Women in the looking-glass;  
the philogynous Dapontes (1713-1784)  
within the misogynous tradition  
of the Middle Ages

I have to admit from the very beginning that my presence here,¹ 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 researcher² 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.³ Furthermore, 
Dapontes’ Καθρέπτης Γυναικών (Mirror of Women)⁴ stands as a unique 
example in the homonymous literary sub-genre of ‘Specula feminarum’ 
(or better ‘dominarum’),⁵ as far as Greek literature of the period 12th- 
18th century is concerned, the only one⁶ in fact which meets the strict 
generic criteria established by Jónsson.⁷ 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.⁸ 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 
Phanario 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

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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.9 It was published for the first time in 1766 in Leipzig with mistakes about which Dapontes complains on several occasions.10 It is not certain that a second edition in Venice by Michael Glykes was ever released.11 The book has never been critically edited in modern times.12

To paraphrase what the late G.P. Savvidis once wrote,13 Dapontes, as his surname significantly shows (Italian, da ponte),14 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.15 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.’16

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...
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.”

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: 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 Meun’s 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.’

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”. 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.²² 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’²³ as it first occurs in Walter Mapes’s Goliad or ‘[...] droopyng 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 Bath²⁴ — 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 Περὶ Ποιητικῆς. Aristotle, talking about literary genres, mentions: ‘διαφέρουσι δὲ ἄλληλας τροσίν’ ἢ γὰρ τῷ ἐν ἑτέρῳς μιμεῖται ἢ τῷ ἑτέρᾳ ἢ τῷ ἑτέρω καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.’²⁵ (= 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 ἑτέρῳς). I will not go into details; all I can say is that misogyny, according to a generic system of this kind, is a ‘mode’²⁶ and not a genre.

As far as Greek vernacular literature is concerned, I have shown elsewhere²⁷ that the generic term that should be used to describe the 26 relevant texts suggested as such by specialists is ‘καθήρες 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 Συναξάριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τιμιτάτων αρχόντισσων (Register of Noble Women)²⁸ — which in fact proved to be two poems: Συναξάριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τιμιτάτων αρχόντισσων (Register of Noble Women) and Επαινος τῶν γυναικῶν (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’.²⁹ 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 Θανατικὸν τῆς 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 Αδάμ τον πρῶτον 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 άνδρος 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 considered misogynous.

The term 'mirrors of women' with reference to the medieval literary genre of Specula is much more flexible. It does not presume the existence 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 Grubes 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. Grubes 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
(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 Jónsson’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 commonplaces 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.”

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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.  

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…

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.” This passage is taken from another work of Dapontes dedicated to women, the Φανάρι Γυναικών. This work was most probably completed in 1776, ten years after the Leipzig edition of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών, and it was never published — although Dapontes wished it to be. Throughout the text, which includes one hundred and fifty three stories of women, 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, 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’. Dapontes’ weakness for women is well known; how much

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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’.‘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.” 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 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, and they would translate books of literature, history, etc., from major European languages. 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 Γυναικῶν, 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,\(^5\) with most evident the lack of a monograph on women's position and representation in 18th-century Greek literature.\(^5\) 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 Χριστῷ, Χριστοῦ χρόνους χίλιους, / οκτώ και τεσσαράκοντα, ετπι επτακοσίους, / μήνα κατά Νοέμβριον, εν τῇ τῶν Εισοδίων, / τῆς παλαιᾶς μου φυλακῆς εξόδου των αιτίων.” (see Savvidis 1993, 138\(\text{567-571}\) = Dapontes 1766, I, 98\(\text{61-14}\)\)

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 Savvidis 1995, 273\(\text{10}\) = Dapontes 1766, II, 290\(\text{19-22}\)): “Τριάντα ο Ιουλίος είχε και εύχα τάγει / ημέρες δεκατέσσαρας εις το Μπαχτσε Σεράγι. / Ετός από γεννήσεως Χριστοῦ χρόνους χίλιους / και έξι και τεσσαράκοντα με τους επτακοσίους”, Dapontes comments: ‘πράγματα οποίοι έγιναν προ χρόνων δύο-τριών / να τα ειπώ πως έγιναν προ χρόνων τρισχιλίων.’ (see Savvidis 1995, 282\(\text{21-22}\) = Dapontes 1766, II, 296\(\text{21-22}\)\)

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: “Ετεί από γεννήσεως Χριστοῦ χρόνους χίλιους, / οκτώ και τεσσαράκοντα με τους επτακοσίους, / Κυριακή ξημέρωμα, ένδεικα Δεκεμβρίου” (see Dapontes 1766, II, 404\(\text{50-51}\)) 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 επτακοσίους, / Σάββατον ξημερώνοντας Ερμείου του οικίου, / απάνα εις τας δεκατρείς του Ιανουαρίου.” (see Dapontes 1766, II, 404\(\text{25-26}\)\)

