them over the division of spoils. The text then says that when sailing straight for Tēnos and Andros, Ajax had died at the Gyraean Rocks (in *Images* it is only said “in the Aegean Gulf”). A special focus of the story is how, when the news of his death at sea reached the Achaeans, they turned towards the sea and invoked him. Ajax then received offerings for the dead such as had never been offered previously or afterwards for any mortal. When they had piled up wood, as if for a funeral pyre, on the Locrian ship that carried Ajax, they sacrificed all the black animals they had. They had then equipped the ship with black sails and at dawn set fire to it. Buoyed by the high seas, it sailed away, and before the sun had risen, the ship was consumed, along with all that it bore for Ajax. Of course, the first question that comes to mind is where did Ajax come from in this account if he had disappeared in the sea near the Gyraean Rocks? Obviously the boat was a sort of cenotaph.

Was the scene of a burning ship in *Images* not only an allusion to funeral honours for Ajax the Lesser but also the actual Locrian rite? The painter was presumably familiar with the rite, and certainly Philostratus was familiar with it, as he described it in *Heroicus*. Sources suggest that the Locrians offered an annual sacrifice

¹⁰ M. DELCOURT, L. R. RANKIN, 1965, 231.

⁹ The editions that we used are L. DE LANNOY, 1977 (Greek text) and J. K. BERENSON MACLEAN, E. BRADSHAW AITKEN, 2003 (English translation).

nema drugog primjera koji bi brod tretirao kao lomaču pokojnika.¹¹ Kod Grka, brod koji plovi prema Onom svijetu, ma kako ga odredili – kao Had, kao Otoke blaženih ili kao bilo koji drugi „herojski otok“ – uvijek nosi duše pokojnika, ne tijela.¹²

Središnja tema ovdje je ipak oluja koja je pogodila Ajantov brod i njegova smrt na Girskim stijinama. Još od Odiseje (*Od.* 4. 500-507) kaže se da je Ajanta udarila Atena osvetničkim gnjevom jer je pogrdio Kasandru kod Atenina kipa. Posejdon bi ga bio spasio Ateni usprkos:

Najprije nagnao ga Posidon k velikim Girskim
Hridima bješe i tako iz vode izbavi njega
Pa bi i mrzak budući Ateni, uteko smrti.
Prkosnu riječ da nije izustio ljuto sagriješiv;
Reko je, da je prešao preko volje bogova
vječnih
Veliku bezdanu morsku, al' oholu riječ mu
Posidon
Čuvši odmah se maši za ostvama rukama
jakim,
U Girsku udari hrid i ona se raspadne od
tog.¹³

A gdje su zapravo Girske stijene i što su Girske stijene? Homer ne daje točno mjesto. Jedna je pretpostavka, ne baš uvjerljiva, zato što je mjesto bilo toliko dobro poznato

¹¹ M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 41.

¹² M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 41. Najbliža paralela za ovaj pogreb i ritual ostaju vikinški pogrebi heroja u zapaljenom brodu. Takav pogreb prvi je opisao arapski putopisac Ibn Fadlan, koji mu je svjedočio u Rusiji (Ibn Fadlân, *Ibn Fadlân and the Land of Darkness, Arab Travellers in the Far North*, translated with an introduction by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone, London, Penguin Books, 2012, 52 i d.). Ma koliko do danas natezali moguće veze sa sjeverom, ne možemo doći do objašnjenja za tu paralelu. Usp. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 138; J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 47-49 i grčki tekst Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 365 na 48; L. R. FARNELL, 1921, 294.

¹³ *Homerova Odiseja*, preveo Tomo Maretić, priredio Stjepan Ivšić, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1950; H. B. WALTERS, 1892-93, 14; M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 216; C. KERÉNYI, 1997, 325; F. LÉTOUBLON, 2002, 101.

in the form of a burning ship for Ajax. However, until the present, no precise explanation has been found either concerning the rite or the story told by Philostratus. What we can say in the first place is that Philostratus's story in *Heroicus* is actually an aition for the Locrian rite. In honour of their national hero, each year, the Locrians would equip a ship without a wheel and with black sails, load a black sacrifice and then, when the wind started blowing towards the sea, they would set it on fire and let it sail away (Tzetzes (ad Lycophr. *Alex.* 365-368) adds that the Thessalonians practised a similar rite in honour of Achilles).¹⁰ In none of the Greek sources is there another example of treating a ship as a funeral pyre.¹¹ Among the Greeks, a ship sailing towards the otherworld, no matter how it was defined, whether as Hades, the Islands of the Blessed or any other "hero island", always carried the soul of the deceased and not their body.¹²

However, the central theme here is the storm that hit Ajax's ship and his death on the Gyraean Rocks. In the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 4. 500-507), Ajax is said to have been met with Athena's vengeful wrath for having abused Cassandra at Athena's statue. However, Poseidon would have saved him despite Athena:

at Gyrae Poseidon first propelled his boat against huge rocks, then saved him from the sea. Although Athena hated him, he'd have been saved, if he'd not grown insanely foolish— he stated he had managed to escape the sea's huge depths, in spite of all the gods.

¹⁰ M. DELCOURT, L. R. RANKIN, 1965, 231.

¹¹ M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 41.

¹² M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 41. The closest analogy to this funeral rite is the funerals of Viking heroes in a burning ship. Such a burial was first described by the Arabic travel writer Ibn Fadlan, who witnessed one in Russia (Ibn Fadlân, *Ibn Fadlân and the Land of Darkness, Arab Travellers in the Far North*, translated with an introduction by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone, London, Penguin Books, 2012, 52ff.) No matter how far-fetched associations with the north are, for us it has been impossible to find an explanation for this parallel. Cf. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 138; J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 47-49 and the Greek text by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 365 on page 48; L. R. FARNELL, 1921, 294.

da nije bilo potrebno to reći.¹⁴

Ep *Nostoi*, pripisan Hegiji i poznat samo po Proklovom sažetku (Procl. *Chrestomathia*), oluju koja je pogodila Grke i smrt Ajanta Malog stavlja na stijene rta Kafereja, jugoistočne krajnje točke Eubeje.¹⁵ Arhiloh (fr. 105 West = fr. 56 Diehl = Plut. *Mor.* 169 B) u svojim stihovima pjeva o značima oluje i obraća se Glauku govoreći: „... gledaj... oko vrhova Gira (ἄκρα Γυρέων) leži oblak, znak oluje...“.¹⁶ Cecil Maurice Bowra (1940) je mislio da se ovi stihovi zasigurno odnose na Eubeju, no ima i glasova protiv toga. Sandbach (1942) se usprotivio i predložio je da su ἄκρα Γυρέων južni rt otoka Tena (danas Tinos¹⁷). Između ostalog Sandbach navodi i geografske činjenice: južni vrh Tinos, planina Kyknias, najviši je vrh na svim otocima ovog dijela Egejskog mora. Dan danas oblaci oko Kykniasa nagovještaju dolazak oluje.¹⁸

Na ovom mjestu u raspravu ulaze stihovi pjesnika Alkeja s papirusa iz Kölna.¹⁹ Alkej kaže da bi Ahejcima bilo bolje da su ubili Ajanta, jer ih onda ne bi pogodila oluja dok su plovili kući pored *Aigai*. Filolozi se uglavnom slažu da je riječ o mjestu Egi (*Aigai*, izjednačenoj s Karistom) na Eubeji²⁰, ali je pitanje je li riječ o istoj oluji.

Poseidon heard him make this boastful claim. Immediately those mighty hands of his picked up his trident and then brought it down on that rock at Gyrae, splitting it apart.¹³

So, where are the Gyraean Rocks actually, and what are they? Homer does not provide the exact location. A possible assumption, not too reassuring, is that the location was so well known that it was not necessary to name it.¹⁴

The *Nostoi* epic, attributed to Agias and known only for Proclus's summary (Proclus, *Chrestomatheia*), locates the storm that hit the Greeks and the death of Ajax the Lesser on the rocks of Cape Caphareus, at the south-eastern end of Euboea.¹⁵ In his verses, Archilochus (fr. 105 West = fr. 56 Diehl = Plut. *Mor.* 169 B) writes about the signs of the storm and refers to Glaucus with the following words: “Look... a mass of clouds emerges around the Gyraean Rocks (ἄκρα Γυρέων), an omen of storm”.¹⁶ Cecil Maurice Bowra (1940) thought that these verses certainly referred to Euboea, but there have been voices against this as well. Sandbach (1942) opposed this opinion and suggested that ἄκρα Γυρέων were the southern cape of the island of Tēnos (present-day Tinos).¹⁷ Among

¹⁴ C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128.

¹⁵ Ovu liniju priče slijedi i Vergilije u *Eneidi* (11. 259-260) kad kaže: „Kaferej osvetnik zna to/ Znadu Eubejske hridi i strašna Minervina bura“. *Djela P. Vergila Marona*, preveo i protumačio T. Maretić, Zagreb, JAZU, 1932. Usp. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 136-137; J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 47; C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128.

¹⁶ Ovi stihovi zapravo su alegorijski i odnose se na znakove koji najavljuju dolazak rata, a pjesnik rat uspoređuje s olujom na moru. To nije spriječilo Teofrasta (*Sign. temp.* 3.8) da citira Arhilohove stihove doslovno, u raspravi o oblacima koji se zaustavljaju na vrhu planine i najavljuju oluju. Usp. C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 127; J. STRAUSS CLAY, 1982, 201.