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\(\text{50-51}\): “Χαριτωμένη μου εσύ, προς τον μονογενή σου, / εσύ γίνου μεστήρια διά τον δουλευτήν σου. / Και τάξι ςου ο ταπεινός, υπόσχεσαι σου κάνω, / από

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της σήμερον χι εμπρός όσον που υ’ αποθάνω, / να φυλαχθώ όσο μπόρο, για να μην αμαρτήσω / και τον Υιόν σου και θεον πάλιν τον παρονησό,” and a bit further down, 428[31-33]: “Και έτοι μ’ εξαγόρασες [ο Lord], οπού ’μου πουλημένος / ατός μου στον διάβολο και κατασκλαβωμένος. / Και μ’ εβγαλες και μ’ έκαψες ουχί σκλάβον διχόν Σου, / αλλ’ αδελφόν, αλλά υόν, αλλά σομόθρον Σου”). In addition he states his decision to become a monk: “έκασα να παρατηρήσω απόφασην του χόσμου: / ο νους μου πλέον έστερεξεν, έκλιν’ ο λογισμός μου” and further down, 443[32-36]: “Ως πότε να σας βαστώ και να σας υπομένων; / Ως πότε με τον λόγον σας να είμαι και να μένω; / Φύγε τον χόσμον, ταπεινέ, και σύρε να μονάσεις, / μήπως σας ύλλους περισσοσ άυμο χε / εσώ φωνάζεις: / Ω, πότε εμέ τον διόστηνον ηπάστησας, ω κόσμε;”. (see Dapontes 1766, II, 425[7-8])

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 της τον έκαμε κακόν τον κόσμον και αχρείον, / τον κόσμον τον ευγενικόν, καθό κτήμαν θείον. / Νά διατί τον φεύγομεν εγώ κε έσω, Χαρίτων. / Αλλεώς πολος έσφυγε παράδεισον 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 Kehagiooglou 1986, 46) and July 1753 (when he left Constantinople to go to Pipere; see Kehagiooglou 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 πνημάτα δε και τρεῖς, ελθών στον εαυτό μου, / στάθηκα κε εσποιάθηκα τα πλήθα των κακών μου. / [I omit 4 lines] Καί το του κόσμου μάταιον ιδών και λογαρίσας, / και τα του κόσμου πράγματα, καλά, κακά χορτάζας, / και κόσμον και εγκύσμα με δικαιο- 
μνημόσυνον, / από τον κόσμον άφιγα, έρημον αγαπήςας.” (see Savvidis 1995, 69[12, 7:10] He might have finished it some time before or after he took orders (26.10.1753) in Pipere, or probably during the first months of his ‘lonely conduct’ (μονοχήθι διαγωγή), when he composes the major part of the primary material that he later brings together and publishes in his books: “Και χάνω ολομονόχον κοινά δύο είκοσι χρόνους, / πλην όχι με τους πρόπτοντας μονοχήθις τούς πόνους, / ξηγώντας και συνθέτοντας λόγους και ιστορίας / και ύμνους και εγκύσμα, και διά στιχογράφια, / ως εις τους τόμους φαίνοντας, υπέρ τους δέκα όντας, / σπού, αν ίσως αγαπάς, θέλεις τους βρέεις ξηγώντας. / [I omit 2 lines] Ζώντας κατά αλη- 
thείαν με άχραν ησύχαςαν, / εκείνο οπού ήθελα, και με αμερμνίαν, / και

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γράφοντας και σκάφοντας· ζωή τη άληθεία, / ως λέγουν, χαρισάμενη, και μιά βασιλεία.” (see Savvidis 1995, 7037-42, 45-46-7147-48) This period lasts from, probably, April or May 1754 (“Συμεων μήνας ἕξ-ἐπτά αὐτάμα με τοὺς ἄλλους, / ὡς δέχα ὅντας ἁδερφοὺς, μικροὺς τα και μεγάλους.” (see Savvidis 1995, 7038-39); 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 (“Εἰς τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, τη ἑκτη Νοεμβρίου, / εμπήκα εἰς την Σκόπελον, ελέει του Κυρίου”; see Savvidis 1995, 78279-280). 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 Γυναικών was completed between 1753 and 1756, most probably in 1753 or 1754.

APPENDIX II: DEDICATION AND PROLOGUE

<Αφιέρωσις>

Τη εκλαμπροτάτη και ευσεβεστάτη χυρία χυρία Ελένη Μαυροκορδάτου, επιφανεστάτη δόμην του υψηλοτάτου αυθέντου πάσης Μολδοβλαχίας χυρίου χυρίου Γρηγορίου Ιωάννου, εν Χριστῷ τω Θείω ευ πράττειν.