¹⁷ Kad spominjemo imena otoka iz starih grčkih izvora onda ih transkribiramo na hrvatski kao Andro, Ten i Mikon, ali kad govorimo o tim otocima danas onda koristimo današnja grčka imena otoka Andros, Tinos, Mykonos.

¹⁸ F. H. SANDBACH, 1942, 64.

¹⁹ PColon. inv. no. 2021: R. MERKELBACH, 1967 – editio princeps; H. LLOYD-JONES, 1968, 127-128.

²⁰ H. LLOYD-JONES, 1968, 130, 138.

¹³ Homer's *The Odyssey*, Translated by Ian Johnston, Richer Resources Publications, Arlington, Virginia, 2007; H. B. WALTERS, 1892-93, 14; M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 216; C. KERÉNYI, 1997, 325; F. LÉTOUBLON, 2002, 101.

¹⁴ C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128.

¹⁵ Virgil also holds on to this version of the story in his *Aeneid* (11. 259-260), saying: “For woes like ours, as Pallas well hath known, / Whose baleful star once wrecked us on the deep, / And grim Euboea's rocks, Caphareus' vengeful steep.” The reference is to the storm which Minerva (Pallas) raised when the Greeks set sail from Troy. The *Aeneid* of Virgil, translated into English verse by E. Fairfax Taylor, London: published by J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. and in New York by E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907. Cf. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 136-137; J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 47; C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128.

¹⁶ The verses are allegoric and refer to omens of war, with the poet comparing war with a storm at sea. This did not prevent Theophrastus (*Sign. temp.* 3.8) from quoting Archilochus's verses word for word in his treatise on clouds standing upright on a mountain peak and indicating a storm. Cf. C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 127; J. STRAUSS CLAY, 1982, 201.

¹⁷ The islands' names in the ancient Greek sources are

U mitologiji imamo priču o oluji koja je pogodila ahejsku flotu na povratku iz Troje kod Eubeje i rta Kafereja i u njoj se pojavljuje epizoda o osveti Nauplija Ahejcima koji ih je namamio na stijene lažnim svjetlima (npr. Eurip. *Helen*. 1122-1138).²¹ Prema svoj prilici, oluja koja je razbila ahejsku flotu i oluja u kojoj je nastradao Ajant Mali, dvije su različite nepogode, koje su u kasnijim pričama stopljene u jednu i tako je i Ajantova smrt smještena na Eubeju.²² Filostrat (*Her.* 31. 5-9) izrijeком kaže da je Ajant poginuo na Girskim stijenama između Tena i Andra²³, dok se Kvint iz Smirne, koji je vrlo opširno i s mnogo riječi opisao Ajantovu smrt, vraća ponovo na smještaj Girskih stijena kod rta Kafereja (14. 568-572).²⁴ Drugdje se oluja i Ajantova smrt stavljaju blizu obale Dela i Mikona.²⁵

Isto tako variraju priče gdje je Ajantov grob. Naći ćemo da ga je Tetida, Ahilejeva majka, sahranila na Mikonu (Schol. II. 23. 66).²⁶ Epitaf u Pseudo-Aristotelovom *Peplosu* također kaže da je sahranjen na Mikonu.²⁷ Skolija *Ilijade* (II. SA 13. 66) kaže da je Tetida pokopala Ajanta na Delu i to je vjerojatno izvađeno iz Kalimahovih *Aitia*. Likofron u *Aleksandri* (373-407) također navodi Del kao mjesto groba (Tzetzes ad Lycophr. *Alex.* 402 kaže pak da je na litici Tremon).²⁸

Pa gdje su onda Girske stijene? Gdje je bila ta oluja? Ako pogledamo kartu (Sl. 1) odmah ćemo vidjeti da navedeni otoci čine

other things, Sandbach also quotes geographical facts: the southern peak of Tinos, Mount Kyknias, is the highest point of all the islands in this part of the Aegean Sea. Even today, clouds around Kyknias forecast a storm.¹⁸

At this point, the verses of the poet Alcaeus from the Cologne papyrus enter the discussion.¹⁹ Alcaeus says that it would have been far better for the Achaeans if they had killed Ajax, because then they would not have been hit by the storm as they sailed past *Aigai*. Philologists mostly agree that by *Aigai* the place called *Aegae* (*Aigai*, the same as *Carystus*) on Euboea²⁰ is meant, but it is questionable whether it is the same storm.

In mythology, there is a story about a storm that hits the Achaean fleet on their return from Troy off Euboea and Cape Caphareus, in which the episode occurs about Nauplius's revenge on the Achaeans when he lights a bogus beacon and lures them onto the rocks (e.g. Eurip. *Helen*. 1122-1138).²¹ Apparently, the tempest that wrecked the Achaean fleet and the storm in which Ajax the Lesser was killed were two different disasters which later blended into one and thus Ajax's death was situated on Euboea.²² Philostratus (*Her.* 31. 5-9) expressly writes that Ajax was killed on the Gyraean Rocks between Tēnos and Andros,²³ while Quintus Smyrnaeus, who gives a very extensive and detailed account of Ajax's death, reverts to locating the Gyraean Rocks near Cape Caphareus (14. 568-572).²⁴ In other works, the storm and Ajax's death are located off the

²¹ J. T. NAPOLI, 2007, 114-115.