Ἀφού εποίησεν ο πανόραμος Θεός τον ουρανόν και την γην και πάντα τα εν αυτοίς, χουν λαβών από της γης / (f. 2v) ἐπέλασε τον Ἀδάμ καὶ ἐβέθε ἀυτόν εν τῷ παραδείσῳ. Θέλοντας δὲ να πλάσει καὶ την Εὕαν, εἶπε, 'πουήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοήθον κατ' αὐτόν,' καὶ οὕτως ἐπέλασε καὶ την Εὕαν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτήν τῷ Ἀδάμ, ως αξίαν αὐτῷ, καθὸ ομοίαν αὐτῷ. Καὶ αφού δὲ αξίωσεν ο ὑψιστός Θεός καὶ ανεβάζα τον ευσεβεστάτον αυθέντην εἰς τὸν πατρικόν αυτοῦ θρόνον, ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικῶν αὐτῶν κόλ-

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πων λαβών και ἐβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θεοφροσύνῃ ὑπεντία τῆς Μολδοβλαχιῶν, θέλοντας νὰ δώσει αὐτῷ καὶ δόμινα ὁμοίων αὐτῷ. τῇ ὑμετέρῳν ἐδώκεν εὐκατάμπτησα, ὡς ἀξίζατ καὶ πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ, ὁμοίως τὸ ὅμοιον προσαρμόσας καὶ τὸ ἄξιον ἀποδοῦσι, ὡς τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα. Οὐκ ὁμ. / (f. 3) τρόπον εὐφράνθητε ὑμεῖς, ὁ νυμφίος επὶ τῇ νύφῃ, ὀφίως εὐφράνθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφρανθήσατε Κύριος εὐφυμόν. Ταύτῃ τὴν λυπώνταν ἧταν τῇ θεοτριπή ὁ ἀνάξιος μιμηθής ὁμοίωτης, εὐπρεπεστάτη δόμαν, προσαφωνοὺς τῇ σῇ εὐκατάμπτης τῆς θεοφροσύνης τῆς σαλληγῆν καὶ καινοφρελὴ εὐκατάμπην τῶν ἱστορίων τῶν πλεόν ἰεροφάλων γυναικῶν, ὁποῖο τὸ πάλαι χρόνον ὡς ρόδα ωραία εβάλασθηκαὶ καὶ ὁ νυμφικὸς παράδεισος ὡς κρίνα εὐώδη εξήνθησαι, ὡς ἀξίζατ τῇ σῇ εὐεργείᾳ καὶ πρέπουσαν, ὁμοίως τὸ ὅμοιον εὐαίσθητον κάθως καὶ τῷ τίμουν αὐτοῦν ὡς τῷ χρυσῷ τῶν διαδημάτων. Διότι εἰς τὴν εὐκατάμπτη αὐτῇ καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς μεγάλαν αναμφιβολῶς θεορῶν ὁμοίωτης καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρεί / (f. 3v) τὰς εἰς ἀληθείας καὶ χάριτας. Εἰς τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰδὰ νεκεῖν ὅποι εἰς τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἰεροβά παραμάσα: ὅτι αν εἰς ἐστάθη εὐπρεπεστάτη εἰς τὸν πατέρα τῆς καὶ εὐθυσάδθηκε εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἡ εὐκατάμπτης σου ὀλιγοτέρον εἰς τὸν γονέαν εὐπρεπεστάτης ἀδιάφραξι καὶ τιμήν καὶ εὐλαβείας καὶ ἀλλαμενὸς. καὶ δὲν εὐθυσάδθηκης ὡς εἰς ἀληθείας τῇ ρήματι μη ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου διὰ ταῦς ἀνεισοεῖς καὶ προσφέρουσα Αὐτῷ χαρπὸν χειλέων καὶ ὀφαλμών ως ἱερὸν ὅλωστομα. Εἰς τὴν σωφρονεστάθην σου καρθῶν μέλειν εἰς τὸν τὸ σωφρονεστάθην Σωσάνην ἀπόρρησαν: ὅτι αν εἰς ἐστάθη πιστοτάτη εὐθυσάδθηκεν εἰς τὸν χάρας τῆς καὶ τὴν τιμήν απὸ τὴν / (f. 4v) τῇ ζωῆς με θαῦμα πάντων καὶ ἐκπλήξει ἐπροτίμησαν, ἡ εὐκατάμπτης σου ὀλιγότερος δὲν ἥδεις προτιμήσεις διὰ τὴν τιμήν μιρώσις θαυμάτων καὶ λιθασμούς: Εἰς τὴν εὐπρεπεστάθην σου γνώμην θεωρῶν εἰς τὸν ἤμικαν ὅποι εἰς τὴν εὐπρεπεστάθην Εὐθύρος μεγάλως ἐπάνειας, ἤτοι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ δόγμα επάτησε καὶ τὴν ζωήν εκνυσθήκεσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τὴν τελὴν τῶν ὀμοφύλων εφύλαξεν. Ἡ εὐκατάμπτης σου ὀλιγότερον δὲν ἥδεις διαπράξεις τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ δὲν ἥδεις τοῦτον τοῦτον καὶ σώματας ἐφεξῆ, ἵνα τὴν ζωῆν εὐδοκίας καὶ καὶ μόνον χαρίσεις —καὶ ἰσως εχάρισες—. Καὶ αν ἡ θαυμαστὴ Ιουθά καὶ ἡ γεννάτις Ἰακώβ καὶ ἡ προφήτης Δεβρά συναντήσεις εὐκατάμπτης τοῦ τυμοῦτος του Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ Αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτα— (f. 4v) τῶν εὐθυσάδθωσαν, ἡ εὐκατάμπτης σου δὲν ἥδεις τοῦν ἀναθῇς: ἡ δὲν ἥδεις τοὺς ὑποτέλεος καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰσως εχάρισις καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦν κόσμου, τῆς σάρκας καὶ τοῦν διάβολου, καὶ τὴν ψυχήν ἀναλάττης τῆς χακουργίας αὐτῶν. Καὶ αν ἡ θεωρήσεις αὐτὴς καὶ περιβολής τοῦν ἀναθῇς καὶ παιδαγωγηθῆς ὁμοίως χαλῶς τα τέκνα ὅποι ὁ εποικόνος Πατήρ σε εχάρισε καὶ μέλλει να σε χαρίσει,
διά να τα αναδείξεις ζώσας εικόνας της μητρικής αρετής και εκμαγεία της πατρικής των δόξης και λαμπρότητας; Και αν τέλος πάντων / (f. 5) η φιλόσοφος εκείνη βασιλίσσα αφείσα το βασίλειον ήλθεν εις τον Σο- λομώντα, διά να ακουσίει την όσην αυτού και να ιστορήσει την δύναμιν του, η εκλαμπρότητας σου δεν ήθελες αφήσει, αν ήτον δυνατόν, την ανθε- ντίαν μετά πάσης χαράς, και ήθελες υπάγεις μετέ- άκρας σπουδής ως έλαι- φος διψάους εις τον άγιο Τάφον και εις το Άγιο Όρος, διά να προσκυ- νήσεις τους αγίους εκείνους τόπους και να ιστορήσεις τα εν αυτοίς βασι- λικά μοναστήρια και ασκητήρια και κειμήλια και άγια λειψάνα; Διά ταύτα πάντα, ευκλεεστάτα πασών γυναικών προσφωνώ και προσφέρω σοι την βίβλον πασών των περιβολής εκείνων γυναικών, διά την σην μετ' αυτών ομοιότητα κατά την αξίαν και την προαι- / (f. 5v) ρεσιν. Εστάθηκα γαρ και ευκλεεστάθηκα εις αυτάς άσας μέσας εις ένα καθρέπτην την εικόνα την σην και παραβάλλων αυτήν την ηύρα κατ' εικόνα αυτών και ομόφωναν. Όθεν έπρεπε να είναι εν μέσῳ αυτών και να φαίνεσαι ομοί μετ' αυτών και να συμπαρασκεύει επανομμένη αεί μετ' αυτών. Πρόσδεξα τοίνυν παρακάλω μετά χαράς την βίβλον μου ταύτην. Υπόδε- ξαι το ευγενές τούτο θέατρον, τον πάντημον τούτον χορὸν προοίμισθης, είσελθης εις τον πάντερπνυν τούτον παράδεισου. Άρον τους οφθαλμούς σου, ευκλεεστάτα καίρια, και ίδε εις το θεατή διότι κατοπτρίζουν και κατοπτρίζουν συνεχώς και βλέπε χαρμονικώς· όχι διά να καλλιπτίζεσαι, ότι είσαι με το κάλλος της / (f. 6) ταπεινώσεως· όχι διά να στολίζεσαι, ότι είσαι με την στολή της σωφροσύνης, ούτε διά να ωραίεσαι, ότι εί- σαι με την προσευχής ωραίότητα, αλλ' ούτε διά να λαμπρόνεσαι, ότι είσαι με την λαμπρότητα της ελεγμοσύνης· αλλά διά να ευφράινεσαι βλέπουσα μέσα εις αυτό και την εκλαμπρότητα και να χαίρεσαι συγχορεύουσα και να ευθυμίες συνοδεύουσα και να ευχαριστείς συνυ- πάρχουσα και η εκλαμπρότητας σου και να επιμελείσαι να έχεις, αν όχι τα πρωτεία, όμοιοι ουδέ τα δευτερεία των ενδόξων αυτών γυναικών, δοξά- ζουσα και αινούσα τον παντοδύναμον Θεόν, εξ ού πάσα δόσις αγαθή και παν δώρημα τέλειον τοις δοξάζουσι το υπερύμνητον και υπερένδοξον άνομον τον Πατρός και τον Υιού και τού / (f. 6v) Άγιον Πνεύματος, ότι Αυτὸ πρέπει πάσα δόξα, τιμή και προσκύνησις, νυν και αεί και εἰς τους αἰώνας των αἰώνων, αιμήν. αἰφέζ' (1763). Μαρτίου πρώτη.