²² W. M. CALDER III, 1976; Ch. BATTISTELLA, 2013, 21; T. GANTZ, 1993, 696. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 136-137: nabrojio je izvore koji stavljaju prvo Ajantovu smrt pa onda oluju koja je pogodila Ahejce: Senec. *Agam.* 547 i d; Hyg. *Fab.* 116; Quint. Smyrn. 14. 532 i d.

²³ M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 37.

²⁴ C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128; S. BÄR, 2010.

²⁵ Schol. Od. 4. 500-501; Eustath. ad Od. 1507; Hesych. s.v. *Gyresi petresin*; C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128; A. HEUBECK, S. WEST & J. B. HAINSWORTH, 1988, 223-224; M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 40.

²⁶ C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 129; F. H. SANDBACH, 1942, 64, bilj. 2; M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 231.

²⁷ Ed. H. STEPHANUS, 1573, 139.

²⁸ FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 137; T. GANTZ, 1993, 667.

transcribed as Andros, Tēnos and Myconos, while the present-day islands in modern Greek are Andros, Tinos and Mykonos.

¹⁸ F. H. SANDBACH, 1942, 64.

¹⁹ PColon. inv. no. 2021: R. MERKELBACH, 1967 – editio princeps; H. LLOYD-JONES, 1968, 127-128.

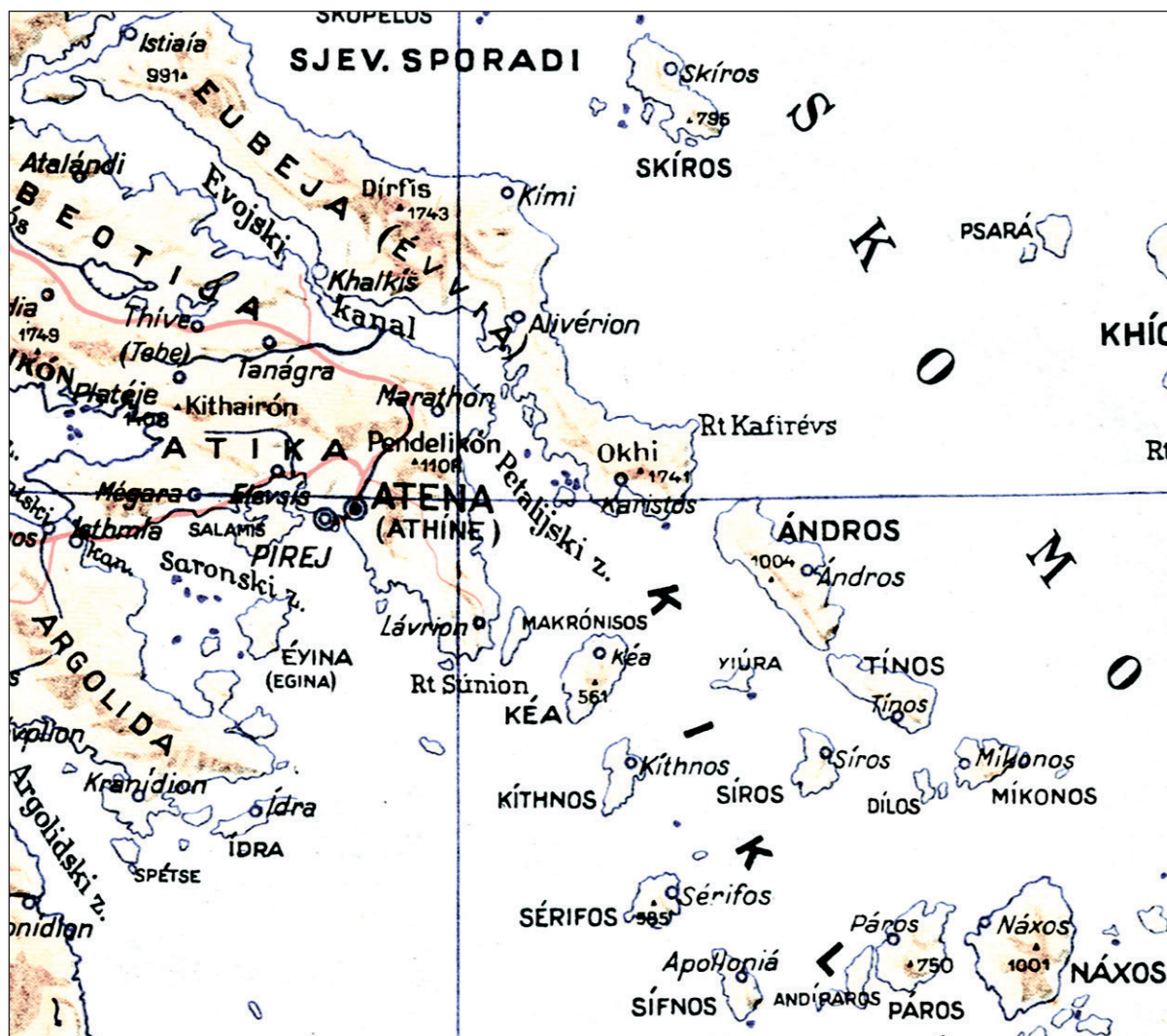
²⁰ H. LLOYD-JONES, 1968, 130, 138.