Της υμετέρας εκλαμπρότητος
Ευχέτερης διάτυρος,
Καισάριος Δαπόντες. / (f. 7)

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Τοις αναγινώσκοισι το παρόν αγαπητοίσι αδελφοίσι ην Κυρίω χαίρειν.

Kalón ἦτον καὶ λίαν καλόν, αδελφοί, να εβιάζαμεν να κάμομεν με το μέσον της αρετῆς του εαυτοῦ μας ἁξίου να βλέπομεν τον Θεόν καὶ να συνομιλούμεν με τον Θεόν καὶ να διδασκόμεθα απὸ τον Θεόν, οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ επλάσθημεν, καθὼς ο Μωυσῆς, ο Ἀβραάμ καὶ ο Νόε καὶ ἄλλοι τοιούτοι τον παλαιὸν εκείνον καθόρον. Επειδή ὁμώς τούτῳ τὸ τόσον μέγα καὶ αρχικὸν καλὸν τὸ ὑστερῆθημεν διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειάν καὶ αποξενώσαμεν ἀπὸ λόγου μας διὰ τὴν καχίαν μας, καλόν ἦτον καὶ να βιάζομεν να κάμομεν με το μέσον της προκοπῆς τον εαυτὸν μας ἁξίου να καταλαμβά
νομεν τὰ λόγια τῶν Ἁγίων Γραφῶν καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας τῶν παλαιῶν, καθὼς ὁ / (f. 7v) Χρυσόστομος, ὁ Γηγόριος, ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ ἄλλοι παρόμοιοι
θεόπνευστοι ἄγου. Επειδή ὁμώς καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ὑστερῆθημεν οἱ παλαιώροι καὶ εξεχάσαμεν καὶ τελείως εχάσαμεν τὴν πατροπαράδοσον καὶ εὐγενεστάτην εκείνην γλώσσαν τῶν Ελλήνων καὶ χρειαζόμεθα τῶρα διδα-
σκάλους καὶ εξήγητάς, καὶ ἁξίους να καταλαμβάνομεν τὰ βιβλία ὁποῖο εἰς τὴν τωρίνην ἀπὸ μας γλώσσαν μετέφρασαν καὶ μετέφεραν διὰ ωφελείαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. Οἱ μεταγενέστεροι διδάσκαλοι. Τούτους ἄχαγνο, ὁ ελάχιστος, μικρὸς ἐκο-
πίσας καὶ εἰδιάλεξα μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν Παλαιὰν τὰς πλέον εὐκλετά ἱστορίας καὶ τὰς ἐσύναξα καὶ τὰς ἐξήγησας εἰς τὸ απλοῦν. Επρόσθεςα δέ καὶ ἀνα-
κάτωσα καὶ ἀλλὰς νεοτέρας. Διατι; Διὰ τὴν ἀγάτην σας, αδελφοί, διὰ τὴν ωφελείαν σας, αγαπητοί, καὶ διὰ μίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τροφήν καὶ ἀνα-
παυσίν ύστερον από τοὺς βιοτικοὺς θορύβους τε καὶ πειρασμοὺς. Καὶ τὰς ἐσύνθεσις ὅλες διὰ στίχων διὰ πλέον γλυκύτητα. Οὐνόμασα δὲ τὴν ἱστορικὴν ταῦτην καὶ ποικιλὴν μου πραγματείαν εἰς δύο βιβλία διηγημε-
νὴν Καθρέπτου τῶν Γυναικῶν, ωσαν ὁποῖο περί γυναικῶν το πε-
(f. 8) [πε]ρισσότερον καταγίνεται καὶ δηγεῖται καὶ ὁμαῖν ὁ ποιητὴν τὴν καθρέπτην περισσότερον αὐτές τὸν μεταχειρίζονται—οὐκοίον ὁμώς καὶ ἄνδρες εἰς αὐτὸν αἰετίτο βλέποντες καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτὰς καὶ καθάροντες—. Οὔτε καθάρος τοῦ καθρέπτου ἐργὸν καὶ τέλος εἶναι ο εὐθερμικὸς στολισμός, οὐ-
τω καὶ αὐτῶν ο εσωτερικὸς στολισμός. Καὶ καθάρος ο καθρέπτης εκείνος ο υάλινος απὸ ἁμοῦ γίνεται καὶ υδράργυρον, οὐτω καὶ αὐτὸς ο λογικὸς απὸ ιστορίας καὶ τὴν αλήθείαν. Καὶ καθάρος ο ασθητός καθρέπτης γίνε-
ται απὸ το πλέον καθαρόν καὶ καθηλώσων σαλή, οὐτω καὶ ο νοήτος αὐ-
tος απὸ την πλέον εραν καὶ πανευφόροννον ύλην. Καὶ καθάρος ο καθρέ-
pτης ευρίσκεται σχεδὸν εἰς όλα τα σπίτια, διὰ καὶ τον κακτάζουν οι πά-
ντες, να περισσεύουν την ευμορφίαν τους καὶ να ευμορφίζουν την ασχη-
μίαν τους, οὐτω καὶ αὐτοὺς πρέπει παντοῦ να ευρίσκεται, διὰ καὶ τον δια-