²¹ J. T. NAPOLI, 2007, 114-115.

²² W. M. CALDER III, 1976; Ch. BATTISTELLA, 2013, 21; T. GANTZ, 1993, 696. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 136-137, names all the sources that first cite Ajax's death and then the storm that hit the Achaeans: Senec. *Agam.* 547ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 116; Quint. Smyrn. 14. 532ff.

²³ M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 37.

²⁴ C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128; S. BÄR, 2010.



SLIKA 1. Karta dijela Kiklada s nizom otoka Eubeja-Andros-Tinos-Mykonos (prema Z. Dugački, J. Zoričić, Atlas za škole II stupnja, III prošireno izdanje, Mladost, Zagreb, 1971).

FIGURE 1 Map of a part of the Cyclades with the series of islands Euboea-Andros-Tinos-Mykonos (based on Z. Dugački, J. Zoričić, Atlas za škole II stupnja, III expanded edition, Mladost, Zagreb, 1971).



SLIKA 2. Južni kraj otoka Androsa (foto: M. Miličević Bradač, 2001).

FIGURE 2 Southern end of the island of Andros (foto: M. Miličević Bradač, 2001).



SLIKA 3. Južni dio otoka Tinos; u pozadini se vide oblaci oko vrhova planina na Tinosu (foto: M. Milićević Bradač, 2001).

FIGURE 3 Southern part of the island of Tinos; in the background, clouds can be seen around the mountain peaks on Tinos (foto: M. Milićević Bradač, 2001).



SLIKA 4. Brod u oluji kod Tinos, meltemi (foto: M. Milićević Bradač, 2001).

FIGURE 4 A ship in a storm off Tinos, meltemi (foto: M. Milićević Bradač, 2001).

niz, od Eubeje, preko Andra (Sl. 2) i Tena (Sl. 3), do Mikona i Dela. Između njih su tjesnaci i svaki je opasan jer tu je granica između Kiklada i otvorenog dijela Egejskog mora kojim i danas šibaju oluje sa sjevera zvane *meltemi*. I mi smo sami doživjeli jednu takvu snažnu *meltemi* 2001. g. kad su golemi trajekti i veliki teretni brodovi bježali u zaklon luke Tinos (Sl. 4) i tu smo ostali tri dana čekajući da se vrijeme smiri. Brojne stijene na otocima Androsu i Tinosu velika su opasnost svakom brodu u oluji.

Mislimo da s jedne strane priča o smrti Ajanta Malog i tužnom povratku Ahejaca sažima strahove svih pomoraca s Kiklada od nagle oluje čiji se prvi znaci vide u oblaku oko vrha Tena; a s druge strane nesiguran smještaj Girskih stijena i njihove mitološke konotacije kažu nam da one i ne pripadaju u zemljopis nego u mitologiju i da ih niti ne treba tražiti na karti nego u topografiji praga Onoga svijeta.²⁹ Ako maknemo sve ukrase priče i ostavimo samo motive dobivamo poznatu strukturu: gdje bile da bile, Girske stijene su stijene i s tih je stijena heroj odnesen u smrt. U okvirima strukture predodžbi o pragu između ovoga i Onoga svijeta, Girske stijene imaju istu funkciju kao, na primjer, Bijela stijena (*Leukas petre*) u „Malim Nekijama“ u *Odiseji* (Od. 24. 11), pored koje duše prosaca prolaze u Onaj svijet.³⁰ Možda je zato tako teško u geografiji locirati Girske stijene jer izvorno pripadaju topografiji puta na Onaj svijet, pa su tek kasnije, kad je osnovna religijska struktura prešla u junački ep, koji se smatrao opisom stvarnih događaja, Girske stijene stavljene u stvarni pejzaž.

Ajant Mali samo je još jedan od heroja koji je pored stijene otišao na Onaj svijet. Ne samo to, nego se čini da je izvorno, prije nego što je ušao u epiku i dok je bio dijelom

coast of Delos and Myconos.²⁵

Stories about the location of Ajax's grave likewise vary. We read that Thetis, Achilles's mother, buried him on Myconos (Schol. Il. 23. 66).²⁶ An epitaph in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Peplos* also says that he was buried on Myconos.²⁷ The scholia to the *Iliad* (Il. SA 13. 66) have it that Thetis buried Ajax on Delos, and this was probably taken from Callimachus's *Aitiaie*. In *Alexandra* (373-407), Lycophron also mentions Delos as the location of the grave (Tzetzes ad Lycophr. *Alex.* On the other hand, verse 402 claims that it was on the Tremon Cliff).²⁸

So where are the Gyraean Rocks? Where was the storm? If we take a look at the map (Fig. 1), we will immediately see that the islands form a range, from Euboea over Andros (Fig. 2) and Tênos (Fig. 3), to Myconos and Delos. Between them, there are straits and each of them is dangerous because this is where the boundaries are between the Cyclades and the open part of the Aegean Sea in which even nowadays storms from the north called *meltemi* rage. We experienced such a strong *meltemi* in 2001, as huge ferries and large freight ships sought shelter in the port of Tinos (Fig. 4), where we stayed for three days, waiting for the weather to calm. The numerous rocks off the islands of Andros and Tinos represent a great hazard for any ship in a storm.

In our opinion, on the one hand, the story of the death of Ajax the Lesser and of the sorrowful return of the Achaeans sums up the fears of all Cycladian sailors of a sudden storm indicated by a cloud around the peak of Tênos. On the other hand, the uncertain location of the Gyraean Rocks and their mythological connotations suggest that they do not belong to ge-

²⁹ J. STRAUSS CLAY, 1982, 203 je također mislio da su Girske stijene simboličke.

³⁰ O skoku sa stijene i Bijeloj stijeni vidi G. NAGY, 1973.

²⁵ Schol. Od. 4. 500-501; Eustath. ad Od. 1507; Hesych. s.v. *Gyresi petresin*; C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 128; A. HEUBECK, S. WEST, J. B. HAINSWORTH, 1988, 223-224; M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 40.

²⁶ C. M. BOWRA, 1940, 129; F. H. SANDBACH, 1942, 64, note 2; M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 231.

²⁷ Ed. H. STEPHANUS, 1573, 139.

²⁸ FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 137; T. GANTZ, 1993, 667.

„sakralnih historija“, bio tako zvano „biće s praga“, jedan od onih koji funkcioniraju kao stražari, vodiči i pomagači onima koji se nađu preblizu tom pragu, a to su u ovom sustavu ideja najčešće pomorci.³¹ Iz velikog kompleksa priča koncentriranih oko Ajanta i njegovog vrlo složenog lika³², izdvojiti ćemo samo dvije veće strukture koje pokazuju tu vezu.

Prvo što nam se nameće samo od sebe je podatak da je nakon smrti Ajant boravio na Bijelom otoku – Leuki, znanom i kao Ahilejev otok.³³ Pauzanija (3. 19) kaže da je prvi koji je došao na Leuku bio Krotonjanin Leonim, ranjen u bitki kod Sagre. U Delfima mu je rečeno da će ga izliječiti Ajant Oilejev na Bijelom otoku.³⁴ Osim Ahileja, Helene i Ajanta Malog, na Leuki su boravili Patroklo, Memnon, Ajant Veliki ili Telamonov, Antiloh³⁵ – cijela družina heroja kojima nije dana smrt, nego vječnost u prolazu između dva svijeta i dužnost da pomažu ljudima u nevolji, posebno pomorcima. S obzirom na priličan broj stanovnika u blaženoj egzistenciji, Leuka je po karakteru vrlo bliska Otocima blaženih.³⁶ Jedino se pisac Lukijan u *Istinitim pripovijestima* (2. 17) ne slaže s

ography but rather to mythology and that one should not look for them on the map but rather in the topography of the threshold into the otherworld.²⁹ If we remove all decorations from the story and keep only the motifs, we will obtain the familiar structure: no matter where they were, the Gyraean Rocks were rocks, and from these rocks a hero was taken to his death. Within the framework of the structure of ideas about the threshold into the otherworld, the Gyraean Rocks have the same function as, for example, the White Rock (*Leukàs pètrê*) from the “Small Nekyia” in the *Odyssey* (Od. 24. 11), past which the souls of the suitors were escorted into the otherworld.³⁰ Possibly this is the reason why it is hard to geographically locate the Gyraean Rocks, as they originally belonged to the topography of the journey to the otherworld, and it was only later, after the basic religious structure had been transformed into a heroic epic which was considered to be a rendering of real events, that the Gyraean Rocks were set into a realistic landscape.