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βάζουν οι πάντες, να διορθώνουσι την κακίαν τους, να αυξάνουσι την αρετήν τους και να ευφραίνουσι την καρδίαν τους, βλέποντες προσέτι και πολιτικά τις νεοφανείς υποθέσεις, εκκλησιαστικάς νοοθεσίας, ευ-
αγγελικάς ιστορίας και έμπνευσης της Παναγίας και / (f. 8v) το εξάρτησην πάντων και τιμώτατον, τα Άγια Πάθη του Κυρίου ημών. Δέξασθε ουν, παρακαλώ πάντας ταπεινώς, δεχθείτε πάντες τα νεοφανή και επωφελή
tαύτα βιβλία περιχαρώς και αναγνώσκετε προσεχώς και ζεϊτε θεοφιλάκω
cαι πολιτεύεσθε ευσεβώς, ίνα ευτυχείτε διαπαντός και ήγιανθείτε ευτυ-
χώς και αγαλλιάσθε δυνατώς και δοξάζετε τον Θεόν δουλιώς, διά να
σας δοξάσει και ο Θεός, ώ πρέπει πάσα δόξα, τιμή και προσκύνησις από
αγγέλων τε και βροτών, από ανατολικήν ἥλιου μεχρὶ δυσμών, από τον νυν
και ἕως του αἰώνος των αἰώνων, αμήν.

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 Dub-
lin 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 sup-
ported 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, es-
pecially in the States— we are denied this title and we become 're-
searchers'. 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 de-
preciation for the 'Humanities'. The acceptance of such an argument pre-
sumes 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 mat-
ter of terminology, then this term

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with a matter of ideology: the deprecating 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 deprecation probably comes after all this but we should at least defend ourselves by retaining the ‘honorific’ 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 Χαρών have been published (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, Frangiskos, 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 Bibliography.

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 poetical work entitled Τοιαδέτο ἡτοι Γυναικῶν Καθρέπτης / Αληθῆς και όχι ωφούς (a copy of which can be found in the Biblioteca Academiei Române [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 ‘suivi 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 métaphore qui s’appuie sur un modèle complexe et désigne un ‘livre-miroir’, mais devient également, dans la première moitié du XIVe 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 based on Kehagioglou 1986 and Kadas 1988.
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 Εἰδήσεις that accompanied all Dapontes' books, as published in Savvidis' edition of Η Θυεία του Ιερών και Ιστορία Ζωοσφοίνης (see Savvidis 1993, 184): "Καὶ ἐπείδη τὸ βιβλίον μου, Καθρέπτης γυναικών ὁμολαχόμενον, ὑπὸ τῶν νυστίδι, εἰς τῶν χυλίων ἐπταχοσίως ἐξήγαγον, ἐποιήθη ἡ λυφιά, ὁ αντιγραφής ἢ τοῦ τόπο τοῦ διορίσθης, ἐνθέθεσεν αὐτὸ ὁ συνειδήτος, τὸ διέφθειρε, τὸ αὐτάρκης τῆς πραξεικής οὐσίας καὶ χάρτος τὸ εὐγνωμονο, καὶ ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὅλου τὸ ἑκάστη, ἀλλὰ βάνοντας, ἀλλὰ ἐβάλοντας, καὶ ἀλλὰ ἄλλης, καθὼς ἡ δοκοφοροῦν, ανάθεμά την, τὸν ὑπαγόμενον." For the changes that the editor Thomas Mandakassís 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: 'Δεξιωμβρίου τρίτη ἐστείλα εἰς Βενετίαν, εἰς τὸν σιορ Μηχανά Γλυκή της πορίσιον τον Καθρέπτην τῶν Γυναϊκῶν / τὸ βιβλίον μου ὑπὸ τὴν ἐντολή ἐτού διορίσθης τῇ λυπίᾳ, τὰ ἀποτελέσσαν, σὺν θεώ καὶ τὰ τέλους εἰς Βενετίαν.' (see Kadas 1988, 220) Although there is an inconsistency between the year of the hand-note's heading, which is 1776, and the data provided by the note itself (given the fact that the date of the Leipzig edition is 1766, the note must have been written in 1772 since, according to Dapontes, the book was published in Leipzig 'six years ago'), nevertheless it provides us with clear evidence that Dapontes was planning a second, corrected edition of Καθρέπτης Γυναικών.

12 Only its first two chapters were critically edited by Savvidis and separately published under the title Η Θυεία του Ιερών και Ιστορία Ζωοσφοίνης (see Savvidis 1993).

13 See Savvidis 1991, 60: "γέφυρα νοητὴ ανάμεσα σε Ανατολή και Δύση, Άρχοντα και Μεσογεία, σε κοιμογονική πολυφροσύνη καὶ πνευματική συμφωνία, σε φωτιά καὶ διαφωτισμό, λογισμό καὶ λαξάκοπτη, παράδοση καὶ νεοτερισμό, καὶ σε "ψυχική συμμετοχή και χαρά τῆς καρδιάς," καταμετρήσης στον λεγόμενο λαόν του Διαφωτισμοῦ μας."

14 Dapontes himself claims that he comes from a Venetian Daponte family in his unpublished Φανάρι Γυναικών. I copy here the text from BAR ms. gr. 1545 (a Dapontes autograph): "Καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον σου ἔτοι τὸν εν Βουκουρέστι / Γεώργιον ἐγνώρισεν τοῦ Μοναστηρίῳ [του Ἄγιου Σάββα in marg.]. / Μάλιστα τὸν πατέρα σου πολλὰ μὲ ὁκατούσθην, / ἔλεγε τι μὲν εγένεθη, / ὡς τόσο μὲ πονόθεθην. / Λέγεσθαι μὲ πονοθεςκε τὸν Μακαρίθμον / εκείνος, καὶ, ὁ Στέφανος Δαπόντως / Σκλαβελιτής. / Μ' ἔλεγε πῶς κατά / γεγονός αὐτὸς τοὺς Δαπόντων / τῆς Βενετίας ἀρχοντες ενδόξους καὶ ἀρχαίους. / Μ' ἔλεγε καὶ ὅτι πῶς / εἰς τὴν Τήν τοῦ Φίλωντιας / Σύνοδον / εκ τοῦ γένους του ἅνε τῆς / Βενετίας, / καθὼς καὶ ἄλλοι ἀρχοντες / τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ἀρχαίους.
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)

39 See Krumbacher 1905. The term translated in Greek as ‘καθρέφτης γυναικῶν’ was first used by Linos Politis in a study about Apokoros (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’).
40 See Morgan 1960, 223-224.
42 For more details see Kaplanis 1999, 300.
43 For more details see Kaplanis 1999, 302. In the select bibliography of that article one should add Vassiliou’s study on Apokoros, where the function of the mirror of women which is included in Bergadis’ book is discussed in detail (see Vassiliou 1993; especially 149-159).
44 See Ανδρ. χαρ., column 12: “πρώτον να γυρεύσω τινά ποιήματα των φρονίμων οπού είπαν καθόν δι’ αυτές και τότε εκείνου που είπαν κάκιν δι’ αυτές και το τέλος να θέσω τές γραφές αντάμα και να δώσω αληθινή λύση, και να κόψουν τές γλώσσες οπού λέγουν κακά.”
45 See Grubes 1982, 19.
46 See Grubes 1982.
47 For the whole text of Dapontes’ dedication and prologue to Καθρέ-πτης Γυναικών see Appendix II.
48 See Ανδρ. χαρ., column 14: ‘Καὶ 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 οἱ σοφοὶ τὰς πονηρὰς γυναίκας / τως έχουν τέχνην τὸ κακόν, εργό-χειρον τὸ έργον, / εγὼ δέ λέγω τὰς καλὰς και τὰς κακὰς αντάμα, / διὸ-τι οὐδὲν ευρίσκεται ἄφγος οὐδε-μία.” (see Kakouli 1964, 112) Cf. the section entitled ‘Σχεμιώσεστε πως δέχως γυναικώς τίποτες δεν γίνεται’ in Diakrousis’ Κριτικὸς Πόλεμος (see Xerouhakis 1908, 67-69).