Ajax the Lesser is only one more hero who, past the rocks, went into the otherworld. What is more, it seems that originally, before entering the epic, while he was part of “sacral histories”, he was a so-called “threshold creature”, one of those that functioned as guardians, leaders and helpers to those who found themselves too close to the threshold. In this system of beliefs, these were most frequently seafarers.³¹ From the large number of stories concentrated around Ajax as an extraordinary complex figure,³² let us examine just two larger

³¹ Sva svetišta koja su se povezivala s Ajantom Malim, ali i Ajantom Velikim ili Telamonovim, nalazila su se blizu mora, npr. na Salamini, u Tesaliji, ali i otočiću *Aianteon* kraj Samotrake. Ajant Mali sahranjen je na Mikonu ili Delu, a sahranila ga je morska božica Tetida. M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 232-233.

³² TOEPFFER, 1894; FLEISCHER, 1884-1890; L. R. FARNELL, 1921, 293 i d; O. TOUCHÉFEU, 1981, 336 i d; C. KERÉNYI, 1997, 325 i d.

³³ Taj je otok danas identificiran u Crnome moru, blizu ušća Dunava – Zmeinyi, zvan i Ophidonisi i Ylanda – sve u značenju „Zmijjski otok“. M. MILIČEVIĆ BRADAČ, 2004, 388 i d.

³⁴ Usp. Conon. FGhR 26 F 1.18. Leonima je u bitki kod Sagre ranio upravo Ajant Oilejev, koji se sablasno pojavio u bojnem redu Lokrija Epizefirija i donio im pobjedu nad premoćnim Krotonom. U toj su bitki Lokrani imali još nadnaravne pomoći, navodno Dioskura. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 138; M. GIANGIULIO, 1983, 507-508; L. MOSCATI CASTELNUOVO, 1995; V. M. MANFREDI, L. BRACCESI, 1997, 227-228, 235-236; J. BRAVO, 2004, 66-67.

³⁵ M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 53.

³⁶ M. GIANGIULIO, 1983, 510.

²⁹ J. STRAUSS CLAY, 1982, 203, also believed that the Gyraean Rocks were symbolic.

³⁰ On the leap from the rock and the White Rock, see G. NAGY, 1973.

³¹ All the sanctuaries that were associated with Ajax the Lesser, but also with Ajax the Great or Telamonian, were located close to the sea, e.g. on Salamis, in Tessalia, but also on the islet of *Aianteon* near Samothrace. Ajax the Lesser was buried on Myconos or Delos by the sea goddess Thetis. M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 232-233.

³² TOEPFFER, 1894; FLEISCHER, 1884-1890; L. R. FARNELL, 1921, 293ff.; O. TOUCHÉFEU, 1981, 336ff.; C. KERÉNYI, 1997, 325ff.

tom tradicijom. Tvrdeći da je posjetio Otok blaženih, kaže da su ondje bili svi polubogovi i svi koji su se borili pod Ilijem, osim Ajanta Lokranina koji je bio kažnjen boravkom na mjestu za bezbožnike.³⁷

Druga značajka Ajantova koju spominju antički pisci je da ga je posvuda pratila pitoma zmija duga pet kubita (oko 2,5 m), kao pas (Philostr. *Her.* 31. 3).³⁸ Heroji i zmije stalno se povezuju u htoničkim kultovima, do te mjere da zmija ponekad ima ulogu dvojnika heroja.³⁹ U pomorskim predodžbama prisutnost zmije na otoku označava prag svjetova i mjesto gdje se prelazi Onamo. Spomenimo samo da je otok Leuke bio znan i kao „Zmijski otok“, što je vrlo značkovito u ovom kontekstu.⁴⁰

Bića s praga općenito imaju još jednu karakteristiku – to su „miješana bića“ (njem. *Mischwesen*) s fizičkim značajkama koje ne postoje u stvarnom svijetu (poput žena-ptica Sirena, ili žene-lava Sfinge, da spomenemo samo najpoznatije). Tako nam Servije (*Aen.* 1.41.26) kaže da su Grci vjerovali da je Ajant imao tri ruke, treću na leđima.⁴¹

Ima još mnogo odlika koje ovdje nemamo prostora spomenuti, ali zaključimo da je Ajant Mali, Oilejev ili Lokranin potekao iz predodžbe o biću koje se nalazi na pragu ovoga i Onoga svijeta, povezanog s morem i olujama, koji je trebao na neki način pomoći u nevolji. Karakteri takvih heroja ne mogu se uvijek objasniti etikom običnih smrtnika. Možemo pretpostaviti da su se likovi mijenjali protokom vremena – pristup je različit u ranim izvorima koji su bliži „sakralnim historijama“, od, na primjer, tragičara koji

structures demonstrating the connection.