See BAR ms. gr. 1545, f. 203: “Αν εστάθηκε ποτέ άλλος ένας φιλογύ-νης, / αλλ’ εγώ καθώς θυρώ, καρυ-φαίος συ εγίνης, / Θάρσεις, όμως, μη φοβού τούτη η φιλογυνία / είναι έργον σεβάθον, ότι είναι ιστορία.” I have translated the word ‘ιστορία’ as ‘narration’ in a broad sense and in accordance with the translation of the verb ‘ιστορώ’ as ‘to give an account’ (see below). However, I have to mention that Dapontes writes a whole introductory essay in Φανάρι Γυναικών about the sense of the word ‘ιστορία’ which is worth studying. Of course, it was impossible to include it in this paper.

At one point, close to the end of the work, he writes: ‘Χρόνος εγώ εξή-ντα τρείς μη συγκεκριμένους / ως μη νηστευόν, μη πενθόν, μη μετα-νομημένου’ (see BAR ms. gr. 1545, f. 330). Since Dapontes was born in 1713, he must have been sixty three years old in 1776.

With the only difference that in Κα-θρέπτης the narrator, Χαρίτων, converses with his soul (Ψυχή).

The term is mentioned in Φανάρι Γυναικών: “Ήσαυ πρωτότοκος υώς διά θηλυκαίς / χάνει και προϊσ-τώσια, χάνει και ευτολίαν. / Δι’ αύ-την έχασα κα εγώ πλούτον και αρ-χοντίαν, / εκφράζει δέ φυλακήν εις εικοσμηνίαν.” (see BAR, ms. gr. 1545, f. 302-303)

Apart from the notorious passage from Κήπος Χαρίτων 9, 161-165 (“Οι τράπεζες των λακών, πλου-σίων και πενήτων, / εις κάθε τόπον και καιρόν όλες δικές μου ήτον, / και οι γυναικῶν τῶν αυτές, μαζί καὶ οι θυγατέρες, / γυναίκες, θυγατέρες μου όλες μου τες ημέρες. / Μίαν γυναίκα έχασα, και ήβηρα κατοστά-δες”; see Savvidis 1995, 122-123), I quote here another excerpt from Φα-
References

I use the author-date system with one exception: that of Ανθός Χαρίτων, for which the abbreviation Ανθ. 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.

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


ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΗ / COMPARAISON 12 (2001)

Dapontes, K. 1766. Καθρέφτης Γυναικών. Βιβλίον [...] en οὗ φαίνονται γραφικώς καὶ εν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Γραφῇ περιεχόμεναι σποράδικα ιστορίαν κακῶν τε καὶ καλῶν γυναικῶν [...]. 2 vols., Leipzig: Breitkopf (?).


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Περίληψη

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

Ο Κασάριος Δαπόντες υπήρξε η σημαντικότερη ελληνική πουητική μορφή του 18ου αιώνα. Το έργο του, που αγαπήθηκε ιδιαίτερα στην εποχή του, είναι σήμερα παραμέλημένο· σύγχρονες κριτικές εκδόσεις, κατά κανόνα, δεν έχει γνωρίσει, ενώ ποικίλα προβλήματα της δαποντικής εργασιογραφίας παραμένουν ανεξελεύτητα και ανεπίλυτα. Ο άρθρο συνοψίζει τα ποίημα της μέχρι τούδε έρευνας για το δημιουργό και εκτίζει την προσοχή του στον Καθρέφτη Γυναίκων (Λυκία, 1766). Το έργο εξετάζεται στο γενεαλογικό πλαίσιο του ομώνυμου και ανήρ νού του ύφος Μεσαίωνα λογοτεχνικού είδους, καθώς και σε σχέση με τη λογοτεχνική παράμετρο του μισογυνιμού. Συζητείται εν μέρος της γυναίκας έτσι όπως αναδεικνύεται μέσα από τον Καθρέφτη, 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 οφέλεις του στη μεσαιωνική παράδοση, πάνω στην οποία βασίζεται, καταφέρνει πάντα να απομακρύνεται από αυτήν ή, καλύτερα, να την ανανέωνε, χομίζοντας παράλληλα το νέο πνεύμα της εποχής του. Το άρθρο συνοψίζεται από δύο επίμετρα: στο πρώτο επιχειρείται χρονολόγηση της συγγραφής του Καθρέφτη Γυναίκων και στο δεύτερο εκδίδεται η «Αφιέρωση» και το «Προοίμιο» του έργου, πάνω στα οποία, ελλείψει συνολικής κριτικής έκδοσης, βασίζεται κυρίως η επιχειρηματολογία του άρθρου.

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