The first thing that comes into mind is that after his death Ajax stayed on the White Island of Leuke, also known as the island of Achilles.³³ Pausanias (3. 19) says that the first to arrive on Leuke was Leonymus of Crotona, wounded at the Battle of the Sagra. At Delphi, he was told that his wound would be cured by Ajax the son of Oileus on the White Island.³⁴ In addition to Achilles, Helen and Ajax the Lesser, Patroclus, Memnon, Ajax the Great, son of Telamon, and Antilochus³⁵ were also on Leuke, i.e. the whole company of heroes to whom no death was granted but rather eternity in the passage between the two worlds and the duty to help those in need, particularly sailors. Given the rather large number of its inhabitants in blessed existence, in its nature Leuke is very close to the Islands of the Blessed.³⁶ Only the writer Lucian in his *A True Story* (2. 17) disagrees with this tradition. Claiming that he had visited the Islands of the Blessed, he says that all the demigods and veterans of Troy were there except Locrian Ajax, who was the only one who was being punished in the place of the wicked.³⁷

Another characteristic of Ajax mentioned by antique writers is that he was always accompanied by a tame snake, five cubits (approximately 2.5 m) long, following him like a dog (Philostr. *Her.* 31. 3).³⁸ Heroes and serpents are

³⁷ A. GEORGIADOU, D. H. J. LARMOUR, 1998, 195.

³⁸ J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 89; M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 215; C. KERÉNYI, 1997, 326.

³⁹ J. BRAVO, 2004, 71.

⁴⁰ Da zmija pomaže na moru može nam posvjedočiti i Puzanija (1. 36) koji kaže da se heroj Kihrej (*Kychreus*) pojavio kao zmija među brodovima tijekom bitke kod Salamine, pomažući Grcima. J. BRAVO, 2004, 66.

⁴¹ J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 85; M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 54.

³³ In the present day, the island has been identified as Zmeinyi, also known as Ophidionisi and Ylanda, which all mean “Snake Island”, in the Black Sea, near the mouth of the Danube. M. MILIČEVIĆ BRADAČ, 2004, 388ff.

³⁴ Cf. Conon. FGrH 26 F 1.18. At the Battle of the Sagra, Leonymus was wounded by Ajax, son of Oileus, whose ghostly apparition appeared in the front line of the citizens of Epizephyrian Locris and brought them victory over the superior Crotonians. In this battle, the Locrians are said to have had other supernatural helpers in the shape of the Dioscuri. FLEISCHER, 1884-1890, 138; M. GIANGIULIO, 1983, 507-508; L. MOSCATI CASTELNUOVO, 1995; V. M. MANFREDI & L. BRACCESI, 1997, 227-228, 235-236; J. BRAVO, 2004, 66-67.

³⁵ M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 53.

³⁶ M. GIANGIULIO, 1983, 510.

³⁷ A. GEORGIADOU, D. H. J. LARMOUR, 1998, 195.

³⁸ J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 89; M. DELCOURT, R. L. RANKIN, 1965, 215; C. KERÉNYI, 1997, 326.

su rabili mitove kao sredstvo rasprave o moralu i psihologiji svojih suvremenika. Tako je Ajant napredovao od neobičnog i arogantnog lika prema svetogrđniku, silovatelju prema potrebi, i bogohulniku.

regularly associated in chthonic cults, to the extent that a snake sometimes plays the role of a hero's double.³⁹ In the maritime world, the presence of a serpent on an island symbolises a threshold between the worlds and the spot of passing to the otherworld. It should also be mentioned that the island of Leuke was also known as "Snake Island", which is very significant in this context.⁴⁰

Another general trait of threshold creatures is that they are "mixed creatures" with physical features that do not exist in the real world (such as women-birds – sirens, or women-lions – sphinxes, to mention only the most famous examples). Thus, Servius (*Aen.* 1.41.26) notes that the Greeks believed that Ajax had a third hand behind his back.⁴¹

There are many other aspects which we have not mentioned here because we only have limited space, but it can be concluded that Ajax the Lesser, son of Oileus, also known as Locrian, originates in the idea of a creature dwelling on the threshold between this world and the otherworld, associated with the sea and storms, who should serve as a helper in hard times. The character of such heroes cannot always be explained in terms of common mortal ethics. It can be assumed that their characters changed with the times. The approach in early sources, which were closer to the "sacral histories", differed from that of, for example, the tragedians who used myths to debate on the morals and psychology of their contemporaries. Thus, Ajax developed from an unusual and arrogant figure to that of a desecrator, rapist and, as appropriate, a blasphemer.

Translation: Nina Matetić Pelikan
(*Etnotrend d.o.o.*)

Proof-reading: Stephen Hindlaugh

³⁹ J. BRAVO, 2004, 71.

⁴⁰ An account of a snake helping at sea is also given by Pausanias (1. 36), who wrote about Cychreus the hero, who was said to have appeared in the fleet as a snake during the Battle of Salamis to help the Athenians. J. BRAVO, 2004, 66.

⁴¹ J. VÜRTHEIM, 1907, 85; M. LIBRÁN MORENO, 2006, 54.

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